J. S. Bach, the Breitkopfs, and Eighteenth-Century Music Trade

EDITED BY George B. Stauffer



## BACH PERSPECTIVES

VOLUME TWO
J. S. Bach, the Breitkopfs, and
Eighteenth-Century Music Trade

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### PREFACE

he personal dealings between the Bach family and the Leipzig publishing house of Breitkopf extended over a period of at least sixty years, from 1727, when Johann Sebastian Bach first turned to Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf for a printed text sheet (to the "Trauer-Ode," Cantata 198, Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl), to 1787, when Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach engaged Bernhard's son, Johann Gottlob Immanuel, to print the final volume of the Clavier-Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber. In the intervening years the Bachs often called on the Breitkopfs for printing services and professional advice; the Breitkopfs, for their part, assembled a large inventory of manuscript music that included numerous works by the Bachs. The senior Bach and the senior Breitkopf had much in common: both were unusually intense about their crafts, both reached the tops of their professions during their Leipzig years, both profited from the commerce of the Leipzig trade fairs, and both were able to send their sons to the university – an advantage they themselves had not enjoyed.

The Breitkopfs played a pivotal role in the evolution of music printing. Although Bernhard Christoph's connection with music was limited mainly to the publication of text sheets and title pages, Johann Gottlob Immanuel refined the use of movable music type, and in 1756 he began to issue editions through a new "mosaic" process. C. P. E. Bach was one of the first composers to capitalize fully on the younger Breitkopf's innovations. It was Immanuel Breitkopf, too, who assembled the firm's vast collection of manuscript music, which he used to produce handwritten copies that were advertised through printed thematic catalogs. The catalogs revolutionized the purchase and cataloging of music, for they clearly set forth by genre and theme the works they presented. The Breitkopf inventory included a good deal of music by Sebastian Bach - so much so that between 1762 (the date of the first catalog) and 1800 or so the firm was the most important commercial outlet for obtaining his works. To understand the Breitkopfs' methods of printing, copying, and distribution is to understand how the music of Bach and his sons was preserved, reproduced, and disseminated in the last three quarters of the eighteenth century.

Bach Perspectives, volume 2, is devoted to an investigation of the Bach-Breit-

kopf relationship. The volume begins, appropriately, with an introductory essay on the Breitkopfs that sketches their life in Leipzig and their contributions to the wider world of eighteenth-century publishing.

The essays of part 1 focus on the ties between Johann Sebastian Bach and the Breitkopf firm. In the first article Ernest May paints a broad picture of the Breitkopfs' dealings with Bach's compositions, both during the composer's lifetime and in the half-century that followed. Andreas Glöckner and Hans-Joachim Schulze then evaluate the nature of the Breitkopf manuscript inventory of Bach's music and show the importance of the firm's printed music catalogs for tracing the posthumous fate of Bach's scores and performance materials.

In part 2 Yoshitake Kobayashi demonstrates the importance of Breitkopf's music catalogs for settling matters of conflicting attribution in works stemming from the Bach circle. Peggy Daub follows the genesis of C. P. E. Bach's Clavier-Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber – from composition to subscription, publication (through Immanuel Breitkopf's movable print), and sale – and finds a "generation gap": whereas Johann Sebastian's prints were issued in limited runs to local customers, his son was able to take advantage of the new middle-class interest in published music and market his sonatas in great numbers to a wide audience. Neal Zaslaw looks at Breitkopf's business dealings with Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart and finds a similar trend: Leopold urged the publication of works that would be easily understood and performed and thus have a broad appeal, a fact that may explain why his son's symphonies did not reach print until the nineteenth century.

In part 3 Yoshitake Kobayashi, George R. Hill, and Robert Cammarota explore the challenging issue of identifying and dating manuscripts from the Breitkopf collection. Their research brings us a step further toward understanding the day-to-day operations of the Breitkopf scriptorium.

Finally, in part 4, Gregory G. Butler highlights the lessons learned by Immanuel Breitkopf during his time as an apprentice and shows how those lessons set the stage for his innovations with movable music type. Ortrun Landmann speculates on how the Breitkopf firm obtained its vast inventory of manuscript music. In the final chapter I look at the progressive architectural style that appeared in Leipzig in the 1730s in Bach's residence, the Thomasschule, as well as in the Breitkopf mansion, the Haus "zum Goldenen Bären."

### Preface

I wish to express my gratitude to a number of individuals for their help in bringing the present material to print: to Barry S. Brook, director of the Center for Musical Research and Documentation at the Graduate Center of CUNY, for reminding me of the great relevance of Breitkopf studies for Bach research and for proposing the publication of the essays from his IMS Breitkopf sessions; to Carl Skoggard, also of the CUNY Graduate Center, for undertaking two of the translations; to Marilyn Niebuhr, of Hunter College, and Maria Lake, of Columbia College, for assisting in the preparation of the manuscript; and to Bruce Bethell for copyediting the final text.

George B. Stauffer New York City

### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

ith the exception of the articles by Peggy Daub and George B. Stauffer, the contents of the present volume stem from two International Musicological Society sessions devoted to Breitkopf research. The first took place at the Thirteenth Congress in Strasbourg in 1982; the second, at the Fourteenth Congress in Bologna in 1987.

The Breitkopf sessions were organized and chaired by Barry S. Brook, who for the past thirty years has been a prime mover of Breitkopf research in the United States and Europe. His facsimile edition of the Breitkopf thematic catalogs, issued in 1966, has become a vade mecum for historians working in eighteenth-century music. His writings on Breitkopf and printed music catalogs – most notably "The Earliest Printed Thematic Catalogues" (in Festskrift Jens Peter Larsen [Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972]) and Thematic Catalogues in Music: An Annotated Bibliography (Hillsdale, N.Y.: Pendragon, 1972) – are essential reading in the field. He is known equally well for his generosity to fellow Breitkopf scholars.

It is thus to Barry S. Brook, scholar, organizer, and animus, that this volume of *Bach Perspectives* is dedicated, with thanks from the editor and the contributors.

### ABBREVIATIONS

- Amalien-Bibliothek. The music library of Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia (on permanent loan to the Musikabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).
- BC Hans-Joachim Schulze and Christoph Wolff, eds. Bach
  Compendium: Analytisch-bibliographisches Repertorium der Werke
  Johann Sebastian Bachs. Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1985-.
- Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, eds. 4 vols. *Bach-Dokumente*. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig, veb Deutsche Verlag für Musik, 1963–78.
- BG [Bach-Gesamtausgabe.] *Johann Sebastian Bach's Werke.* (Edited by the Bachgesellschaft), 47 vols. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851–99.
- Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, eds. *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*. Rev. ed. New York, W. W. Norton, 1966.
- Brook Barry S. Brook, ed. *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: The Six*Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787. New York: Dover, 1966.
- BUXWV Georg Karstädt, ed. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude (Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis). Rev. ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1985.
- Wolfgang Schmieder, ed. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach (Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis). Rev. ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990.
- BWV ANH. Appendix (Anhang) to the BWV.
- F. Martin Falck. Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sein Leben und seine

### Abbreviations

Werke mit thematischem Verzeichnis seiner Kompositionen. Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol.1. Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1913. Reprint, Lindau: C. F. Kahnt, 1956.

H. E. Eugene Helm, ed. Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.

HWV [Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis.] Bernd Baselt, ed. Händel-Handbuch: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Georg Friedrich Händel. Händel-Handbuch of the Hallische Händel-Ausgabe, vols.1–4. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978–86.

KB Kritischer Bericht (critical report) of the NBA.

MBLPZ Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, Leipzig.

NBA [Neue Bach-Ausgabe.] Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Edited by the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen, and the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1954–.

P Partitur. [Music score, abbreviation used by the ssb.]

Qv [Quantz-Werke-Verzeichnis.] Horst Augsbach, ed. *Johann Joachim Quantz: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke.*Studien und Materialen zur Musikgeschichte Dresdens, vol. 5.

Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1984.

RISM Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (International Inventory of Musical Sources). Kassel: Bärenreiter, and Munich: G. Henle, 1960-.

RV [Ryom-Verzeichnis.] Peter Ryom, ed. Répertoire des œuvres d'Antonio Vivaldi: Les compositions instrumentales. Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1986.

sвв Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Stimmen. [Performance parts, abbreviation used by the SBB.]

### Abbreviations

w. Alfred Wotquenne, ed. Catalogue thèmatique des œuvres de Charles Philippe Emanuel Bach (1714–1788). Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905. Reprint, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1972.

# Introduction

# The Breitkopf Family and Its Role in Eighteenth-Century Music Publishing

### George B. Stauffer

hree generations of the Breitkopf family ran the Leipzig publishing house of Breitkopf between 1719, the year of its founding, and 1796, the year it was taken over by Gottfried Christoph Härtel (who changed its name to "Breitkopf & Härtel"). Christoph Bernhard Breitkopf (1695–1777) began the firm and built it into one of the leading book publishers in Germany. Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–94), Bernhard's only son, took over the business from his father and greatly broadened its activities, especially in the realm of music. Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf (1749–ca.1820) and Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf (1750–1800), Immanuel's sons, followed their own paths and relinquished control of the firm to Härtel soon after their father's death.

Christoph Bernhard Breitkopf was born in Clausthal in the Harz region. After serving as an apprentice in Leipzig and Jena, he returned to Leipzig in 1718 to work in the shop of Immanuel Tietz. The next year he married the widow of the printer Johann Caspar Müller, taking control of a modest-sized shop that had been in operation since the sixteenth century. Leipzig was an ideal location for an ambitious printer: with its three annual trade fairs and favorable commercial tariffs, it stood as the center of German book publishing, surpassing even Frankfurt by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Breitkopf's business quickly grew in this fertile environment. His first ambitious undertaking, the *Biblia hebraica* of 1725, marked the beginning of a "New Epoch of German book printing" – as Johann Cristoph Gottsched later put it – and paved the way for large-scale German-language compendia such as

the *Universallexicon*, issued between 1732 and 1754 in sixty-four volumes by his Leipzig rival Johann Heinrich Zedler.

By 1732 Breitkopf had amassed a fortune and was able to engage Leipzig's premier architect, Georg Werner, to construct a new residence for his greatly expanded firm. The result was the impressive house "of the golden bear" in the Universitätsstrasse. This was followed by a second *Stadtpalast*, the house "of the silver bear," built across the street in 1765.

Leipzig's university and its trade fairs afforded Breitkopf the opportunity to work with some of the leading literary figures of the day. Through his ties with Gottsched and other progressive authors, he was able to establish his firm as one of the chief representatives of the Enlightenment movement. Breitkopf published most of Gottsched's works and in 1736 offered the famous professor of poetry and philosophy quarters in the House of the Golden Bear. After Gottsched moved in the Breitkopf residence became a mecca for German writers, including the young Goethe, who dropped by several times during his year of study at the university in 1765.

By the 1740s Breitkopf was Leipzig's preeminent printer and one of the most important publishers in Germany. Within his business, however, music played a distinctly minor role. Christoph Bernhard's chief interest was letterpress publishing, and he used engraving – the principal means of printing music in the first half of the eighteenth century – mainly for maps, portraits, and other illustrations that appeared in typeset volumes. Breitkopf supplied Bach and other local composers with typeset text sheets for vocal works (such as the "Trauer-Ode" of 1727, with poetry by Gottsched) and title pages for engraved editions (such as the Musical Offering of 1747). He seldom ventured into the realm of music printing per se, however.

A notable exception was Georg Christian Schemelli's Musicalisches Gesangbuch of 1736, the hymn collection for which Bach served as musical consultant. For the Schemellisches Gesangbuch, as it is generally termed, Breitkopf used a double-impression procedure: the hymn texts were set in book type and printed with a letter press, whereas the hymn tunes were engraved on plates and printed with a copper press. Although the Gesangbuch was a remarkable technical accomplishment, it did not sell well. Breitkopf nevertheless entered the field of music publishing once again five years later, using the same double-impression printing process for Johann Sigismund Scholze's highly popular collection of strophic songs, Sperontes Singende Muse an der Pleisse. Breitkopf

### The Breitkopf Family and Its Role in Music Publishing

issued the 1741 edition (Scholze had published the first edition privately in 1736) and the *Fortsetzungen* of 1742, 1743, and 1745.

As Gregory G. Butler points out, the printing of the Singende Muse collection may have been spurred by the musical interests of the twenty-two-year-old Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, who returned from a northern European tour in 1741 and began to play an increasingly important role in his father's business. Immanuel took over the printing operations in 1745 and assumed control of the entire firm in 1762. Like Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, he attended the university in Leipzig, similarly enjoying an educational opportunity that had not been available to his father. He studied languages, history, and philosophy (with Gottsched) and brought an intellectual inquisitiveness to matters of printing. During his lifetime he collected almost 20,000 books (catalogs were issued in 1795 and 1799, after his death). He not only refined the art of book printing, introducing a new and clearer form of Fraktur, but he also developed new methods of printing playing cards, wallpapers, portraits, and maps.

Immanuel was the embodiment of Enlightenment ideals. When faced with a specific technical problem in printing, he carefully investigated the issue from a historical standpoint before settling on a practical solution. His writings include such learned tracts as Nachtricht von der Stempelschneiderey und Schriftgiesserey (1777), Über den Druck der geographischen Charten (1777), Versuch, den Ursprung der Spielkarten, die Einfuhrung des Leinenpapiers und den Anfang der Holzschneidekunst in Europa zu erforschen (1784 and 1801), and Über Buchdruckerey und Buchhandel (1793). His magnum opus, Über die Geschichte der Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst, was begun in the 1770s but remained unfinished. In a sense Immanuel's treatises were not unlike Bach's compendia of the 1730s and 1740s, in which past traditions served as a springboard for summary and innovation.

Breitkopf's innovations in music publishing and merchandizing are of special interest to music historians. Immanuel was not content to work with the dual-impression technique used by his father but evolved instead an improved means of printing music with divisible and movable type. Many others, from Pierre Attaingnant in the sixteenth century to John Heptinstall in the seventeenth, had printed music with movable type and letter presses, but the results were unsatisfactory. By breaking up each character into small pieces – two for a clef, three or four for a note – and mathematically calculating the propor-

tions of each piece, Breitkopf was able to produce a more pleasing appearance. He described his new method of printing music with "mosaic" type, as it has come to be known, in a booklet entitled *Nachtricht von einer neuen Art Noten zu drucken* in 1755. The next year he unveiled the process in a special three-volume edition of the opera *Il trionfo della fedeltà* composed by Electress Maria Antonia Walpurgis. The title page reads:

Stampato in Lipsia nella stamperia de Giov. Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf inventore de questa nuova maniera de stampar la musica con caratte, i separabili e mutabili è questo dramma pastorale la prima opera stampata di questa nuova guisa; commi[n]cia a nel mese di luglio 1755, e terminata nel mese d'aprile 1756.

[Printed in Leipzig in the printing-house of Giovanni Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, inventor of this new manner of impressing music with separable and movable characters. This pastoral drama is the first work printed in this new way. Commenced in the month of July 1755 and completed in the month of April 1756.]

Breitkopf's print (see pl. 1) may not have equaled the elegance of the best engraved editions of the day, but it was an extraordinary improvement over previous efforts at publishing music with movable type. The potential advantages of movable type over copper plates were clear: the typeface could be reused, changes and corrections could be made in the course of a run, and setting up pages required less labor. Most important, however, was the fact that letterpress printing could accommodate much larger runs. By using his mosaic type Breitkopf was better able to produce printed editions of *Hausmusik* in large quantities for middle-class buyers. The improvement is obvious if we compare J. S. Bach's Musical Offering with C. P. E. Bach's *Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber*. In 1747 Leipzig engravers were able to provide Sebastian Bach with 200 copies of the Musical Offering (to judge from the number of title pages ordered from Breitkopf). Some thirty years later, using movable type, Breitkopf was able to provide C. P. E. Bach with 1,500 copies of each batch of the *Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber*, as Peggy Daub shows.

Although Immanuel's movable type did not produce a revolution in music printing along the lines of Härtel's adoption of Alois Senefelder's lithographical process in 1806, it nevertheless allowed the Leipzig firm to issue a substantial number of works in handsome letterpress editions. According to the French contemporary Pierre-Simon Fournier, in the six years following the



Plate 1. Electress Maria Antonia Walpurgis: *Il trionfo della fedeltà*. Page from the original edition, printed by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in 1756. Courtesy of the Music Library, University of Michigan.

publication of *Il trionfo della fedeltà*, Breitkopf issued fifty other editions using movable type. These included operas, song collections, and keyboard pieces by such progressive late-Baroque and pre-Classical composers as Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Carl Heinrich Graun, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Leopold Mozart, Christian Gottlob Neefe, and Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg. Many of the publications contained modest fare composed for bourgeois audiences, but Immanuel's ambitious editions of Graun's *Te Deum* (1757) and *Der Tod Jesu* (1760) and large-scale vocal works by other composers marked a new era in music printing, just as his father's projects had marked a new epoch in book printing thirty years earlier. Working with C. P. E. Bach, Breitkopf published *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, issued in four volumes between 1784 and 1787. Immanuel also served as consultant and printer for the

independent publications of C. P. E. Bach and Johann Adam Hiller. In this way he helped to pave the way for independent composers of the nineteenth century.

Even as Immanuel introduced his mosaic type and began to issue substantial numbers of music editions, he expanded the Breitkopf business on two other music fronts. The first was the sale of music instruments, which he increased to a sizable enterprise. As Neal Zaslaw shows, when Leopold Mozart needed woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court, he turned to Breitkopf. The second was the sale of music books and editions printed by other publishers and of handwritten copies of music produced within the firm. Despite the gains made by music printing in the second half of the eighteenth century, copying scores and performance parts by hand remained the most viable way of reproducing pieces quickly and economically. Breitkopf, Andreas Lotter in Nuremberg, and other music dealers assembled large inventories of music manuscripts and produced copies to order through in-house scriptoria. With his keen sense of business Breitkopf settled on the idea of advertising his stock in catalogs. He began in 1760-61 by printing nonthematic catalogs, much along the lines of the book catalogs issued at the Leipzig fairs. Initially the catalogs took two forms. In the Verzeichniss Musikalischer Bücher, sowohl zur Theorie als Praxis, und für alle Instrumente . . . welche bey Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in Leipzig . . . zu bekommen sind, Breitkopf advertised printed editions and tracts. In the Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für alle Instrumente . . . in richtigen Abschriften bey Joh. Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, in Leipzig . . . zu bekommen sind, Breitkopf advertised his inventory of manuscript music from which one could obtain copies on demand. In using catalogs to market his stock, he was following an established German tradition: Johann Jacob Lotter Jr., the well-known Augsburg music printer, issued his Catalogus aller Musicalischen Bücher as early as 1746.

Breitkopf's breakthrough was to harness his movable type to produce a new kind of catalog: a thematic catalog that not only listed works, genre by genre, like the nonthematic catalogs, but also included a musical incipit for each piece (and each movement of each piece). The Catalogo delle sinfonie che si trovano in manuscritto nella officina musica di Giovanno Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, as the first volume of 1762 was titled, revolutionized the concept of music merchandizing and cataloging. Breitkopf's thematic catalog made it possible to list and identify musical works beyond all reasonable doubt. A prospective buyer could

### The Breitkopf Family and Its Role in Music Publishing

recognize a piece even if it remained unpublished and lacked an opus number. The ubiquitous *Werk-Verzeichnisse* of modern musicology are direct descendants of Breitkopf's brainchild. Breitkopf issued his *catalogi* in six volumes and sixteen supplements between 1762 and 1787. Reissued in facsimile edition by Barry S. Brook in 1966, they have become an invaluable historical document showing, as Brook nicely puts it, "the panorama of musical life in its time in all its opulence." <sup>1</sup>

The thematic catalogs suggest that Breitkopf's stock of manuscript music was enormous: Brook counts almost 15,000 incipts in the 888 pages of the catalogs and supplements. Immanuel's letters disclose that he collected much of the music himself, industriously gathering it from estates, individuals, and other dealers. His inventory included music of every possible kind, from sacred vocal music (advertised in a specialized nonthematic catalog, the *Verzeichniss lateinischer und italiänischer Kirchen-Musiken* of 1769), to chamber works for a wide variety of solo instruments (including the lute), to fashionable Viennese cassations and symphonies (advertised in yet another nonthematic catalog, the *Verzeichniss von Wiener Musikalien*, published by Härtel shortly after Immanuel's death). Breitkopf's manuscripts varied greatly in quality: derivative secondary copies sat on the shelves next to composers' priceless autographs.

Breitkopf's scriptorium appears to have prospered in the 1760s and 1770s. In the next two decades, however, the manuscript trade seems to have dropped off. By the first decade of the nineteenth century printed scores and parts were rapidly replacing manuscript copies as the chief vehicle for disseminating new works. The Breitkopf firm retained many of its manuscripts until the great auction of 1836, when large portions of the inventory were sold in lots. It has been the task of modern musicology to reconstruct Breitkopf's collection, locating and identifying extant house and sale copies and noting their scribes and provenance.

Breitkopf's collection of music holds great interest for Bach scholarship, for it included manuscripts emanating from Bach's Leipzig circle, an almost full run of the Bach original prints, and a number of autograph scores (e.g., of Cantata 97, *In allen meinen Taten*, or the two versions of *O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht*, BWV 118a and 118b) and original performance parts (of Cantata 8, *Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben*). Härtel later claimed that Breitkopf

<sup>1.</sup> Brook, vii.

#### STAUFFER

purchased these manuscripts directly from the Bach heirs. As Robert Cammarota, Andreas Glöckner, Yoshitake Kobayashi, and Hans-Joachim Schulze have demonstrated, however, it is more likely that Immanuel obtained the bulk of his Bach manuscripts from the estates of Carl Gotthelf Gerlach, organist of the Neukirche in Leipzig; Gottlob Harrer, Bach's successor as Thomaskantor; and other such sources. It is also possible that he procured manuscripts from the two oldest Bach sons, Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel, or from Bach's daughter Elisabeth Juliana Friderica Altnickol, who lived in Leipzig and received a stipend from Carl Philipp Emanuel through Breitkopf. No matter how Breitkopf acquired his copies, the manuscripts transmitted several works that were not otherwise preserved, such as the chorale preludes miscredited to the Kirnberger Collection, as Ernest May has shown. In a number of cases Breitkopf's copies and catalogs also help to clear up matters of attribution of works credited to Bach and other composers.

The Breitkopf firm prospered under Immanuel's leadership. Its ties with the Bach family continued as well: Carl Philipp Emanuel was a client from 1779 to 1787, and his son Johann Sebastian Bach Jr. boarded in the House of the Silver Bear during his time of study in Leipzig. But transferral of the business to the next generation of Breitkopfs did not take place. Bernhard Theodor, a gifted musician, composer, and printer, was compelled to leave Germany in 1777 for various misdemeanors. He subsequently moved to Saint Petersburg and set up his own publishing business there. Christoph Gottlob, also a fine musician, enjoyed favorable connections with Haydn, Mozart, Vanhal, and Gluck in Vienna. He was not a businessperson, however, and after his father's death he quickly turned the firm over to Härtel. It was Härtel, rather than Immanuel's sons, who restored the business to its former glory and led it to new heights in music publishing in the nineteenth century.

# PART ONE

The Works of J. S. Bach and the Breitkopf Publishing Firm

### Ernest May

he connections between Johann Sebastian Bach and the Breitkopf firm were many and varied. During his lifetime Bach turned to Breitkopf when he needed text sheets for a number of vocal works and title pages for a number of engraved editions. After Bach's death Breitkopf offered the composer's music for sale – both the printed editions and music that was preserved in manuscript form only. It is helpful at this point to survey the substance of the Bach-Breitkopf connections in some detail.

From 1719 until well after Bach's death Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf worked as one of Leipzig's most prominent book printers. Entries in the Breitkopf ledgers clearly show that Bach patronized Breitkopf's shop for the printing of texts for at least sixteen cantata performances between 1727 and 1741 (table 1). In several cases, such as *Thomana saß annoch betrübt*, BWV ANH. I 19, Bach's music is lost and the Breitkopf text sheet is the only evidence we have of the original composition. Nevertheless, the text-sheet connection was not particularly significant for either party at the time. Breitkopf was oriented much more toward the literary circle around Johann Christoph Gottsched than toward the musical circle around Bach, and Bach used other printers on other occasions.

There are several aspects to Breitkopf's involvement with Bach's original prints. First, the firm printed text portions when called on to do so; for example, it printed the texts of Georg Christian Schemelli's Gesangbuch and the title and preface to Bach's Musical Offering and to his Art of Fugue (which appeared posthumously). Second, after Bach's death Breitkopf somehow acquired and offered for sale almost all Bach's original prints (see table 2). Third, Breitkopf's stock of manuscripts may have included sources important to the prehistory of Bach's original editions, such as the handwritten transcription of

Table 1. Breitkopf Text Sheets for Leipzig Performances by J. S. Bach

Date	Work	Documentation
17 October 1727	Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl, BWV 198	BDOK 2, no. 229
5 June 1732	Froher Tag, verlangte Stunden, BWV ANH. 18	BDOK 2, nos. 310, 311
30 July 1732	Es lebe der König, der Vater im Lande, BWV ANH. 11	BDOK 2, no. 313
2 August 1733	Frohes Volk, vergnügte Sachsen, BWV ANH. 12	BDOK 2, nos. 333, 334
3 September 1733	Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen, BWV 213	BDOK 2, nos. 336, 337
8 December 1733	Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten!, BWV 214	BDOK 2, nos.343, 344
16 January 1734	Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde!, BWV 2052	BDOK 2, nos. 345, 347
21 November 1734	Thomana saß annoch betrübt, BWV ANH. 19	BDOK 2, nos. 357, 358
7 February 1735	Unidentified work	BDOK 2, no.362
2 August 1735	Probably Auf schmetternde Töne, BWV 207a	врок 2, поз. 367, 368
7 October 1736	Probably Schleicht, spielende Wellen, BWV 206	BDOK 2, nos. 385, 386
29 March 1738	Probably an unidentified Passion	BDOK 2, no. 416
27 April 1738	Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter, BWV ANH. 13	BDOK 2, nos. 424, 4242
23 August 1738	Unidentified work	BDOK 2, no. 428
26 August 1739	Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir, BWV 29	BDOK 2, nos. 451, 452
29 April 1741	"Cantate auf die Königlichen Majestäten"	воок 2, no. 487

six cantata movements that must have preceded the engraving of the Schübler Chorales and the manuscript of the Canonic Variations that Bach presented to Mizler. Fourth, the documented circumstances surrounding the posthumous publication by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf of Bach's four-part chorales underline the orientation of the Breitkopf firm toward current trends and commercial viability. The project was promoted by Bach's loyal student Johann Philipp Kirnberger, who labored with the support of Bach's second-oldest son, Carl Philipp Emanuel. Unlike Kirnberger, Breitkopf did not show any nostalgia for the memory of J. S. Bach; he was more concerned with the sales potential of the chorales. Moreover, it was only after 1750 that the Breitkopfs played a consequential role in the transmission of Bach's works.

Immanuel Breitkopf's music business consisted of two parts. First, he published a number of currently fashionable works and collections with his new system of movable type. Most of this music was aimed at the amateur, the German *Liebhaber*. The posthumous four-part chorale collection, sponsored by Kirnberger, is the only Breitkopf-Bach publication that was printed with movable type. Second, Breitkopf assembled a huge library of diverse works in manuscript from which buyers could order copies by mail. It is this library,

Table 2. Breitkopf Offerings of J. S. Bach's Original Prints

BWV	Work and Date	Publisher	Handexemplar	Breitkopf Catalog	$Documentation^1$
825-30	Clavierübung I (1726–31)	"In Verlegung des Autoris"	British Lib., Hirsch III.37	1760	NBA V/4, KB, p. 40f.; NBA V/1, KB; Bach- Jahrbuch (1980): 11-13; BDOK 4, nos.350-52
831, 971	Clavierübung 11 (1735)	Weigel (Nuremberg)	British Lib., K.8.g. <sub>7</sub>	1777	Bach-Jahrbuch (1980): 13; BDOK 4, nos. 353, 354
439-507	Schemellisches Gesangbuch (1736)	B. C. Breitkopf (Leipzig)	_	1760	Bach-Jahrbuch (1980): 13f.; BDOK 2, nos.378, 379; BDOK 4, no.448
552 669-89	Clavierübung 111 (1739) 802-5	Schmid (Nuremberg)	MBLPZ PM 1403	1763	NBA IV/4, KB; Bach- Jahrbuch (1977): 120f.; Bach-Jahrbuch (1980): 15f.; May, p.93; BDOK 4, no.355
988	Clavierübung 1V (1741)	Schmid (Nuremberg)	Paris Bibliothèque National, MS 17669	1763	NBA V/2, KB; BDOK 4, nos.356-58; JAMS (1976): 224-41
645-50	"Schübler" Chorales (ca.1747)	Schübler (Zella)	Princeton, N.J., Scheide Collection	1763	Bach-Jahrbuch (1977): 120f.; May, pp.79-85; врок 4, no.609
1079	Musical Offering (1747)	JSB and Sons	_	1761	NBA VIII/1, KB; Musical Quarterly (1971): 379– 408; BDOK 2, nos.556, 581; BDOK 4, no.581
769	Canonic Variations on "Von Himmel hoch" (ca.1747)	Schmid (Nuremberg)	_	1760	NBA IV/2, кв; Мау, pp. 69-78; воок 4, no. 564
1080	Art of Fugue (1751 and 1752)	JSB and Sons	_	1760	BDOK 3, nos. 639, 645, 648-50, 893; Current Musicology (1975): 47-77

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Table 2. Breitkopf Offerings of J. S. Bach's Original Prints (continued)

BWV	Work and Date	Publisher	Handexemplar	Breitkopf Catalog	Documentation
253-438	Four-part Chorales (1765 and 1769)	Birnstiel (Berlin and Leipzig)	_	1770	Bach-Jahrbuch (1966): 5-40; BDOK 3, nos.822-24
	(1784, 1785, 1786, 1787)	J. G. I. Breitkopf (Leipzig)			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Additional Abbreviations: JAMS = Journal of the American Musicological Society; May = Ernest May, Breitkopf's Role in the Transmission of 7. S. Bach's Organ Chorales (Princeton, N.J., 1974).

which included many Bach manuscripts (table 3), that is described in the famous Breitkopf mail-order catalogs. For modern musicology, it is essential to identify extant manuscripts that were in the Breitkopf library. It is necessary to distinguish between the house copies, which normally have blue covers and red catalog numbers, and the professionally made sale copies, which were often carelessly written but nevertheless could have been sent anywhere in Europe.

Given the size of the Breitkopf stock and the commercial staff that must have been using it, it is easy to imagine various reasons for disorder in the collection, with resulting misattributions and other confusion for modern musicology. Roughly one-third of the works assigned to J. S. Bach in the Breitkopf catalogs are falsely attributed. In addition, it is sometimes difficult to identify works that are listed in the nonthematic catalogs. Unfortunately there is no way to generalize about the value of the manuscripts in the Breitkopf library. Without question, precious autographs were shelved next to worthless late copies. It is only after a painstaking investigation of the source tradition for each work that the Breitkopf sources can be fully evaluated. Hindering such an evaluation is the fact that the Breitkopf firm, which became Breitkopf & Härtel in 1796, began disposing of many items from its eighteenth-century stock around 1800 or so, with a large portion sold in the great auction of 1836. Some of the Bach items were obtained by François-Joseph Fétis and ended up in the collection of the Brussels Conservatory. The sales dispersed the Breitkopf inventory to many locations, and it is only in recent times that scholars have been able to begin to piece it back together.

Table 3. Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings (BDOK 3, nos.711 and 718)

Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 44  p. 78 (score some parts) p. 76 (score almost all s)  P 43/2  NBA I/1, KB, p. 32.  NBA I/1, KB, p. 23; NBA I/39, KB, PP. 17-40
NBA I/1, KB, p. 23; NBA I/39, KB,
NBA I/1, KB, p. 32.  NBA I/1, KB, p. 23; NBA I/39, KB,
NBA I/1, кв, р. 23; NBA I/39, кв,
NBA 1/39, KB,
, p.77 (score some parts)
Dürr: Studien, p.48; Bach- Jahrbuch (1951/52): 42; Bach-Jahrbuch (1955): 15; Bach- Jahrbuch (1956):
NBA I/18, KB, p.9f.
ном.; sвв, NBA I/1, кв, p. 59f.; and sт 397; Kobayashi, p. 362
, p.74 (parts) Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 43
, p.79 (score) Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 44
Dürr: Studien, pp.35-36

 $\label{eq:May} \mbox{Table 3. Breitkopf } \mbox{Manuscript Offerings } \mbox{$(continued)$}$ 

BWV	Breitkopf Catalog	Breitkopf Manuscripts	Concordances	Documentation
90	1761, p. 20		SBB, P 83 (original score, apparently given away by Carl Philipp Emanuel during his lifetime)	NBA 1/27, KB, pp.62-63
92	1761, p.19	AMB 44 (sale copy)	st. тном.; sbb, р 873	nba 1/7, kb, p.62f.
96	1761, p.20	амв 43 (sale copy)	sт. тном.	Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 44
106	1761, p.23	AMB 43 (sale copy)	sвв, P 1018 (Leipzig, 1768)	Dürr: <i>Studien</i> , p.17; Kobayashi, p.364
116	1761, p.20	AMB 44 (sale copy)	ST. THOM.	nba i/27, кв, pp.84–89
124	1761, p.19	AMB 44 (sale copy)	sт. тном.; sвв, р 876 and sт 396	NBA I/5, КВ, pp.86- 119; Kobayashi, p.365
133	1761, p.19	AMB 44 (sale copy)	ST. THOM.; SBB, P 1215 and ST 387; P 1039	Kobayashi, p.366
141 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.20	амв 43 (sale copy)		Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 31-35
144	1761, p.19	AMB 595 (sale copy)	срев, pp.70 and 76 (score)	nba 1/7, kb, p.14
153	1761, p.19	амв 44 (sale copy)	sвв, sт 79 (original parts)	NBA I/4, KB, pp.123-24
154	1761, p.19	AMB 44 (sale copy)	CPEB, p.75 (score and parts); ssB, sT 70 (original parts)	NBA I/5, КВ, pp. 62-85
172	1761, p.19	AMB 43 (sale copy)	срев, р.78 (parts)	nba 1/13, кв, pp. 27–28

Table 3. Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings (continued)

BWV	Breitkopf Catalog	Breitkopf Manuscripts	Concordances	Documentation
179	1761, p.20	AMB 43 (sale copy)	срев, p.80 (score)	Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 44
180	1761, p.23	AMB 43 (sale copy)	SBB, P 1051	Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 44
189 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.10			Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 43; Bach- Jahrbuch (1956): 155
199	1770, p. 9		CPEB, p.71 (autograph score with parts)	Bach-Jahrbuch (1911): 1f.; NBG 13, p. 2
203 (?)	1764, p.32 1765, p.29			Bach-Jahrbuch (1912): 132
217 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.19	AMB 44 (sale copy)		
218 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.20	амв 43 (sale copy)		Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 38-39
220 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.20	амв 43 (sale copy)		
225	1761, p.5	sвв, st 122 (house copy) амв 27 (sale copy)		NBA III/1, KB, p. 38– 43; BDOK 3, nos. 169–70; Kobayashi, p. 371
226	1761, p.5	амв 41 (sale copy)	CPEB, p.72 (in score); Darmstadt, MUS. MS. 1310	<b>NBA III/1, кв,</b> PP∙74-75
227	1764, p.5	амв 30 (sale copy)	срев, p.72 (score) Kobayashi, p.371	nba III/1, кв, pp. 97−99

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Table 3. Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings (continued)

BWV	Breitkopf Catalog	Breitkopf Manuscripts	Concordances	Documentation
228	1764, p.5	BRUBR, MS II 3904? (sale copy) SBB, P 569, AMB 17, BLNHFM 6138?	Kobayashi, p. 371.	NBA III/1, КВ, pp. 32−33
229	1764, p.5	BRUBR, MS II 3903? (sale copy)	sт. тном. (lost)	nba III/1, кв, p.151f.
234	1761, p.9	Darmstadt, mus. ms 971 (autograph sale copy)	срев, р.70?	
236	1761, p.9	Darmstadt, MUS. MS 972 (autograph sale copy) SBB, P 24 (Penzel, 1761)	срев, р.70?	
238	1761, p.8	Breitkopf мs 11 (house copy)	CPEB, p.73 (autograph score with parts)	
246 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.23	SBB, P 1017 (JSB and CPEB) (house copy)	Kobayashi, p.372	вдок 3, 169
248	1764, p.17		срев, р. 69 (autograph score with parts)	nba 11/6, кв, pp. 163, 189
253-438 (150 items)	1764, p.7	мвьрг, мs r 18 (house copy) амв 48 (sale copy)		Bach-Jahrbuch (1918): 145; Bach- Jahrbuch (1966): 24; BDOK 3, 110.170
599-769 (114 items)	1764, p.30	BRUBR, MS II 3919; (house copy) BALPZ BREIT. MS 3 Danzig 4203/4 (sale copy) AMB 72a (poss. Kirnberger; sale copy)	SBB, P 271 (JSB) numerous copies	NBA IV/2 and 3, KB; May, pp. 63–154; Kobayashi, pp. 173 and 179; <i>Bach-</i> <i>Jahrbuch</i> (1974): 98–103

### Table 3. Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings (continued)

	-			ŕ
BWV	Breitkopf Catalog	Breitkopf Manuscripts	Concordances	Documentation
599-769 (continued)		SBB, P 1109 (Penzel, ca.1770) SBB, P 1160 (poss. Oley; sale copy) BRUBR, MS II 3912 (thematic catalog)		
846-69	1764, p.29	C. G. Meissner's manuscript (house copy)	sвв, P 1074 (in hand of J. G. Walther); sвв, P 1075	zfmw (1930-31): 396; <i>Bach-Jahrbuch</i> (1968): 85
995	1761, p.56	MBLPZ III.11.3 BRUBR, MS II 4085 (house copy)		мг (1966): 32f.; воок 3, р.169
1037 (attributed to JSB)	1762, p.26 1764, p.41			Bach-Jahrbuch (1953): 51f.
1064	1774, p.33 1780, p.11			nba vii/7, кв, pp.108-17
1069	1764, p.47		SBB, ST 445 (ST. THOM.) SBB, ST 160 (Penzel, ca.1755)	nba vii/1, кв, pp.83-91
ANH. 1 (lost; attributed to JSB)	1770, p.9			NBA 1/18, KB p.118; Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 41-42
ANH. 15 (lost)	1761, p.33			Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 42-43
anh. 17 (lost)	1761, p.23			Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 42-43
ANH. 22 (attributed to JSB)	1764, p.52 1766, p.47			BDOK 3, no.177

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Table 3. Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings (continued)

вwv	Breitkopf Catalog	Breitkopf Manuscripts	Concordances	Documentation
ANH. 25 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.9	BALPZ, BREIT. MS. 9 (in hand of JSB; house copy)		вс 11, р. xvi вдок 3, р. 169
ANH. 26 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.9	BALPZ, BREIT. MS 10 (in hand of JSB; house copy)		вс 11, р. xvi вдок 3, р. 169
ANH. 27 (attributed to JSB)	1761, p.8	BRUBR, MS. II 3892 SBB, P 1126 (in hand of Hauser)		вдок 3, р. 169
anh. 28 (attributed (o JSB)	1761, p.8	BRUBR, MS. 11 3893 SBB, P 1127 (in hand of Hauser)		вдок 3, р.169
ann. 156 attributed o JSB)	1761, p.20	AMB 43		Bach-Jahrbuch (1951/52): 42-44; BWV, p.866
ANH. 157 (attributed (o JSB)	1761	Danzig, мs. Joн. 130	Danzig, Ms.CATH. f. 11	врок 3, р.170
ANH. 163 (attributed to JSB)	1764, p.5	BRUBR, MS. II 3902 (poss. G. A. Staps: 1759)		
ANH. 166 (attributed to JSB)	1769	BALPZ, BREIT. MS. 8		вwv, р.880
ANH. 167 (attributed to JSB)	1769	sвв, р 659 (house copy) Aмв 4a (sale copy) (poss. Kirnberger)		вдок 3, по.376
ANH. 187 (attributed to JSB)	1763, pp.21, 24			воок 3, р.176

#### Connections between Breitkopf and J. S. Bach

Table 3. Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings (continued)

BWV	Breitkopf Catalog	Breitkopf Manuscripts	Concordances	Documentation
ANH. 189	1767, p.36			врок 3, р.177
(attributed to JSB)	1770, p. 24			-

<sup>1</sup>Additional abbreviations: BALPZ = Bach-Archiv, Leipzig; BLNHFM = Berlin, Höchschule für Musik; Breitkopf = Wiesbaden, archive of Breitkopf & Härtel; BRUBR = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale; Darmstadt = Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek; Danzig = Danzig, Stadtbibliothek; MF = Die Musikforschung; ZFMW = Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft.

<sup>2</sup>The concordances are limited to manuscripts or citations that suggest possible sources for the Breit-kopf inventory collection. Additional abbreviations: CPEB = Nachlassverzeichnis Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs (Hamburg, 1790; rpt. in Bach-Jabrbuch 35-37 and New York, 1981); st. thom. = Music Collection of the St. Thomas School, Bach-Archiv, Leipzig; Kobayashi = Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriften-Sammlung" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1973).

It appears that J. S. Bach rarely gave away or loaned out original manuscripts, and the overall source situation for the vocal works – there are very few copies from before 1750 – appears to confirm this fact. As a result the body of original manuscripts divided up among the Bach heirs in 1750 played a critical role in transmitting Bach's vocal music to posterity. It thus is tempting to suppose that most works for which the autograph has disappeared and that are transmitted in late copies derive from lost portions of Bach's musical estate.

The late copies may stem from other, intermediary sources, however. Of these sources, Breitkopf's manuscript stock was possibly the most important. Despite the obvious defects in a system that depended on disinterested house copyists, musicians even as conscientious as Kirnberger made use of it. The library of Princess Amalia, which was formed under Kirnberger's direction, included several examples of Bach manuscripts ordered by mail from the Breitkopf catalogs. Of these AM B 43 and 44 are the most extensive and have been studied in detail by Alfred Dürr.¹ Dürr demonstrated that in all cases the musical text is very corrupt. Moreover, of the twenty-two cantatas in the two manuscripts, six are spurious. Both the carelessness of Breitkopf copyists and the ineptitude of filing clerks appear to have come into play. Dürr's explanation

<sup>1.</sup> Alfred Dürr, "Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 39 (1951–52): 30–46.

for the false attribution of Meine Seele rübmt und preist, BWV 189, is a brilliant illustration: apparently the wrapper from Widerstehe doch der Sünde, BWV 54, was carelessly transferred to the cantata Meine Seele rübmt und preist, by Melchior Hoffmann. Even without its wrapper BWV 54 remained recognizable as a work of Bach, for Bach's name appeared at the top of the first page of music. Nonetheless, the addition of BWV 54's wrapper to Hoffmann's piece caused the latter to be henceforth attributed to Bach. Indeed, it was included in the BG and later assigned a BWV number by Wolfgang Schmieder.

Despite the problems created by careless copyists and clerks, there is reason to believe that Breitkopf's Bach collection depended to some degree on original sources and thus is critically important to modern research. In a letter from Breitkopf & Härtel to Swiss publisher Georg Nägeli, dated 5 May 1803, it was reported that "most of our items by Sebastian Bach, written out by the composer or his sons, were purchased by our predecessors from Sebastian Bach's family at a rather high price." Similarly, letters from Kirnberger to Breitkopf written twenty-six years earlier mention Breitkopf's claim that its collection of 150 four-part chorales was purchased from the Bach heirs.

Is this tie to the Bach heirs somehow confirmed by the sources? From his study of AM B 43 and 44 Dürr concluded that "Breitkopf in no way could have gathered his house copies from the Bach sons. If the Breitkopf copies as a whole go back directly to original sources, then those sources must have been copied out before 1750. It is most likely that the Breitkopf collection . . . was assembled from a variety of sources." It is clear that Breitkopf did not acquire his manuscripts from the heirs who ended up with the lion's share of Sebastian Bach's musical estate, namely Anna Magdalena and the two oldest sons, Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel. Verifiable autographs owned by Breitkopf are few: the Mass in A Major, Bwv 234; the Mass in G Major, Bwv 236; and the Sanctus in D Major, Bwv 238. Among the remaining musical manuscripts from Bach's estate that demonstrably passed into the Breitkopf stock are Bach's own copies of works by other composers: the St. Luke Passion, Bwv 246; the Mass in C Major, Bwv Anh. 11 25; Francesco Durante's

<sup>2.</sup> Quoted in Detlef Gojowy, "Wie entstand Hans Georg Nägelis Bach-Sammlung?" Bach-Jahrbuch 56 (1970): 78.

<sup>3.</sup> See BDOK 3, nos. 822-24.

<sup>4.</sup> Dürr, "Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten," 44.

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Mass in C Minor, BWV ANH. II 26; the Mass in G Major, BWV ANH. III 167; and the *Missa tota* of Johann Baal. In addition, it is hard to imagine a source other than Bach's musical estate from which Breitkopf could have assembled such a comprehensive collection of Bach's original prints.

What Breitkopf managed to acquire, however, might best be described as leftover remnants - items that may have gone to a Bach daughter or even a student. Thus Breitkopf's claims for the pedigree of its Bach collection are not without some foundation. Nevertheless, because the greatest part of Bach's musical estate came into the possession of Anna Magdalena (who quickly sold her share to the Thomasschule),5 Friedemann, and Emanuel, Dürr's hypothesis that the Breitkopf collection was formed from miscellaneous copies seems to make sense. The deaths of Bach students, colleagues, and enthusiasts such as Johann Gottfried Walther (1748), Gottlob Harrer (1755), Johann Gottlieb Goldberg (1756), Christoph Friedrich Meissner (1760), Georg Christian Schemelli (1761), Christoph Nichelmann (1762), Johann Tobias Krebs (1762), and Johann Casper Vogler (1763) can be regarded as clear opportunities for the acquisitive Breitkopf to have obtained such copies.6 In fact, original works by nearly all these musicians appear in the Breitkopf catalogs. Breitkopf's copy of Wiederstehe doch der Sünde, BWV 54, in the hand of J. G. Walther (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11 4196) may be an indication of such an acquisition, although it is also possible that this manuscript was transmitted through Bach's estate.

Breitkopf's stock of Bach's instrumental works was not extensive. Meissner's copy of Book 1 of the Well-Tempered Clavier (The Hague, Gemeente Museum, 69 D 14) might have been acquired from Meissner's estate in 1760 or it, too, might have been part of Bach's estate. The Suite in G Minor for Lute, Bwv 995, has two sources associated with Breitkopf. The first exhibits the red catalog numbers characteristic of Breitkopf. The second (BRUBR, MS II 4085) is an autograph once owned by Fétis. It is probable that the autograph replaced the less authentic manuscript in Breitkopf's library at some point in the late eighteenth century. This illustrates yet another problem in dealing with the

<sup>5.</sup> BDOK 3, no. 635.

<sup>6.</sup> As Andreas Glöckner has shown in "Handschriftliche Musikalien aus den Nachlässen von Carl Gotthelf Gerlach und Gottlob Harrer in den Verlagsangeboten des Hauses Breitkopf," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 70 (1984): 107–16.

Breitkopf stock, its fluidity. As new manuscripts were acquired for the collection, old ones were sold. In this way a new, presumably more authentic text replaced an inferior one. Consequently it is quite possible that copies of the same work ordered from Breitkopf at different times are not, in fact, derived from the same source.

The Breitkopf firm's largest single cache of instrumental music by Bach was its collection of 114 organ chorales. Both the BG and the NBA overlooked this important source and thus missed its implications for the source tradition of the repertory. My reconstruction of the collection led to the uncovering of the Brussels Bach manuscripts listed in table 3, manuscripts that were not used in the BG or the NBA prior to 1974.<sup>7</sup>

There are plentiful remnants of the Breitkopf chorale collection:

- a listing in the nonthematic catalog of 1764;
- a manuscript thematic catalog of the entire collection, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11 3912;
- two manuscript fragments from the house copy: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale,
   MS II 3919 and Breitkopf Archives, Breitkopf MS 3;
- a complete professional copy: Gdansk, Stadtbibliothek, 4203/4;8
- several partial professional copies: sbb, P 1109 (owned by Christian Friedrich Penzel), P 1160 (owned by Johann Christoph Oley), and AMB 72a (owned by Johann Philipp Kirnberger).

The last-named source, the Kirnberger-owned copy AMB 72a, was given special weight in the BG, the BWV, and the NBA, which presumed that the manuscript was written during Kirnberger's years as a Bach student. In the BWV Schmieder even classified the works contained in AMB 72a as "Chorale Arrangements in Kirnberger's Collection." In fact, the manuscript is no more than a professional copy of the Breitkopf collection that Kirnberger ordered

- 7. See Ernest May, "Breitkopf's Role in the Transmission of J. S. Bach's Organ Chorales" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974), 63–117, and "Eine neue Quelle für J. S. Bachs einzeln überlieferte Orgelchoräle," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 60 (1974): 98–103.
- 8. This manuscript was lost in World War II, but it was described by Werner Wolffheim in "Bachiana," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 8 (1911): 46-49.
- 9. This classification remains in the revised edition of 1990; see BWV, pp. 576-80.

#### Connections between Breitkopf and J. S. Bach

# Table 4. Unidentifiable or Ambiguous Breitkopf Manuscript Offerings of Works Ascribed to Bach

1761, p.35, under the heading Die Orgel. / Praeludia: Bachs, J.S. Capellm. und Musikdirectors in Leipzig, II.Fan-/tasie, e I.Toccata per il Organo. a 1 thl.

1761, p.35, under the heading Die Orgel. / Praeludia zu Chorälen: Bachs, J.S. Capellm. und Musikdirectors in Leipzig, VII.Trio / für zwey Claviere und Pedal; mehrentheils über geistliche Lieder. a 3 thl.

1761, p.35, under the heading Die Orgel. / Variirte Choräle: Bachs, J.S. Capellm. und Musikdirektors in Leipzig, Variirte / Choräle für die Orgel und Pedal. a 1 thl. 8 gl.

1761, p. 36, under the heading Das Clavier. / Solos an Concerten, Parthien und Sonaten: Bach, J. S. Direttore della Mus. in Lips. II. Concerti di Sig. / Vivaldi, accommodat: al Cembalo. a 1 thl. 8 gl.

1762, p. 42, under the heading Viola d'amore: Aria, del Sgr. J. S. BACH, a Viol.d'Amore con Stromenti. / I. a Viola d'Amore, Violin.Conc. 2 Violin.Sopr.Viola et Basso (followed by the theme of Bwv 36/7 in A major).<sup>1</sup>

1764, p. 29, under the heading Choralbücher: Bachs, J. S. Vollständiges Choralbuch mit in Noten aufgesetzten / Generalbässe an 240 in Leipz gewöhnlichen Melodien. 10 thl.

1764, p. 29, under the heading Die Orgel. / Praeludia: (Bachs, Joh. Seb. . . . ) VIII Praeludia, Toccate, Fantasie und Fugen vor die Orgel. 3 thl.

1764, p.30, under the heading Orgel Trios: Bachs, J. S. IV. Trios vor 2 Claviere und Pedal. 1 thl. 8 gl.<sup>2</sup>

1770, under the heading Trios für das obligate Clavecimbel, mit einer Flöte, oder Violine: Bach, I. Sonta, a Cembalo obligato Violino. 20 gl.

by mail in 1777. There can be no doubt about this, for the order itself has been preserved.<sup>10</sup>

The rediscovery of the Brussels sources from which some of the pieces in the "Kirnberger Collection" were copied leads to further ambiguity, however, for the Brussels manuscripts are not autograph and not in the hand of a known

10. See BDOK 3, nos. 822-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See NBA I/1, KB, p.23. According to Dürr, the work is probably not BWV 36/7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "On the Identification of Breitkopf's Bach manuscripts," in the present volume. According to Kobayashi, the four trios are Bwv 583, 528/3, 525/1, and 529/2.

Bach student. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that they stem from Bach's musical estate. They probably come directly or indirectly from one of Bach's many organ students, but the identity of the scribes and credibility of the sources have yet to be established. Thus, the evaluation of the Breitkopf sources for this large collection of organ works must be similar to Dürr's characterization of the Breitkopf sources for the cantatas: they seem to be intermediate sources of varying quality. On the positive side, it is clear that a number of authentic organ chorales owe their preservation primarily to Breitkopf. Of course, there are also several misattributions stemming from the Breitkopf collection, which makes this section of the Bach repertory exceedingly problematic for scholars. Whether the uncertain ascriptions to Bach in the printed catalogs (table 4) represent any authentic lost pieces remains an open question.

Bach research is a branch of modern musicology that has applied itself with unusual devotion to the painstaking study of sources and source traditions. By examining the day-to-day methods and overall operations of the Breitkopf firm and the manuscripts it owned and produced, we will undoubtedly learn more about the general dissemination of music in the second half of the eighteenth century and about the transmission and reception of Bach's works in particular.

# Church Cantatas in the Breitkopf Catalogs

#### Andreas Glöckner

usic research is only beginning to determine where the Leipzig publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf acquired his original manuscripts and in what manner he obtained them. Because the business ledgers from the eighteenth century are inaccessible (possibly having been destroyed during World War II), one must rely on the thematic and nonthematic catalogs, as well as on the extant house manuscripts.

In building up a manuscript archive during his first years as head of the Breitkopf firm, Immanuel turned mainly to sources from the Leipzig area. This can be discerned most clearly from the church cantatas that the publisher announced in his first nonthematic catalog of manuscript music, issued for the St. Michael's Fair of 1761. Suggesting a Leipzig origin for the music, first of all, is the fact that the cantatas in the catalog are designated exclusively for Sundays on which concerted music was performed in Leipzig. Completely absent, for instance, are pieces composed for the tempus clausum (the second to fourth Sundays in Advent and the Sundays in Lent) – that is, for the period when figural works were not presented in Leipzig churches. A further aspect points even more decisively to Leipzig: the Breitkopf catalog of 1761 lists only feastday cantatas, as well as a selection of concerted pieces written for the periods following New Year's and Easter and the period around St. Michael's (the fifteenth to nineteenth Sundays after Trinity). These are precisely the weeks of the New Year's, Easter, and St. Michael's fairs in Leipzig. The cantatas must have stemmed from a church in which concerted music was especially esteemed during this period. According to the report of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel on

1. Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke . . . Leipzig, in der Michaelmesse 1761 (Leipzig, 1761), 10-25.

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Melchior Hoffmann for Johann Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*,<sup>2</sup> in Leipzig this applied only to the Neukirche, where an independent program of concerted music, separate from those of the Thomaskirche and Nikolaikirche, had been holding forth since 1699.

Consequently the church cantatas announced by Breitkopf in 1761, with the exception of Bach's compositions, presumably were drawn almost completely from the realm of the Leipzig Neukirche. For reasons that I will explore shortly, only a fraction of this material has survived. A thorough investigation of the extant sources reveals that the manuscripts were written mostly by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach, music director of the Neukirche from 1729 to 1761, and copyists working under his direction. This discovery confirms my conjecture concerning the provenance of Breitkopf's manuscripts. Because Gerlach died on 9 July 1761, unmarried and without Leipzig relatives, it is logical to assume that Breitkopf obtained his entire musical estate.

If Breitkopf initially acquired most of his music from the Leipzig area around 1760, he nevertheless quickly extended his business connections to other German cities. The catalog of 1761 provides important insights into the repertory that was valued at that time for church music. It is striking that next to compositions by Johann Friedrich Fasch, Carl Heinrich and Johann Gottlieb Graun, Johann Adolph Scheibe, Johann Friedrich Agricola, Johann Sebastian Bach, Gottfried August Homilius, and Johann Heinrich Rolle, we find works by Melchior Hoffmann, who had died in Leipzig long before, in 1715 (and whom Breitkopf initially mistook for Johann Georg Hoffmann in Breslau). Cantatas by Thomaskantor Johann Kuhnau were not listed, even though they had been obtained with the other pieces from Gerlach's estate. Obviously Breitkopf knew very well which music he could count on selling and which no longer held appeal. A comparison of his sales lists from 1761, 1764, and 1770 reveals a decisive shift of emphasis. Although the catalog from 1761 still contains well-known contemporary names such as Graun and Fasch, the catalog of 1770

<sup>2.</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ebren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740; rpt. Kassel: Barenreiter, 1969), 118.

<sup>3.</sup> See Andreas Glöckner, "Handschriftliche Musikalien aus den Nachlässen von Carl Gotthelf Gerlach und Gottlob Harrer in den Verlagsangeboten des Hauses Breitkopf 1761 bis 1769," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 70 (1984): 107–16.

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omits such offerings.4 Here the publisher announces mostly concerted music by insignificant Kleinmeister of the time. Representative names include Johann Heinrich Gössel, Martin Wirbach, Christoph Stolzenberg, Christian Gotthelf Scheinpflug, Christian Gotthilf Tag, and the names of kantors Geere in Geising and Wundsch in Blankenhain – composers whose works, from today's perspective, demonstrate the decline of Protestant church music at the end of the eighteenth century. Possibly the publisher wished to take into account the need for short, undemanding, and easily performable concerted pieces. It would be interesting to know how many copies of these compositions Breitkopf actually sold. Perhaps some idea can be gained from the number of sales copies that survive. The few Breitkopf sales copies of Bach's works show that interest in the Thomaskantor's music, at least, was limited at that time. The sale of handwritten music in general declined markedly only toward the end of the eighteenth century: in 1770 handwritten copies were still preferred over printed editions. In the foreword to the Easter Fair Catalog of 1770 Breitkopf lamented that musical amateurs "are not used to playing from engraved and printed editions, but often prefer to pay for more expensive handwritten copies." For Breitkopf, it obviously came to a full-scale sale of house manuscripts only in the last decade of the eighteenth century, probably in the years 1791 to 1795, when the firm found itself in dire financial straits – a situation that finally resulted in the sale of the entire undertaking to Gottfried Christoph Härtel on 22 August 1796.

One of the buyers of Breitkopf's house copies was Count Otto Karl Friedrich von Voß-Buch (1755–1823), who purchased almost exclusively manuscripts of cantatas based on Psalm texts and Latin-texted concerted works. The Berlin music collector apparently had less interest in cantatas based on madrigal poetry, the only exception being the cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach, which he obtained from a Berlin collection sometime after 1806. The count's attitude reflects the general prejudice of the time against madrigal cantata texts of the eighteenth century. It is also striking in this regard that manuscripts of Protestant church cantatas were no longer listed in Breitkopf's catalog of 1780.6

- 4. Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke . . . Leipzig, nach der Michaelmesse, 1770 (Leipzig, 1770), 8-17.
- 5. Verzeichniß Musicalischer Bücher . . . in der Oster-Messe 1770 (Leipzig, 1770), foreword.
- 6. Verzeichniß Musikalischer Werke . . . Leipzig, nach der Ostermesse, 1780 (Leipzig, 1780).

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Possibly the publisher already had disposed of most of them by this time, or they were, for want of a market, turned in part to pulp. At the great manuscript auction of 1 June 1836, only the remnant of the stock remained, and, significantly, the church cantatas by those *Kleinmeister* announced in 1770 (works by Wundsch, Scheinpflug, Stolzenberg, Wirbach, and Tag, for instance) were missing altogether. Obviously they were no longer part of the manuscript archive.

Around 1810 the firm, now named Breitkopf & Härtel, published its "Catalog of Church Music that can be obtained in accurate and clean copies, written on good paper, at Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig."7 Offered in the catalog, next to numerous Latin-texted concerted works, are Johann Sebastian Bach's cantatas Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben?, BWV 8; Widerstehe doch der Sünde, BWV 54; Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, BWV 80; In allen meinen Taten, BWV 97; Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut, BWV 117; O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht, BWV 118; and Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir, BWV 131. Two house manuscripts - the score copy of Cantata 54 and the original parts to Cantata 8 - were sold on 1 June 1836 to François-Joseph Fétis (1784-1871), as scholars have known for some time. The firm appears to have sold three other house manuscripts several years before. The original score of Cantata 97 was dispensed in 1820 to the London instrument builder Johann Andreas Stumpff, and the original score of Cantata 131 was purchased by the Viennese music collector Aloys Fuchs by 1840 at the latest. Breitkopf's house manuscript of Cantata 80, a copy of the score in the hand of Johann Christoph Altnickol that Härtel seems to have used as the basis for the firm's print of the work issued in 1821, later came into the possession of Friedrich Wilhelm Sörgel (d.1870) in Nordhausen. The Altnickol score may have been relinquished shortly after 1821, when the cantata appeared in print and the manuscript was no longer of use to Breitkopf. It is striking that the catalog of ca. 1810 contains no eighteenth-century church cantatas other than the previously mentioned Bach compositions. By the second decade of the nineteenth century such works held little significance for

<sup>7.</sup> Verzeichnis von Kirchenmusik, welche in richtigen und saubern Abschriften auf gutem Papier bey Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig zu haben sind (Leipzig, ca.1810). Presently located in the MBLPZ as a single leaf glued into the Handbuch der musikalischen Literature bis 1815 (Leipzig, 1817). See Hans-Joachim Schulze, Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 25.

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contemporary music making. Bach's pieces, by contrast, were beginning to enter into the public interest thanks to the *Bach-Bewegung*, which was gaining force little by little. Härtel seems to have taken this trend into account. Hans-Joachim Schulze has rightly theorized that the previously mentioned cantata manuscripts go back to Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, "as well as to the presumed portion of Bach's estate inherited by Anna Magdalena and her daughters," for one can trace direct connections from Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breit-kopf not only to Carl Philipp Emanuel and Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach but also to Wilhelm Friedemann. In this regard one can also see a tie with Bach's daughter Elisabeth Juliana Friderica Altnickol, who after 1761 received financial support from her brother Carl Philipp Emanuel through Immanuel Breitkopf. We can assume that a significant part of the musical estate of her husband, Johann Christoph Altnickol (d. 1759), came into Breitkopf's hands through this relationship.

After the death of Gottfried Christoph Härtel in the summer of 1827, Breitkopf & Härtel entered into a crisis-filled period during which the owners were even forced to consider selling the firm. In 1831 the publisher operated with a deficit of 7,040 talers, and Karl August von Hase later alluded to the time as "grim years under shaky management." A letter of 22 July 1834 from the firm to Leipzig organist and music historian Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–77) reports "unfavorable circumstances" and other difficulties. These circumstances undoubtedly lie behind Breitkopf & Härtel's manuscript auction of 1 June 1836, which was an attempt to stabilize the firm's unsteady finances. Obviously the manuscripts sold in 1836 and in later years were viewed by the firm as a kind of long-term capital fund that was touched only in emergency situations – as indeed even the auction planned with Stargardt in 1951 shows. The summer of 1827 and 1828 and 1829 and 1820 and 18

- 8. Schulze, Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung, 25.
- 9. Ibid., 22, esp. n. 47.
- 10. See Hermann von Hase, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Joh. Gottl. Im. Breitkopf," Bach-Jahrbuch 8 (1911): 90.
- 11. Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf & Härtel: Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht, vol. 2, 1828 bis 1918 (Leipzig, 1919), 3-4 and 12.
- 12. Staatsarchiv, Leipzig, Verlag Breitkopf & Härtel, no.121 (letter copy book), 333.
- 13. Hellmuth von Hase, *Breitkopf & Härtel: Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht*, vol. 3, 1918 bis 1968 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968), 117.

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On 1 June 1836 the original manuscripts were sold to "the highest bidders." Breitkopf & Härtel had to obtain as great a profit as possible.

Of the cantata manuscripts listed in the auction catalog of 1836, only a few can be found today in the libraries holding large Bach collections. A systematic search for these materials has only begun, however, and therefore it is possible that further discoveries may lie on the horizon. Unfortunately we know very few details about the auction itself. Curiously Oskar von Hase, in his book on Breitkopf & Härtel, is silent about the history of the auction, which surely must have been a momentous occasion for the firm. Among the buyers were Becker and, according to his own testimony, Fétis, whose collection went to the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels in 1872. A few manuscripts were obtained by Karl Otto Friedrich von Voß (1786–1864). Whether Voß himself took part in the auction or worked through an intermediary remains unclear. Further buyers have yet to be discovered.

It is relatively easy to survey Becker's acquisitions. Into his possession came cantatas by Johann Friedrich Fasch, Georg Friedrich Kauffmann, Johann Kuhnau, Johann Adolph Scheibe, Nicola Antonio Porpora, Alessandro Scarlatti, George Frideric Handel, and Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel. Most of these manuscripts have survived and are located today in the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig. Aside from a few works by Kuhnau, the sacred cantatas stem from the Neukirche in Leipzig, and from the period 1730 to 1750 in particular. The secular cantatas can be connected without difficulty to one of the two Leipzig collegia musica, especially since they are transmitted, in most cases, in manuscripts written by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach.

Fétis obtained two important Bach sources at the 1836 auction: a score of Widerstehe doch der Sünde, BWV 54, in the hand of Johann Gottfried Walther, and the original parts from the first version of Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben?, BWV 8. Both are located today in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. (Fétis acquired other Bach pieces as well.)

In addition to identifying the sources purchased by Becker and Fétis, we can pinpoint a few other cantata manuscripts listed in the 1836 auction catalog.<sup>15</sup> It is unclear, however, how they arrived at their present location. To this

<sup>14.</sup> Oskar von Hase, 1828 bis 1918, 3-4 and 12.

<sup>15.</sup> Verzeichniss geschriebener und gedruckter Musikalien aller Gattungen, welche am 1. Juni 1836 und folgenden Tagen . . . von Breitkopf & Härtel . . . an den Meistbietenden verkauft werden sollen (Leipzig, 1836).

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group belong the cantatas Dein Geist mein Leib und Seel regier, by Carl Heinrich Graun, found today in the sbb under the call number Mus. Ms 8182/6, and Wir bedauern Adams Fall, by Johann Heinrich Rolle, owned by a private collector in Babenhausen. Both manuscripts are in Gerlach's hand.

Since, as I have mentioned, only a small portion of the cantata manuscripts listed in the 1836 catalog can be located today, the fate of the remaining sources remains unresolved. Were they disposed of in full in 1836 – a dubious suggestion – or did the unsold manuscripts remain in the firm's archives, to be turned to pulp at a later date? The extent of the general historical interest in 1836 in cantata manuscripts from the eighteenth century is relevant in this regard. What value did such sources hold for the music collector? Was Becker a loner in his purchases? Unfortunately, no later catalog gives an encompassing report of the firm's manuscript stock. The 1925 catalog commissioned by Breitkopf & Härtel and edited by Wilhelm Hitzig <sup>16</sup> lists only 348 of the most valuable manuscripts, although the foreword mentions the existence of approximately 3,000 music autographs in the firm's archives. It is no longer possible to establish what was present among the autographs. Moreover, Hitzig gives no hint of the nature and number of copies that were also housed in the Breitkopf archives at that time.

It has not yet been possible to determine how much of the archive was actually destroyed in the bombing attacks on Leipzig on the night of 3 December 1943 and how much was saved through evacuation or other means. In his 1968 Gedenkschrift on the history of the Breitkopf firm,<sup>17</sup> Hellmuth von Hase makes no allusion to the matter. Since the resurfacing of Breitkopf materials in the year 1951, now located in the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, and the SBB, we know, at least, that significantly fewer sources were destroyed than at first appeared to have been.

It would be a worthwhile undertaking to determine in general outline, at least, the holdings of the former manuscript archive of Breitkopf & Härtel, to catalog the collection (however after the fact), and to carry further, in a sense, the work that Hitzig began in the 1920s but did not complete.

(translated by George B. Stauffer)

<sup>16.</sup> Katalog des Archivs von Breitkopf & Härtel Leipzig: Im Auftrag der Firma herausgegeben von Wilhelm Hitzig, vol.1, Musik-Autographe (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925).

<sup>17.</sup> Hellmuth von Hase, 1918 bis 1968, 117.

# J. S. Bach's Vocal Works in the Breitkopf Nonthematic Catalogs of 1761 to 1836

### Hans-Joachim Schulze

he issue of the House of Breitkopf's music manuscript trade was first raised in Bach research by Bernhard Friedrich Richter, who in an article in the 1906 Bach-Jahrbuch discussed the possibility of a connection between the offerings in the nonthematic catalogs of 1761 and the contents of the cantata compilations AMB 43 and 44. Since that time Alfred Dürr, Ernest May, Yoshitake Kobayashi, Andreas Glöckner, the authors of various Kritische Berichte of the NBA, and I have presented a wide range of hypotheses, questions, and observations – some narrowedly focused, some encompassing.¹ The present remarks provide an overview, an attempt to clarify issues and to provide additional insights on matters that must, alas, remain open.

<sup>1.</sup> See BDOK 3, nos.711 and 879 (including the references to the pertinent literature up to 1972); Alfred Dürr, "Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten," Bach-Jahrbuch 39 (1951–52): 30–46; Ernest D. May, "Breitkopf's Role in the Transmission of J. S. Bach's Organ Chorales" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974), esp.177–81; Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Breitkopfs Handel mit Bach-Handschriften," Beiträge zur Bachforschung 1 (1982): 79–84; Andreas Glöckner, "Handschriftliche Musikalien aus den Nächlässen von Carl Gotthelf Gerlach und Gottlob Harrer in den Verlagsangeboten des Hauses Breitkopf," Bach-Jahrbuch 70 (1984): 107–16; Hans-Joachim Schulze, Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 24–26 and elsewhere; and Schulze, "150 Stück von den Bachischen Erben': Zur Überlieferung der vierstimmigen Choräle Johann Sebastian Bachs," Bach-Jahrbuch 69 (1983): 81–100.

#### SCHULZE

# Vocal Works Ascribed to Johann Sebastian Bach in the Catalogs of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries<sup>2</sup>

1761

Two motets:

Der Geist hilft unser Schwachheit auf, BWV 226

Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied, BWV 225

Three Sanctus settings:

Sanctus in D Major, BWV 238

Sanctus in Bb Major, BWV ANH. II 28

Sanctus in F Major, BWV ANH. II 27

Six Masses:

Mass in C Minor, BWV ANH. II 26

Mass in A Major, BWV 234

Mass in C Major, BWV ANH. II 25

Mass in G Major, BWV 236

Mass in G Major, BWV ANH. III 167

Mass in E Minor, BWV ANH. III 166

Two solo church cantatas:

Widerstehe doch der Sünde, BWV 54

Meine Seele rühmt und preist, BWV 189 ("M. Hofmann")

Twenty-four plus three plus one church cantatas:

Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland, BWV 62

Sehet, welch eine Liebe hat uns der Vater erzeiget, BWV 64

Ich freue mich in dir, BWV 133

Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind, BWV 153

Mein liebster Jesus ist verloren, BWV 154

Meinen Jesum laß ich nicht, BWV 124

Gedenke, Herr, wie es uns gehet, BWV 217

Nimm, was dein ist, und gehe hin, BWV 144

Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn, BWV 92

Ich habe Lust zu scheiden, BWV ANH. III 157

Jesus nahm zu sich die Zwölfe, BWV 22

Alles, was von Gott geboren, BWV 80a

Herr Christ der ein'ge Gottes Sohn, BWV ANH. III 156

<sup>2.</sup> According to BDOK 3, no.711.

#### Bach's Vocal Works in the Nonthematic Catalogs of 1761 to 1836

Erschallet, ihr Lieder, BWV 172
Gott der Hoffnung erfülle euch, BWV 218
Gott segnet noch die treue Schar, BWV 76, part 2
Lobt ihn mit Herz und Munde, BWV 220
Siehe zu, daß deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei, BWV 179
O Wunderkraft der Liebe, BWV 96
Wo soll ich fliehen hin, BWV 5
Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ, BWV 116
Es reißet euch ein schrecklich Ende, BWV 90
Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes, BWV 76, part 1
Das ist je gewißlich wahr, BWV 141 (anonymous)

Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, BWV 106 Mein Gott, nimm die gerechte Seele, BWV ANH. I 17 (anonymous) Schlage doch gewünschte Stunde, BWV 53 (anonymous)

Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele, BWV 180

One Passion:

Lukaspassion, BWV 246

Two secular cantatas plus one aria:

Schwingt freudig euch empor, BWV 36c Siehe, der Hüter Israel, BWV ANH. I 15

"Auch mit gedämpften schwachen Stimmen," BWV 36c/7 1764

Three motets:

Fürchte dich nicht, ich bin bei dir, BWV 228

Komm, Fesu, komm, BWV 229

Jesu, meine Freude, BWV 227

One chorale collection:

150 chorales drawn from BWV 2-BWV 436

Two oratorios:

Christmas Oratorio, BWV 248

Lobet Gott in seinen Reichen (Ascension Oratorio), BWV 11

One secular cantata (with Italian text):

Amore traditore, BWV 203

1770

Three church cantatas:

Am Abend aber desselbigen Sabbats, BWV 42 Gesegnet ist die Zuversicht, BWV ANH. I 1 Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut, BWV 199

The Latin works (the three Sanctus settings and six Masses) emerge again in a special supplement of 1769, in a special supplement of ca.1812 (on the dating, see the section on offerings after 1800), and in the catalog of 1836. Of the other compositions, only the two solo church cantatas reappear, in the ca.1812 supplement and the 1836 catalog. On the other hand, the ca.1812 supplement adds seven church cantatas and a motet to the Breitkopf inventory.<sup>3</sup>

#### Seven church cantatas:

Wer sucht die Pracht, wer wünscht den Glanz, BWV 221
Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir, BWV 131
O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht, BWV 118
Liebster Gott, wenn werd ich sterben, BWV 8 (in E major)
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, BWV 80
In allen meinen Taten, BWV 97
Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut, BWV 117

#### One motet:

Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden, BWV 230

### The House Manuscripts: Provenance and Present Location

1761

Two motets:

BWV 225, J. S. Bach's original parts. Obtained by Georg Poelchau before 1832 and then by SBB in 1841 (ST 122).

Three Sanctus settings:

Material from the Neukirche in Leipzig. BWV 238. Score presently owned by Archiv Breitkopf & Härtel,

3. Schulze, Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung, 25; and Schulze, "'O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht': On the Transmission of a Bach Source and the Riddle of its Origin," in A Bach Tribute: Essays in Honor of William H. Scheide, ed. Paul Brainard and Ray Robinson, 209-20 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, and Chapel Hill, N.C.: Hinshaw Music, 1993).

#### Bach's Vocal Works in the Nonthematic Catalogs of 1761 to 1836

Wiesbaden. Parts obtained by François-Joseph Fétis in 1836; now owned by Bibliothèque Royale Albert I<sup>er</sup>, Brussels.<sup>4</sup>

BWV ANH. II 28. Copied in 1832 by Franz Hauser.<sup>5</sup> Obtained by Fétis in 1836; now owned by Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.<sup>6</sup>

#### Six Mass settings:

Original scores, in Bach's hand. Located in the Breitkopf & Härtel Archiv in Leipzig until 1945; now in Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt, and the Stadtarchiv, Leipzig. BWV ANH. III 166. Bach's original parts, also in Stadtarchiv, Leipzig. BWV 234. Bach's original parts. Obtained first by Johann Philipp Kirnberger before 1783, then by George Poelchau (after 1832?), and then by Schede between 1836 and 1841 (through Poelchau's daughter). Obtained by SBB in 1880 (ST 400).

The original parts to some of the remaining Mass settings owned by Breitkopf are lost.

#### Two solo church cantatas:

BWV 54. A manuscript copy of the score, made by Johann Tobias Krebs Sr. and Johann Gottfried Walther.<sup>8</sup> Obtained by Fétis in 1836; now owned by Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

BWV 189. Lost. This was presumably material from the Neukirche in Leipzig. Probably a composition by Melchior Hoffmann.

- 4. Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Bach-Quellen an Hand schriftkundlicher Untersuchungen," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978): 50; Andreas Glöckner, "Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender zwischen 1729 and 1735," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 67 (1981): 65, 69, and 75; Glöckner, "Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs," *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 8 (1990): 106; and NBA II/2, KB, pp.190-93.
- 5. Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1973), 391; Glöckner, "Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender," 68 and 73; and Glöckner, "Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche," 104–5.
- 6. Kobayashi, "Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Bach-Quellen," 46–50; Glöckner, "Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche," 117.
- 7. NBA II/2, KB, p.37-42.
- 8. NBA I/18, KB, p.9. Additional comments on the handwriting and dating in BC 1, p.228.
- 9. Alfred Dürr, "Zur Echtheit der Kantate 'Meine Seele rühmt und preist' (Bwv 189)," Bach-Jahrbuch 43 (1956): 155; Glöckner, "Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche," 117.

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Twenty-four plus three plus one church cantatas:

Lost.

One Passion:

A copy of the score, taken from the anonymous autograph then owned by Johann Friedrich Doles (?). Assigned to J. S. Bach through Breitkopf's title inscription. Obtained by Count Voß (before 1806?) and then by SBB in 1851 (P 30).<sup>10</sup>

Three secular cantatas:

Lost, with the exception of BWV 36c (SBB, P 1024).

1764 and 1770

All lost, except

One chorale collection:

150 Choräle. Copy by Johann Ludwig Dietel, ca.1735 (material from the Neukirche, Leipzig?). Contents assigned to J. S. Bach through Breitkopf's title inscription. Obtained by Count Voß (after 1787?), then by the Rudorff family, and then by Musikbibliothek Peters, Leipzig, in 1917. Presently owned by MBLPZ. 11

One secular cantata (with Italian text):

BWV 203. This was probably still available to Franz Hauser and Aloys Fuchs in 1838.<sup>12</sup>

after 1800

BWV 221. Lost.

BWV 230. "J. S. Bach's Original-Handschrift." Used for the text of the printed edition of 1821. Lost.<sup>13</sup>

BWV 131. Original score in Bach's hand. Obtained by Fuchs in 1840. Presently in a private collection in New York.<sup>14</sup>

Bwv 118. Two original scores, both in Bach's hand. Owned by Archiv Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, until 1945; now in private collections in

- 10. Schulze, Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung, 94-95, on information provided by Andreas Glöckner.
- 11. Schulze, "'150 Stück von den Bachischen Erben.'"
- 12. BC 1, pp.1570 and 1624.
- 13. NBA III/1, KB, p.177; BC 1, pp. 962, 966, and 1142.
- 14. BC 1, p. 910.

Bach's Vocal Works in the Nonthematic Catalogs of 1761 to 1836

Switzerland and Princeton, N.J.15

BWV 117. Original score, in Bach's hand. Owned by Archiv Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, until 1945 and then purchased by a private collector. Now in SBB (N. MUS. MS 34).<sup>16</sup>

Bwv 97. Original score, in Bach's hand. Obtained by J. A. Stumpff and then by other private collectors. Now owned by New York Public Library.<sup>17</sup> Bwv 8 (E-major version). Bach's original parts. Obtained by Fétis in 1836 and now housed in Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.<sup>18</sup>

BWV 80. Copy of the score made by Johann Christoph Altnickol. Used for the printed edition of 1821, edited by Friedrich Schneider. Obtained by Friedrich Wilhelm Sörgel, Nordhausen, and then by SBB in 1868 (P 177).<sup>19</sup>

#### The Sale Copies

Aside from isolated exceptions, the extant sale copies are found in the Amalien-Bibliothek. The majority display an oblong quarto format.<sup>20</sup>

1761

Two motets:

AMB 25 and 26. Oddly enough, the Berlin copy of AMB 27 (which has an upright format) is bound with a Breitkopf wrapper that previously must have belonged to Bach's original parts ST 122 and, in any case, most probably went with the Leipzig copy AMB 25.<sup>21</sup>

Three Sanctus settings:

BWV 238. AMB 5.

BWV ANH. II 28 and II 27. For ANH. II 28 (for which Bach's authorship is

- 15. NBA III/1, KB, pp.181-90; Gerhard Herz, Bach Sources in America (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 79-81; and Schulze, "'O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht.'"
- 16. NBA 1/34, KB, p. 66; BC 1, p. 788-89.
- 17. Herz, Bach Sources in America, 69-73; NBA 1/34, KB, p.76; BC 1, p.790.
- 18. NBA I/23, KB, p. 58-62.
- 19. NBA I/31, KB, p.53; BC 1, p.777.
- 20. Schulze, Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung, 130.
- 21. This conjecture, posed in BDOK 3 (p.170), was corrected by Yoshitake Kobayashi in "Breit-kopfs Handel mit Bach-Handschriften," *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 1 (1982): 82.

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questionable) and ANH. II 27 (which is not by Bach) there are no Breitkopf copies from the eighteenth century.

Twenty-four plus three plus one church cantatas:

AM B 43 and 44.

Not preserved are BWV 144, ANH. III 157 (here, however, see the Breitkopf parts owned by the Stadtbibliothek, Gdansk),<sup>22</sup> 80a, 76 (part 2), 90, ANH. I 17.

1764, 1770

One chorale collection:

150 Chorales. AMB 48.23

after 1800

all eight German-texted works (seven cantatas, one motet). Obtained by the Institut für Kirchenmusik, Breslau.<sup>24</sup> Now owned by the Universitäts-bibliothek, Warsaw.

In contrast to the catalog of 1761 (where they are listed anonymously), the Breitkopf sale manuscripts erroneously ascribe BWV 141 and 53 to J. S. Bach. BWV ANH. III 157,<sup>25</sup> 218, and 220 and ANH. III 156<sup>26</sup> are erroneously ascribed in both copy and catalog.

The repertory in the compilations AMB 43 and 44 leads to the suspicion that the commissioner in Berlin – probably Johann Philipp Kirnberger – made a discerning preliminary choice: BWV 144 was not ordered (since it was obvi-

- 22. Kobayashi, in "Breitkopfs Handel," 83, classifies the parts (whose copyist is unidentified) as a house manuscript.
- 23. Schulze, "'150 Stück von dan Bachischen Erben.'"
- 24. Kobayashi, "Breitkopfs Handel," 80. To judge from Johann Theodor Mosewius's remarks in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1844, col. 593), the Breslau manuscript resided in the Bibliothek des Königlichen Academischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik as early as 1844 and may have been obtained earlier, around 1820.
- 25. Werner Wolffheim, "Mein Herze schwimmt in Blut," Bach-Jabrbuch 8 (1911): 43-46; Dürr, "Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten," 40-41; Tadeusz Maciejewski, "Zur Kantate 'Ich habe Lust zu scheiden,' BWV ANH. 157," Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum III. Internationalen Bach-Fest der DDR, LEIPZIG 18.-19. SEPTEMBER 1975 (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977), 69-70.
- 26. Alfred Dürr, "Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten," 42.

ously already on hand).<sup>27</sup> BWV ANH. III 157 and ANH. I 17 were also omitted (perhaps because of doubts about their authenticity). In the case of BWV 76, part 11, the work inadvertently may not have been ordered (because part 1 was also in the advertisement), or Breitkopf's copyists may have failed to realize the orderer's desire to have both parts of the cantata. Bwv 90 or 80a may have been lost (AMB 43 names twelve cantatas in its title but contains only eleven). The manuscripts were most probably written out only after 1766 (from one of the principal scribes stem copies of motets by Gottfried August Homilius, which are dated 1755 to 1766 in other sources).28 Subsequently no further Breitkopf copies were ordered for the Amalien-Bibliothek. It may be that there was no more interest, that no more funds stood available for this purpose (an exception may have been the chorale manuscript AMB 48, which evidently belongs to the period when a "complete works" edition of Bach's four-part chorales was being prepared),<sup>29</sup> or that the considerably faulty nature of sections of the manuscripts was recognized. Recent research suggests that the unreliability of certain copies in AMB 43 and 44 stems not from the Breitkopf copyists but rather from lost models that were imperfect.<sup>30</sup>

The Bach church cantatas mentioned in the Breitkopf catalogs from 1761 to 1770, as far as they have survived and can be dated, stem entirely from the period of February 1723 to January 1725. Bach's later cantatas are not represented.<sup>31</sup> The Telemann works (here mistakenly assigned to Bach) can also be assigned to the same time frame or earlier, at least according to their origin. The readings of the Breitkopf copies reveal that at least some of the lost models must have originated before 1750 or even 1740, for in part they go back to original scores, original parts (and here partly *ante revisionem*), or both. In other words, they go back to materials that would have been divided up with the dis-

<sup>27.</sup> In the manuscript copy AMB 595; see NBA I/7, KB, pp. 8-9.

<sup>28.</sup> Hans John, Der Dresdner Kreuzkantor und Bach-Schüler Gottfried August Homilius (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1980), 235-37. The sources of the Amalien-Bibliothek copies are not mentioned.

<sup>29.</sup> See Schulze, "'150 Stück von den Bachischen Erben,'" and BDOK 3, nos.711, 824, and 879.

<sup>30.</sup> See, for instance, NBA 1/7, KB, pp. 69-70.

<sup>31.</sup> See Alfred Dürr, "Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 43 (1957): 5–162.

tribution of Bach's estate in 1750. The unreliability of the readings points less to a practicing musician than to a (young?) Bach enthusiast, as was Christian Friedrich Penzel shortly after 1750.<sup>32</sup> The unknown person may have started his collection before 1730, perhaps even as early as 1725.<sup>33</sup> In light of the cantatas' positions within the church year, it is not likely that the collector would have come from the Neukirche circle in Leipzig.<sup>34</sup> More probably he was an older student or alumnus of the Thomasschule<sup>35</sup> or someone studying in Leipzig. One such figure, oddly enough, was Bach's successor as Thomaskantor, Gottlob Harrer, who was a student in Leipzig from 1722 to April 1725, almost precisely the time in question (1723 to January 1725).<sup>36</sup> It is not insignificant, perhaps, that Harrer's collection came into Breitkopf's possession after 1755.

#### Breitkopf's Offerings after 1800

#### IN PRINTED FORM

The previously mentioned special supplement that contains – of Bach's vocal works – the Latin pieces advertised in 1761 and 1769, as well as the eight German-texted pieces, finds its counterpart, in terms of repertory, in a printed catalog of 1812 from the publisher Carl Zulehner in Mainz.<sup>37</sup> Zulehmer's catalog contains not only the manuscript pieces but also the motets printed by Breitkopf in 1802–3, as well as the Eb-Major Magnificat issued in 1811. Selected details, such as the E-major tonality with Bwv 8, are missing in Zulehner's catalog, so that Breitkopf's offer must be the model for Zulehner and not the

- 32. On Penzel's activities assembler of manuscripts, see NBA I/21, KB, pp.52-54; Schulze, Studien zur Bach Überlieferung, 93-96; and Karen Lehmann, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Bach-Sammlung Franz Hausers: Dokumente zum Überlieferungskreis C. F. Penzel-J. G. Schuster aus dem Zeitraum 1801-1833," Beiträge zur Bachforschung 6 (1988): 65-81.
- 33. See the discussion of the readings drawn in the critical reports of the NBA-NBA 1/27, KB, pp.90-91, for instance.
- 34. Glöckner, "Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche," 70-71.
- 35. See, for instance, the observations on Johann Christian Köpping in NBA I/31, KB, pp. 125-27.
- 36. Arnold Schering, "Der Thomaskantor Joh. Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755)," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 28 (1931): 118.
- 37. SBB, AB 1461 MUS.: Fortsetzung der geschriebenen Opern und Kirchen-Musik welche bei Karl Zulehner in Mainz zu haben sind (Wiesbaden, 1812). Zulehner widened the Breitkopf offerings by printed editions. Omitted are BWV 97 and 117 and ANH. III 166.

other way around. Breitkopf's supplement, which up to this time has been dated "before 1829" or "before 1820," therefore needs to be moved to before 1812. The year 1809 may be proposed as terminus post quem, for the supplement includes a composition by Luigi Cherubini that was intended as a memorial tribute to Joseph Haydn, who died on 31 May 1809. Although Cherubini's piece was completed several years earlier, in 1805, as a result of a rumor of Haydn's demise,<sup>38</sup> we can nevertheless assume that Breitkopf offered it for sale only after Haydn actually died. The Breitkopf supplement can thus be placed between 1809 and 1812.

Still at issue is the question of the original manuscripts of the eight Germantexted cantatas. A score of BWV 118 contains, as was recently demonstrated, marks that are characteristic of those made by Breitkopf in the copying process.<sup>39</sup> Therefore these works, too, may have been in Breitkopf's stock in the eighteenth century even though they were not worked on at the time and listed in the catalog from 1761 and later. The score of BWV 80 may stem from the estate of Bach's son-in-law Johann Christoph Altnickol (d.1759) and may have reached the Breitkopf firm through Altnickol's widow (d.1781) or another family member.<sup>40</sup>

#### IN HANDWRITTEN FORM

An undated, handwritten Breitkopf catalog can be assigned to the period 1821 or later (possibly not before 1823) on the basis of an organ work advertised therein that appeared in December 1821.<sup>41</sup> With regard to vocal works, the catalog contains, under numbers 159 to 175, the repertory of the supplement of ca.1812, plus the motet BWV ANH. III 162. Next to BWV ANH. III 167, 230, and 80 and ANH. III 162 appears the comment "gestochen," which alludes to the Breitkopf prints issued in 1805, 1819, and 1821.

<sup>38.</sup> Cornelia Schröder, "Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Werke Luigi Cherubinis unter Kennzeichnung der in der Musikabteilung der Berliner Staatsbibliothek erhaltenen Handschriften," Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (1961), no. 2, 41.

<sup>39.</sup> Herz, Bach Sources in America, 79-81.

<sup>40.</sup> See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Zur Teilung des Bachschen Erbes," in Acht kleine Präludien und Studien über BACH: Georg von Dadelsen gewidmet, 67–75 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1992).

<sup>41.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS THEOR. K 423. See NBA IV/5-6, KB, pp. 214-17, and NBA I/32, KB, p. 66.

#### On the Masses BWV ANH. III 167, ANH. III 166, and ANH. II 26

The Mass in G Major, BWV ANH. III 167, was edited in 1805 by Breitkopf & Härtel from Bach's autograph, 42 apparently by Johann Gottfried Schicht, who later became Thomaskantor. Although the extant autograph (SBB, P 659) shows none of the usual signs of Breitkopf ownership (characteristic cover, calculations, numbering, etc.), the context of the 1805 print points to the Breitkopf collection. Speaking for this, too, is the fact that around 1860, as preparations began for the Latin church music volume of the Bach-Gesamtausgabe, a search was made in the rooms of the Breitkopf firm for the original manuscript - a search that proved to be unsuccessful.<sup>43</sup> In 1832 the autograph surfaced in the auction catalog for the Schicht Collection,44 and the buyer was a certain Mr. Strauch. In any case, the manuscript was then owned by Schicht's student Carl Gottlieb Reißiger, whose widow later presented it to Thomaskantor Moritz Hauptmann. From Hauptmann it went to the SBB. 45 The question is when and how Schicht could have come into possession of the manuscript. This does not seem to have taken place in 1805, when the print made the manuscript dispensable, for the supplement of ca.1812 offers copies of it. That Schicht's manuscripts were held at least temporarily by Breitkopf can be assumed from an 1830 letter from Felix Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn visited the firm, not least because of the old manuscripts housed there, and received a cantata and an organ work as a gift. He was then shown the autograph, from Schicht's estate, of the Passion according to St. Luke, BWV 246, in an unsuccessful effort to convince him of the work's authenticity.46

The Breitkopf source transmits the G-Major Mass anonymously. Two copies from the Amalien-Bibliothek, which may go back to performance parts or to another source, name J. S. Bach as the author.<sup>47</sup> According to a note made

<sup>42.</sup> Peter Krause, Originalausgaben und ältere Drucke der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs in der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1970), 56.

<sup>43.</sup> BG 11, no.1, pp. xvii-xviii (Wilhelm Rust, May 1862).

<sup>44.</sup> Versteigerungs-Katalog der von dem verstorbenen Herrn J. G. Schicht, Cantor an der Thomasschule zu Leipzig hinterlassenen Musikaliensammlung . . . (Leipzig, 1832).

<sup>45.</sup> BG 41, p.xxxix (Alfred Dörffel, 1894).

<sup>46.</sup> Susanna Großmann-Vendrey, Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy und die Musik der Vergangenheit (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1969), 40.

<sup>47.</sup> AMB 4 and 4a; see BDOK 3, no. 879.

by Kirnberger, the transposed oboes should be oboes d'amore. If they belonged to the original instrumentation, the work must have originated in 1717 or later. The handwriting in Bach's copy of the score provides dating that can serve as a *terminus ad quem*: ca.1738 (Bach's handwriting, from p.13 on) and ca.1732-35 (copyist's hand, pp.1-13).

The provenance of the Mass in E Minor, BWV ANH. III 166, too, casts a peculiar light on the relationship of J. G. Schicht to the House of Breitkopf. Although the firm possessed the oldest score, as well as Bach's performance parts, Schicht wrote out the Mass from a copy of 1734 (now SBB, P 405). The writer of P 405 could not decipher the name inscribed at the end of the manuscript and consequently wrote on the copy "N: Bach," meaning "nomen nescio." Schicht expanded this "N: Bach" in his copy of 1815 (formerly at the Universitätsbibliothek, Königsberg) to "Johann Nicolaus Bach" – an understandable presumption, but wrong.<sup>48</sup> Already in the nineteenth century Wilhelm Rust, pointing to the accompanying remark "Meiningen 1716," proposed that the problematic inscription at the end of the score might have signified Johann Ludwig Bach.<sup>49</sup> More recently Christoph Wolff strengthened this hypothesis with the observation that the paper of the score is of Meiningen provenance, for it displays a watermark with the name C ZEIS and the year 1714.50 A Meiningen documentary record from 1725 contains a similar watermark, which raises another date. Moreover, the signature of Johann Ludwig Bach on the document is in exactly the same form as that on the Breitkopf score of the E-Minor Mass.<sup>51</sup> We can accept as certain, then, that the signature at end of the score really means Johann Ludwig Bach. Because he did not add the remark "scripsit," we must assume, for want of evidence to the contrary, that he is the author of the Mass. The fact that the score of the Mass probably was derived from performance parts 52 does not negate this finding, for it

<sup>48.</sup> NBA 11/2, KB, pp. 208-9.

<sup>49.</sup> BG 11, no.1, p. xvi (Wilhelm Rust, May 1862).

<sup>50.</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Der Stile antico in der Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1968), 161.

<sup>51.</sup> Staatsarchiv Meiningen, GA XVII.D.1; see Herta Müller, "Wodurch der Meininger Johann Ludwig Bach seine Unsterblichkeit erlangte – ein Beitrag zum Bach-Jahr 1985," *Almanach für Kunst und Kultur im Bezirk Suhl* 5 (1985): 49-53.

<sup>52.</sup> NBA II/2, KB, p. 208.

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would not be the first time such a procedure took place: even J. S. Bach could not help copying his own parts as he contemplated transforming his Concerto in A Minor for Violin, Bwv 1041, into a harpsichord concerto (the Concerto in G Minor, Bwv 1058).<sup>53</sup> The case for Johann Ludwig Bach seems to be closed with a final piece of evidence: the written text of the Meinigen score matches fully the written documents of Johann Ludwig Bach in the Meiningen archives.

In Bach research from Wilhelm Rust to Wolfgang Schmieder the name Johann Ludwig Bach served – as far as hypotheses were concerned – as a sort of safety net for delicate questions of authorship for Latin church music transmitted anonymously by Breitkopf.<sup>54</sup> Curiously, in numerous instances Johann Sebastian Bach himself withheld the names of the composers; in other instances (Baal, Bassani, Caldara) he gave them.<sup>55</sup> The Mass in A Minor by Johann Christoph Pez and the Sanctus in E Major by Johann Caspar Kerll have been identified by means of concordances rather than through manuscript transmission.<sup>56</sup> We cannot say why Bach proceeded in such a manner. Might it have had something to do with his own reworking, rescoring, or rearranging of the originals?<sup>57</sup> It would be logical to think so, yet he rearranged the Bassani Masses, for which the author is given. In addition, one cannot blame the missing attributions to the loss of folders with titles, for in some cases they are present.

The Mass in C Minor, BWV ANH. II 26, also belonged, up to now, to the group of "nameless" Breitkopf sources. As has been known for some time, the Christe eleison in the work is a composition of J. S. Bach (BWV 242). Indeed, the addition of trombones to the vocal parts, as well as alterations in the move-

- 53. J. S. Bach, Violinkonzert a-Moll BWV 1041, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), Revisionsbericht; NBA VII/3, KB, p.17.
- 54. BG 11, no.1, Vorwort (Wilhelm Rust, May 1862); BG 41, Vorwort (Alfred Dörffel, 1894); Wolfgang Schmieder, *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis* (rev. ed., Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990).
- 55. See Christoph Wolff, Der Stile antico, chart on 161-62.
- 56. Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Zur Identifizierung der anonymen Missa BWV ANH. 24," Musikforschung 14 (1961): 328–29; Hans Theodor David, "A Lesser Secret of J. S. Bach Uncovered," Journal of the American Musicological Society 14 (1961): 199–223.
- 57. On this issue, see Kirsten Beißwenger, "Bachs Vorgehen beim Abschreiben fremder Werke," chap. 5 of her *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek*, 113–215 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992).

ment sequence, is an incursion on Bach's part, as can be demonstrated from a recently established concordance that shows the author of the Mass to be not Johann Ludwig Bach from Meiningen but rather Francesco Durante (1684–1755) from Naples.<sup>58</sup>

#### Summary: On Breitkopf's Ownership of Bach Sources

As the preceding discussion shows, it is possible to establish the provenance and present location of a relatively large number of Breitkopf house manuscripts. Although Gottfried Christoph Härtel declared in 1803 that most of the Bachiana had been purchased earlier for a rather large sum from the Bach heirs,<sup>59</sup> one must view his remark with a certain amount of caution. It seems to apply, at least, to the group of six Masses and in some respects also to the repertory offered after 1800, as well as to several motets and copies of works by other composers (Baal, Conti, etc.). By contrast, the approximately thirty church cantatas seem to stem from another, less reliable tradition, and as a result they cannot be valued in the same fashion as the other manuscripts. If the Breitkopf firm was too trusting or hasty in attaching the name J. S. Bach to house or sale manuscripts (BWV 246, ANH. II 25, ANH. II 26, ANH. III 166, ANH. III 167, ANH. III 156, BWV 53, 141, 218, 221, 220), it can perhaps be attributed to the desire to amortize, at least in part, its expenditures.

Numerous house manuscripts of the vocal works must have been given away by Breitkopf before 1812, and the question is whether the path discerned for BWV 234 (ST 400) or BWV 225 (ST 122) — Kirnberger to Poelchau to the Berlin Staatsbibliothek — also obtains for other sources (BWV 226, ST 121, for instance) or whether other avenues should be explored. For current research, the illumination of the seventy-five-year span from 1761 to 1836 in terms of source transmission, authenticity, and influence remains a strong challenge.

(translated by George B. Stauffer)

<sup>58.</sup> Jiří Štefan, Ecclesia Metropolitana Pragensis: Catalogus Collectionis Operum Artis Musicae, (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1983), 1:281-83. The collection deposited in the archives of the Prague Castle contains two copies of the Mass under the name Durante and a further copy under the name (Guiseppe) Vignati (Catalogus Collectionis, 2:254). See BC 4, pp.1218-1219.

<sup>59.</sup> BDOK 3, nos. 711, 824, and 879.

# PART TWO

The Breitkopfs' Dealings with Members of the Bach and Mozart Families

# Breitkopf Attributions and Research on the Bach Family

# Yoshitake Kobayashi

he question of authenticity of numerous works has always played a significant role in the history of Bach research. Indeed, wrestling with this problem probably will intensify in the future, for the Neue Bach-Ausgabe, which since 1954 has completed approximately four-fifths of its task, must eventually consider the edition of works of questionable authenticity — works that previously have been omitted from the Bach corpus for various reasons. The chief methods for evaluating authenticity are style criticism and source work. The methodology of style criticism is still not in a position to render secure judgments. In source work the successes thus far can be credited mainly to good fortune, for it has not always been possible to carry out a systematic search for the true composer of a particular piece among sources dispersed over the world. The realization of this idea — of being able to survey all the sources for a work without great difficulty — has entered the realm of possibility only with the progress of the RISM project.<sup>2</sup>

Without waiting for this "Zukunftsmusik," we can seek to clarify matters of authorship by turning to a relatively specialized area of source work and bringing a systematic approach to it – that is, by looking at the thematic catalogs of the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century and weighing their importance. Whereas the nonthematic catalogs often do not allow the positive identification of a work, the thematic catalogs can be of

<sup>1.</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen, and the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1954–).

<sup>2.</sup> Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (Kassel and Munich: Société Internationale de Musicologie and the Association Internationale des Bibliothèques Musicales, 1960-).

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considerable help. For clarifying the authorship of works attributed to Bach and members of his family, the catalogs that are most fruitful for the previously mentioned time period are those of the Breitkopf firm.<sup>3</sup> The following is an attempt to use Breitkopf's ascriptions to identify works that have been associated with the Bach family in one way or another and also to correct instances in which Breitkopf's ascriptions are incorrect. Definitive conclusions can be drawn only when a reliable, signed source exists for a particular work. When such a source is lacking, the likelihood of a Breitkopf ascription can be weighed to some extent through style-critical analysis.

#### Works Listed in the Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis<sup>4</sup>

Cantata Amore traditore, BWV 203.

This work is found in Breitkopf's thematic catalog of 1765 (p. 29; Brook, col.191) under the family name "BACH." No first name is given. It also appears in the nonthematic catalog of 1764 (p. 32) under the designation "Bach, G. S." Franz Hauser, who toward the beginning of the 1830s still had access to Breitkopf's house copy of this work, described it succinctly in his thematic catalog of Bach's works: "To be found in an old book of music at Br. and H. which also contained cantatas by Heinichen, Conti, Telemann, Linicke." The house copy is no longer extant, and the surviving copies of the work do not answer the question of authorship. An encompassing stylistic analysis remains to be undertaken.

- 3. See the facsimile edition, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue: The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements*, 1762–1787, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Dover, 1966). Hereinafter identified as Brook.
- 4. Wolfgang Schmieder, Thematische-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis, rev. ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990).
- 5. The term house copy is used here to designate manuscripts that Breitkopf obtained in one manner or another and retained for its own use. Such manuscripts were used to produce sale copies on request. See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Breitkopfs Handel mit Bach-Handschriften," Beiträge zur Bachforschung 1 (1982): 79-85.
- 6. Manuscript catalog of the Hauser Collection, sвв, миз. мs тнеов. к. 419; reprinted in Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1973), 165.

#### Breitkopf Attributions and Research on the Bach Family

Fugue in E Minor for Clavier, BWV 962, from Johann Georg Albrechtsberger's Twelve Fugues, op. 1.7

The incipit of the E-Minor Fugue is not to be found in the Breitkopf catalogs, although the first of the twelve fugues appears in the supplement of 1781 (p.36; Brook, col.736). The Berlin print named there is possibly identical with Hummel's edition, printed in Berlin and Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup> On the evidence of the print, Albrechtsberger's authorship can be taken as certain.

Sonata in G Minor for Violin or Transverse Flute and Clavier, BWV 1020,
Possibly by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Wotquenne-Verzeichnis deest).

The incipit is found in the Breitkopf catalog of 1763 (p.12; Brook, col.126), listed under C. P. E. Bach's name. Breitkopf's attribution is quite possibly correct, for a manuscript copy – presently located in Vienna – in the hand of Michel, one of C. P. E. Bach's Hamburg copyists, also names Carl Philipp Emanuel as the composer.9

## Trio in C Major for Two Violins and Continuo, BWV 1037, Possibly by Johann Gottlieb Goldberg.

This work is credited to Bach in the Breitkopf catalog of 1762 (p.26; Brook, col.58) and to Goldberg in the catalog of 1763 (p.13; Brook, col.93). The ambivalent assignment is also reflected in manuscript copies, so that investigation of the sources fails to resolve the authorship issue. Thanks to an extensive sty-

<sup>7.</sup> Franz Hauser already determined Albrechtsberger's authorship in the nineteenth century (see Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser," 230). Wolfgang Plath came to the same conclusion independently of Hauser on the basis of a handwritten source, SBB, MUS. MS 30194 (Plath's letter to Alfred Dürr of 22 September 1955). See also Hartwig Eichberg, "Unechtes unter Johann Sebastian Bachs Klavierwerken," Bach-Jahrbuch 61 (1975): 44.

<sup>8.</sup> RISM A/I/11, AA 748 I, 1.

<sup>9.</sup> See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Bach-Quellen an Hand schrift-kundlicher Untersuchungen," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978): 52–53. Recently, however, Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny, after surveying the style of the young C. P. E. Bach, concluded that neither Sebastian Bach nor Carl Philipp Emanuel is the author of Bwv 1020. See "'Altes Zeug von mir': Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs kompositorisches Schaffen vor 1740," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 79 (1993): 192–96.

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listic comparison by Alfred Dürr, the piece can be convincingly assigned to Goldberg.<sup>10</sup>

Oboe Concerto in Bb Major, BWV ANH. 122, Possibly by Christoph Förster.

This work is listed as an oboe concerto in Breitkopf's thematic catalog, supplement of 1766 (p.48; Brook, col.248), under the name "Bach," without first name, and in the nonthematic catalog of 1764 (p.52) under the name "Bach, G. S." The same incipit – albeit with the first note an octave lower – also appears, as Schmieder has already mentioned, in Breitkopf's thematic catalog of 1762 (Brook, col.62), under the name "Foerster," as the beginning of a violin concerto. Since neither extant manuscript nor printed source for the work is known today, the question of authorship cannot be resolved. At first glance the construction of the theme – broken chords, followed by a simple sequence – does not suggest J. S. Bach as the composer. But if we consider Bach's atypical use of similar broken-chord themes in the Violin Concerto in E Major, BwV 1042, as well as in the fourth and fifth Brandenburg Concertos, we cannot dismiss the possibility of his authorship. Obviously the single-line incipit is not sufficient to allow a sound judgment.

Fugue in C Major, BWV ANH. II 88, by Johann Christoph Kellner.

As Hans-Joachim Schulze first demonstrated, this fugue can be assigned to Kellner on the basis of a Hummel print.<sup>12</sup> Mention of the print also appears in the Breitkopf supplement of 1771 (p. 22; Brook, col. 430).

Aria "Andrò dall' colle al Prato," BWV ANH. III 158.

This piece is from Johann Christian Bach's opera Orione ossia Diana vendicata. 13

<sup>10.</sup> Alfred Dürr, "Johann Gottlieb Goldberg und die Triosonate Bwv 1037," Bach-Jahrbuch 40 (1953): 51-80.

<sup>11.</sup> BWV, p. 814.

<sup>12.</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Beiträge zur Bach-Quellenforschung," Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Leipzig 1966, ed. Carl Dahlhaus, Reiner Kluge, Ernst H. Meyer, and Walter Wiora (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 270.

<sup>13.</sup> See Charles Sanford Terry, *John Christian Bach*, rev. ed., ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 237–38.

# Breitkopf Attributions and Research on the Bach Family

Sonata in A Minor for Violin and Continuo, BWV ANH. III 184, by Carlo Zuccari. Bach's authorship was already firmly disputed by Philipp Spitta. Spitta took the Berlin source SBB, P 500, to be an autograph manuscript of Bach's, but he theorized that one of the Bach sons composed the work. In the BWV catalog Schmieder adopted the ascription to Zuccari from Breitkopf's thematic catalog of 1762 (p.9; Brook, col.41). Zuccari's authorship is now confirmed through an eighteenth-century print appearing in Milan (RISM A/I/9, Z 351) in which the A-Minor Sonata appears as the tenth work. The fact that P 500 proves to have been written not by Bach but by an anonymous scribe 15 breaks any possible bond between Bach and Zuccari.

Trio in F Major for Viola, Bass Recorder, and Harpsichord, BWV ANH. III 187, by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

See under w. 163 and н. 588.

Concerto in A Minor for Harpsichord and Strings, BWV ANH. III 189, by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

See under w. 1 and H. 403.

# Works by Wilhelm Friedemann Found in the Falck Catalog 16

In the Breitkopf catalog of 1762 (p.2; Brook, col.2) the four-voice Sinfonia in Bb Major by Wilhelm Friedemann, F. 71, is mistakenly attributed to Carl Philipp Emanuel.

# Works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Listed in the Wotquenne and Helm Catalogs <sup>17</sup>

The Breitkopf catalogs contain a series of incipits for which the composer is

- 14. Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873–80), 2: 831–32.
- 15. Paul Kast, Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958), 34.
- 16. Martin Falck, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sein Leben und seine Werke mit thematischem Verzeichnis seiner Kompositionen (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1913; rpt. Lindau: C. F. Kahnt, 1956).
- 17. Alfred Wotquenne, Cataloge thématique des œuvres de Charles Philippe Emanel Bach (1714–88) (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905; rpt. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1972), and E. Eugene

given as "Bach," without first name. With the help of the Wotquenne and Helm catalogs, two of the entries can be identified without reservation as works of Carl Philipp Emanuel: the Trio in C Major, w. 73 and H. 504, which appears in the Breitkopf supplement of 1766 (p.52; Brook, col.252), and the Trio in F Major, w. 163 and H. 588. The latter emerges twice in Breitkopf's catalog of 1763, first (p.24; Brook, col.104) as a trio "a Flauto Basso, Fagotto c. Violone" under the false ascription "di S. Bach" (BWV ANH. III 187; see the preceding section on the BWV) and again (p.31; Brook, col.111) as a sonata "di Bach, a Fag. oblig. Flauto Basso, Cembalo."

In the Breitkopf supplement of 1767 (p.36; Brook, col.292) the Harpsichord Concerto in A Minor (BWV ANH. III 189, as well as W. 1 and H. 403) is likewise attributed to Sebastian Bach. Within Bach research the concerto has long been recognized as a composition of Emanuel Bach.

# Works of Johann Christian Bach Listed in the Terry Catalog 18

With the help of the Terry catalog, several pieces that appear in the Breit-kopf catalogs under the surname "Bach" can be shown to be compositions of Johann Christian: the Bassoon Concertos in Bb Major and Eb Major (Terry, p.288, nos. 9 and 10), which are listed in the Breitkopf supplement of 1782-84 (p.45; Brook col. 803); the Six Trios for Two Violins and Basso (Terry, pp.314-16, nos.1-6), which appear in the Breitkopf supplement of 1766 (p.28; Brook, col. 228); and the Six Trios for Two Violins and Basso (Terry, p.317, middle [the first trio, in G major], p.318, nos.1-3, p.319, nos.2-3, and p.321, no.2), which also emerge in the supplement of 1766 (p.28; Brook, col. 228).

In addition, the ascription "Giov. Bach nell' Opera Orione" for the aria "Andrò dall' colle al Prato" in the Breitkopf supplement of 1767 (p. 38; Brook, col. 294) points, of course, to Johann Christian Bach (Terry 236, no. 8; Bwv ANH. III 158; see the preceding section on the Bwv).

The Harpsichord Concerto in F Minor by Johann Christian is falsely credited to Carl Philipp Emanuel in the Breitkopf catalog of 1763 (p.18; Brook, col.132). The author designation "Sigr C. F. E. Bach" (i.e., "Signore Carlo

Helm, Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>18.</sup> Presented in Terry, John Christian Bach, 193-361.

# Breitkopf Attributions and Research on the Bach Family

Filippo Emanuele Bach") in the nonautograph performance parts (SBB, ST 482) does not speak against Christian's authorship, since this source can be shown to be a Breitkopf sale manuscript.

# Works Listed in the Kast Catalog 19

In the manuscript collection of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, one finds numerous works listed in Kast that name either a Bach family member or simply "Bach" as composer and yet are not found in the Schmieder, Falck, Wotquenne, Helm, or Terry catalogs.<sup>20</sup> The Breitkopf catalog mentions several of these pieces.

Fantasia and Six Sonatas for Clavier, Ascribed to Friedemann Bach in Mus. Ms Bach P 883 (Kast: Fk. n.v. 2-8).

In the search for the true composer of these works, the author designation "Joh. Guil. Haessler" in the Breitkopf supplement of 1775 (p.17; Brook, col. 577) is helpful. The print mentioned by Breitkopf is obviously identical with a Schwickert edition that contains the sonatas as compositions of Johann Wilhelm Häßler (RISM A/I/4, H 1675). As a result, we can accept Häßler's authorship. Although the fantasia in P 883 is not found in Breitkopf, it nevertheless appears in the Schwickert edition and consequently may be assigned to Häßler, too.

Four-Voice Sinfonia in F Major, Credited to "Mons. Bach de Berlin" in Mus. Ms Bach ST 225 (Kast: BACH-INC. 34).

The incipit of this sinfonia appears in the Breitkopf supplement of 1766 (p.2; Brook, col.202) under the name "C. P. E. Bach." The Berlin performance parts can be judged to be a Breitkopf house manuscript on the basis of various characteristics. Kast doubted Emanuel Bach's authorship and placed the work under the category of "Bach-Incerta" ("Bach's authorship uncertain"). It does not seem likely, in fact, that the simple, monotonous, melody-dominated music flowed from Emanuel's pen.

<sup>19.</sup> Kast, Die Bach-Handschriften.

<sup>20.</sup> In such cases Kast uses either "Bach-Inc." ("Bach-Incerta") or the abbreviation "n.v." ("nicht verzeichnet") and the appropriate work catalog: BWV n.v., FK. n.v., and so on.

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Four-voice Sinfonia in G Major, Ascribed to "Bach de Berlin" in Mus. Ms ST 228 (Kast: WQ. N.V. 69).

This work can be viewed as the twin of the Sinfonia in F Major. Its incipit is found in the Breitkopf supplement of 1766 next to that of the F-Major Sinfonia, and it is also assigned to C. P. E. Bach. In addition, the Berlin parts show signs of being a Breitkopf house manuscript. In this instance, however, Kast believed it possible that the work stemmed from Emanuel, as evidenced in his allying the piece with Wotquenne. The style of the G-Major Sinfonia speaks against Emanuel's authorship, however.

Harpsichord Concerto in Bb Major, Found in Ms. Ms Bach ST 619 without Author Indication (Kast: WQ. N.V. 67).

sT 619, a manuscript copy of performance parts, transmits this concerto and two additional harpsichord concertos anonymously. Kast, perhaps influenced by the fact that the two other concertos are by Emanuel Bach (w. 32 and w. 43/1), assigned the Concerto in Bb to the same composer. The Breitkopf supplement of 1771 (p.24; Brook, col.432) indicates the author to be the Weimar Kapellmeister Ernst Wilhelm Wolf (1735–92). Efforts to confirm the author through a manuscript concordance have proven fruitless, for sT 619 appears to be the only handwritten source of the piece. The work also is not to be found among the printed editions of Wolf's harpsichord concertos.

Harpsichord Concerto in Bb Major with a B-A-C-H Fugue as Concluding Movement, Ascribed to Johann Sebastian Bach in MUS. MS Bach ST 144 (Kast: BACH-INC. 35).

This work is transmitted in a Hummel print (RISM A/1/1, B 428) under the name "Johann Michael Bach Jr.," as Hans-Joachim Schulze has pointed out.<sup>21</sup> In the supplement of 1769 (p.29; Brook, col.365) Breitkopf offered this work and five additional harpsichord concertos under the name "Johann Christian Bach." Breitkopf's assignment is untenable, however, for all six concertos are published as works of Johann Michael Bach in the Hummel print.

<sup>21.</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Die Bach-Überlieferung: Plädoyer für ein notwendiges Buch," Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 17 (1975): 55.

# Breitkopf Attributions and Research on the Bach Family

# Works Not Listed in the Composer or Kast Catalogs

Harpsichord Concerto in C Minor of Johann Philipp Kirnberger.

The only source of this work, the manuscript MBLPZ GO. S. 56, names Johann Sebastian Bach as the author. Hans-Joachim Schulze has suggested Kirnberger as the composer on the basis of a remark of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg – a remark that is buttressed by the similar ascription in the Breitkopf catalog of 1763 (p. 20; Brook, col. 134).<sup>22</sup>

# Harpsichord Concerto in Bb Major.

When the Zurich composer and publisher Hans Georg Nägeli died in 1836, he left his son Hermann, among other things, performance parts to a harpsichord concerto in Bb. This awakens our interest, for just before Hermann died, he wrote the following note on the violin I part that is presently found in the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel: "This leaf is an autograph manuscript of Joh. Seb. Bach and belongs to the accompaniment of an unprinted clavier concerto by this immortal master. This is hereby sworn by Hermann Nägeli, Zurich, the end of April 1860." Contrary to the son's testimony, the part is certainly not a Bach autograph.<sup>23</sup> The style, too, speaks against J. S. Bach's authorship and more for the generation of the Bach sons: chordal themes, lombardic rhythms, frequent use of arpeggios, heavily *galant* melodic patterns, and repeated-note basses. The incipt of this concerto appears in the Breitkopf catalog of 1763 (p.22; Brook, col.136) under the name "Giov. Tischer," meaning Johann Nicolaus Tischer (1707–74), organist in Schmalkalden from 1731 to his death.<sup>24</sup> For lack of an authoritative source, Tischer's

- 22. Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorke: Bachiana und andere Handschriften und Drucke des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze, (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1977), 26.
- 23. The violin II and violoncello parts, located today in the SBB without a call number, stem from the same hand as the violin I part. A manuscript copy written by Hermann Nägeli of the now-lost cembalo part from the set is found in the Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, under the call number MS. CAR. IV 244, no.A12.
- 24. Carl Hermann Bitter alludes to Tischer as a Bach student, without citing his source for the conclusion and using the incorrect appellation "Fischer [sic], Organist zu Schmalkalden" (*Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. [Berlin: Wilhelm Baensch, 1865], 1:310). No evidence has yet come to light that shows that Tischer studied with Bach.

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authorship must remain hypothetical. The style of the work, however, makes Breitkopf's ascription to Tischer more plausible than Nägeli's to Bach.

# Flute Concerto in D Major.

The British Library, London, owns, under Friedemann Bach's name, the flauto traverso part (LOAN 65/4) to a flute concerto in D major. The incipit of the concerto is found in the Breitkopf supplement of 1766 (p.44; Brook, col.244), but under "Graun," without a first name. The work's catchy melody – a characteristic not typical of Friedemann's style – belies the London manuscript's designation. Still, one cannot demonstrate with certainty that one of the Graun brothers is the concerto's author.

# Harpsichord Sonata in Bb Major.

This work is listed in the Breitkopf catalog of 1763 (p.2; Brook, col.116) under Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's name. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate a second source of this work. Consequently the question of whether the sonata is a lost composition of Emanuel's or a false attribution on Breitkopf's part must remain open.

# Four-Voice Sinfonia in C Major.

This work is announced as a composition of C. P. E. Bach's in the Breitkopf catalog of 1762 (p.2; Brook, col.2). As was true in the case of the Sonata in Bb Major, no additional source has come to light, and consequently the issue of attribution cannot be settled.

Four other works ascribed to Johann Christian Bach also remain problematic:

- Sinfonia in D Major, appearing in the Breitkopf supplement of 1766 (p.2; Brook, col.202);
- Sinfonia in Eb Major, appearing in the Breitkopf supplement of 1767 (p.2; Brook, col.258);
- Sinfonia in Bb Major, appearing in the Breitkopf supplement of 1767 (p.2; Brook, col. 258); and
- Quartet in A Major for Harpsichord, two Violins, and Violoncello, appearing in the Breitkopf supplement of 1782-84 (p. 63; Brook, col. 821).

Because no manuscript or printed source has been found for these works, whether they are lost compositions of the London Bach or erroneously as-

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signed in the Breitkopf offerings remains an open question. The incipit of the quartet, at least, shows a striking similarity to the opening of Christian Bach's Violin Sonata in E Major, Terry 316/4 and 322/4,<sup>25</sup> so that Breitkopf's designation does not appear to be entirely absurd.

# Harpsichord Concerto in G Major.

The Houghton Library of Harvard University owns a manuscript copy (Ms Mus. 18.2) of the cembalo part for this concerto. It was originally credited to Johann Sebastian Bach, but a later hand attributed it to Johann Christian. By contrast, the Breitkopf catalog of 1763 (p.23; Brook, col.137) assigns it to Johann Carl Wiedner (1724–ca.1774). The style of the work – repeated-note bass patterns, unimaginative repetitions, and so on – certainly speaks against Johann Sebastian's authorship, and probably against Johann Christian's as well. A comparison with Wiedner's style remains to be carried out.

Finally, one can point to an additional error. In the Breitkopf supplement of 1774 (p.28; Brook, col.548) stand the incipits of "III. Sonate da J. BACH. Up. III. Parigi." The correct author can be found in the Breitkopf offerings themselves, in the supplement of 1769 (p.27; Brook, col.363), where the pieces are listed as "III. Sonate della Sigra. BAYON. a Cembalo Solo, intagliate in Parigi. Opera I." The print cited (RISM A/I/I, B 1433) is preserved in numerous exemplars, with the title "Six sonates pour le clavecin ou le piano forte dont trois avec accompagnement de violon obligé dédiées a Madame la Marquise de Lanceron par Mlle. Bayon œuvre I."

\* \* \*

In sum, we can see that the Breitkopf catalogs often provide the first clue for setting one on the right path to finding the author of a particular problematic work. Nevertheless, their numerous incorrect ascriptions require that the catalogs cannot be used without the constant support of other manuscript and printed sources and stylistic evaluation.

(translated by George B. Stauffer)

- 25. The slight differences above all the varying key signatures may stem from printing errors on Breitkopf's part.
- 26. I am indebted to Barbara Wolff, Cambridge, Mass., for drawing my attention to the Wiedner entry.

# The Publication Process and Audience for C. P. E. Bach's Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber

# Peggy Daub

arl Philipp Emanuel Bach was not only a fine composer but also an excellent administrator and entrepreneur. When he left the court at Berlin and moved to the free city of Hamburg, he apparently liberated his entrepreneurial spirit, for he quickly began to organize his own concerts and publish his own music.

It would be easy to ascribe this change entirely to a new era of freedom for musicians, paralleling the revolutions in France and America (yet still lagging behind the extraordinary level of entrepreneurship achieved by Handel in London some years earlier). Much of what C. P. E. Bach did was done by his father before him, however, and also was being espoused by writers and intellectual leaders throughout Germany. He promoted his art extremely well, but he did not stand alone.

What is unusual about C. P. E. Bach's efforts to publish his own works is that so much historical evidence survives that can help us to understand his achievements and place them in the context of the time. First, the excellent recent edition of letters from Bach in Hamburg to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in Leipzig, edited by Ernst Suchalla, provides an intimate look at the working relationship between the composer, acting as his own publisher, and his friend, the renowned printer of music.¹ Second, the works that Bach published con-

Versions of this paper were read at a meeting of the Midwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society in Chicago, April 1988, and at a conference on C. P. E. Bach at Wilfrid Laurier University in November 1988.

1. Briefe von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach an Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf und Johann Nikolaus Forkel, ed. Ernst Suchalla (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1985), hereinafter referred to as

tain subscription lists that include telling details about the people who bought his music, such as where they lived and what they did for a profession. This information can help us to better understand the nature of his audience.<sup>2</sup>

C. P. E. Bach's six collections of keyboard works "für Kenner und Liebhaber" may serve as an example of the process of *Selbstverlag*, that is, of the composer serving as his own publisher. The collections appeared between 1779 and 1787 and were issued on a subscription basis, with the printing carried out by Breitkopf. When C. P. E. Bach included the phrase "Im Verlage des Autors" on the title page, he meant that he was taking responsibility for planning, preparing, marketing, and distributing the edition. Breitkopf was paid for the printing only. Bach guaranteed the financial success of his venture by securing subscribers, who received a lower prepublication price in exchange for reserving a copy and sometimes made payment in advance.

# C. P. E. Bach and Immanuel Breitkopf

Although C. P. E. Bach turned to several printers during his lifetime, a careful look at the chronology of his editions reveals that he generally worked with one main publisher at a time. In the 1750s he seems to have preferred Balthasar Schmid in Nuremberg. During the 1760s his favorite publisher was Georg Ludwig Winter in Berlin. After 1768 Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf was Bach's publisher of choice, although most of their business transactions consisted of Bach hiring Breitkopf's presses to print works he distributed himself.

C. P. E. Bach published sixteen items under his own auspices.<sup>4</sup> This series began with the publication of his *Versuch* in 1762 and continued with fifteen scores, all issued between 1772 and 1787, or during the last sixteen years of his life. It appears that all these publications were financed through subscription.

*Briefe.* Suchalla's edition includes, in addition to the letters themselves, transcriptions of Breit-kopf's notes on his replies and lists, advertisements, and other pertinent records.

<sup>2.</sup> Except for the work of Klaus Hortschansky, little research has been carried out on the phenomenon of selling printed music by subscription. The most noteworthy of Hortschansky's writings is "Pränumerations- und Subskriptionslisten in Notendrucken deutscher Musiker des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Musicologica* 40 (1968): 154–74.

<sup>3.</sup> There is no exact English equivalent for this term. "Self-publication" might be the best translation.

<sup>4.</sup> Discounting the very early Minuet in C Major, H. 15, which he engraved himself.

Breitkopf, like Bach, was a learned man who associated with a number of the central figures of the German Enlightenment. Bach and Breitkopf came from similar backgrounds and shared similar values. Bach undoubtedly had first-hand contact with the five-year-younger Breitkopf when the two were growing up in Leipzig. Later, C. P. E.'s son, the painter Johann Sebastian Bach the younger, lived in the Breitkopf *Stadtpalast* (the Haus "zum Silbernen Bären") while carrying out his studies in Leipzig around 1770.5

To judge from their letters, Bach and Breitkopf were firm friends. Bach obviously thought highly of Breitkopf's craft and often sought his business advice, particularly in dealing with other publishers. For example, when the Leipzig publisher Schwickert printed all the copies of Bach's Four Symphonies, H. 663-66, on paper of poor quality, the composer approached Breitkopf for help. Bach's customary practice called for printing a few exemplars on paper of exceptionally fine quality that could then be used as presentation copies or personal library copies. Schwickert not only chose a poor paper to begin with but refused to print any copies on better paper. Bach begged Breitkopf, "Help me with this if you can. . . . If nothing can now be changed, do you think it would be too much of a contrast to have only the title sheet printed on fine paper?... These symphonies will do damage to our printings [i.e., the Bach-Breitkopf collaborations] simply because of the paper. I fear a reprint. What inappropriate commercial economizing!"6 Breitkopf replied that all copies were indeed on poor paper and that he could do no more than choose the best of the bad lot and ship them to Bach.

A few years later Bach asked Breitkopf to stop the presses on the printing of his oratorio *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, H. 777, when the work did not bring in enough subscriptions to let him proceed: "I am now wholly in your hands. My comfort is: I am in the hands of a thoroughly honest man and a dear friend."

It was not only friendship that caused Bach to turn to Breitkopf's printing skills, however. Their business relationship extended back at least as far as the

<sup>5.</sup> Briefe, notes to letter 5 of 9 April 1772, p.269.

<sup>6.</sup> Briefe, letter 93 of 25 January 1780. The English translations of the letters here and elsewhere are mine.

<sup>7.</sup> Briefe, letter 148 of 23 December 1784.

posthumous publication of J. S. Bach's Art of Fugue in 1751, when Breitkopf supplied the printed title page and foreword for the engraved edition. Since then Immanuel Breitkopf's reputation as a music printer had grown considerably. From a business standpoint, moreover, Breitkopf was unquestionably happy to hire out his presses to C.P.E. to keep the firm's expensive machinery in constant use.

# The Role of Movable Type

The fact that Breitkopf devised, in the mid-1750s, a greatly improved method for printing music using movable type is critical to understanding Emanuel Bach's publication of his own works. Movable type allowed music editions to be printed in greater quantities because the hard typeface resisted wear. By contrast, engraving – the most common method for printing music in the eighteenth century - allowed only limited runs, because the copper plates were slowly flattened by the pressure of the presses. As a result, printing from movable type proved to be especially appropriate for items that would find a sizable audience. On the other hand, with movable type the printer would break up the form after printing and use the same pieces of type for another job. Unlike engraved plates, which were often saved for a time and could be used for a "second edition" if additional copies were needed, movable type required a full resetting for a second run, with the same labor and expense as the first. Hence, when a publisher used movable type, it was especially important to obtain a good estimate of how many copies could be sold. Gathering subscriptions was a pragmatic vehicle for determining potential sales.

Music printed from movable type is sometimes considered to be clumsy and ugly in appearance compared with carefully engraved scores. Music engravers in Germany in the late eighteenth century, however, were not nearly as skilled as their counterparts in France and elsewhere. The limitations of the engraving process, the uneven quality of German music engravers' work, and Breitkopf's improved typeface conspired to put Breitkopf at the top of the trade. C. P. E. Bach's audience marveled at Breitkopf's expertise with typesetting. As Bach himself put it when he saw Breitkopf's print of his famous choral work

<sup>8.</sup> See, for instance, Gregory G. Butler's observations on Breitkopf's formative years in the present volume.

<sup>9.</sup> Hortschansky, "Pränumerations- und Subskriptionslisten," 156.

Heilig, H. 778, in 1779: "All of Hamburg is agog with me at the beautiful artistry and extraordinary printing of our Heilig. Congratulations!" 10

# The Climate for Composers Acting as Their Own Publishers

Bach's wholesale switch to acting as his own publisher largely coincided with his ascent from court harpsichordist in Berlin to town music director in Hamburg. Just as the move enabled him to set up his own concert series, it also seems to have stimulated him to seize more control over the publication of his compositions. There was also a broader intellectual trend at work, however, one that nurtured authors' increased control over their own livelihoods. The surge in independent publication by C. P. E. Bach parallels the major changes that took place in publishing as a whole in Germany. One historian has pointed out that in 1773 Germany had 3,000 writers; just fourteen years later, in 1787, the number had doubled. The relationship between publishers and authors shifted as authors began writing for a living rather than as a sideline. The complaints that publishers were paying writers small sums for their work and growing rich on the proceeds from publication grew louder. Johann Gottfried von Herder grumbled to his publisher that authors were living on crumbs from the rich man's table. 12

Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, who was largely resident in Hamburg from 1770 until his death in 1803 and is said to have been a close friend of Bach's, <sup>13</sup> organized the Deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik, the Republic of German Scholars, in 1773 to help writers secure the full earnings of their works. Klopstock enlisted "collectors" throughout Germany to assist in gathering subscriptions from people and later to deliver the books to the buyers. The only work published by the cooperative, however, was the first volume of Klopstock's own manifesto, *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik*, which sold about 3,600 copies through subscription in 1774. <sup>14</sup> Although Klopstock did not continue in this

<sup>10.</sup> Briefe, letter 82 of 29 July 1779.

<sup>11.</sup> Ernst Vollert, Die Weidmannsche Buchhandlung in Berlin 1680–1930 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1983), p. 32.

<sup>12.</sup> Quoted in ibid., 59.

<sup>13.</sup> Hans-Günter Ottenberg, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, trans. Philip J. Whitmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 122.

<sup>14.</sup> Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik: Ihre Einrichtung, ihre Gesetze,

vein, he nevertheless established an organization and a procedure that served as models for others to follow.

Indeed, in the same year C. P. E. Bach announced in a Hamburg newspaper a subscription for his oratorio *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, H. 775, explaining that he would be using Klopstock's band of collectors:

I wish to make available to my friends a printed full score of *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, an oratorio I have composed. . . . On account of the great expense involved, I have chosen on this occasion the safe method of publication by subscription. All the gentlemen correspondents who belong to Herr Klopstock's *Deutsche Gelehrten-Republik* . . . will take out a subscription forthwith until January 10, 1775, according to Herr Klopstock's plan and recommendation. . . . The gentlemen correspondents are asked to be so good as to send their subscriptions directly to me at the appropriate time. 15

Bach was using the formula Klopstock had recommended in his explanation of the subscription method found in *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik:* "A scholar who henceforth publishes a book after this plan, that is, who wants to satisfy the same established conditions, has *nothing further to do*, than to publicly advertise his book and in doing so declare that he is receiving subscriptions according to my plan, and then wait to hear from the correspondents at the time he names." <sup>16</sup>

With Bach at the forefront, composers appear to have sensed immediately the benefits of this system and served as their own publishers extensively during the 1770s, 1780s, and 1790s in northern Germany.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, they did not band together into a cooperative, as Klopstock advocated, but published as individuals, which undoubtedly proved to be easier than organizing as a group.

It should also be noted, however, that although Klopstock may have brought the system of coordinated collectors of subscriptions to a high level, some aspects of *Selbstverlag* at this time were similar to the methods used by J. S. Bach

Geschichte des lezten Landtags, auf Befehl der Aldermänner durch Salofast und Wlemar, herausgegeben von Klopstock, erster Theil (Hamburg, 1774).

<sup>15.</sup> Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten, no.174 (14 September 1774), cited in Ottenberg, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 123.

<sup>16.</sup> Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik, "Nachricht von der Subscription," 1.

<sup>17.</sup> Hortschansky, "Pränumerations- und Subskriptionslisten," 155.

some fifty years earlier. Although Sebastian Bach did not gather subscriptions, he nevertheless advertised and distributed copies in much the same way. For example, when Bach published the first partita of *Clavierübung* 1 in 1726, he announced its availability in a Leipzig newspaper; in an advertisement for Partitas 11 and 111 in 1727, he added the names of six colleagues in other cities who were serving as agents for the sale. The elder Bach also served as an agent for the sale of Johann David Heinichen's *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (1728) and Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732). C. P. E. Bach, who later served as an agent for his father's publications, unquestionably profited from the lessons learned in his father's house about taking the reins of publication and later seized the further opportunities of his own day.

#### The Collaborative Process

In producing his own publications, Bach normally dealt with Breitkopf in five stages.

#### REQUESTING BREITKOPF'S SERVICES

Bach typically began the business of a new publication by writing a formal letter to Breitkopf, describing what he would like to have printed and asking Breitkopf whether his presses would be available for the job. Bach frequently estimated the size of the collection, but he also asked Breitkopf to give an idea of how many gatherings the work would require, since that determined cost more than any other factor. For example, Bach wrote in 1782, "Whether I like it or not, my friends want me to publish my 4th collection. If it is also agreeable to you, then just let me know when you would like me to send the manuscript. It is approximately 10 sheets long, without the title and subscription list. The edition, again in two clefs, is to be likewise 1,050 copies. When would the copies be finished? In time for the Easter Fair?" <sup>20</sup>

Such letters gave Breitkopf the information he needed to estimate how long the work might occupy his workers and presses and how much paper (and what kind) would be needed. Bach normally stated the length of the work, the number of copies needed, the fact that it was to be printed in G-clef and C-clef editions (which required separate settings of type for the treble staff), the format

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18. BDOK 2, nos. 214 and 224, respectively.
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<sup>19.</sup> врок 2, по. 260.

<sup>20.</sup> Briefe, letter 121 of 17 August 1782.

desired (upright or oblong), and the quality of paper required. Once Breitkopf had received this information, he then quoted Bach a price for the job.

It is also noteworthy that Bach tried to coordinate the publication of the sonatas with the Leipzig fairs, which offered great opportunity for sales. In this sense Emanuel was following in the footsteps of his father, who tried – sometimes unsuccessfully<sup>21</sup> – to match the fairs' schedules.

In subsequent correspondence Bach normally settled on the precise number of copies to be printed and how this figure would be broken down in terms of G and C clefs.

#### ADVERTISING FOR SUBSCRIBERS

Once Breitkopf responded with a cost per printed sheet and an estimate of when his shop might complete the job, Bach set a price for subscribers and composed an advertisement for the newspapers. The notice in the *Hamburger Correspondenten* of 15 October 1782 is typical:

Hamburg. Our Kapellmeister, Monsieur Bach, has composed several new free fantasias, and – spurred by the great encouragement of various music lovers who have heard these masterpieces – has decided to include a pair of them in his fourth collection of Sonatas for Connoisseurs and Admirers.

This fourth collection, which contains two free fantasias in addition to rondos and sonatas and will be published in both types of clefs, is open for subscription until the end of April 1783, both here from Monsieur Kapellmeister Bach and Monsieur Westphal and company and also from the following [there follows a list of twenty-nine men in twenty-eight cities].

Whoever orders 10 copies will receive an 11th without cost, or 5 copies, a half-copy without cost. Collectors will be offered the same bargain. . . . The copies will be distributed at the time of the Leipzig Easter Fair.<sup>22</sup>

As this advertisement appeared Bach sent personal letters to the collectors of subscriptions, informing them of the new publication, its price, and the terms he would give them.<sup>23</sup> The twenty-nine people named as collectors of subscriptions in the advertisement are identified by position, and over half of

<sup>21.</sup> See Gregory G. Butler's observations on *Clavierübung* 111 in *Bach's Clavier-Übung* 111: *The Making of a Print* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), 3-20.

<sup>22.</sup> From the Hamburger Correspondenten, 15 October 1782, transcribed in Briefe, letter 124.

<sup>23.</sup> Briefe, letter 123 of 15 October 1782.

them – sixteen – were musicians. The others are described as booksellers (we find Breitkopf in this category), merchants, music dealers or music publishers, and so forth.

The collector system that spread over a large portion of Europe was critical to Bach's method of independent publication. He often complained about how late the collectors were with their lists of buyers and how the tardiness delayed publication of his works. Late in life, however, he also proudly proclaimed that he had never been cheated by any of his agents: "Many of my subscribers pay late, but not one has ever cheated me out of a penny. From the enclosed you can see the worth of the men." <sup>24</sup>

Not only did Bach endorse the use of agents for subscriptions, but the correspondence with Breitkopf shows that at least on one occasion he acted as a collector for another composer. In two letters written to Breitkopf in 1785, Bach complained that subscribers were bothering him for their copies of Wilhelm Christoph Bernhard's *Ein Präludium und drey Sonaten fürs Clavier*, asking when the work would appear.<sup>25</sup>

#### MANUSCRIPTS SENT TO BREITKOPF FOR PRINTING

After Bach had placed the advertisements, he put the final touches on his compositions and sent the manuscript to Breitkopf to be printed. The printing process involved the laborious process of planning the layout of each page and then setting the pages in type. Breitkopf's method of using very small pieces of movable type – a mosaic-like system – was particularly labor-intensive. The finished product, however, was clear and pleasing to the eye. Once pages were in printers' forms, Breitkopf began to pull proof sheets for Bach to examine and correct.

During this stage of production Bach kept a close eye on whether he had sent Breitkopf the right amount of music to fill the agreed-on number of gatherings. For the second collection of sonatas, for example, Bach sent Breitkopf two sonatas and three rondos in March 1780 and wanted to know how many sheets they would fill before he decided what else should go in the set: "I hereby send you the first two sonatas and three rondos for my second part.

<sup>24.</sup> Briefe, letter 161 of 28 February 1786.

<sup>25.</sup> Briefe, letters 150 of 15 April 1785 and 152 of 8 July 1785.

Please be so kind as to report to me soon how many sheets these four [sic] pieces will fill. . . . I can't say yet if my collection will be larger than 5 pieces." <sup>26</sup> Presumably after hearing from Breitkopf, Bach sent, in May, a third sonata to be included in the collection. In the March letter Bach referred to other correspondence in which Breitkopf spelled out the time required for the type-setting process: "In one of your last letters you stated the following: I wish to guarantee that we will begin on your second collection the first Monday after the Fair. You can then count on two sheets being finished each week, and from that you can compute the delivery date yourself." <sup>27</sup> Breitkopf probably failed to mention that other typesetting jobs might intervene, for we know that he was not always able to keep the printing on schedule and was frequently chided by Bach for the delays. On the other hand, when Breitkopf informed Bach in November 1782 that the fourth collection would not be completed in time for the Easter Fair in March – the date announced in advertisements – Bach accepted the news with good grace and sympathized with his friend. <sup>28</sup>

SUBMISSION OF FRONT MATTER, INCLUDING THE SUBSCRIBER LIST Bach took responsibility for composing and designing title pages for each work and for compiling the list of subscribers in the form in which he wanted it to appear. These were sent to Breitkopf near the end of the printing process and handled separately, because the title pages and subscriber lists did not require complicated musical typesetting.

Bach allotted five to six months for the gathering of subscribers. In each case the closing date for subscriptions was stated in the initial advertisement for each collection. Nevertheless, before sending a subscriber list to Breitkopf, Bach always allowed a bit more time – anywhere from three weeks to two months – after the closing date for additional reports to arrive from his agents. When issuing the third and sixth collections he waited only three weeks after the closing date, and possibly as a result these two publications had the lowest number of subscribers (298 and 290, respectively). For the others he waited six to eight weeks, often reporting to Breitkopf on how matters were going:

<sup>26.</sup> Briefe, letter 95 of 21 March 1780. Suchalla points out that Bach first wrote "1 sonata" and then changed it to "2," which accounts for the reference to "four pieces" in the following sentence.

<sup>27.</sup> Briefe, letter 95 of 21 March 1780.

<sup>28.</sup> Briefe, letter 126 of 30 November 1782.

I still have little news of my subscribers. I expect to hear any day now. Many places are remote. Please have patience! As soon as I have assembled everything, it will fly immediately to you.<sup>29</sup>

My subscription appears to be doing better than I thought. I am still awaiting 3 important reports, which may be here in 10 days. You will receive from me the title page and subscription list immediately thereafter. This time I did not turn to several less-important places. I have always had the luck of receiving more subscribers – sometimes as many as 40 – after the printing is completed and not being able to include them on the list. They were actually regular subscribers, who were not responsible for the fact that their names were sent in late.  $^{30}$ 

Bach compiled the lists alphabetically by city (probably as he received them from the collectors in each location), arranging the names within each city alphabetically, too (see pl.1). The names usually carried titles denoting the position of the particular subscriber within his or her community. I return to this issue shortly.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF FINISHED COPIES

Once the printing of the music, title page, and subscribers list was completed and the pages cut and placed in order, Breitkopf distributed the copies according to Bach's instructions. These instructions, or *Versandliste*, indicated both the number of copies and the number in each clef to be sent to the collectors who were close to Leipzig or outside of Germany.<sup>31</sup> The bulk of the copies, however, were shipped to Bach himself for distribution around Hamburg and for later sale to nonsubscribers.

To gather subscriptions over a large geographical area, Bach had to rely on the postal service and his collectors. He may have succeeded at serving as his own publisher because he was able to administer the various aspects of the operation efficiently. His letters reveal him as a writer who communicated regularly and directly.

# The Size of the Press Run

Despite a dwindling number of subscribers, C. P. E. Bach had Breitkopf print 1,050 copies of each of these six collections – a large number compared to the

- 29. Briefe, letter 99 of 4 July 1780.
- 30. Briefe, letter 154 of 26 August 1785.
- 31. See, for instance, the list reproduced in Briefe, letter 83a.

# Berzeichniß

#### Prånumeranten d e r

fo weit bie Machrichten geben.

#### Berlin, 17. Erempl.

Herr Hosmeister Barbaum.

Salle. Herr Musseus Sering.

Kammermusstungsber.

Nachts. Harver.

Harchs. Hayer.

Die Herren.

Madem. Sara Jajig. Die Herren.

Mach.

Machin.

Mach.

#### Braunschweig, 2. Erempl.

Frau hofrathinn Bbert. herr Kapellmeifter Schwanenberger.

Copenhagen, 75. Etempl.

Curland, 2. Erempl.

herr Abvocat Arzigewicz, aus Bolbingen, 2. Erempl.

Danzig, 22. Erempl.

Molles von Almonde. Broen. Die Herren Déring, von Dithren. Roufmann Lichfladt, Lichmann. Ervert. Mad. Gerlach, Fraulein von Gusarzervella. Die Herren Jungschult, von Röbern. von Aumpen. Organist Albigling. Fraul, von Recctown. Die Geren Lindner. Organist Chocke. Madem. Arcdown. Arcdown. Arcdown. Arcdown. Rottenburgh. Die Herren Schmidt. Wagnet. Wichere. F. A. Jorn, Fresherr von Plobesheim.

#### Dresden, 68. Erempl.

Die herren & G. Abr. Kammerscretde Ackermann. Aban. Madem. Anock. Mad. Auvray. Die herren Groß von Zaudifin. C. G. Deck, Ammann in Spremberg. Kammerstager Benederti. Oberftiegecommisse Beyert. Fraufein Garlotte von Dischoftvoers der. Die Größinnen Januarette von Dolza. Philippine von Dolza. Frr. Hoferth von Born. Frau furnskapurfmanninn von Broisen, herr Oberstet und Kammerherr Moris Graf von Brubt. Die Grö-

fann Erdmuthe von Zünatı. Her Rammerscretar Casar. Die Ordfinn Charlotte von Callenberg. Die Herren Artegescretar Clauber. Dragmist Eckreberg. Scabtschriber C. C. Sebre. Geseine Mass von Serber. Madbem Charlotte Franquet. Die Herren Kannnersinster J. B. G. von Gablens. Magister Ben, Geithner. Frau Dieseinn, Ordfinn von Gerinn. Die Herren Geseinscretar Erwauste. Buchhalter Senning. 2. Ermpl. Grof von Softmannsergt. Her Die Herren Geseinscretar Erwauste. Buchhalter Senning. 2. Ermpl. Grof von Softmannsergt. Her Die Herren Kannnersinster von Sobsenthal. Mussterierter Getunewatte. Kammernighet von Softstarten. Kammernighet J. C. und J. G. Soven, 3. Ermpl. Deganist J. G. Kirtsen. Deganist Könitg. C. Schmann. Hoftsaft Eryfer. Tieden von Elemann. B. F. Lingte. Betten Bieceraften Lindemann. B. F. Lingte. B. Mususka von Litzeichau. Die Herren Autonio Musiconett, Ammuersplaget. E. St. Middler. Sa tichau. Die Herren Antonio Marionetti, Kammerfänger. E. J.
May. Oberrechnungsinspecter Müdlenert. J. A. Müller. Kaglemeister I Taumann. Traumburger. Jrau Kammerscredt Acinsbard. Fraulein von Kachel. Her Kammer end Kuchsbard. Fraulein von Ker. Madem. Schnid. Hrau Hausmart
bard. Frau Mobern. Herr. Madem. Schnid. Hrau Hausmart
bellinit von Schönberg. Herr Kammer und Kirchenconnossiteur
Schulfter. Madem. J. Seegnig. Herr Kammer und Kirchenconnossiteur
Schulfter. Madem. Frau Dendriftin von Seydevicia. Herr
Transchel. Frau Cenatorium Dr. Doigrin. Herr Geheime Kammerrath Wagner. Frau Apellationerathina Bahn. Mobem. Benter.

#### Gotha, r. Erempl.

herr Rammermufifus Cramer.

#### Hamburg, 60. Erempl.

Madem. Concordia Casparina Abendrocth.
Absters. Possificretair Albreccht, 2. Erempl.
in Stendal. Rausmann J. A. Berudes, 6. Erempl. von Blans
Fendurg. Secretair Drandes, in Celle. Claudins, in Wands
bet. Professe Cramer, in Kiel. Doctor Cropp, 2. Erempl.

Concordingen. Magister Ebeling. Symbicus Godder, Denten, in Copenhagen. Magitte Pecling. Symbicus Gabler, in Utona , 2. Grempt, von Gerifenberg , Kinigl. Din. Agert in tishert. Mad. Autointett Mogdolene Gobeffroy , get. 117 arthéisfin. Die Herren Friedrich von Gruttschreiber, Königl. Danischer Kittmeister

Plate 1. The first page of the subscriber list from C. P. E. Bach's Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber II (Hamburg, 1780). Courtesy of the Music Library, University of Michigan.

press runs of 100-200 copies for the works that J. S. Bach published himself. This can be explained partly by the fact that Sebastian Bach's collections were engraved; the composer owned the plates and could easily produce additional copies as they were needed. Clavierübung I, for instance, went through several reprintings, each with distinguishing changes and corrections.<sup>32</sup> It nevertheless appears that the editions published by Sebastian sold in small quantities, probably never more than 200 copies or so.33

- 32. See NBA v/1, KB, pp.9-32, and Christoph Wolff, "Textkritische Bemerkungen zum Originaldruck der Bachschen Partiten," Bach-Jahrbuch 65 (1979): 65-74.
- 33. This was the number of title pages Bach had Breitkopf print for the Musical Offering

In C. P. E. Bach's case the notable success of the first collection, with 519 copies sold via subscription and additional sales afterward, and the continuing sales of the other collections seem to have been more important factors in determining how many copies should be printed than was the number of subscriptions on hand. Rather than use subscriptions as a gauge for the size of a press run, Bach seems to have taken them as a sign of continuing interest in the series. The subscriptions gave Bach confidence that he could sell the "usual" number of copies.

Of the 1,050 exemplars, Bach used 1,000 for sales and 50 for gifts. Of the two particularly "fine" copies printed on better paper, one was presented to the dedicatee of the work, and the other was retained for Bach's own library. It is likely that Bach received a monetary gift from the dedicatee of each collection.

With regard to the G- and C-clef editions, Bach tried to predict the number of each that his audience would demand. For five of the six collections he requested 450 copies in G clef and 600 in C clef. For the last collection he initially asked for the usual proportion but at the last minute changed his mind and ordered Breitkopf to split the run in half and print 525 of each: "If there is still time, I would rather have my 6th collection printed half in violin clef and half in clavier clef. Otherwise keep it as before." <sup>34</sup> It is unclear whether Breitkopf received the request in time to alter the run.

The problem posed by the use of two different clefs for the upper staff of keyboard works in Germany was not a new one. J. S. Bach vacillated between G clef and C clef in his late works,<sup>35</sup> and in one instance he even wrote out two fair copies of the same work, one in each clef.<sup>36</sup> By 1787 the scales were tipping toward the G clef. Emanuel seems to have been aware of the growing preference for the G clef and tried to adjust accordingly.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>(</sup>BDOK 2, no.556), although only 100 copies of the score were printed in its first press run (BDOK 1, no.49).

<sup>34.</sup> Briefe, letter 168 of 3 January 1787.

<sup>35.</sup> See the partial autograph of the Well-Tempered Clavier, Book 2 (facsimile: *Johann Sebastian Bach: Das Wohltemperierten Klavier II*, ed. Don Franklin and Stephen Daw [London: The British Library, 1980]).

<sup>36.</sup> This is the Fantasia in C Minor, BWV 906.

<sup>37.</sup> It is noteworthy that the copy of the *Sonaten* at the University of Michigan, which includes the six collections bound together, displays a mixture of clefs: the first, second, fifth, and sixth collections exhibit C clef; the third and fourth, the G clef.

# The Audience for the Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber

Just as J. S. Bach carefully indicated on the title pages of *Clavierübung* I, II, and IV that the works were intended "for admirers, to refresh their spirits" ("denen Liebhabern zur Gemüths Ergetzung"), C. P. E. Bach specifically indicated the audience for his pieces through the phrase "für Kenner und Liebhaber"—"for connoisseurs and admirers." The subscription lists for C. P. E. Bach's six collections, published over a period of eight years, tell us a good deal about the audience for this type of keyboard music. Keeping in mind that the lists represent only a fraction of the buyers (and not even all the subscribers, since, as we have seen, more names commonly arrived after the printing deadlines passed), we nevertheless can discern some of the people who bought the collections, along with their profession or rank in society, sex, city of residence, and occasionally their approximate age.

Although most subscribers resided in Germany, some lived in such distant places as Bordeaux, Copenhagen, London, Saint Petersburg, Stockholm, and Moscow. Five cities appeared on all six lists: Berlin, Curland (Courland, in Latvia), Hamburg, Prague, and Vienna. Five others appeared on five of the lists: Copenhagen, Gdansk, Dresden, Leipzig, and Schleswig.

The lists distinguish between amateurs, who seem to have been buying the pieces for their own use, and professionals, who were purchasing the music as career musicians or booksellers. On the whole, professional musicians are clearly labeled in the subscription lists, as, for example, "Herr Musikus Herring" in Berlin (see pl. 1).<sup>38</sup> As table 1 shows, professional musicians made up approximately one-quarter of the subscribers – 20 to 25 percent (aside from the first collection, for which the number was 19 percent). It is noteworthy that in spite of great fluctuations in the number of subscribers – ranging from 335 for the first collection to less than half that, 156, for the third – the proportion of professional musicians to individuals in other fields remained relatively stable. Professional musicians, then, lent the publication a consistent level of support.

For the most part the professional musicians who subscribed to the *Sonaten* für Kenner und Liebhaber were not the most famous figures of the day, although we can observe a few luminaries: Charles Burney, Johann Nicolaus Forkel, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Daniel Gottlob Türk, and Abbé Vogler, for in-

<sup>38.</sup> Some subscribers are identified as musicians on some lists and only as "Herr" on others. In the percentages in the table, they are counted as musicians in all cases.

Table 1.

Title	Date	Dedication	Copies/Names	Musicians <sup>1</sup>	Women 1
1. Sechs Clavier-Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber Erste Sammlung	1779	Madam Zernitz, gebohrne Deeling in Warschau.	519 / 335²	62 (19%)	74 (22%)
2. Clavier-Sonaten nebst einigen Rondos fürs Forte-Piano für Kenner und Liebhaber Zweyte Sammlung	1780	Sr. Königl. Hoheit Friedrich Heinrich, Marggrafen zu Schwed.	340 / 225²	48 (21%)	63 (28%)
3. Clavier-Sonaten nebst einigen Rondos fürs Forte-Piano für Kenner und Liebhaber Dritte Sammlung	1781	Sr. Excellenz dem Herrn Freyherrn von Swieten.	298 / 156	36 (23%)	42 (27%)
4. Clavier-Sonaten und Freye Fantasien nebst einigen Rondos fürs Fortepiano für Kenner und Liebbaber Vierte Sammlung	1783	[none]	433 / 226	46 (20%)	65 (29%)
5. Clavier-Sonaten und Freye Fantasien nebst einigen Rondos fürs Fortepiano für Kenner und Liebhaber Fünfte Sammlung	1785	Sr. Herzoglichen Durchl. Peter Friedrich Ludewig, Herzogen zu Holstein und Fürst- Bischofen zu Lübeck.	305 / 1863	40 (22%)	47 (25%)
6. Clavier-Sonaten und Freye Fantasien nebst einigen Rondos fürs Fortepiano für Kenner und Liebhaber Sechste Sammlung	1787	Ihro Hochgräflichen Gnaden Maria Theresia, Reichs- Gräfin zu Leiningen- Westerburg.	290 / 2014	50 (25%)	50 (25%)

Among the named subscribers. The percentages have been rounded off.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Includes two anonymous subscribers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Includes five anonymous subscribers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Includes one anonymous subscriber.

stance. Most of the professionals seem to have been workaday musicians, cantors or organists in out-of-the-way towns such as Zenst, Trebnitz, Otterndorf, and Kunzendorf who are not remembered in the canons of music history.

Of the 148 professional musicians whose names appeared on the six lists, only 38 are mentioned in modern sources. Among those who are documented in music history, 6 were students of C. P. E. Bach: Niels Schiørring, Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke, Carl August Friedrich Westenholz, Johann Georg Witthauer, Zierlein (no forenames known), and Hardenack Otto Conrad Zinck. Another 11 had direct ties of other kinds to Bach: his brother, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (the "Bückeburg Bach"); Charles Burney in London (who visited Bach in Hamburg during his famous trip to the Continent); Carl Friedrich Cramer (professor of languages at Kiel whose translations of Psalms Bach set and who edited works by Emanuel for publication); Frantisek Xaver Dussek in Prague (who collected subscriptions for Bach and whose brother studied with him in Hamburg); Christoph Daniel Ebeling (a writer on music and Hamburg associate who organized a concert with Bach in honor of Burney's visit to Hamburg); the organist Johann Wilhelm Häßler (who met Bach in Hamburg during a concert tour); Jan Dawid Holland, organist of the cathedral in Hamburg (and thus Bach's local colleague); J. S. Bach's pupil Gottfried August Homilius (who was the same age as C. P. E. Bach and probably became acquainted with him during his student days in Leipzig); Johann Philipp Kirnberger (another J. S. Bach student and later a Berlin colleague of Emanuel's); Johann Gottfried Müthel (who visited both J. S. and C. P. E. Bach in 1750); and Johann Ernst Rembt (who is said to have known C. P. E. Bach and specialized in the performance of J. S. Bach's music). Forkel, Türk, and Ernst Wilhelm Wolf also collected subscriptions for Bach. Thus, of the 38 identifiable musicians, at least 20 knew or had dealings with C. P. E. Bach personally. This suggests strong patronage from a close-knit group of professional musicians, mostly north Germans, who corresponded and supported one another's undertakings.

Because the subscription lists provided the titles of the professional musicians, it is possible to survey the nature of the group even though the precise identity of many individuals cannot be determined. The most common appellation was *Organist*, found in nearly 40 percent of the cases. Next, at 27 percent, was *Musikus*, which was a very general term applied to both the twelve-year-old Schwencke (a Hamburg pupil of Emanuel Bach and later his

successor as *Stadtkantor*) and to "Herr Schiorring," a musician at the Danish court. About 9 percent of the subscribing musicians were described as *Cantor*, and another 9 percent as *Kammermusikus*, followed by 6 percent as *Musik-director* and 2 percent as *Kapellmeister*. Other, less frequently used titles include *Sangmeister*, *Claviermeister*, *Kammersänger*, and *Stadtmusikus*.

Professional musicians undoubtedly had a number of reasons for buying the *Sonaten*. The following three probably were among the most common.

First, musicians may have bought the *Sonaten* for their own use. Not all people who made their living from music were brilliantly skilled and able to compose or improvise well. Many on the subscription lists were moderately talented town organists, cantors, and chamber musicians who needed material for playing. For them even the "Liebhaber" works in the collections may have been challenging.

Second, they may have purchased them for use in teaching. Instructional use may have entailed buying more than one copy, as reflected in the multiple purchases on the lists. Then again, it need not have, for teachers often relied on the time-honored German tradition of having students copy out music they were to study.

Third, individuals may have bought the works for further sale. Among the professional musicians on the lists are many of the collectors who gathered names and payments from subscribers in their own regions and then distributed copies of the work when it was printed. In return the agents received a discount on copies they bought or even free copies if they collected sufficient names. They could then sell the free copies for a small profit.

The "admirers" buying the *Sonaten* had many different occupations. The page reproduced in pl.1, for instance, includes "Herr Advocat" Krzizewicz, "Kaufmann" Eichstädt, "Kammersecretär" Ackermann, and "Frau Amtshauptmannin" von Broitzen. High-ranking amateurs, those holding titles of nobility, accounted for less than 10 percent of the subscribers in each collection. This suggests strong "middle-class" patronage from individuals described as merchants, doctors, lawyers, court officials, and so forth. Married women were described in terms of their husband's position, as was customary in Germany until recently. Table 1 shows that the percentage of women subscribers was quite high, from 22 to 29 percent. This, too, is telling, for it points to a new audience for chamber music and keyboard pieces in particular.

Further analysis of the women's names and titles (that is, "Frau" versus

"Fräulein," "Madame" versus "Mademoiselle") shows that the group divided almost evenly into married and unmarried individuals. There is a slight trend toward married women: 47 percent for the first collection, 48 percent for the second, 50 percent for the third, 51 percent for the fourth, and 55 percent for the fifth. Perhaps the early collections were purchased by schoolgirls who continued to buy the publications as they grew older and married. The sixth collection breaks the pattern, however, with a much larger percentage of single women among the female subscribers, 62 percent.

#### Conclusion

The correspondence between Bach and Breitkopf and the six subscription lists point to the financial success of the *Sonaten* venture. Bach's expenses included Breitkopf's printing charge, the cost of the paper, and advertising and shipping fees. Sales to subscribers alone would have easily covered these expenses. This is borne out in a letter to Alexander Reinagle in which Bach stated that he had made 1,000 marks profit from one of these collections.<sup>39</sup> In another letter, written less than a year before his death, Bach claimed that he had done well from the sonatas and offered the remaining stock to his friend Immanuel Breitkopf: "I'm not poor. Thank God! What I do, I do not do out of need. I made out handsomely with my sonatas. . . . Now my proposition! They brought me 500 Reichstaler in Louis d'or for each of the 6 collections @ 5 Reichstaler per exemplar. . . . Do you wish 3000 and some 38 exemplars? I don't wish to sell the things piece by piece." <sup>40</sup>

Bach had been flexible about the price of the sonatas. He felt he had not made sufficient profit on the first collection, so he raised the price for the next one and kept it at that level for the remaining volumes. He also reduced the amount of music after the first collection, thereby lowering the cost of Breitkopf's services. Bach was able to make a considerable profit with these changes, even selling only half the print run.

Bach's success in publishing his own works, then, can be attributed to various factors. First, the intellectual climate of the time supported the venture. Second, Bach was selling a product that appealed to a broad spectrum of

<sup>39.</sup> Oscar G. Sonneck, "Zwei Briefe C. Ph. Em. Bach's an Alexander Reinagle," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 8 (1906-7): 112-14.

<sup>40.</sup> Briefe, letter 179 of 3 May 1788.

buyers: amateurs and professionals, nobles and commoners, Germans and foreigners, and men and women. Third, he was able to utilize a network of agents who were adept at collecting orders and distributing printed copies. Fourth, he could turn to a marvelously competent printer, Immanuel Breitkopf, who was able to reproduce the music handsomely and in large quantities. Without question, however, the most important part of the enterprise was the presence of a strong central manager, C. P. E. Bach himself.

# The Breitkopf Firm's Relations with Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart

# Neal Zaslaw

n the course of writing a book about Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's symphonies,¹ I was struck by how few of Mozart's approximately fifty-five symphonies were published during his lifetime. Given how prolific Mozart was and how desperately in need of funds he and his father, Leopold, were on many occasions, the amount of music they published in all genres is surprisingly small compared to the publications of other successful composers of the period. For a long time I did not question Leopold's explanations for this. Writing to his son,² Leopold claimed that he allowed little to be published because "one gradually becomes more fastidious" and that Wolfgang would find that the works that once delighted him would in time displease him. Again, in a letter to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, Leopold claimed that "we only allow very little to be published"³ (this he underlined), and in another letter he wrote that he and his son preferred to circulate Wolfgang's music privately and that Wolfgang "never gives any compositions to be engraved or printed

- 1. Neal Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1989).
- 2. Letter of 24 September 1778, in *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. William A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Heinz Eibl, 7 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–75), 2:485; Emily Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 3d ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 619.
- 3. Letter of 12 February 1781, in *Briefe*, 3:92-93; *Letters*, 710. See Richard Schaal, "Ein angeblich verschollener Brief von Leopold Mozart," *Acta Mozartiana* 26 (1979): 50-51.

which are already in other hands, for we are very particular about having only one set of copies of every work."4

Having become more familiar with the ways of Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart, I now believe that Leopold's explanations were deliberately deceitful. In every instance that can be documented, both father and son dealt eagerly with any publisher, any professional copying house, or any potential patron who presented himself, without regard for whether the music in question had previously been copied or sold for other purposes.

In general the Mozarts' dealings with their publishers are poorly documented. Only Leopold's long relationship with the Breitkopfs – first with Bernhard Christoph and then with Johann Gottlob Immanuel – provides enough information for us to begin to understand what might lie behind the dearth of publications of Wolfgang's music and the devious defensiveness in Leopold's letters to the Breitkopf firm. According to what I have been able to discover, the surviving evidence for the dealings between the Breitkopfs and the Mozarts falls into four categories: (1) fourteen notices (containing the incipits of seventy-one works) in the Breitkopf thematic catalogs; (2) thirteen notices in the nonthematic catalogs; (3) nineteen letters, consisting of five from Leopold Mozart to his wife mentioning his business with the Breitkopf firm and thirteen from Leopold to Immanuel Breitkopf, but only one of Breitkopf's replies, and that merely in draft form; and (4) a single notice in a Leipzig and Frankfurt Book Fair catalog. These documents, dating from between 1760 and 1787, are set forth in the appendix to this article. What do they tell us?

We can begin by eliminating the two large portions of the correspondence dealing either with the purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court or with Leopold's *Violinschule*; both of these lengthy transactions are sui generis. What remains forms a pattern suggesting that Breitkopf was interested in handling Leopold's music but not Wolfgang's. In the early years Leopold succeeded in selling seventy-one of his compositions to the Breitkopf firm, mostly in manuscript. Once Leopold had ceased to promote his own works, however, and began trying to promote his son's with Immanuel Breitkopf (who by that time had taken over the firm), he encountered resistance. That is, although Breitkopf seems to have been ready to undertake the safe

<sup>4.</sup> Letter of 10 August 1781, in Briefe, 3:149; Letters, 759.

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enterprise of acting as dealer for Wolfgang's works published elsewhere, he apparently categorically refused to handle new works.

Immanuel Breitkopf disseminated new material in two ways: keyboard music, songs, and other "small" genres were printed with Breitkopf's newly contrived music type. Other, more ambitious genres were handled only in manuscript. (Breitkopf did not use engraving.) The worldly Leopold surely knew all this when in 1772 he offered to send Breitkopf Wolfgang's keyboard pieces, trios for two violins and cello, string quartets, symphonies, or works in any other genre Breitkopf might prefer (letter of 7 February); when in 1778 he offered Wolfgang's keyboard pieces, trios and quartets for winds or strings, and so on (letter of 4 October); or when in 1781 he offered to send Wolfgang's symphonies, keyboard sonatas, quartets, trios, and so on (letter of 12 February).

In the last of these three letters, Leopold also told Breitkopf that he saw "works engraved and printed which really arouse my pity." This remark could be read as nothing more than a general, philosophical observation that a lot of music of poor quality was being published. But such a reading would miss the point. Leopold was using diplomatic language to let Breitkopf know that he was publishing and disseminating plenty of music of a much lower standard than Wolfgang's. Breitkopf ignored both Leopold's hard sell and his soft sell. Why?

The answer is, I fear, that Wolfgang's music was seen as too difficult technically and too avant-garde to be commercially viable in the 1770s and, to some extent, in the 1780s as well. It is not clear how Breitkopf knew this, but we can be confident that he was in the best possible position to see what kinds of music sold and what kinds did not. One could quote many writers about the conceptual and technical difficulties of Wolfgang's music, which transcended the boundaries of ease and accessibility that were the basic tenets of the reigning style galant; the following eight items, however, may serve as a representative sample of such opinion:

Louis de Vismes, 1772: "[Mozart's orchestral music] is one further instance of early fruit being more extraordinary than excellent." 5

5. Otto Erich Deutsch, Mozart: Die Dokumente seiner Lebens, Neue Mozart-Ausgabe, vol. 34 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 132; English-language edition, Deutsch, Mozart: A Documentary

Leopold Mozart, 1780: "When your music is performed by a mediocre orchestra, it will always be the loser, because it is composed with so much discernment for the various instruments and is far from being conventional, as, on the whole, Italian music is." 6

Magazin der Musik, 1787: "The pity is only that [Mozart] aims too high in his artful and truly beautiful compositions. . . . His new quartets . . . dedicated to Haydn may well be called too highly seasoned – and whose palate can endure this for long?" <sup>7</sup>

Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf, 1788: "[Mozart's string quartets,] because of their unrelenting, extreme artfulness, are not everyone's purchase." 8

Journal des Luxus und der Moden, 1788: "Many another piece keeps some countenance even when indifferently performed; but [Mozart's piano quartet] can in truth hardly bear listening to when it falls into mediocre amateurish hands and is negligently played." 9

Dramaturgische Blätter (Hanover), 1788: "[In Mozart's operas] too artful a texture obscures the fluency of the singing in many places. . . . for popular delivery this kind of thing is of no use. The same is true of the frequent modulations and the many enharmonic progressions, which, beautiful as they sound on the pianoforte, have no effect in the orchestra." <sup>10</sup>

Teutschlands Annalen des Jahres 1794 (Chemnitz), 1795: "For all their fire, for all their pomp and brilliance, [Mozart's symphonies] yet lack that sense of unity,

Biography, 2d ed., trans. Eric Blom, Peter Branscombe, and Jeremy Noble (London: A. & C. Black, 1966), 147. See C. B. Oldman, "Charles Burney and Louis de Visme," *Music Review* 27 (1966): 93-97.

<sup>6.</sup> Letter of 4 December 1780, in Briefe, 3:45; Letters, 681.

<sup>7.</sup> Deutsch, Dokumente, 255-56; Documentary Biography, 290. The date of this issue of the Magazin der Musik is 23 April.

<sup>8.</sup> Letter of 18 August from Dittersdorf to the Viennese publisher Artaria, cited in Eva Badura-Skoda, "Dittersdorf über Haydns und Mozarts Quartette," in *Collectanea Mozartiana*, ed. Cordula Roleff, 41–50 (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1988); English-language translation in Badura-Skoda, ed., *Carl Ditters von Ditterdorf (1739–1799): Six Symphonies* (The Symphony 1720–1840 series, gen. ed. Barry Brook, vol.B/i), trans. Leo F. Balk (New York: Garland, 1985), xxii.

<sup>9.</sup> Deutsch, Dokumente, 279-80; Documentary Biography, 317-18. This is from the June issue.

<sup>10.</sup> Deutsch, Dokumente, 287-88; Documentary Biography, 328.

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that clarity and directness of presentation. . . . An almost entirely spicy diet spoils the palate if one's taste for it continues." 11

Carl Friedrich Zelter, 1798: "Haydn, in one of his newest and finest symphonies in C major [Hob I:95], has a fugue as a final movement; Mozart did this, too, in his tremendous Symphony in C Major [K. 551], in which, as we all know, he pushed things a little far." 12

With the virtuosity of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in our minds, we who (disclaimers to the contrary) all too often still fallaciously regard Mozart's music as "easy" must remind ourselves that, among his contemporaries, that was the case neither for professional musicians nor for the Kenner und Liebhaber who constituted the principal market for his music.

Leopold must have been torn between his understanding of and admiration for his son's music, on the one hand, and his desire to see him make a living, on the other. In 1778, when Wolfgang was failing to support himself in Paris, Leopold wrote to him urging him to write short, easy pieces for rapid publication, holding up Johann Christian Bach as an example of a composer who did just that while still retaining the respect of his colleagues. Wolfgang apparently could not or would not obey his father in this regard. Hence, despite a wide range of admiring acquaintances and correspondents in many parts of Western Europe, Leopold never found the formula that would enable him or Wolfgang to sell the latter's music to publishers. As for the Breitkopfs, the evidence of their dealings with Leopold Mozart is that they were businessmen first and musical connoisseurs second.

<sup>11.</sup> Deutsch, Dokumente, 413-14; Documentary Biography, 472-73.

<sup>12. [</sup>Carl Freidrich] Z[elter], "Bescheidene Anfragen an die modernsten Komponisten und Virtuosen," Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 1 (1798): col.153. For further discussion of Mozart's difficulty, see Zaslaw, Mozart's Symphonies, 528-32. When this article was already in press, I learned that Mozart met with Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf in Vienna in late November or early December 1786 and offered him works for publication, although the Breitkopf firm subsequently advertised only works already published elsewhere. See Cliff Eisen, New Mozart Documents: A Supplement to O. E. Deutsch's Documentary Biography (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 47, document 74.

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# APPENDIX

# Dealings between the Breitkopfs and the Mozarts:

#### THE DOCUMENTS

Abbreviations

TH = Breitkopf thematic catalog [rpt. = Brook] NTH = Breitkopf nonthematic catalog

The numbering and texts of the letters come from *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. William A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, and Joseph Heinz Eibl (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962–75), except for letters 582 and 613, which are from Richard Schaal, "Ein angeblich verschollener Brief von Leopold Mozart," *Acta Mozartiana* 26 (1979): 50–51. In the correspondence, unless stated otherwise, Leopold Mozart is in Salzburg, and Breitkopf is in Leipzig.

#### 1760

Verzeichniss musikalischer Bücher, Erste Ausgabe (Neujahrmesse 1760) [NTH].
VII. Die Orgel und das Clavecimbel. 4. Kleine Stücke für das Clavecimbel.
Mozart, (Leop. hochfürstl. Salzb. Hofmusikus) der Morgan und der Abend, den Innwohnern der hochfürstl. Residenz-Stadt Salzburg melodisch und harmonisch angekündiget; oder zwölf Musikstücke für das Clavier, deren eines täglich in der Festung Hohensalzburg, auf dem sogenannten Hornwerke, Morgens und Abends gespielet wird. Augsp. 1759. fol. transv. a 8 gr.
VIII. Die Violine. 1. Anweizung zur Erlernung der Violine.
Mozart, (Leop. Hochf. Salzb. Cammermus.) Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule, entworfen und mit vier Kupfertafeln sammt einer Tabelle versehen. Augsp. 1756. 4to. a 2 thl. 12 gr.

# 1761

Verzeichniss musikalischer Bücher, Zweyte Ausgabe (Ostermesse 1761) [NTH].

VII. Die Orgel und das Clavecimbel. 5. Größere Stücke für das Clavecimbel in Partien, Suiten, Piecen, Concerten, Sinfonien, und dergleichen Sammlungen.

Raccolta, delle melliore Sinfonie di più celebri compositori di nostro tempo, accommodate all' Clavicembalo. Raccolta I. No.I–VI. Lips. 1761. fol. a 1 thl.

#### 1761

Allgemeines Verzeichniss derer Bücher, welche in der Frankfurter und Leipziger Michaelmesse des 1761 Jahres entweder ganz neu gedruckt, oder sonst verbessert, wieder aufgeleget The Breitkopf Firm's Relations with Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart

worden sind, auch ins künstige noch herauskommen sollen (Leipzig in der Weidmannischen Handlung).

Mozart, Leop. Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule, mit vier Kupfertafeln und einer Tabelle. 4. Augsburg und Leipzig, bey J. G. J. Breitkopf.

# 1761

Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, Erste Ausgabe (Michaelmesse 1761) [NTH].

III. Die Violine. 6. Sinfonien für vier und mehrer Instrumente.

Mozart, Leopold, Musico da Camera d'Archiepiscop. di Salsburg, VI. Sinfonie a 4 & 6 Voci, Corni, Violini, Viola e Basso. a 4 thl. 12 gr.

# 1762

Parte I<sup>ma</sup>. Catalogo delle Sinfonia (1762) [TH; Brook, 22].



1762

Parte II<sup>da</sup>. Catalogo dei Soli, Duetti, Trii e Concerti (1762) [TH]. Trii [Brook, 58].





1763

Verzeichniss musikalischer Bücher, Dritte Ausgabe (Ostermesse 1763) [NTH]. [III. Die Violine. 6. Sinfonien mit 2 Violinen, Viole und Baß. Andere Instrumente sind besonders angemerkt.]

Sinfonie, Raccolta delle megliore, di più celebri Compositori di nostro Tempo, accommodate all Clavicembalo. Raccolta I. II. III. IV. Lips. 1762. fol. a 4 thl. [N.B.: there is a section for violin methods containing an anonymous one (Augsburg, 1759) and Tessarini's (Amsterdam, 1762), but not Leopold Mozart's!]

1763

Parte III<sup>2a</sup>. Catalogo de' Soli, Duetti, Trii e Concerti (1763) [TH]. Oboe. Concerti [Brook, 109].

III. Conc. a Oboe Conc. 2 Viol. III. Conc. a Oboe Conc. 2 Viol. V. B. Racc, II.



1764

Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, Zweyte Ausgabe (Neujahrmesse 1764) [NTH]. III. Die Violine. 3. Trio, für zwey Violinen und Baß.

[VI.] Raccolta di VI. Sonate, a 2 Violini e Basso, da diversi autori. . . . Raccolta IV. continente: 1 di J. S. Bach, 1 di F. W. Bach, 1 di Hendel, 1 di Janitzsch, 1 di Mozard, 1 di Tzardt [Czarth]. 3 thl.

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III. Die Violine. 6. Sinfonien mit 2 Violinen, Viole und Baß. Andere Instrumente sind besonders angemerkt.

Mozart, Leop. VI. Sinfonie, 2) c.2 Corni. Racc. II. 4 thl. 8 gr.

III. Die Violine. 8. Parthien mit 2 Violinen, Viole und Baß. Die übrigen Instrumente sind besonders angemerkt.

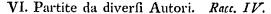
Mozard, II. Partite, 1) c.2 Corni, 2 Flauti. 2) c.2 Corni, 2 Flaut. 2 thl. 16 gr. XVIII. Die Oboe. 3. Concerte für die Oboe.

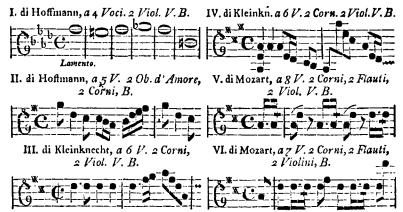
Mozart, I. Concerto. a Oboe Concert. 2 Corni, 2 Violini, Viola e Basso. 1 thl.

#### 1765

Parte V<sup>ta</sup>. Catalogo de' Quadri, Partite, Divertimenti, Cassat. Scherz. ed Intrade o Francese Ouvertures a Diversi Stromenti [TH].

Partite a Diversi Stromenti [Brook, 151].





1766

Supplemento I. dei Catalogi delle Sinfonie, Partite, Ouverture, Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quattri e Concerti (1766) [TH].

Sinfonie con II. Violini, Viola e Basso [Brook, 214].





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#### 1767

Supplemento II. dei Catalogi delle Sinfonie, Partite, Overture, Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quattri e Concerti (1767) [TH].

Partite, Divertimenti, Cassationes, Concertini [Brook, 267].

1. Divert. di MOZART, a Quattra Instrum. Conc. a Viol. Violonc.

Cembalo. Sonate a Cembalo Solo, intagliate in Parigi [Brook, 287].

## IV. Sonates pour le Clavecin avec l'Accompagnement de Violon par Mr. MOZARD.



1768

Supplemento III. dei Catalogi delle Sinfonie, Partite, Overture, Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quattri e Concerti (1768) [TH].

Trii a Cembalo obligato. con Violino o Traverso [Brook, 327].

#### VI. Trii di Wolffgang. MOZARD. a Cemb. e Violino.



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[Lost correspondence between Leopold Mozart and Breitkopf. Leopold sends copies of:

- 1. Wolfgang's engraved sonatas from Paris, London, or Amsterdam;
- the engraving of Leopold, Wolfgang, and Nannerl after Carmontelle's watercolor; and
- 3. Leopold's Violinschule.]

#### 1770

Letter 153 (7 January 1770): Leopold Mozart in Verona to his wife in Salzburg.

- 1. Asks whether Breitkopf has written acknowledging receipt of 100 books.
- 2. Asks whether the books were sent to Vienna and whether Herr Gräffer received them.

#### 1770

Letter 159 (3 February 1770): Leopold Mozart in Milan to his wife in Salzburg.

1. Tells his wife to wait a few more post days for letters from Breitkopf and Gräffer.

#### 1770

Verzeichniss Musikalischer Bücher, Vierte Ausgabe (Ostermesse 1770) [NTH].

VIII. Die Orgel und das Clavecimbel. 7. Solos für das Clavier, mit einer Violin ad Libitum.

Mozart, Wolfgang, II. Sonates pour le Clavecin, qui peuvent se jouer avec l'accompagnement de Violin. Œv. I. Paris. fol. trav. 1 thl. 12 gr.

- II. Sonat. Œuv. II. Paris, fol. trav.1 thl. 12 gr.
- VI. Sonat. Œuv. IV. Amsterdam. fol. 2 thl. 6 gr.

#### 1770

Letter 209 (18 September 1770): Leopold Mozart in Bologna to his wife in Salzburg.

 Tells her to ask Herr Schwarzkopf whether he has an order from Breitkopf to pay for the copies sent.

#### 1770

Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, Dritte Ausgabe (Michaelmesse 1770) [NTH].

III. Die Violine. 7. Sinfonien mit 2 Violinen, Viola und Baß. Andere Instrumente sind besonders angemerket.

Mozart, Leop. IV. Sinfonie, Racc. III. 2 thl. 16 gr.

III. Die Violine. 10. *Divertimenti*, mit 2 Violinen, Viola und Baß. Die übrigen Instrumente sind besonders angemerkt.

Mozart, 1. Divertimento, con 2 Corni. 20 gr.

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#### 1770

Letter 214 (20 October 1770): Leopold Mozart in Milan to his wife in Salzburg.

- 1. Reports that he is glad that Breitkopf has paid.
- 2. Asks her to please report any books she has sold, been paid for, or sent out.

#### 1771

Letter 243 (31 August 1771): Leopold Mozart in Milan to his wife in Salzburg.

1. Requests a grand reckoning of how many copies of the *Violinschule* have been sent to Breitkopf, when and by what means, and how many paid for.

#### 1772

Letter 263 (7 February 1772): Leopold Mozart to J. G. I. Breitkopf.

- Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court through Breitkopf from the Dresden maker Karl Augustin Grenser (= Graeser = Grensner = Greuser).
- 2. Announces intention to return to Milan and Venice in December to fulfill Wolfgang's commissions.
- 3. Offers Wolfgang's keyboard pieces, trios for 2 violins and cello, string quartets, symphonies, or any other genre requested.
- 4. Asks whether Breitkopf has heard from their mutual friend Grimm and whether the engraved portrait and sonatas [from the grand tour of 1763–66] are selling.

#### 1775

Supplemento X. dei Catalogi delle Sinfonie, Partite, Overture, Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quattri e Concerti (1775) [TH].

Sinfonie [in manuscritto; Brook, p. 563].



1775

Letter 320 (6 October 1775): Leopold Mozart to J. G. I. Breitkopf.

- Reports that fifty copies of his Violinschule have been sent through Herr Schwarzkopf.
- 2. Offers Wolfgang's symphonies, quartets, trios, sonatas for solo violin and cello accompaniment, keyboard sonatas.

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- 3. Asks for C. P. E. Bach's Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen.
- 4. Asks whether Breitkopf has heard from Grimm and whether the portrait and sonatas are selling.

1776

Letter 322 (16 August 1776): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

1. Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.

1776

Letter 324 (13 December 1776): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

- 1. Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- 2. Discusses payment for the copies of the Violinschule.

1777

Verzeichniss Musikalischer Bücher, Fünfte Ausgabe (Ostermesse 1777) [NTH]. [N.B.: in the section reserved for violin methods there is only Löhlein's.]

1777

Letter 327 (11 April 1777): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

- 1. Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- 2. Discusses payment for the copies of the Violinschule.

1778

Letter 437 (12 March 1778): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

- 1. Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- 2. Discusses payment for the copies of the Violinschule.
- 3. Relates that Wolfgang has left the service of the Salzburg court and gone to Paris and that Leopold is unhappy.
- 4. Reports letter from Grimm.

1778

Letter 460a (4 July 1778): J. G. I. Breitkopf to Leopold Mozart.

[Lost, but it concerned (at least in part) the purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.]

1778

Letter 461 (6 July 1778): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

- 1. Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- 2. Reports that Wolfgang has left Salzburg service and is in Paris.
- 3. Requests prompt payment.

#### ZASLAW

#### 1778

Letter 467a (21 July 1778): J. G. I. Breitkopf to Leopold Mozart. [Lost, but it concerned (at least in part) the purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.]

#### 1778

Letter 495 (4 October 1778): Leopold Mozart to J. G. I. Breitkopf.

- 1. Acknowledges receipt of two previous letters, the earlier of which arrived only the previous day.
- 2. Discusses the purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- 3. Offers Wolfgang's keyboard pieces, trio and quartets for winds or strings, etc.
- 4. Reports the death of his wife in Paris and Wolfgang's plan to return to Salzburg service.

#### 1779

Letter 523a (30 March 1779): J. G. I. Breitkopf to Leopold Mozart.

[Lost, but (at least in part) it informed Leopold to expect payment from Nuremberg.]

#### 1779

Letter 524 (29 April 1779): Leopold Mozart to J. G. I. Breitkopf.

- 1. Acknowledges previous letter and receipt of payment.
- 2. Discusses purchase of woodwind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- 3. Undertakes negotiations about copies of the Violinschule.
- 4. Reports that his son and daughter join in sending greetings.

#### 1780

Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke, Vierte Ausgabe (nach der Ostermesse 1780) [NTH].

III. Die Violine. g. Sinfonien. Alle mit 2 Violinen, Bratsche und Baß. Bey
welchen noch mehrere Instrumente sind, ist es angemerkt worden.

Mozart, (L.) II. Sinf. a 2 Cor, 2 Oboi. 2 thl. 16 gr.

#### 1781

Letter 582 (12 February 1781): Leopold Mozart from Munich to Breitkopf & Son.

- 1. Reports being in Munich for the premiere of *Idomeneo*.
- 2. Announces plans to return to Salzburg 1 March and ability to send any items requested through Herr Schwarzkopf in time for the Leipzig Easter Fair.
- 3. Says that Breitkopf is familiar only with Wolfgang's early works.
- 4. Mentions that very little of Wolfgang's has been published except for some violin and keyboard sonatas written in Paris and dedicated to the elector of the Palatine.

#### The Breitkopf Firm's Relations with Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart

- 5. Offers to send some of Wolfgang's symphonies, keyboard sonatas, quartets, trios, etc.
- 6. Claims often to see pitifully poor work in print.

#### 1781

Letter 613 (30 July 1781): Breitkopf & Son to Leopold Mozart [lost, but survives in draft form].

- 1. Asks for thirty more copies of the *Violinschule* sent by way of Nuremberg, and two volumes of the first part of the keyboard pieces.
- 2. Mentions the wind instruments for the Salzburg court.
- Writes that if Leopold would like Wolfgang's works to be published by him, it must be keyboard works, since he uses music type only; symphonies and quartets require engraving.
- 4. Requests that Leopold send a few copies of Wolfgang's engraved Parisian keyboard trios and asks where they were engraved.

#### 1781

Letter 617 (10 August 1781): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

- 1. Mentions payments for the Salzburg wind instruments and the Violinschule.
- Reports that Leopold and Nannerl have returned to Salzburg after *Idomeneo* and that Wolfgang, in Vienna, has left Salzburg service.
- Gives the details of Wolfgang's upcoming publication (K. 296, 376-80).
   Copies of K. 301-6 can be had from Sieber in Paris; no more copies of K. 179, 180, or 354 remain.
- 4. Reports that *Idomeneo* was to have been engraved, but Wolfgang's abrupt departure for Vienna prevented that.
- 5. Claims that Wolfgang "never gives any compositions to be engraved or printed which are already in other hands, for we are very particular about having only one set of copies of every work."
- 6. Mentions more about payments for the Violinschule.
- 7. Subscribes for one copy of Reichardt's Musikalisches Kunstmagazin.

#### 1782

Letter 669 (28 April 1782): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf & Son.

Relates having returned from Munich too late to send the requested portions
of copies of the Violinschule for the Leipzig Easter Fair, but Nannerl has, as
requested, sent thirty copies through Herr Stein at carnival time; asks for a
grand reckoning.

- 2. Reports that Herr Stein can bring both parts of C. P. E. Bach's sonatas for the Leipzig St. Michael's Fair.
- 3. Mentions that Wolfgang remains in Vienna and that Artaria has published his keyboard sonatas (K. 296, 376-80).
- 4. Reports having two pupils living with him, the twelve-year-old son and fourteen-year-old daughter of the Munich theater director Marchand; the boy plays violin and keyboard, and the girl sings and plays keyboard.

#### 1782

Letter 698 (4 October 1782): Leopold Mozart to Breitkopf's Son & Co. [only a fragment known].

 Reports that Wolfgang will probably remain permanently in Vienna and that his German opera *Die Entführung* is successful and has already been performed sixteen times.

#### 1782-84

Supplemento XV. dei Catalogi delle Sinfonie, Partite, Overture, Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quattri e Concerti (1782, 1783 ed 1784).

Cembalo. Sonate intagliate e stampate [Brook, 810].

#### III Sonate da W. A. MOZARD. Mannheim.



Trii intagliati [Brook, 815].

VI Sonate da W. Amad. MOZART, a Cemb. e Violino.



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#### 1785-87

Supplemento XVI. dei Catalogi delle Sinfonie, Partite, Overture, Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quattri e Concerti (1785, 1786 ed 1787) [TH].

Sinfonies Periodiques [Brook, 846].

I. Grande Sinfonie periodique da W. A. MOZART. a 2 Clar. Tymp. 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Fag. 2 Viol. V. e B. Op. 8. Vienna.

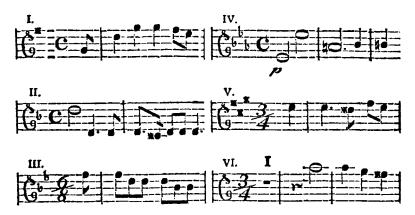


II. Grande Sinf. period. da W. A. MOZART. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Fag. 2 V. V. Violcello obl. e Violono. Op. 9. Vienna.



Violino. Quattri intagliati [Brook, 849].

VI. Quattri da W. A. MOZART. a 2 Viol. V. e B. Op. X. Vienna.

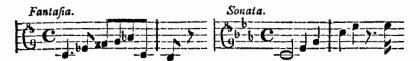


Cembalo. Sonate intagliate e stampate [Brook, 866-67].

Overtura dell'Opera l'en levement du Serail da W. A. MOZART. Vienna.



Fantasie et Sonate da W. A. MOZART. Op. XI. Vienna.



III. Sonate da W. A. MOZART. Op. VI. Vienna.



III. Sonate da W. A. MOZART. la troisieme c. Viol. obl. Op. VII. Vienna.



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Cembalo. Concerti intagliati [Brook, 872-73].

I. Grand Concert da W. A. MOZART. a Cemb. 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 V. V. e B. Oeuvre IV. Livre I. Vienna.



II. Grand Conc. da W. A. MOZART. a Cemb. 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. Oeuvre IV. Livre II. Vienna.



III. Grand Conc. da W. A. MOZART. a Gemb. 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. Oeuvre IV. Livre III. Vienna.



### PART THREE

The Breitkopf Catalogs

#### Yoshitake Kobayashi

hen Alfred Dörffel attempted to put together a list of early performances of Bach's works in the Leipzig Gewandhaus for his Geschichte der Gewandhauskonzerte of 1884, he was obliged to report that prior to Mendelssohn's directorship, only one Bach composition had appeared on the programs, and it was an inauthentic piece at that – the Mass in G Major, BWV ANH. III 167. Even when one takes into consideration the occasional performances of Bach's pieces in the Thomaskirche, this was a sorry record for the city that had been Bach's home and workplace. If Leipzig was nonetheless of central importance in sustaining Bach's posthumous reputation, however, then the firm of Breitkopf, which contributed significantly to the manuscript dissemination of the composer's music, deserves some of the credit.

Breitkopf's manuscripts are especially significant for Bach research for two reasons. First, the provenance of the manuscripts casts important light on the reliability of variant readings. Second, the attributions in the manuscripts sometimes help to settle questions of authorship for works of doubtful authenticity. Already in 1951, for instance, Alfred Dürr used a Breitkopf catalog to identify Melchior Hoffmann as the composer of Cantata 189, *Meine Seele rühmt und preist*: the incorrect assignment to Bach had stemmed from an exchange of title pages.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Breitkopf catalogs reveal that members

This chapter unites material from two papers, "Breitkopfs Handel mit Bach-Handschriften," presented at a Leipzig Congress in 1981 and published in *Beiträge zur Bachforschung* 1 (1982): 79–84, and "Zur Identifizierung von Breitkopf-Handschriften," presented at the Breitkopf Session of the International Musicological Society Meeting in Strasbourg in 1982.

1. Alfred Dürr, "Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 39 (1951-52): 30-46. Note that 120 years before Dürr's observations the well-known Bach-

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of the Bach family were often mistaken for one another. Unlike publishing colleagues in Paris, London, Amsterdam, and elsewhere who deliberately sold the works of minor masters under the names of important composers to boost sales, Breitkopf tried to make accurate attributions. This is clear from his oft-repeated plea to the users of his catalogs: "Manuscript music suffers from a more important defect, namely that often, either on purpose or through error, the name of the composer is given incorrectly. Being so little able to uncover all such mistakes myself, even with the help of my friends, I am all the more pleased when knowledgeable persons inform me of them."<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, the sheer bulk of material in the Breitkopf stock made occasional misattributions inevitable. In view of this, a systematic inspection of the Breitkopf sources is highly desirable. The first step of this inspection must be an overview of the Breitkopf manuscripts.

Let me begin by mentioning two important post-World War II works on Breitkopf sources: the *Bach-Dokumente* and Ernest May's dissertation, "Breitkopf's Role in the Transmission of J. S. Bach's Organ Chorales." The *Bach-Dokumente* reproduces Breitkopf's various offerings of Bach sources, and the editorial commentary enumerates extant manuscripts that can be attributed to Breitkopf. It does not give the basis for such attributions, however. May's dissertation deals principally with Bach's chorale arrangements, and a table outlines the known Breitkopf manuscripts of the repertory in question. The

manuscript collector Franz Hauser came to the same conclusion. Of *Meine Seele rübmt und preist* Hauser made the following comment in his thematic catalog of Bach's music: "This work is scarcely by Sebastian, rather by M. Hoffmann." Hauser was employed in Leipzig as an opera singer between 1832 and 1835, when the Breitkopf source containing the correct attribution was still available for scrutiny.

<sup>2.</sup> Vorbericht, Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke . . . Erste Ausgabe. Leipzig, in der Michaelismesse 1761 (Leipzig, 1761). Aside from making corrections without comment, Breitkopf publicly reported an incorrect attribution only once, in the Nachricht to Supplement 11 of 1774: "Herr Cammermusiker Eichner in Berlin has verified that both clavier concertos advertised on the last page are not by him. We can only assure the public that these sorts of errors are not calculatedly set forth by us, and that we make every attempt to discover such mistakes whenever we can." See Brook, col. 560.

<sup>3.</sup> Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1974.

<sup>4.</sup> In volume 3, nos. 705, 711, and 718.

data in the table are derived from the *Bach-Dokumente*, however, and here and elsewhere May leaves open the question of whether a given manuscript is a Breitkopf house manuscript or a copy of a house manuscript. Let me attempt, then, to update and supplement the findings of these two seminal studies.

Unfortunately, there is no record of manuscript sales in the archives of the Breitkopf firm. Only in a few nineteenth-century manuscripts from the Voß-Buch collection does one find confirmation of a purchase from Breitkopf.<sup>5</sup> When assessing a potential Breitkopf source, therefore, we must rely chiefly on various types of circumstantial evidence in the following forms:

- mention of the availability of the work in question in one of the Breitkopf catalogs;
- the presence of handwriting by a scribe who has been identified in connection with other Breitkopf manuscripts;
- the appearance of a watermark that is found in paper types used by Breitkopf;
- the agreement of the manuscript's makeup that is, the number of sheets with the appropriate description in a Breitkopf catalog;
- entries in the hand of a member of the Breitkopf family;
- readings that go back to a Breitkopf model; and
- the presence of other features that are typical of Breitkopf manuscripts, such as numberings in red ink, indications giving the number of sheets, and so on.

First and foremost one must realize that the Breitkopf firm did not acquire music manuscripts and then resell them. Rather, it was the firm's normal practice to retain the acquired manuscripts and sell only copies of them. This was a common practice in the music-manuscript trade in the second half of the eighteenth century. For instance, the heirs of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach followed just such a course when they published the 1790 catalog of the music in Emanuel's estate. With Breitkopf, house manuscripts, or *Stammbandschriften*, seem to have been sold off in bulk only with the auction of 1836. A small por-

- 5. On this point see Andreas Glöckner's article "Church Cantatas in the Breitkopf Catalogs" in the present volume.
- 6. See Verzeichniss des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Hamburg, 1790; rpt. as The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate, with preface by Rachel W. Wade [New York: Garland, 1981]), 66. There one reads: "Whoever wishes to possess something from this music collection should turn to Frau Capellmeister Bach, who will carefully produce clean, correct copies."

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tion of the house material remains to this day in the hands of the Breitkopf & Härtel firm. The location of the rest remains to be clarified, an issue to which I return shortly.

Using this method of manuscript reproduction, Breitkopf could offer limitless copies of any given work according to demand. For instance, there are two extant Breitkopf copies of the score of Bach's cantata Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, Bwv 106, namely SBB, AMB 43 and P 1018. For the Sanctus in D Major, Bwv 238, there are four Breitkopf sources: the house copy of the score, still in possession of the Breitkopf & Härtel firm, in Wiesbaden; the house copy of the parts, purchased by Fétis at the 1836 auction and now located in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, as Ms II 3892; and two sale copies of the score, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms II 3892 (once again), and Berlin, SBB, AMB 5. Even this small sample suggests that Bach's Latin church music may have held greater appeal in the 100-year period after the composer's death than did his cantatas, which had more personalized, localized texts.

I now return to the types of evidence and consider each individually.

#### CATALOGS

A good number of Breitkopf catalogs, both thematic and nonthematic, printed and manuscript, have survived. Most are cited in the *Bach-Dokumente*, and the printed thematic catalogs issued by Breitkopf are readily available in Barry Brook's facsimile edition.

Three other catalogs have come to light more recently. The first, discovered by Ernest May and discussed in his dissertation,<sup>7</sup> is the manuscript thematic catalog preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, under the signature II 3912. The second, also a thematic catalog in manuscript, is located in the SBB under the call number MUS MS THEOR. K. 423. The third, found by Hans-Joachim Schulze, is a printed nonthematic catalog, z 199 of MBLPZ. These catalogs permit the identification of several works not previously identified in the *Bach-Dokumente* entries.

For instance, the "IV Trios für 2 Claviere und Pedal" in the nonthematic catalog of 1764, cited in *Bach-Dokumente*,<sup>8</sup> alludes to four organ-trio movements: the Trio in D Minor, BWV 583; the third movement (*Andante*) from

- 7. May, "Breitkopf's Role," 55-59 and 118-71.
- 8. BDOK 3, no.711 (p.166 in particular).

Trio Sonata No.4 in E Minor, Bwv 528; the first movement from Trio Sonata No.1 in Eb Major, Bwv 525; and the second movement (Largo) from Trio Sonata No.5 in C Major, Bwv 529. The listing "xx11 Inventiones vors Clavier. Leipzig . . ." from the nonthematic catalog of 1763,9 which offered printed music, refers to a collection of twenty-two of the Inventions and Sinfonias (Bwv 772-79 and 781-94). Because Breitkopf is known to have once owned a manuscript, now lost, of twenty-two inventions and sinfonias, the Bach-Dokumente editors reasoned that the Breitkopf listing referred to that manuscript and that it was mistakenly inserted into the printed-music catalog. This assumption fails to take into account, however, that it was not customary to name the place of origin – in this case, Leipzig – in connection with manuscripts. We are led to wonder, then, whether there may indeed have been a printed edition that was based on the missing Breitkopf manuscript. If so, it would have been the earliest publication of the Inventions and Sinfonias, predating the Hoffmeister print of 1801 by almost forty years.

Here one may also refer to a catalog, mentioned by Oskar von Hase in Breitkopf & Härtel: Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht,10 with the title Eine starke Sammlung geschriebener älterer und neuerer Musik für alle Instrumente, Partituren von teutschen und italienischen Opern, Kirchenstücken etc., von welchen wir auf Bestellung richtige Abschriften liefern ("A Large Collection of Handwritten Music, Old and New, for All Instruments, Scores of German and Italian Operas, Church Pieces, etc., from Which We Will Supply Correct Copies on Demand"). This catalog can no longer be found. Hase wrote, in addition, that Härtel continued the music-manuscript business and thus carried it into the nineteenth century. If this is true - and there is no reason to doubt Hase's account – then there must have been other, now-lost catalogs from the Breitkopf & Härtel firm. That said, let me return to the issue of missing house copies. The catalog of the great auction of 1836, in which numerous house copies were sold, omits some of the titles that Breitkopf once owned. Since the Breitkopf firm must have held a house copy for every work offered in the catalogs (unlike the case of sales copies, which must have been produced only on receipt of specific orders), the number of house copies may well have been identical

<sup>9.</sup> воок 3, no.705 (p.152 in particular).

<sup>10.</sup> Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf & Härtel: Gedenschrift und Arbeitsbericht, 4th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917), 1:194.

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with the number of announced compositions. One wonders, then, what happened to the house copies that were not mentioned in the 1836 auction catalog. We must consider other manuscript sales, for which the catalogs have not survived. Moreover, it is also quite possible that already in the eighteenth century the firm began to sell off house copies instead of producing sales copies when there were few inquiries.<sup>11</sup>

#### SCRIBES

The distinction between house copies and sale copies is especially important with regard to scribes. The provenance of the house copies varies greatly, of course, and the scribes were limited neither to Leipzig and its environs nor to the second half of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, scribes for the sales copies were always Leipzig copyists working for Breitkopf. To establish the broadest possible basis for evaluating the scribes and watermarks of the Breitkopf manuscripts, I have investigated not only Bach sources but also numerous sources containing works of other composers. A modest but useful result of this research is a concordance <sup>12</sup> of scribes and watermarks compiled in collaboration with the Joseph-Haydn-Institut in Cologne.

The identification of a particular scribe proves to be especially difficult when the copyist did not work exclusively for Breitkopf. This is true, for instance, for the scribe termed "Anonymous J. S. Bach IX" by Eva Renate Blechschmidt in her catalog of the Amalien Bibliothek Collection. Anonymous J. S. Bach IX was responsible not only for a series of Breitkopf manuscripts but also for volumes 3 and 4 of the cantata collection of Franz Hauser (SBB, P 1159), material that has nothing to do with Breitkopf (it is a copy of parts belonging to the Thomasschule in Leipzig). 14

#### WATERMARKS

Watermarks are often the first evidence of a Breitkopf provenance. Breitkopf's house copies, as a rule, are transmitted with a cover folder of rough gray-blue paper. This paper contains a "wild man" watermark with a countermark IGE

- 11. This possibility is discussed in Glöckner, "Church Cantatas in the Breitkopf Catalogs."
- 12. Owned by myself.
- 13. Eva Renate Blechschmidt, *Die Amalien-Bibliothek* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965), 63-64 and 335.
- 14. See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung" (Ph.D. diss., Göttingen, 1973), 368.

in a field. This paper originated from the mill of Johann Georg Elssner (active 1768–78) in Zittau. The music paper of the Breitkopf house copies is of every possible origin, as one might expect, but the sale copies display only a few types of watermarks. Those identified thus far can be summarized as follows:<sup>15</sup>

- 1. A leaping unicorn, with the letter L on its stomach; the countermark is a monogram EL. This paper stemmed from the mill of Ephriam Lenck (active 1729–80) in Niederlössnitz. A very similar mark is found in a paper used for the original print of the Musical Offering, which may well underscore Breitkopf's involvement with the edition (Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf printed the title page and dedication; the music was engraved by Johann Georg Schübler in Zella).  $^{16}$
- 2. A fleur-de-lis shield with a suspended numeral 4, and underneath, the letters ICH; countermark KB. This paper came from the mill of Johann Christian Hertel (hence the initials ICH) in Kirchberg, Saxony. After Hertel's death in 1748, the mill was run by his children.
- 3. A fleur-de-lis shield with a suspended numeral 4, and underneath, the letters 1ESV; countermark LW. This paper came from the mill of Johann Eucharius Siegfried Vodel (active 1742-63) in Niederlungwitz, Saxony.
- 4. The letters ES within a circle, placed in the middle of the sheet. This paper originated from a mill in Einsiedel, Bohemia. Thus far the paper has not been observed in any Breitkopf sources of J. S. Bach compositions; it appears, rather, in connection with Breitkopf copies of works by Johann Christian Bach and Haydn.
- 5. The letters flm, without countermark. This mark appears only in late Breit-kopf manuscripts, those that seem to date from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origin of the paper is unknown.
- 6. Crossed swords, without countermark. The paper comes from Saxony, although a more exact provenance cannot be determined.

#### MANUSCRIPT SIZE

The number of sheets used in the various manuscripts is not stated directly in the Breitkopf catalogs, but it can be calculated on the basis of the prices quoted. A number of printed nonthematic catalogs include the following statement: "Those music lovers who are accustomed to paying three groschen or even less

- 15. The various dates have been derived with the aid of the watermark collection of Karl Theodor Weiß in the Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig.
- 16. See NBA VIII/1, KB, pp.46-52.

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for a sheet of copied music and who complain about my price of 4 groschen are kindly urged to consider that it is one thing to sell copies of a few pieces which can be made on request and without undue expense, and quite another to maintain an extensive stock and incur many costs and laborious correspondence to suit the convenience of the public." <sup>17</sup>

If a manuscript in one of Breitkopf's catalogs was offered at, say, one thaler and eight groschen (in the eighteenth century a thaler amounted to twentyfour groschen), it follows that the manuscript was composed of eight sheets. This fact is most helpful in evaluating the authenticity of potential Breitkopf sources. To take one example: in the Bach-Dokumente the score copy of the motet Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied, BWV 225, SBB, AMB 27, is regarded as a Breitkopf manuscript. 18 The manuscript of Singet dem Herrn offered by Breitkopf cost two thalers, eight groschen, and therefore must have amounted to fourteen sheets. AMB 27, however, comprises only seven sheets. Even considering that the prices quoted in the Breitkopf catalogs are for parts and that the prices for scores are given only in summary fashion at the end of the section devoted to the genre in question (with a remark such as "N.B. the score price is somewhat less"), the score for Singet dem Herrn cannot have cost only half as much as the parts. In addition, the scribe and watermark of AMB 27 cannot be matched with those of any known Breitkopf manuscript. On the other hand, AMB 25, a score copy of the same work, amounts to eleven sheets – less than fourteen sheets, to be sure, but only somewhat less. Moreover, its copyist and watermark can be found in other Breitkopf sources.

ENTRIES IN THE HAND OF A MEMBER OF THE BREITKOPF FAMILY It is not unreasonable to assume that handwritten remarks such as titles, numbers of leaves, and so forth stem at least in part from a member of the Breitkopf family. Until now, material for handwriting comparison has been lacking. Only recently has my attention been drawn to the Breitkopfiana in the Handschriftenabteilung of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, which includes documents in the form of letters in the hands of Bernhard Christoph, Johann Gottlob Immanuel, and Christoph Gottlob Breitkopf. A systematic appraisal of this material remains to be carried out. Nevertheless, a cursory examination of the Berlin documents clearly demonstrates that

- 17. Nachricht, Verzeichniß Musicalischer Werke . . . Dritte Ausgabe (Leipzig, 1770).
- 18. BDOK 3, nos. 711 and 887 (p. 386 in particular).

the titles of some house copies <sup>19</sup> are in the hand of Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf.<sup>20</sup> The Berlin letters are important not just as handwriting samples but also as critical sources of information about the Breitkopfs' business practices. For instance, a letter of 29 March 1761, from Immanuel to the Frankfurt book dealer Reich, reads:

I ask you to obtain for me from Herr Kapellmeister Fischer in Frankfurt, at the best price, when it arrives from England:

- Abel's 6 sonatas for obbligato cembalo and violin or flute, which he offered in subscription last year for 7 Gulden. Something similar was sold by the widow of Kapellmeister König at the Grosser Kornmarkt.
- 2. König's chorale book, or *Harmonischer Liederschatz*, which ordinarily costs 2 Gulden, 30 Groschen.

If a catalog of music is available with either, I will be very indebted if you bring it along at the same time.

And if you happen to run into a friend from Mainz at the Frankfurt fair who would be willing to supply me with reliable copies of the symphonies of Mainz's well-known musician Herr Zach, you would perform a kind service and earn thanks not just from me alone but from many others in Leipzig.

This letter shows the manner in which Breitkopf sought items for his music collection. In this instance he clearly met with success, for we find the Abel sonatas listed in the thematic catalog of 1776–77 (Brook, col. 614), the König chorale book in the nonthematic catalog of 1763 (p.66), and a set of Zach's symphonies in the thematic catalog of 1766 (Brook, col. 223).

#### READINGS THAT GO BACK TO A BREITKOPF MODEL

When the text of a manuscript reflects that of a Breitkopf house copy, then there is at least a chance that the manuscript was a sale copy from the firm. Of course, other possibilities exist: first, that the Breitkopf house copy served at some point as a model for a collector,<sup>21</sup> or second, that the later owner of

- 19. Such as that of the so-called Zurich autograph of the Well-Tempered Clavier, Book 1, for instance, now located in the Gemeente Museum, The Hague.
- 20. The business-ledger entry, presented in facsimile in *Der Bär: Jahrbuch von Breitkopf & Härtel* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925), 23, and said to be by Immanuel Breitkopf, is in truth, in the handwriting of his son Christoph Gottlob.
- 21. This is the case with the copy of the Sanctus in F Major, BWV ANH. II 27, produced at the Breitkopf firm by Franz Hauser. The manuscript is presently located in the SBB as MUS. MS Bach P 1126.

a Breitkopf sale copy placed his manuscript at the disposal of a scribe who produced yet another copy. In either case the readings of the new manuscript would go back to a Breitkopf house copy even though the manuscript had nothing to do with the firm.

#### OTHER FEATURES

The house copies can be identified by characteristics other than the previously mentioned watermark on the cover folders. These copies include the word nom. followed by numbers, usually roman, entered in red ink. Alternatively they might include red figures with a slanting line drawn between, the indication "P" (for *Partitur*, or score) or "St" (for *Stimmen*, or parts) followed by the number of sheets, or a telltale ornamental border around the front title page.

Which of the surviving Bach manuscripts stem from Breitkopf's firm? A definite answer to this question would require examining all extant Bach sources for the criteria I have just outlined. What follows are, in summary form, the preliminary results of my own investigation, which encompassed approximately 90 percent of the Bach sources.

The following Bach manuscripts can be regarded as Breitkopf house copies:

- 1. The greater part of the Bach holdings of the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, which come from the estate of François-Joseph Fétis.
- 2. The dispersed holdings of the former Breitkopf & Härtel Archives, to be found today in the Breitkopf & Härtel Verlag in Wiesbaden, the Stadtarchiv in Leipzig, and the Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek in Darmstadt.
- 3. In the SBB: ST 122 (Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied, BWV 225), ST 400 (Mass in A Major, BWV 234), and N. MUS. MS 34 (Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut, BWV 117). In addition, the Bach-Dokumente proposes P 659 (anonymous, Mass in G Major, BWV ANH. III 167) and P 1017 (St. Luke Passion, BWV 246), but additional investigation is needed to confirm that claim.
- 4. In the Stadtbibliothek, Gdansk: MS 4203-4204 (114 "variierte und fugierte" chorales).
- 5. In the Bibliothek der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Gdansk: мs Joh. 130 (*Ich habe Lust zu scheiden*, вwv анм. 111 157).
- 6. In the Gemeente Museum, The Hague: 69 D 14 (the so-called Zurich autograph of the Well-Tempered Clavier, Book 1; in truth, a manuscript copy by Christian Gottlob Meissner).
- 7. In the MBLPZ: MS R 18 (four-part chorales).
- 8. In the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig: Sammlung Gorke, 305 (Befiehl du deine Wege, BWV

- AHN. 1179), 306 (Largo from Trio Sonata No. 5 in C Major, Bwv 529/2), and 311 (Poco Allegro from Trio Sonata No. 4 in E Minor, Bwv 528/3, and Trio on Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr, Bwv 664).
- 9. In the New York Public Library: Herter Collection, autograph score of the cantata *In allen meinen Taten*, BWV 97.
- 10. The autograph scores of *O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht*, in the Scheide Library, Princeton (Bwv 118a), and the Wilhelm Collection, Basel (Bwv 118b).

The following manuscripts can be regarded as Breitkopf sale copies:

- 1. From the Amalien Bibliothek, now located in the SBB: AMB 5, 25, 26, 43, 44, and 48 (for contents, see the Blechschmidt catalog).<sup>22</sup>
- 2. In the sbb: P 98, adn. 2 (Sanctus in Bb, BWV ANH. II 28), P 228, adn. 3 (Fugue in E Minor ["Wedge"], BWV 548/2), P 228, adn. 7 (Kirnberger, Fugue in E Minor, BWV ANH. III 94), P 235 (C. P. E. Bach, Concerto in A Minor, BWV ANH. III 189), P 485 (Fantasia and Fugue in Bb Major, BWV 907, and Fantasia and Fugue in D Major, BWV 908), P 637 (Prelude in C Major, BWV 567), P 661 (Durante, Mass in C Minor, BWV ANH. II 26), P 1018 (Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, BWV 106), P 1119 (various works), P 1160 (chorale preludes from the Orgelbüchlein, the "Great Eighteen" Collection, and other miscellaneous sources). The manuscript P 660 (Mass in G Major, BWV ANH. III 167) can be tentatively assigned to Breitkopf, although further inspection of its indistinct watermark is necessary.
- 3. In the Mozarteum, Salzburg: a copy of the fugue from the Chromatic Fantasia and Fugue in D Minor, without library signature.
- 4. In the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Warsaw: RPS. MUS. 92 (various cantatas and motets).

We can also identify numerous Breitkopf manuscripts containing works by composers other than J. S. Bach. I list these, by composer and type, in tabular form (see table 1). It is interesting to note that five of the manuscripts were once owned by Bach:

- 1. SBB, MUS. MS 30091, Johann Baal, Missa tota.
- 2. SBB, MUS. MS 30098, Francesco Conti, Languet anima mea.
- 3. SBB, MUS. MS 30187, Johann Christoph Schmidt, Auf Gott hoffe ich (sale copy: AMB 564).
- 22. Eva Renate Blechschmidt, Die Amalien-Bibliothek.
- 23. The identification of the scribe as G. B. Bierey by Paul Kast, in *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958), 8, is incorrect.

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- 4. SBB, MUS. MS 21745/25, Georg Philipp Telemann, *Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn*. The first part of the manuscript is in the hand of Bach copyist Johann Andreas Kuhnau.
- 5. Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Mus. Ms 986, George Frideric Handel, *Armida abbandonata*.

(translated by Carl Skoggard)

Table 1. Breitkopf Manuscripts of Works by Composers Other Than J. S. Bach

Composer	Work	Location		
HOUSE MANUSCRIPTS				
Anonymous	Confitebor tibi Domine	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Gloria in A Major	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Gloria in B Minor	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Kyrie	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Kyrie and Christe	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Kyrie and Gloria	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Magnificat	SBB, MUS. MS 30229		
Anonymous	Magnificat in D Major	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Magnificat in F Major	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Rectus Dominus	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Anonymous	Sanctus	SBB, MUS. MS 30240		
Johann Baal	Mass Tota in A Major	SBB, MUS. MS 30091		
C. P. E. Bach	Concerto in C Minor, H. 407	Darmstadt, Mus. Ms 970		
C. P. E. Bach?	Sinfonia in F Major	SBB, MUS. MS Bach ST 22		
C. P. E. Bach?	Sinfonia in G Major, н. 667	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт 22		
J. C. Bach	Symphony in Eb Major, TY. 265/5	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт 61		
J. C. Bach	Symphony in F Major, TY. 267/4	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт бо		
J. C. Bach	Symphony in D Major, TY. 272/3	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт 61		
J. C. Bach	Overture in D Major, TY. 275	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт б1		
J. C. Bach	Symphony in Eb Major, TY. 288/10	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт 29		
J. C. Bach	Symphony in Bb Major, TY. 288/9	sвв, мus. мs Bach sт 29		
J. E. Bach	Fugue in F Major	BRUBR, 11 4092		
J. C. Broeder	Magnificat	sвв, мus. мs 30098		
Antonio Caldara	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30170		
Giuseppe Carpani	De torrente voluptatis	sbb, mus. ms 30098		
Conti, Francesco	Languet anima mea	sвв, mus. ms 30098		
Christoph Förster	Laudate Dominum	SBB, MUS. MS 30102		
Graun?	•			

Table 1. (continued)

Composer	Work	Location	
G. F. Handel	Amico il fato	MBLPZ, 111.5.45	
G. F. Handel	E si dolce	MBLPZ, III.5.44	
G. F. Handel	Passagier ch'in salva oscura	MBLPZ, III.15.43	
G. F. Handel	Armida abbandonata	Darmstadt, Mus. Ms 986	
G. F. Handel	Crudel tiranno amor	MBLPZ, III.5.15	
G. F. Handel	Dal fatale momento	MBLPZ, III.5.14	
G. F. Handel	Dica il falso	MBLPZ, III.5.13	
G. F. Handel	Gioie venite in sen brillate	MBLPZ, III.5.12	
G. F. Handel	O numi eterni	MBLPZ, 111.5.16	
Gottlob Harrer	Magnificat	SBB, MUS. MS Harrer 94	
Gottlob Harrer	Sanctus Intonations	SBB, MUS. MS 30169	
Melchior Hoffmann	Magnificat	sвв, мus. мs autogr. М. Hoffmann 1	
Melchior Hoffmann	Mass	sвв, мus. мs autogr. М. Hoffmann 2	
Melchior Hoffmann	Gott hat uns nicht gesetzt	sвв, мus. мs autogr. М. Hoffmann 3	
G. A. Homilius	Magnificat	SBB, MUS. MS 30179	
J. C. Kerll	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30179	
J. L. Krebs	Magnificat	SBB, MUS. MS 30172	
J. L. Krebs	Two Sanctus settings	SBB, MUS. MS 30190	
Giovanni Legrenzi	Laudate pueri Dominum	SBB, MUS. MS 30229	
Francesco Mancini	Magnificat	SBB, MUS. MS 30187	
Francesco Mancini	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30098	
Romano Micheli	Amo Christum	SBB, MUS. MS 30173	
Romano Micheli	Sancte Cherubine	SBB, MUS. MS 30173	
Romano Micheli	Veni Sponsa Christi	SBB, MUS. MS 30173	
F. Passarini	Two Masses	SBB, MUS. MS 30102	
M. G. Peranda	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30098	
G. A. Ristori	Sanctus	SBB, MUS. MS 30185	
G. M. Rutini	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30185	
J. A. Scheibe	Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden	SBB, MUS. MS 30187	
J. A. Scheibe	Magnificat in A Major	SBB, MUS. MS 30098	
J. A. Scheibe	Magnificats in D Major and G Major	sbb, mus. ms 30187	
J. A. Scheibe	Sanctus in F Major	sbb, mus. ms 30187	
J. A. Scheibe	Two Sanctus settings	SBB, MUS. MS 30187	
J. C. Schmidt	Auf Gott hoffe ich	SBB, MUS. MS 30187	
Marino Silvani	Mass	sbb, mus. ms 30187	
G. H. Stölzel	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30187	

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#### Table 1. (continued)

Composer	Work	Location	
Teghetti	Kyrie	SBB, MUS. MS 30179	
G. P. Telemann	Domine ad adjuvandum	SBB, MUS. MS 21745	
G. P. Telemann	Magnificat	SBB, MUS. MS 21745/25	
Johann Theil	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30179	
J. D. Zelenka	Mass	sвв, мus. мs 30187	
	SALE MANUSCRIPTS		
C. P. E. Bach	Concerto in A Minor, н. 403	SBB, MUS. MS Bach P 235	
C. P. E. Bach	Concerto in F Major, H. 415	SBB, MUS. MS Bach ST 210	
C. P. E. Bach	Concerto in D Minor, H. 420	SBB, MUS. MS Bach ST 54	
C. P. E. Bach	Übersetzte Psalmen, H. 733	Vienna, 15748	
C. P. E. Bach	Concerto in E Minor, H. 428	SBB, MUS. MS Bach ST 36	
J. C. Bach	Concerto in F Minor, TY. 301/17	SBB, MUS. MS Bach ST 48	
W. F. Bach	Sonata in Eb Major, F. 5	sвв, миs. мs Bach р 688	
Luigi Battiferri	Twelve ricercars	SBB, MUS. MS 1200	
Georg Benda	Ariadne auf Naxos	SBB, AMB 358	
Georg Benda	Sie fliehet fort	SBB, MUS. MS 1347	
D. Borgo	Tribularer si nescirem misericordias	SBB, MUS. MS 30100	
C. D. von Dittersdorf	Mass	SBB, MUS. MS 30170	
Alessandro Grandi	Vidi speciosam	SBB, MUS. MS 30100	
J. A. Hasse	Attilio Regolo	SBB, AMB 318	
J. A. Hasse	Ciro	SBB, AMB 315	
F. J. Haydn	Divertimento in G Major, нов. 11:2	Schwerin, 2596	
F. J. Haydn	Divertimento in Eb Major, нов. II:21	Schwerin, 2597	
F. J. Haydn	Divertimento in D Major, HOB. II:22	Schwerin, 2599	
F. J. Haydn	Divertimento in Eb Major, HOB. II:6	MBLPZ, III.11.53	
F. J. Haydn	Cassation in G Major, HOB. 11:G1	Schwerin, 2604	
F. J. Haydn	Quartet in Bb Major, Op.1, No. 1, HOB. III:1	MBLPZ, 111.11.54	
F. J. Haydn	Quartet in Eb Major, Op.1, No. 4,	MBLPZ, III.11.52	
F. J. Haydn	Quartet in D Major, Op.1, No. 5, нов. III:3	MBLPZ, 111.11.56	
F. J. Haydn	Cassation in D Major, HOB. III:D3	Schwerin 2598	
F. J. Haydn	Partita in Bb Major, Hob. xv:	Gotha, MUS. PAG. 10	
F. J. Haydn	Sonata in F Major, HOB. XV:37	Gotha, MUS. PAG. 10	
F. J. Haydn	Sonata in C Major, HOB. XV:C1	Gotha, MUS. PAG. 10	
F. J. Haydn	Variations in D Major, HOB. XVII:7	Gotha, MUS. PAG. 27a	

Table 1. (continued)

Composer	Work	Location	
F. J. Haydn	Es ist nicht mehr! HOB. XXVIb:1	sbb, мus. мs 9940	
G. A. Homilius	Thirty Motets	SBB, AMB 298	
G. A. Homilius	Gott, der Herr, ist Sonn und Schild	SBB, AMB 534	
Reinhard Keiser	Begl'occhi risolvetevi	sbb, amb 384/11	
Reinhard Keiser	Fugue in D Minor	SBB, MUS. MS 30190	
Antonio Lotti	Alma ride	sbb, amb 356/iv	
Antonio Lotti	Sacri amoris	sвв, амв 356/v	
Grammatio Metallo	Sanctus Dominus in Sanctiss.	SBB, MUS. MS 30100	
Romano Micheli	O quam pulcher'es	SBB, MUS. MS 30100	
G. P. Palestrina	Two Masses	sbb, amb 356 i–ii	
G. P. Palestrina	Sanctus	sbb, амв 356 III	
J. C. Schmidt	Auf Gott hoffe ich	sbb, амв 564	
J. C. Schmidt	Mass	SBB, AMB 384 1	
Agostino Steffani	Twelve duets	SBB, AMB 299	
J. D. Zelenka	Two Masses	sbb, amb 360 i-ii	
J. D. Želenka	Two Masses	sbb, amb 361 11–111	
J. D. Zelenka	Magnificat	sbb, amb 361 iv	
J. D. Zelenka	Salve Regina	sbb, amb 361 i	
	-	-	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Additional abbreviations: Hob. = Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibiographisches Werkverzeichnis, ed. Anthony van Hoboken (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957–71); TV. = catalog of the works of Johann Christian Bach in Charles Sanford Terry, John Christian Bach, rev. ed., ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 193–361.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Additional abbreviations: Darmstadt = Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Darmstadt; Gotha = Landes- und Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha; Schwerin = Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek des Bezirks Schwerin; and Vienna = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

# Identifying Breitkopf House Copies Produced by the Firm's Own Scribes: A Preliminary Survey

George R. Hill

he identification of Breitkopf's music manuscripts provides a challenge for the modern musicologist. As far as we know, no records concerning the firm's music-copying business or any of the manuscript music associated with it survived the heavy bombardment of the Breitkopf & Härtel buildings during World War II. In fact, it is uncertain whether Breitkopf still owned any of its large stock of eighteenth-century music manuscripts after the mail auction of 1836.

One can categorize Breitkopf's manuscripts as either house copies or sale copies. According to conventional wisdom, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf acquired the house copies from a number of sources and used them to prepare sale copies to order. This distinction between house copies and sale copies breaks down, however, in the light of the fact that Breitkopf occasionally borrowed material from which he made house copies, at times using paper identical to that used for sale copies. In such instances a house copy greatly resembles a sale copy, except that it carries the house numbering system. By comparing various sources that are known to be house copies, we can discern important characteristics that can be used to identify other manuscripts that fall into the same category. At the same time, it is possible to establish differences between early and late house copies. These findings should enable us to recognize sale copies more easily as well – but that task I leave to future research.

House copies produced by Breitkopf's own scribes – my focus here – can be found in a number of European libraries. Most of these manuscripts can

be identified by distinctive numbers on their covers. The papers exhibit water-marks from Thuringia and Saxony, and the layouts are typical of north German practice. All the manuscripts located thus far passed through the 1836 mail auction, in which no fewer than 1,450 lots consisted of manuscript material.¹ Even this sizable number, however, constituted only a portion of the original archive: comparison of a number of listings in the auction catalog with entries in the Breitkopf thematic catalogs from the eighteenth century clearly shows that the firm's manuscript collection was greatly reduced before 1836. The auction seems to have represented a final dispersal, perhaps a sort of general housecleaning. Indeed, it included composers' autographs mixed with copyists' scores and parts.

A number of important nineteenth-century collectors acquired materials through the 1836 mail auction. For example, the Wagenseil trio manuscripts in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna² were a gift from Schubert's friend Leopold von Sonnleithner, who obtained them either directly or indirectly through the Breitkopf auction. The Fétis collection in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, contains a number of manuscripts listed in the auction catalog, as well as a marked copy of the catalog itself.³ Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–77), one of the commissioners of the sale, left his personal music collection to the city of Leipzig, and a number of auction items can be found among the Becker manuscripts in the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.⁴

To establish the characteristics of Breitkopf house copies, I will consider a series of manuscripts of works by Georg and Franz Benda, François-Joseph Gossec, Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Jan Ladislav Dussek, Carl Friedrich Abel, and Antonio or Egidio Duni. These works are listed in all the Breitkopf thematic catalogs, from the very first issue of 1762 to Supplement 15 of 1782–84. Within this material it is possible to identify two distinctive classes of

<sup>1.</sup> Verzeichnis geschriebener und gedruckter Musikalien aller Gattungen, welche am 1. Juni 1836 und folgenden Tagen . . . von Breitkopf & Härtel in ihrem Geschäftslocale zu Leipzig . . . verkauft werden sollen. (Leipzig, 1836). Copies of the Verzeichnis can be found in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, and in a private collection.

<sup>2.</sup> See table 3.

<sup>3.</sup> Ernest May discusses these items in "Connections between Breitkopf and J. S. Bach," in this volume.

<sup>4.</sup> See ibid.

#### Identifying House Copies by the Firm's Scribes

Table 1. Georg Benda, Symphonies

Serial Number	Raccolta	Breitkopf Thematic Catalog	Call Number, MBLPZ	
[No.1]		1762 (Brook, col.3)		
[No.2]	[1.2]	1762 (Brook, col.3)	111.11.8	
[No.3]		1762 (Brook, col.3)		
No.4	R.1.4	1762 (Brook, col.3)	III.11.21	
No.5	R.1.5	1762 (Brook, col.3)	III.11.22	
[No.6]		1762 (Brook, col.3)		
[No.7]		1766 (Brook, col.203)		
[No.8]		1766 (Brook, col.203)		
No.9	R.11.3	1766 (Brook, col.203)	111.11.25	
No.10	R.11.4	1766 (Brook, col.203)	111.11.18	
No.11	R.11.5	1766 (Brook, col.203)	III.11.20	
No.12	R.11.6	1766 (Brook, col.203)	111.11.9	
[No.13]		1766 (Brook, col.203)		
No.14	R.111.No.2	1766 (Brook, col.203)	III.11.10	
No.15	R.111.No.3	1766 (Brook, col.203)	111.11.7	
[No.16]		1766 (Brook, col.203)		
No.17	R.111.5	1766 (Brook, col.203)	III.11.24	
No.18		1767 (Brook, col.258)	111.11.19	
No.19		1770 (Brook, col.378)	111.11.23	
[No.20]		1770 (Brook, col.378)		
SPL. XII		1778 (Brook, col.626)	111.11.17	

house manuscripts: an early type dating from 1762, and a later type that seems to make its appearance in 1773 and continues into the 1780s. An overview of the situation can be seen in the symphonies of Georg Benda (table 1), which span the years 1762 to 1778, a significant proportion of the time covered by the catalogs.

Three physical characteristics prove to be most useful in distinguishing early from late house copies: inconsistencies in staff lines, particularities of the papers and watermarks, and handwritten numbers on wrappers or first pages.

With the early house copies, by 1762 Breitkopf used paper with preprinted staff lines. I have identified four formats, recognizable by the consistent num-

ber and spacing of staves they contain: ten or twelve staves for scores, in oblong format, and fifteen or sixteen staves for parts, in upright format. It is especially interesting to note that all the printed-staff manuscripts discovered thus far were in existence by 1762, or 1763 at the latest. Manuscripts on this paper are listed in the Breitkopf thematic catalogs for 1762 or the following year, and two of the Abel manuscripts even contain the specific date 1762. It seems clear that Breitkopf, at the beginning of his venture, took considerable care to prepare appropriate copying paper, a not-inexpensive procedure.

A study of the staff lines reveals that Breitkopf set up type forms that would print one side of a full sheet – that is, two finished pages – at a time. After being printed on the second side, the sheet was folded to produce four finished pages. This sheet, or *Bogen*, was Breitkopf's standard for determining copying charges.

Because the fronts and backs of sheets sometimes differ, Breitkopf must have had at least two forms for the ten-staff paper and two for the twelve-staff paper. By contrast, the front and back of the fifteen-staff paper used for a Symphony in C Major by Georg Benda, for instance, were printed from the same form, which seems to have been the standard for this kind of paper. Consider the initial page of the first violin part from Benda's work (pl.1). The ends of the staves on the right show some rather extreme irregularities, the fourth and fifth staves in particular illustrating these imperfections. The top line of the fourth staff and the next-to-lowest line in the fifth staff are noticably shorter than the others. A close inspection of the pages reveals other idiosyncrasies that prove to be characteristic. For instance, the distance between the lines within a staff varies noticeably, and this enables one to check for correspondences with the pages of other manuscripts. This can be done even through the crude medium of photocopies.

In the course of research I discovered a fifteen-staff manuscript with what appears to be a unique format. In the parts to a Wagenseil Trio in Bb Major in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, 1x 23512, the staff lines are printed on pages 2, 3, and 4 of the sheets; page 1 is blank. This irregularity suggests a special, custom printing. Furthermore, the set of parts has a title page (pl.2), mostly printed but with manuscript additions. As far as it is known at present, this printed title page is unique among surviving Breitkopf house copies. The wording of the title page corresponds to some extent to that found in the 1762



Plate 1. Georg Benda, Symphony in C Major, Violino primo. Courtesy of Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.

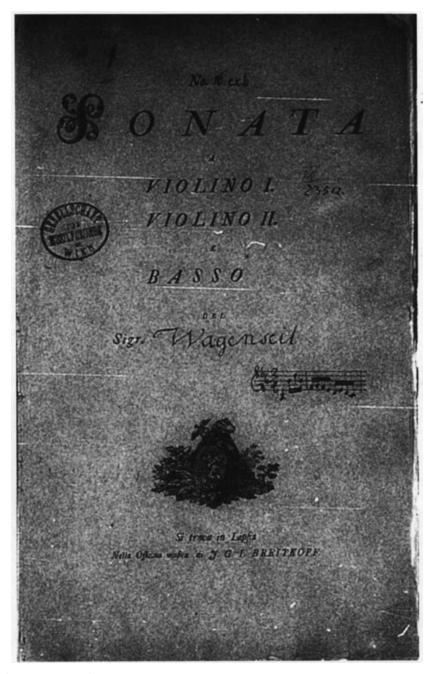


Plate 2. Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Trio in Bb, wrapper cover. Reproduced with permission of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.



Plate 3. François-Joseph Gossec, Symphony in D Major, title page. Courtesy of Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.

Table 2. François-Joseph Gossec, Symphonies

Serial Number	Breitkopf Thematic Catalog	Call Number, MBLP2	
SPL. 8, no.1	1773 (Brook, col. 482)	III.11.37/2	
SPL. 9, no.2	1774 (Brook, col. 522)	III.11.40	
SPL. XI, no.3	1776-77 (Brook, col. 591)	III.11.39	
SPL. XI, no.4	1776-77 (Brook, col. 591)	ш.11.38	
SPL. XV	1782-84 (Brook, col. 761)	III.11.37/1	

thematic catalog, and the printer's device 5 seems to be the same as that used in the catalog.

Contrasting with the printed-staff manuscripts, all of which appear in the Breitkopf thematic catalogs from 1762 and 1763, is a group of later house copies with a different fifteen-staff format. Even reproductions clearly show that the pages were ruled with a rastral that produced systems of three staves (pl.3). The fifteen staves of the paper were thus ruled with five strokes. This can be observed by comparing the ends of the staves, which fall into groups of three.

The earliest manuscript that I have found with the ruled fifteen-staff format is MBLPZ, III.11.37/2, which contains a Gossec symphony in D major, entitled "La Chasse," listed in Supplement 8 of 1773. This particular symphony also appears about a decade later, in Supplement 15 of 1782–84, but with different instrumentation. The other Gossec symphony manuscripts in the Musik-bibliothek der Stadt Leipzig are in the same format, and table 2 shows that they appear in supplements issued between 1773 and 1782–84. This suggests that by 1773 Breitkopf had settled on a new fifteen-staff format. No manuscript that I have examined contradicts this hypothesis. Still, it must remain a hypothesis.

Another distinction appears between early and late manuscripts in Breit-kopf's numbering systems. During the period 1762 to 1763 Breitkopf seems to have preferred listing instrumental works in groups of six. Most of the house copies from that time bear two sets of numbers: a serial number and a raccolta, or group, number. The first page of the manuscript parts of a Wagenseil trio, IX 23513/2 in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, displays both: a serial number in the upper-right-hand corner and a raccolta number in the upper-left-hand corner (pl.4). Table 3 shows the serial and raccolta numbers

<sup>5.</sup> That is, the letterpress emblem plate.

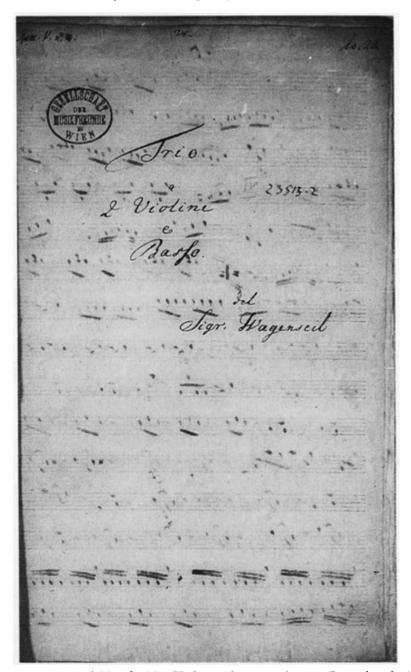


Plate 4. Wagenseil, Trio for Two Violins and Basso, title page. Reproduced with permission of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

Table 3. Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Trios

Serial Number	Raccolta	Call Number, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna	Score or Parts	Staves
[No. 1]				
[No. 2]				
No. 3	1.3	IX 23513/3	parts	12, ink, no margins
[No. 4]				
[No. 5]				
No. 6	1.6	1X 23513/4	parts	15, printed
No. 7	II.1	IX 23513/5	parts	15, printed
No. 8	II.2	IX 23513/6	parts	16, printed
No. 9	11.3	IX 23513/7	score	18, ink, ruled in systems of 3 staves
No. 10	11.4	IX 23513/8	score	18, ink, ruled in systems of 3 staves
[No. 11]				-
[No. 12]				
No. 13	III.1	IX 23513/9	score	18, ink, ruled in systems of 3 staves
No. 14	III.2	IX 23513/10	score	18, ink, ruled in systems of 3 staves
No. 15	111.3	IX 23513/11	parts	16, printed
No. 16	III <b>.</b> 4	IX 23512	parts	15, printed, printed title page
[No. 17]				
[No. 18]				
[Nos. 19-24]		·-		
[No. 25]				
[No. 26]				
[No. 27]				
No. 28	Racc.v.no.4	IX 23513/2	parts	16, printed
No. 29	R.v.5	IX 23513/1	parts	16, printed
[No. 30]			=	-

#### Identifying House Copies by the Firm's Scribes

for the four sets of Wagenseil trio manuscripts in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. Gaps in the series are noted in brackets. The raccolta numbers consist
of three elements: a roman numeral, a dot, and an arabic numeral. The roman
numeral designates the specific raccolta, and the arabic specifies the position
within the group. Raccolta numbers are often preceded by a capital R or even
the abbreviation "Racc." (as in pl.4). Although the raccolta numbers usually
appear in the upper-left corner of the page, they are occasionally centered at
the top. Serial numbers are almost invariably located in the upper-right corner,
and they relate to the total number of items in the various raccoltas, taken in
consecutive order. For instance, the Wagenseil trio (1x 23513/2) displays serial
number 28. With six trios per raccolta, we would expect Raccolta IV to finish with serial number 24. The fourth piece in Raccolta V would then be four
numbers higher, 28, which it is.

Whereas early manuscripts usually display the double-numbering system, later manuscripts generally show only a single number, in the upper-right-hand corner. In the appendix to *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* H. C. Robbins Landon mentions the manuscript of a Dussek symphony with a notation at the top of the page that he took to be "Lpz. x No. 4." This reading is incorrect, but it is easy enough to understand how the mistake occurred, for without a clear context the notation seems ambiguous. In truth the marking reflects Breitkopf's later numbering system, and the correct reading is "Spl. x1 no. 4" — "Supplement x1, no. 4." The Dussek piece is the fourth of a group of five symphonies listed as part of lot 477 in the 1836 auction catalog (table 4). The other part of lot 477 consisted of three symphonies by Duni, to which I return shortly.

The title page from "Sinfonia a 4" by Georg Benda (pl. 5) shows the number of the supplement in which the piece is listed. It seems that for Supplements 8 and 9, arabic numbers were used, but for Supplement 10 and later ones, roman numerals were the norm. Frequently the number of *Bogen* is also noted as a convenient method of determining copying charges, as can be observed in the upper-right-hand corner of the Benda work.

At present we are able to differentiate between early and late house copies more with respect to formats than with respect to paper. At the very least, however, one can pinpoint specific regions of Thuringia and Saxony as sources for

<sup>6.</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition & Rockliff, 1955), 815.

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Table 4. Jan Ladislav Dussek, Symphonies

Serial Number	Breitkopf Thematic Catalog	Call Number, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
SPL. 8, no.1	1773 (Brook, col. 482)	XIII.23550
SPL. 9, no.2	1774 (Brook, col. 522)	XIII.23551
SPL. XI, no.3	1776-77 (Brook, col. 591)	XIII.23552
SPL. XI, no.4	1776-77 (Brook, col. 591)	XIII.23553
SPL. XI, no.5	1776-77 (Brook, col. 591)	XIII.23554

some of Breitkopf's papers. Early and late house copies seem to show a difference in watermarks, but precise differentiation and dating will require further material for comparison.

Six Breitkopf house manuscripts of symphonies by Georg Benda's older brother Franz illustrate the problems with this line of inquiry. All six symphonies are listed in the 1762 thematic catalog; three are handed down in score, and three in performance parts, and the manuscripts display four types of watermarks (table 5). In the Deutsche Bucherei, Leipzig, I located a series of tracings made before World War II of watermarks contained in letter papers from the 1770s and 1780s. Most of the letters were from various members of the Lenck family of paper makers, active from the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth. One of the letters in the Lenck Collection was a missive from Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf dated Leipzig, 31 May 1774. The paper contained the watermark LENCK in a field, which is also found in letters sent by the Lencks in the 1780s.

In the copies of the Franz Benda symphonies the staff lines of the first four manuscripts are printed, whereas those of the other two are drawn by hand. In addition to the LENCK watermark, three others appear: a florid shield, with the countermark PCL; a star over the boxed letters GVA; and the well-known Arnstadt A. It is tempting to suppose that "PCL" stands for Paul Christoph Lenck, owner of a paper mill in Schwarzbach from 1757 until 1772, but this is not yet established.

<sup>7.</sup> On the Lenck family see Yoshitake Kobayashi, "On the Identification of Breitkopf's Manuscripts," in this volume.

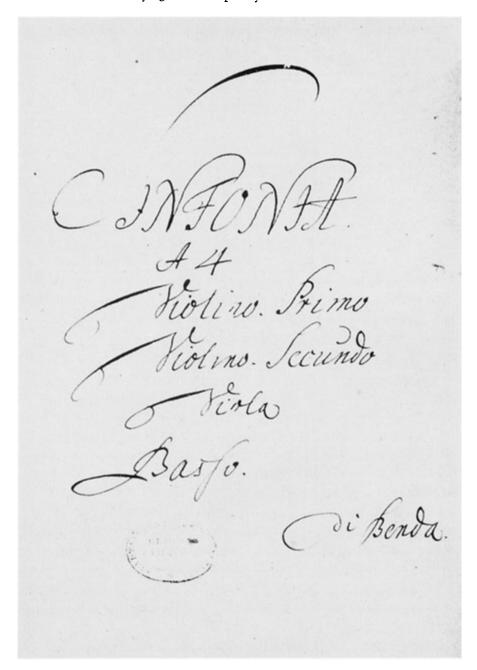


Plate 5. Georg Benda, *Sinfonia a 4*, title page. Courtesy of Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.

Table 5. Franz Benda, Symphonies

Serial Numher	Breitkopf Thematic Catalog	Call Number, MBLPZ	Score or Parts	Systems	Watermarks
		MBDI 2			Truct multics
No. 1	1762 (Brook, col. 3)	III.12.2/1	score	12, printed	LENCK
No. 2	1762 (Brook, col. 3)	111.12.2/2	score	10, printed	LENCK
No. 3	1762 (Brook, col. 3)	111.12.2/3	score	10, printed	LENCK
No. 4	1762 (Brook, col. 3)	III.11.15	parts	15, printed	PCL
No. 5	1762 (Brook, col. 3)	111.11.16	parts	varies; ink	GVA
No. 6	1762 (Brook, col. 3)	III.11.13	parts	varies; ink	A

Further research may show that Lenck supplied only printing and letter papers to Breitkopf and that the manuscripts with printed staff lines – that is, manuscripts written out on Breitkopf's forms from 1762–63 – were made on paper normally used for books or music. The personal watermark file of Jan La Rue, however, contains tracings for Lenck papers of an earlier date found in music manuscripts of works by Galuppi and Hertel.

The so-called wild man watermark is fairly common in middle and north German papers,<sup>9</sup> and it appears in Breitkopf house copies from the 1760s. It appears in no.6 of the Wagenseil trios, for instance, and tracings in the Deutsche Bucherei suggest that this particular example of the watermark may have originated in Jena, not far from Leipzig. A similar watermark occurs in late house copies, such as the Dussek symphony manuscripts in the Gesell-schaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna. The watermark of this paper consists of a wild man holding a tree trunk; the countermark is IGE. Matching tracings in the Deutsche Bucherei come from paper that can be dated Weida (a town in Thuringia), 1767, and Leipzig, 1770. Yoshitake Kobayashi has shown that the paper stems from the mill of Johann Georg Elssner, active in Zittau between 1768 (though perhaps 1767, in light of the Weida document) and 1778.<sup>10</sup>

Several physical characteristics, then, make it possible to distinguish early and late groups of house copies. In addition, numbering on the manuscripts

- 8. Owned by Professor Emeritus Jan La Rue of New Canaan, Conn.
- 9. See NBA IX 1 (Wasserzeichen-Katalog), watermarks 1-3, for instance.
- 10. Kobayashi, "On the Identification of Breitkopf's Manuscripts."

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allows one to derive dates from the citations in the thematic catalogs. Although it is fairly easy to identify these two groups, there are other types of manuscripts as well. The manuscripts of thirteen symphonies by Georg Benda housed in the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig allow me to firm up my conclusions about the early and later types and to observe some of the intermediate types as well.

As I noted earlier, twenty-one symphonies attributed to George Benda are listed in the thematic catalogs between 1762 and 1778 (table 1). The auction catalog of 1836 offered in lots 451 and 452 a total of twenty-two of his symphonies, in scores, parts, or both. In spite of gaps in their number sequence, the surviving manuscripts, which reflect the Breitkopf catalog offerings over a sixteen-year period, enable us to reconstruct critical details of the music-copying business. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to individual symphonies by the serial numbers cited in table 1.

The horizontal lines in table 1 group the symphonies as they are listed in the thematic catalogs. Symphonies 1–12 tend to support Brook's hypothesis that Breitkopf "liked to list themes by the half-dozen." <sup>11</sup> Presumably Breitkopf waited until he had a half-dozen works in hand before he included them in a catalog. A glance at the 1762 catalog shows that Breitkopf tended to use this approach with all composers. Additional support for this claim comes from the fact that although the manuscripts of symphonies 9–11 of the 1766 supplement share many physical characteristics with the manuscripts of symphonies listed in 1762, the manuscript of one symphony from the later group, no.12, contrasts sharply with the others in format and copyists. The new format consists of thirteen-staff paper, the systems ruled singly by hand. There are no margins. These changes suggest that the manuscript was acquired from a different source, perhaps later than the others.

It also appears that by 1766 the raccolta numbering system was breaking down. Although the 1766 supplement includes six Benda symphonies in Raccolta II, it lists only five in Raccolta III and gives a blank staff to fill the space that would have been taken by no.18.

Number 18 appears by itself in the supplement of 1767, and no attempt was made to continue the raccolta numbering system either in the catalog or on the manuscript itself. Breitkopf applied the raccolta system to the works of other

<sup>11.</sup> Brook, xiv.

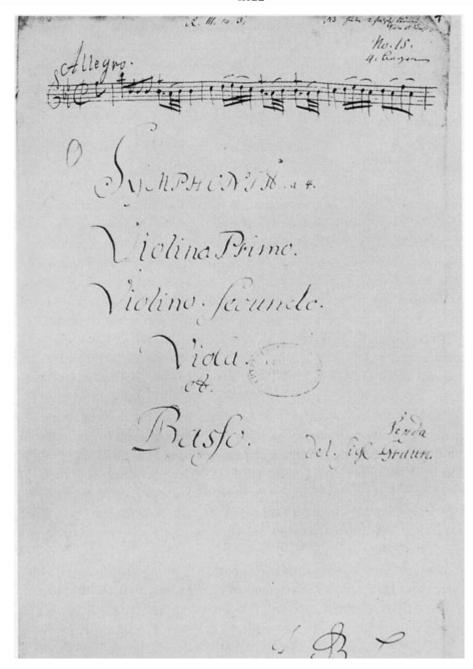


Plate 6. Georg Benda, Symphony in Bb Major, title page. Courtesy of Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig.

# Identifying House Copies by the Firm's Scribes Table 6. Antonio or Egidio Duni, Symphonies

Serial Number	Breitkopf Thematic Catalog	Call Number, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna
No. 1	1766 (Brook, col. 205)	X111.23548
No. 2	1768 (Brook, col. 302)	XIII.23547
No. 3	1768 (Brook, col. 302)	XIII.23546

composers in the 1767 supplement, but he abandoned it completely in Supplement 3 of 1768. By 1778, when the last of the Benda symphonies appeared in Supplement 12, Breitkopf was marking house copies with the supplement number in which the work was going to be listed, along with a serial number, or with the supplement number alone. As I have shown, similar markings appear on the manuscript covers of Gossec's symphonies beginning in 1773.

The Benda symphonies also provide a case in which a conflicting attribution was resolved in the eighteenth century. In the manuscript MBLPZ, III.11.7, containing a "Sinfonia a 4" in Bb Major, the name "Graun" on the cover has been corrected to "Benda" (pl.6). The manuscript as it has survived consists of seven performance parts: a complete set of parts in the same hand as the cover and its changed attribution and an incomplete set of parts in a hand encountered in earlier Benda manuscripts. Because this piece does not appear in the Breitkopf thematic catalogs under Graun's name, the conflicting attribution must have been detected and resolved in Benda's favor before the 1766 supplement was printed. To judge from the two sets of parts, a Benda house copy was combined with a Graun house copy, and the title page of the latter was altered. The different formats and hands suggest that the two manuscripts came from different sources.<sup>12</sup>

As a postscript, and to provide an opportunity to apply my findings, I turn to the three Duni symphonies mentioned as part of lot 477 in the 1836 auction catalog (table 6). All three appear in the Breitkopf thematic catalogs, the first in 1766 and the other two in the supplement of 1768. The first work is handed

<sup>12.</sup> This shows Breitkopf taking action to correct an erroneous attribution, a concern that he voiced to the users of his catalogs. See Breitkopf's comment on this matter as quoted in Kobayashi, "On the Identification of Breitkopf's Manuscripts."



Plate 7. Antonio Duni, *Sinfonia a 8*, Lotter manuscript owned by Breitkopf. Reproduced with permission of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

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down on paper from Dresden; its watermark includes the electoral Saxon arms. The other two symphonies, on Bavarian paper with a WOLFEG watermark, were acquired directly or indirectly from Andreas Lotter, Breitkopf's greatest German competitor in supplying made-to-order manuscript copies of music. The numbers in the upper-right-hand corners of the two manuscripts correspond with those given in the Breitkopf supplement.

The Lotter Duni manuscripts were elegantly produced (see pl. 7). The music is copied in a spacious format on twelve-staff paper ruled three staves at a time. Until we know more about Breitkopf's manuscripts, we can only speculate that Lotter's format may have influenced Breitkopf to develop the hand-ruled format observable in house copies produced from 1773 onward. Although this hypothesis obviously requires further testing, nothing from the Breitkopf and Lotter manuscripts contradicts the idea.

In sum, of the many types of formats encountered in house copies, two crystallize by virtue of their frequency: a preprinted staff paper at the very beginning of the business venture in the early 1760s and a hand-ruled paper, usually of fifteen staves, from 1773 and later. Much remains to be done with the tentative chronology of Breitkopf house copies that emerges from this consideration of staff formats, title page numbers, and paper characteristics. Still, I hope that the framework erected here may serve as a foundation for future Breitkopf research.

# The Magnificat Listings in the Early Breitkopf Nonthematic Catalogs

#### Robert M. Cammarota

Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, the founder of the Leipzig firm – published a series of nonthematic music catalogs in octavo format from which prospective customers could purchase printed or engraved copies of music (as well as treatises on music) and manuscript copies of music scores and parts. The catalogs of printed and engraved music, entitled Verzeichniß musicalischer Bücher, were brought out in six separate, although consecutively paginated, publications that the firm called Ausgaben. The catalogs of music

A version of this essay was read at the Fourteenth Congress of the International Musicological Society in Bologna, August 1987. Although there is no thorough study of the Breitkopf nonthematic catalogs, a number of works address specific issues concerning them: BDOK 3, nos.705 and 711, with extensive bibliography; Brook, x-xii; Ernest D. May, "Breitkopf's Role in the Transmission of J. S. Bach's Organ Chorales" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1974); Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Breitkopfs Handel mit Bach-Handschriften," Beiträge zur Bachforschung 1 (1982): 79–84; Andreas Glöckner, "Leipziger Neukirchenmusik 1729–1761," Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 25 (1983): 105–12; Glöckner, "Handschriftliche Musikalien aus den Nachlässen von Carl Gotthelf Gerlach und Gottlob Harrer in den Verlagsangeboten des Hauses Breitkopf 1761–1769," Bach-Jahrbuch 70 (1984): 107–16; and Robert M. Cammarota, "The Repertoire of Magnificats in Leipzig at the Time of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Manuscript Sources" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986). I want to thank Stanley Boorman (New York University) for reading and making helpful suggestions on an early draft of this essay. I am indebted to Eveline Bartlitz (Berlin) for her help in locating a number of sources at the sbb and for answering my queries.

1. The catalogs were dated and paginated as follows: Erste Ausgabe (1760) [1]-32; Zweyte Ausgabe (1761) [33]-[56]; Dritte Ausgabe (1763) [57]-88; Vierte Ausgabe (1770) [89]-116; Fünfte Ausgabe (1777) [117]-148; and Sechste Ausgabe (1780) [149]-172.

manuscripts, called *Verzeichniß musicalischer Werke*, were issued in four separate publications, also called *Ausgaben*, beginning in 1761.<sup>2</sup> A special catalog of Latin and Italian sacred music, called *Verzeichniß lateinischer und italiänischer Kirchen-Musiken*, was published in 1769; it is a collation of selected items, still on hand at the firm, from the earlier nonthematic *Bücher* and *Werke* catalogs.

Concurrent with the publication of the nonthematic music catalogs, although beginning in 1762, the Breitkopf firm published a series of thematic catalogs of instrumental and vocal music. Released in six parts and sixteen supplements, they contained incipits of many works cited in the nonthematic Bücher and Werke catalogs.<sup>3</sup>

The Erste Ausgabe (1760) and Zweyte Ausgabe (1761) of the Verzeichniß musicalischer Bücher are preserved in at least two editions per Ausgabe.<sup>4</sup> I differentiate them in the present discussion as follows: 1760a and 1760b for the Erste Ausgabe, and 1761a and 1761b for the Zweyte.<sup>5</sup> I will comment on the character-

- 2. The catalogs were dated 1761, 1764, 1770, and 1780, and paginated individually (see n. 9).
- 3. These catalogs have been published in facsimile in Brook.
- 4. "An edition is the whole number of copies of a book printed at any time or times from substantially the same setting of type-pages"; see Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), 39. The publication of such hand-printed catalogs involved the following sequence of events: on completion of the printing of an edition, the type was distributed; as the need for more copies arose, the catalog was completely reset and a new edition created (Bowers, *Bibliographical Description*, 108). The Breitkopf firm did not differentiate the various editions of each *Ausgabe*.
- 5. The title page of the 1760a edition of the *Bücher* catalog, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["à Louis d'or 5" is set in roman type]: Verzeichniß | Musicalischer Bücher, | sowohl | zur Theorie als Praxis, und für alle | Instrumente, | in ihre gehörige Classen | ordentlich eingetheilet; | welche bey | Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf | in Leipzig | um beystehende Preiße à Louis d'or 5 Thlr. zu | bekommen sind. | [Publisher's device without owl] | Erste Ausgabe. | [rule] | Leipzig, | in der Neujahr=Messe 1760. 8°: A—B<sup>8</sup> [\$5 (-A¹) signed]; 16 leaves, pp. [1–3], 4–32. [B5 contains a thin vertical line immediately after the numeral 5.]

The title page of the 1760b edition, printed in Fraktur, differs from the previous one as follows ["Louis d'or à 5" is set in roman type; a period follows Neujahr=Messe]: . . . Musikalischer . . . Preise in . . . à 5 . . . | zu bekommen sind. | . . . [Neujahr=Messe]. [1760].

The title page of the 1761a edition, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["a 5" is set in roman type]: Verzeichniß | Musicalischer Bücher, | sowohl | zur Theorie als Praxis, und für alle | Instrumente, | in ihre gehörige Classen | ordentlich eingetheilet; | welche bey | Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf | in Leipzig | um beystehende Preiße in Louis d'or a 5 Rthlr. | zu

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istics of the different editions before discussing the Magnificat settings in the Verzeichniß musicalischer Werke.

The editions differ from one another in spelling, word breaks, punctuation, typeface, and typographical style, all of which were determined by the idio-syncrasies of the individual typesetter and the supply of type on hand. They also contain numerous typographical errors, alterations, abbreviations, and in some instances, corrections. Apart from these accidentals, as bibliographers call them, there is only one substantive alteration: the second line of text in the Seidels entry on page 29 of the 1760a edition is entirely missing in the 1760b edition.<sup>6</sup>

Because the prices in both 1760 editions of the Verzeichniß musicalischer Bücher are the same, it is reasonable to assume that the Breitkopf firm must have quickly depleted its early stock of catalogs and reset the entire edition anew, perhaps, although not necessarily, before the appearance of the Zweyte Ausgabe dated 1761. The one small substantive change and absence of a price increase make it difficult to determine which edition was published first, but the dropped second line in the Seidels entry in the 1760b edition suggests that the compositor jumped a line of text while copying this entry from the 1760a edition. Moreover, a comparison of the entries from the 1760a and 1760b editions of the Bücher catalog with those that recur in the section of printed works

bekommen sind. | [Publisher's device without owl] | Zweyte Ausgabe. | [rule] | Leipzig, | in der Oster=Messe 1761. 8°:  $C^8$ ,  $D^4$  [\$ $C^5$ , \$ $D^3$  (- $C^1$ ) signed]; 12 leaves, pp. [33–35], 36–55 [56]. [The numeral 1 of p.41 appears to be defective or a wrong font.]

The title page of the 1761b edition, printed in Fraktur, differs from the above as follows:... | um beystehende Preiße zu bekommen sind. | ... [Publisher's device with owl].... [Note that price "in Louis d'or" is omitted.]

Copies of the 1760a and 1761a editions are extant in Berlin, SBB, MUS. AB 177a; and in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale [hereafter, BN], V.25357. Copies of the 1760b and 1761b editions are also extant in Berlin, SBB, MUS. AB 177; in Leipzig, MBLPZ, P 2761; and in London, British Library [hereinafter, LBL], Hirsch IV.1096. I have personally examined only the copies in the SBB. Steven Saunders (Colby College) generously provided me with copies of the title pages and full bibliographic descriptions of the editions in the Hirsch collection. Complete sets (six volumes) of the Bücher catalogs are preserved in the SBB, MBLPZ, and LBL.

6. The complete entry in the 1760a edition reads as follows: "Seidels, Ferdin. Zwölf Menuetten für die Laute, sammt einer | Fantasie von Herrn Baron, königl. preuß. Lautenisten, als eine | Probe eines neuen Drucks von musicalischen Caracteren für die | Laute. Leipzig, 1759. fol. transv. a 6 gl."

at the end of the 1769 Verzeichniß lateinischer und italiänischer Kirchen-Musiken<sup>7</sup> does not shed any light on the dating of either edition of the 1760 Bücher catalog, for it appears that the editor of the 1769 catalog took information directly from the unsold prints still in-house rather than from the entries in the catalogs.<sup>8</sup> There is a noticeable increase in prices in the 1761b Bücher catalog, suggesting that a greater amount of time elapsed between publication of the 1761a and 1761b editions than between publication of the 1760a and 1760b editions. A detailed analysis of all four editions would provide additional information concerning seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printed items of music, aid in the dating of undated publications, and shed light on the typesetting and business practices of the Breitkopf firm. Such an analysis, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

As with the Bücher catalogs, the Erste Ausgabe (1761) and Zweyte Ausgabe (1764) of the Verzeichniß musicalischer Werke are also preserved in at least two editions per Ausgabe. I differentiate them in the present discussion as follows: 1761a and 1761b for the Erste Ausgabe, and 1764a and 1764b for the Zweyte.9

- 7. The title page of the special 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["Louis d'ors à 5" is set in roman type]: Verzeichniß | lateinischer und italiänischer | Kirchen=Musiken, | an | Motetten, Hymnen und Liedern, Psal= | men, Magnificat, Sanctus, Kyrie, | Missen und Paßions=Oratorien | sowohl in Partitur als in Stimmen, alle in Manuscript; | desgleichen an | Präambulis, Fugen, Fugetten, Versetten | und Interludiis | nach den gewöhnlichen Kirchentonen, | Sonatinen, Sonaten und Concerten | vor die Orgel, | gedruckt und in Kupfer gestochen; | welche bey | Bernh. Christoph Breitkopf und Sohn | in Leipzig | um beystehende Preiße in Louis d'ors à 5 Thlr. | zu bekommen sind. | [Publisher's device without owl] | [rule] | Leipziger Ostermesse 1769. 8°: A<sup>8</sup>, B<sup>4</sup> [\$A<sup>5</sup>, \$B<sup>3</sup> (-A<sup>1</sup>) signed]; 12 leaves, pp. [1-3], 4-22 [23-24]. Copies of this catalog are extant in the SBB, MUS. AB 177, 177a, and 883; MBLPZ, P 2761; and LBL, Hirsch IV.1099 and 1099a. I have personally examined only those copies in the SBB.
- 8. Of course, it is also possible for the compositor to have copied the entries from another, missing edition of this catalog.
- 9. The title page of the 1761a edition of the *Werke* catalog, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["a Louis d'or à 5 °C" is handwritten by Immanuel Breitkopf(?)]: Verzeichniß! Musicalischer Werke! allein! zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als! für alle Instrumente, ! welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden; ! in ihre gehörige Classen! ordentlich eingetheilet; ! welche! in richtigen Abschriften! bey Joh. Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, ! in Leipzig, ! um beystehende Preiße zu bekommen sind.! a Louis d'or à 5 °C [Publisher's device without owl]! Erste Ausgabe, ! und des Musicalischen Bücher=Verzeichnisses! Dritte Ausgabe.! [rule]!

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These editions likewise differ from one another in general editorial practice: each contains typographical errors, alterations, corrections, and the transposition of entries. The 1761b and 1764b editions show price increases and contain substantive alterations that are most noticeable in the Magnificat entries.<sup>10</sup> In

Leipzig, in der Michaelmesse 1761. 8°: A—D<sup>8</sup> [\$5 (-A<sup>1</sup>) signed]; 32 leaves, pp. [1-5], 6-64. A copy is extant in Washington, D.C., Library of Congress [hereinafter LC], ML 145.B832 case.

The title page of the 1761b edition, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["Louis d'ors à 5" is set in roman type]: Verzeichniß | Musicalischer Werke, | allein | zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als | für alle Instrumente, | welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden; | in ihre gehörige Classen | ordentlich eingetheilet; | welche | in richtigen Abschriften | bey Joh. Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, | in Leipzig, | um beystehende Preiße in Louis d'ors à 5 Thlr. | zu bekommen sind. | [Publisher's device without owl] | Erste Ausgabe. | [rule] | Leipzig, in der Michaelmesse 1761. 8°: A—D<sup>8</sup> [\$5 (-A<sup>1</sup>) signed]; 32 leaves, pp. [1–5], 6–64. [The numeral 5 of p.56 is inverted.] Copies are extant in the SBB, MUS. AB 177; MBLPZ, P 2761; and LBL, Hirsch IV.1097 and 1097a.

The title page of the 1764a edition, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["Louis d'or à 5" is set in roman type]: Verzeichniß! Musikalischer Werke! allein! zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen,! als für alle Instrumente,! welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden;! in ihre gehörige Classen! ordentlich eingetheilet;! welche! in richtigen Abschriften! bey Bernh. Christoph Breitkopf u. Sohn! in Leipzig! um beystehende Preiße in Louis d'or à 5 Thlr.! zu bekommen sind.! [Publisher's device with owl]! Zweyte Ausgabe.! [rule]! Leipzig, in der Neujahrmesse, 1764. 8°: A-C<sup>8</sup>, D³ [\$A-C<sup>5</sup>, D³ (-A¹) signed]; 27 leaves, pp. [1-5], 6-54. The volume is paginated [1]-54. Copies are extant in the SBB, MUS. AB 177; LBL, Hirsch IV.1097 and 1097a; and MBLPZ, P 2761.

The title page of the 1764b edition, printed in Fraktur, reads as follows ["à Louisd'or 5" is set in roman type]: Verzeichniß | Musicalischer Werke, | allein | zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, | als für alle Instrumente, | welche nicht durch den Druck bekannt gemacht worden; | in ihre gehörige Classen | ordentlich eingetheilet; | welche | in richtigen Abschriften | bey Bernh. Christoph Breitkopf u. Sohn, | in Leipzig, | um beystehende Preiße à Louisd'or 5 Thlr. zu | bekommen sind. | [Publisher's device without owl] | Zweyte Ausgabe, | [rule] | Leipzig, in der Neujahrmesse, 1764. 8°: A—C<sup>8</sup>, D<sup>4</sup> [\$A—C<sup>5</sup>, D<sup>3</sup> (-A<sup>1</sup>) signed]; 28 leaves, pp. [1-5], 6-54 [55-56]. [Pages 55-56 contain a *Nachricht*.] Copies are extant in the SBB, MUS. AB 177a; LC, ML 145.B832 case; and BN, V.25357.

I have personally examined only those copies in the sbb. I want to thank Elizabeth Auman (LC) and Wolfgang Goldhan (formerly of the sbb) for permission to reproduce selected pages from the 1761a and 1761b editions of the *Werke* catalog.

10. In many instances the prices quoted in the 1761b edition seem to be corrections or reconsiderations of the prices cited in the 1761a edition. Based on twenty-four groschen in a taler, the price for a Bogen (four sides of a full sheet of paper that has been folded once) was four

addition, the title page of the 1761a edition contains the words "Erste Ausgabe, und des Musicalischen Bücher-Verzeichnisses Dritte Ausgabe," suggesting uncertainty on the part of the firm in publishing its first catalog of manuscript offerings: was the catalog originally intended to be the first Ausgabe in a new and separate Werke series, the third Ausgabe in the ongoing Bücher series, or a combination of both? This uncertainty is temporarily resolved in the 1761b edition, in which only the words "Erste Ausgabe" (that is, "first edition" of the Verzeichniß musicalischer Werke series) are stated on the title page. The inconsistency, however, returns in the Verzeichniß lateinischer und italiänischer Kirchen-Musiken of 1769, in which the heading "Verzeichniß musicalischer Bücher" introduces the first eighteen pages of manuscript offerings, even though only the last four pages of the catalog contain entries for printed and engraved items of music.

Plate 1 shows pages from the 1761a and 1761b editions of the *Werke* catalog that contain entries for German and Latin settings of the Magnificat. By observing a number of differences between the editions, we may begin to understand Immanuel Breitkopf's cataloging system and, on identification and examination of the manuscripts involved, evaluate the repertory of Magnificats once belonging to the Breitkopf firm.

As editor of the *Werke* catalogs, Immanuel Breitkopf numbered the manuscripts on their arrival at the firm and renumbered them whenever additional manuscripts were acquired and a new edition was prepared. He computed the number of *Bogen* (full sheets of paper folded in half) that were required to complete a copy of the score or set of performance parts and indicated the number for the "P" (*Partitur*; or "score") and the "St" (*Stimmen*, or "parts") in the upper-right-hand corner of the covering folder or on the first folio of the manuscript. Many of these manuscripts have numbers that reflect their posi-

groschen. See the *Nachricht* in the *Zweyte Ausgabe* (1761) of the *Verzeichniß musicalischer Bücher*, where Immanuel Breitkopf first advertised the cost per *Bogen* of a manuscript copy. He further explained the manner in which he calculated the price for a manuscript copy in the *Nacherinnerung* to the *Catalogo delle sinfonie* . . . *Parte I*<sup>ma</sup> 1762, 32. (English translation in Brook, xiv.) The prices quoted for Magnificat settings in both editions of the 1764 *Werke* catalog, however, remained constant.

<sup>11.</sup> The tasks of numbering and cataloging the incoming manuscripts and preparing the various catalogs would have been too important a job for just anyone in the firm to undertake. The fact that the *Nachricht* to the 1761 editions of the *Bücher* catalogs and the lengthy *Nach*-

#### I. Das Singen,

I. Das Singen.

7

#### c. Magnificat, mit Inftrumenten, beutiche.

Bartwig, C. Organist in Bittau, Meine Scele erhebt ben Berrn. à 2 Violini, Viola, 2 Voci, Basso ed Organo. n 1 th 16 gl. Celemann, G. P. Capellin. ber Mus. in Bamb. Meine Seele erhebt ben herrn, à 2 Violini, 2 Oboi, Viola, 4 Voci, Basso ed Organo. n 1: fil. 20 gl.
Meine Seele erhebt ben herrn, à 2 Violini, 1 Traverso, Soprano

Meine Grele ethebt ben Berrn, à 2 Violini, 2 Traverso, Sopran folo, Rasso ed Organo, a 1 thl. 4 gl.

#### Magnificat, lateinifche.

Broder, Magnificat à 2 Corni, 2 Violini, 4 Voci, Violoncello. a 1 thl. Fedeli, Ruggiero, Magnificat à 3 Violini, 2 Violette, 4 Voci, Organo. a sthl 12 gl. F. Magnificat 2 Chor. à 2 Violini, 2 Violette, Fagotto, 2 Cornetti, 3 Tromboni, & Voci e Baffe. a 1thl. 8gl. Hofmann, M. Organ. in Breslau, Magnificat & 2 Violini, 2 Viole, 1 Fagorto, 4 Voci, Organo, a 1thl. 16 gl. Kruger, Magnificat à 2 Clavini, Tymp. 2 Violini, 3 Viole, Fagorro, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1 161.8 gl. Mancini, Magnificat à 2Violini, 4Voci, Baffo ed Organo. Scheibe, Maestro di Cap. di Re di Danem. Magnificat à 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. 2 1th. 20 gl. Telemann, G. Ph. Maest. di Capella in Hamburg, Magnificat 2 Clar. Tymp. Wielmi, Violetta, Woci, Organo. at the 20 gl. Porpora, Nicol. Maestro di Capel. di Re di Polon. 2 Corni, 1 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Baffo e Organo. a 2 thl. Zelenka, Giov. Difina, Comp. della Corte in Dresda, Magnificat à 2 Oboi, 1 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Baffoe Organo. 2 2 tht. Magnificat à 2Corni, 20boi, 2 Violini, Viola 4 Voci e Organo. 2 2 tht. Magnificat à 3 Trom. Tymp. 2 Viol. o Oboi, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1 thl. 16 gl. Magnificac à 3 Tromb. Tymp. 1 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Veci, Organo a t thi. 20 gl.
Magnificat à 3 Tromb. Tymp. 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 2 thl. Magnificat à 2 Corni, 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Orga-110. a 4 thi. Magnificat à 3 Clatini, 2 Ohoi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1thl. 10 gl. Magnificat à 3 Clarini, Tymp. a Violini, Viola, 4 l'ori, Organo. a 1 thl. 16 gl. Magni-3 4 I, Das Singen, Magnificat a ? Tromb. Tymp. 1 Flauto, 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Organo, & Voci. a 2thl.

c. Magnificat, mit Inftrumenten, beutsche.

Sartwig, C. Organist in Sittau, Meine Seele erhebt ben Berrn, à 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Basto, ed Organo. a 1 thl. 16 gl. Celemann, B. P. Capellm. Direct. Must. in Samb. Meine Seele ethett ben Berrn, 22 Violini, 2 Oboi, Viola, 4 Voci, Basto ed Organo. a 1 thl. 20 gl.

Anonymo, Meine Seele erhebt ben Berrn , à 2 Violini, 1 Traverso, Soprano Solo, Baffo ed Organo. a 22 gf.

#### Magnificat , lateinische.

Bröder, Magnificat, à 2 Corni, 2 Violini, 4 Voci, Violoncello. a 1th . 8gl.

Fedeli, Ruggiero, Magnificat, à 3 Violini, 2 Violette, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1th . 6gl.

F. Magnificat, à 2 Chorl: 2 Violini, 2 Violette, Fagotto, 2 Cornetti, 3 Tromboni, 8 Voci e Baffo. a 1th . 16gl.

Hofmann, M. Organ, in Breslow, Magnificat, à 2 Violini, 2 Violette, Fagotto, 2 Voci Organi, 18 Best Magnificat, 2 Violini, 2 Violette, Fagotto, 2 Voci Organi, 18 Best Magnificat, 2 Violini, 2 Violette, Fagotto, 2 Voci Organi, 18 Best Magnificat, 2 Violini, 2 Violette, 18 Pagetto, 2 Voci Organi, 18 Best Magnificat, 2 Violini, 2 Violette, 18 Pagetto, 2 Voci Organi, 2 Violette, 2 Violette, 3 Violette, 4 Voci, 2 Violette, 2 Violette, 3 Violette, 4 Voci, 2 Violette, 2 Violette, 3 Violette, 4 Voci, 2 Violette, 3 Violette, 4 Voci, 2 Violette

le, 1 Fagotto, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1thl.

Krager, Magnificat, à 2 Clarini, Tymp. 2 Violini, 3 Viole, Fagotto, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1thl. 6gl.

gotto, 4 Voct, Organo. a tthl. 6gl.

Maneini, Magnificat, à 2 Violini, 4 Voci, Baffo ed Organo.
a tthl. 16 gl.

Scheibe, Maestro di Cap. di Ré di Damen. Magnisicat, à 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1 ths. 20 gl. — — Magnisicat, à 3 Trombe, Tymp. 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci e Basso. à 1 ths. 20 gl.

Viola, 4 Voci e Basso. à 1ths. 20 gl.
Telemann, G. Ph. Maest. di Capella in Hamburg, Magnissicat, à 3 Clar. Tymp. 2 Violini, Violetta, 5 Voci, Organo. 2 tths. 20 gl.
Zelencka, Giov. Disma, Comp. della Corte in Dreeda, Magnissica à Chai e Violini, Viole e Voci Violena, Magnissica à Chai e Violetta, Capella e Violetta, Magnissica de Chai e Violetta, Capella e Violetta, Magnissica de Chai e Violetta, Ma

Zaieneka, Giov. Dijma, Comp. della Corte in Dresda, Magnificet, à 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Violoncello ed Organo.
a 1151. 13 gl.
Anonymo, Magnificat, à 3 Trom. Tymp. 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola,

4 Voci, Organo. a 2thl. 4gl.

— Magnificat, à 3 Tromb. Tymp. 2 Obol, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 1thl. 16 gl.

— — Magnificat, à 3 Clar. Tymp. Oboe, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a t thl. 20 gl. — — Magnificat, à 3 Clarini, Tymp. 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Vo-

ci, Organo. a t thi, 16 gl.

— — Magnificat, à 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo.
a 1 thi, 12 gl.

- - Magnificat, à 2 Violini concert. 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. 2 2 thl. 4 gl.

Х 4 Анонуто,

Magnificat a 3 Tromb. Toup. 1 Flouto, 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Ovgano, 4 Voci, a 2 thl.

Magnificat à 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Rasso e Organo. a 2 thl.

12 gl.

Magnificat à 2 Viol. concertati, 2 Violini, vip. Viola, 4 Voci,
Organo. a 1 th. 16 gl.

Magnificat à 2 Violini, Viola, 2 Voci, Organo. a 1 thl.

d. Santtus, mit Inftrumenten.

#### I. Das Singen.

Anonymo, Magnificat, à 2 Violini, Viola, 2 Voci, Organo.

a tthl. 2 gl.

— — Magnificat, à 4 Violini, 2 Viale, 5 Voci, Fag. ed Organo. a tthl. 8 gl.

— — Magnificat, à 2 Corni, 2 Oboi, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 3 thl. 4 gl.

— — Magnificat, à Oboe, 2 Violini, Viola, 4 Voci, Organo. a 2 thl. 8 gl.

#### d. Sandur, mit Instrumenten.

Plate 1. Left: Magnificats cited in Verzeichniß musicalischer Werke (1761-1), 7-8. Washington, D.C., Music Division, Library of Congress, ML 145.B832 case. Right: Magnificats cited in Verzeichniß musicalischer Werke (1761-2), 7-8. Berlin, ssb Mus. Ab 177. The arrows show the reordering of Magnificats from the first edition (1761a) in the second (1761b).

tion within the category of anonymous Magnificats, as well as numbers that correspond to their position within the group of attributed Latin settings. As early as the 1761b edition Breitkopf reordered and renumbered the anonymous Magnificats, as can be seen from an examination of the extant manuscripts. The red arabic numbers that are often found at the top center of the Breitkopf firm's blue-gray covering wrapper, on the white title page, or in the upper margin of the score are frequently changed, being either crossed out in black ink or scraped away (sometimes along with the paper itself). These alterations represent various stages in the cataloging process at the Breitkopf firm and by the manuscripts' subsequent owner, Otto Karl Friedrich von Voß-Buch (1755–1823). These numbers often signify a manuscript's position in one or another edition of the *Werke* catalogs. Nonetheless, more work is required to explain fully the numbering system employed at the Breitkopf firm.

erinnerung to the Catalogo delle sinfonie . . . Parte I<sup>ma</sup> 1762 were signed by Immanuel Breitkopf implies his role as editor of these catalogs. Moreover, Glöckner has determined that the P and ST markings are indeed in Immanuel's hand. See Glöckner, "Handschriftliche Musikalien," 113.

The copy of the 1761a edition of the *Werke* catalog at the Library of Congress contains handwritten price emendations on pp. 9, 24, 34, and 37(?)-41. In some instances the new (and higher) prices are reflected in the prices of the corresponding entries in the 1761b edition; however, there are other instances (particularly on pp.39-41) where the prices are raised well beyond what are printed in the 1761b edition. This indicates that some prices were raised significantly after the printing of the 1761b edition and suggests that yet another edition of the 1761 *Werke* catalog might be outstanding. In addition, the presence of price emendations in this exemplar suggests that this particular catalog may have been an in-house copy, perhaps the *Handexemplar* of Immanuel Breitkopf himself.

I want to thank Hans-Joachim Schulze for reminding me that Max Schneider alluded to a second edition of the 1761 Werke catalog when he stated that the entry for Bach's cantata Widerstehe doch der Sünde (BWV 54) was set for tenor solo in one edition and alto solo in another; see Schneider, "Verzeichnis der bis zum Jahre 1851 gedruckten (und der geschrieben im Handel gewesenen) Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach," Bach-Jahrbuch, 3 (1906): 109. However, both 1761a and 1761b editions of the Werke catalog cite this cantata for alto solo, and thus Schneider either miscopied the entry or used yet another edition.

- 12. See [Otto Karl Friedrich von Voß-Buch], "Thematischer Catalog der Voss-Buchschen Handschriften (Partituren), Musik=Catalog, Enthaelt die Themas der Partituren zur Vocal auch Vocal mit Instrumental Musik nach alphabetischer Ordnung," sbb, MUS. MS THEOR. KAT. 26.
- 13. The first two anonymous Magnificats listed in the 1764a and 1764b editions of the Werke catalog, for example, retain evidence of the numbers they were assigned when the Breitkopf

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Breitkopf considered the German-texted Meine Seele settings to be a unit, for he arranged them alphabetically by composer and numbered them separately. He likewise grouped together the attributed Latin-texted Magnificats, arranged them alphabetically by composer, and renumbered them beginning with number one. The numerous anonymous Magnificats initially presented Breitkopf with an organizational problem. Although he included them within the classification of attributed Latin settings, he grouped them together at the end of the entry and headed them "Anonymo" in the 1761b edition. In pl.1 I have marked with arrows the entries of anonymous Magnificats in the 1761a edition that correspond to those in the 1761b edition. It is not clear why the firm reordered these entries in the 1761b edition, although there seems to have been an attempt to regroup the settings with similar instrumentation (particularly those with trumpets and tympani) and to adjust the prices.

Twenty-four settings of the Meine Seele and Magnificat are cited in the 1761a edition, whereas only twenty-three are listed in the 1761b edition. A comparison of both sets of entries shows several discrepancies: the setting by Nicola Porpora, misalphabetized in the 1761a edition and lacking "Magnificat" in the entry, does not recur in the 1761b edition (or in any subsequent edition of the Werke catalogs); neither the first nor the sixth anonymous Magnificat in the 1761a edition recurs in the 1761b edition; the second setting attributed to Johann Adolph Scheibe in the 1761b edition is missing in the 1761a edition; and two new anonymous Magnificats (the eighth and tenth settings) are first introduced in the 1761b edition. Moreover, the anonymous settings, grouped at the end of the deutsche and lateinische categories in both editions, are reordered and labeled "Anonymo" in the 1761b edition. By comparing the entries in the early editions of the Werke catalogs with the extant Magnificat manuscripts once owned by the Breitkopf firm, we can begin to explain the differences between the two 1761 editions.

The Porpora entry in the 1761a edition is corrected to Giovanni Porta in

firm acquired them. Because the firm possessed ten anonymous settings of the Latin Magnificat, which were advertised in the 1761b edition and still on hand, Immanuel Breitkopf (or some other member of the firm) assigned these new settings the next available numbers in that group, eleven and twelve. When the special 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog was prepared, both manuscripts were reordered and renumbered as nine and ten, which indicates the ninth and tenth positions of the settings within the category of anonymous Latin Magnificats in that catalog. Unfortunately, not all the numbers can be explained so easily.

both 1764 editions and in the 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog. <sup>14</sup> The entry for the second Scheibe Magnificat is, in fact, listed in the 1761a edition, but as the eighth anonymous Magnificat. A reexamination of the score and the set of parts confirms that the manuscript was originally unattributed when it was acquired by the Breitkopf firm. <sup>15</sup> It is not clear why the first anonymous Magnificat listed in the 1761a edition is omitted from the 1761b edition. A setting with similar instrumentation is cited in both 1764 editions and in the 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog, but it is uncertain whether the work is the same as that cited in the 1761a edition. Because the sixth anonymous Magnificat in the 1761a edition does not recur in the later editions of the Breitkopf catalogs or in the Voß-Buch collection, it must have been sold by the firm, probably as an attributed setting, sometime between the publication of the 1761a edition and that of the 1761b edition. <sup>16</sup>

Similarly, the eighth anonymous Magnificat, first cited in the 1761b edition and later in the 1769 *Kirchen-Musiken* catalog, does not turn up in the Voß-Buch catalog and therefore must have been sold as an attributed setting sometime after 1769. The tenth anonymous Magnificat, first cited in the 1761b edition, is listed again in the 1769 *Kirchen-Musiken* catalog. The manuscript score contains no original attribution; it is attributed to Homilius in the Voß-Buch collection (no.457) and thus cataloged in Berlin.<sup>17</sup> A late-eighteenth-century manuscript from Poelchau's collection, however, partly resolves the question

14. SBB, MUS. MS 17 820 (score). None of the five Magnificats attributed to Porpora of which I am aware fits the entry in the 1761a edition. The late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century manuscript concordances attributed to Porpora in MBLPZ, MS Becker III.2.149, and in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MUS. 2417-D-4 and 2417-D-4a, are copies of the Berlin setting attributed to Giovanni Porta by Gottlob Harrer, the copyist of the score. Space limitations preclude a full discussion of this setting or others considered in this article. I include details concerning these and other misattributed eighteenth-century Magnificat settings in a forthcoming study.

15. SBB, MUS. MS 30 187 (score) and MUS. MS  $\frac{19764}{8}$  (parts).

16. It is possible that the firm foresaw early on the problem of selling church music (particularly works by lesser-known composers) written in an older style and decided, whenever feasible, to dispense with its originally acquired manuscripts, perhaps even under false attribution, instead of preparing a "house" copy. The firm, experiencing financial difficulties, eventually sold most of its collection of church music to Voß-Buch sometime during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

17. SBB, MUS. MS 30 179 (score).

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of authorship by identifying this setting as a work by "Graun." <sup>18</sup> It is worth noting that in this instance, the misattribution stems not from Breitkopf but from Voß-Buch.

Since the disparities in the Magnificat entries in the 1761a edition do not recur in the 1761b edition or in the special 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog, the entries for the 1761b edition must have been reset from a reexamination of the manuscripts still on hand and not from the 1761a edition, just as the entries for the printed and engraved works of music in the special 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog were prepared from the collection of prints still on hand rather than from the entries in the earlier Bücher catalogs.

A number of anonymous or misattributed settings from the 1761b edition have been identified through concordances or reattributed as a result of handwriting identification. The Meine Seele setting for alto and tenor, erroneously attributed to Carl Hartwig (1709-50), is, in fact, an autograph of Bach's student Gottfried August Homilius (1714-85): the score is initialed "di G. A. H." and dated 1735, and all but the organ part is in his hand. 19 The fact that the organ part is copied in the hand of Carl Gotthelf Gerlach suggests that the Meine Seele was composed for performance at the Neukirche under his direction. The setting is cited "à 2" in the 1761a edition but is altered to "à 4" in the 1761b edition of the Werke catalog. The anonymous Meine Seele setting for solo soprano is preserved in a score now in Saint Petersburg and in two incomplete sets of parts in Berlin.<sup>20</sup> This setting, formerly attributed to J. S. Bach (BWV ANH. 21) and then to Georg Philipp Telemann, has been identified as a work by Georg Melchior Hoffmann, organist at the Neukirche until his death in 1715. This was determined through the identification of his handwriting in the score and in a number of parts.21

The Magnificat listed under "F." appears to be a second setting by Ruggiero Fedeli; however, the manuscript score, originally stemming from Georg Österreich's collection and later acquired by Heinrich Bokemeyer, has simply

<sup>18.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS 8175 (score) and MUS. MS  $\frac{8175}{1}$  (parts). The attribution to "C. H." Graun in pencil on the score is in a later hand.

<sup>19.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS 9430 (score) and MUS. MS  $\frac{9430}{1}$  (parts).

<sup>20.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS autogr. M. Hoffmann, 3N (olim MUS. MS anon. 1122).

<sup>21.</sup> See Andreas Glöckner, "Die Leipziger Neukirchenmusik und das 'Kleine Magnificat' BWV ANH. 21," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 68 (1982): 97–102.

"Sigr. F" (altered to "Anonym") on the covering folder, which Breitkopf dutifully observed.<sup>22</sup> The first anonymous Magnificat is preserved in fourteen parts:<sup>23</sup> the earlier set – in the hands of Anon. 1p, Anon. 1b, and Johann Andreas Kuhnau<sup>24</sup> – dates from the time of Johann Kuhnau; the second set – in the later hands of J. A. Kuhnau and Gerlach, and that of an unidentified copyist – dates from the mid- to late 1720s. The three earlier parts contain indications in the hand of J. A. Kuhnau for the performance of four traditional Christmas interpolations known as *Kindleinwiegen* or *Laudes:* "Vom Himmel hoch," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Virga Jesse floruit." The seventh anonymous Magnificat for soprano and alto, the score for which is dated 1732, turns out to be an autograph by Scheibe.<sup>25</sup> The incomplete set of parts contains an organ part in Gerlach's hand. Finally, the ninth anonymous Magnificat is a copy in Gottlob Harrer's hand of a setting by the Benedictine Gunther Wenzel Jacob from a vesper service printed in 1714.<sup>26</sup>

The Magnificat entries in both 1764 editions of the *Werke* catalog are substantively the same, but Breitkopf changed the order of the entries from those in the 1761a and 1761b editions of the *Werke* catalog by placing the anonymous settings first within the group of Latin settings.<sup>27</sup> This order is maintained for the Magnificat entries in the 1769 *Kirchen-Musiken* catalog. All nine settings

<sup>22.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS 30 240.

<sup>23.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS anon. 1535. I have discussed this setting in "The Sources of the Christmas Interpolations in J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat Major (BWV 243a)," Current Musicology 36 (1983): 79-99.

<sup>24.</sup> I have identified these copyists following Alfred Dürr's Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs, 2d rev. ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), 147, 150-51.

<sup>25.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS 30 098 (score) and MUS. MS 7491 (parts). Attributed to "Giannettini" in Voß-Buch. See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Bach-Quellen an Hand schrift-kundlicher Untersuchungen," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978): 50; and Cammarota, "The Repertoire of Magnificats," 1:255–57.

<sup>26.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS anon. 262 (score) and MUS. MS anon. 1539 (parts). The print is entitled Anathema gratiarum actionis perpetuae . . . seu: psalmi vespertini: . . . a IV. vocibus, violinis II, lituis II, con organo. Prag. Georg Labaun (1714). See RISM, A/I/4 J200. I should like to thank Gertraut Haberkamp (RISM/Munich) for her assistance in identifying this setting.

<sup>27.</sup> The anonymous works are placed first in each category throughout the 1764a and 1764b editions of the Werke catalog.

#### Magnificat Listings in the Early Nonthematic Catalogs

of the Magnificat listed in the 1764 editions of the Werke catalog derive from Harrer's Nachlass. They were subsequently cited in the 1769 Kirchen-Musiken catalog and include settings by Johann Ludwig Krebs, Antonio Caldara, Georg Philipp Telemann, Antonio Gianettini, Gottlob Harrer, Giovanni Porta, and three anonymous works.

As previously discussed, the 1769 *Kirchen-Musiken* catalog is a collation of the manuscripts from the 1761b and 1764b editions still on hand at the Breit-kopf firm. The work first attributed in this catalog to "J. S." is an incomplete setting (without trumpets, cornettini, and ripieno vocal parts) of the Magnificat à 5 in D major by Johann Schelle,<sup>28</sup> of which a complete set of performing parts is extant at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Bodleian manuscript contains twenty-one parts (including those missing from the set of parts in Berlin); moreover, the parts appear to have been copied in Leipzig during the early eighteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

The 1761a and 1761b editions of the Werke catalog shed new light on the business practices of the Breitkopf firm, its vast collection of manuscripts, and its cataloging system. A comparison of these early editions shows that the firm originally had in its collection more anonymous settings of the Magnificat than those offered in subsequent editions of the Werke catalog, that some of the "missing" settings were probably sold as attributed settings before the printing of the 1761b edition and may still be extant, that the firm misattributed one setting that was properly attributed, and that Voß-Buch misattributed two anonymous settings.

Using the early editions of the *Werke* catalogs, we can begin to piece together a detailed repertory of German- and Latin-texted settings of the Magnificat performed in the three main churches in Leipzig during the first six decades of the eighteenth century. Most of the Magnificat manuscripts acquired by the Breitkopf firm derive from four basic collections: those of Heinrich Bokemeyer, Georg Melchior Hoffmann, Carl Gotthelf Gerlach, and Gottlob Harrer. Although it is not yet clear how the Bokemeyer copies were obtained, those derived from Hoffmann and Gerlach were penned by students of Hoffmann, Johann Kuhnau, and J. S. Bach and performed under their direction at

<sup>28.</sup> SBB, MUS. MS 19 790 (olim MUS. MS anon. 1124).

<sup>29.</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS MUS. SCH. C.31. (I have seen only a microfilm of this manuscript.)

the Neukirche, Nicolaikirche, and Thomaskirche. The manuscripts also show evidence that the works were reedited during the late 1720s for performance at the Neukirche under Gerlach's direction, thereby documenting the copying activities of Thomasschule alumni during the late 1720s and early 1730s. Some settings, such as those by Scheibe and Homilius, appear to have been composed expressly for performance at the Neukirche under Gerlach's direction. These settings, together with those associated with Harrer, attest to the large and stylistically diverse repertory of Magnificats performed in Leipzig during J. S. Bach's lifetime and in the decade following his death.

### PART FOUR

The Breitkopf Family

## Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf

#### The Formative Years

Gregory G. Butler

elatively little is known about the early stages of Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf's career – his student days and his years as apprentice and journeyman printer during the 1730s and early 1740s. My aim in this chapter is to fill out the picture of Breitkopf's formative years, thus providing a backdrop against which to view his revolutionary approach to printing music from movable type and his other developments in the art of publishing.

During Breitkopf's early years, Leipzig was one of the greatest book-printing and book-publishing centers in Europe, ranking in importance with such cities as Amsterdam, London, and Paris. What Leipzig most definitely was not, however, was a leading center for the engraving, printing, and publishing of *music*. Both Nuremberg and Hamburg were more important in this respect, and even the smaller city of Augsburg was a serious rival.

These two general statements of fact are not unconnected. In fact, the thriving book trade in Leipzig was probably the most important reason for the dearth of music publishing there. The relationship between the numerous book publishers and the numerous copperplate engravers and printers in Leipzig was highly symbiotic: the copper engravers and printers essential for the production of music prints were constantly in demand to provide the portraits, illustrations, tables, and the like for the steady stream of books rolling off the Leipzig presses. To judge from the external evidence, these engravers and printers were kept constantly busy – if not overtaxed – by the demands

<sup>1.</sup> A biography appears in Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf & Härtel: Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht, 5th ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968), 1:83-114.

of the book publishers.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, relatively few Leipzig copper engravers were trained in the somewhat specialized art of music engraving,<sup>3</sup> and only one, Johann Gottfried Krügner Sr., could claim to be the equal of the master music engravers of Nuremberg. This is not at all surprising, for there was more than enough work for engravers in satisfying the needs of the book trade. With commissions flowing in from book publishers, why should engravers abandon their stock-in-trade and take up a specialized branch of their art for which they were not highly qualified and that, moreover, was extremely time-consuming? It is no wonder then, that for Leipzig copperplate engravers, music engraving was only peripherally important and often delegated to the least-skilled apprentices.<sup>4</sup>

For Leipzig publishers, too, music was not a particularly attractive venture. Not only was music much more expensive to publish than was the printed word, but there was relatively little demand for it from a limited market. In the absence of lucrative commissions or generous subsidies from wealthy patrons, publishers were loath to take on music-printing projects. The difficulty Johann Gottfried Walther encountered in finding a Leipzig publisher for his chorale variations on *Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* is symptomatic of this state of affairs. Writing to his Wolfenbüttel colleague Heinrich Bokemeyer in 1736, Walther explained his problem: "They have been shown and recommended by Herr Kapellmeister Bach to Herr Krügner in Leipzig, but he has begged off. Since he is committed to publish the Kaufmann things, he would be unable to deliver these in the time required. In addition, the cost would run too high." 5 In

- 2. See Gregory G. Butler, J. S. Bach's Clavierübung III: The Making of a Print (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), esp. 21-34.
- 3. For an indication of just how few of the numerous copper engravers active in Leipzig at this time engraved music, see Gustav Wustmann, "Der Leipziger Kupferstich im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," Neujahrsblätter der Bibliothek und des Archivs der Stadt Leipzig 3 (1907): 32-82.
- 4. This is certainly the case for the Schemellisches Gesangbuch. See Gregory G. Butler, "J. S. Bach and the Schemelli Gesangbuch Revisited," Studi Musicali 13 (1984): 241-57.
- 5. "Herrn Krügnern in Leipzig sind sie vom Herrn Capellm. Bachen gezeiget u. recommendiret worden; er hat sich aber damit entschuldiget; weil er die Kaufmännische Sachen in Verlag genommen, könne er diese nicht, in der Verlangten Zeit, fördern, die Kosten liefen auch zu hoch" (Johann Gottfried Walther: Briefe, ed. Klaus Beckmann and Hans-Joachim Schulze [Leipzig: veb Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1987], 192). Also reproduced in BDOK, 2, no.377. The translation is mine.

#### Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf

a second letter to Bokemeyer he mentioned Krügner's financial concerns: "the publishers are afraid that such an undertaking could prove to be damaging because for every enthusiast who spends his money on it, ten or more refuse to." 6

J. S. Bach's experience is highly instructive in this regard. In the latter half of the 1720s he brought out his Six Partitas as small-scale productions, engraved by students and produced at minimal cost, since Bach himself acted as publisher. After 1731 the prints of all his works, with the exception of a part of his Clavierübung III of 1739, were engraved entirely outside Leipzig, in Nuremberg and Zella. His experiences with the professional engravers in Leipzig, then, cannot have been anything but highly unsatisfactory, and he certainly never found a suitable publisher for his music there. Bach, his sons and students, and a whole host of Saxon composers turned to Nuremberg and Augsburg in the south for the engraving, printing, and publication of their works during the 1730s, 1740s, and early 1750s.

Although relatively little music was being printed and published in Leipzig during the 1730s and 1740s, important books on music were. In fact, two of the most influential and widely distributed tomes on music to be written in Germany during this period appeared there. In 1732 Walther's *Musicalishes Lexicon*, the most comprehensive music dictionary published up to that time, was printed in Leipzig by Christoph Zunckel.9 Seven years later, in 1739, perhaps the most important book on music of the late Baroque, Johann Mattheson's encyclopedic *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, was printed by the Leipzig printer August Samuel Cruciger. 10 *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* was typical

- 6. "Die Verleger befürchten, es möchte ihnen solche Unternehmen zu Schaden gereichen, weil, wenn 1 Liebhaber Geld anwendet, ihrer 10 und mehr es abschreiben" (*Johann Gottfried Walther: Briefe*, 195; BDOK, 2, no. 381). The translation is mine.
- 7. See Gregory G. Butler, "The Engraving of J. S. Bach's Six Partitas," Journal of Musicological Research 7 (1986): 3-27.
- 8. A list of the works brought out by Balthasar Schmid of Nuremberg gives a good indication of this state of affairs. See Horst Heussner, "Der Musikdrucker Balthasar Schmid in Nürnberg," *Die Musikforschung* 16 (1963): 348-62.
- 9. For the evidence establishing Zunckel as the printer, see Gregory G. Butler, "The Engravers of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* II," in *A Bach Tribute: Essays in Honor of William H. Scheide*, ed. Paul Brainard and Ray Robinson (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993), 57-70.
- 10. See Christian Friedrich Geßner, Der so nöthig als nützlichen Buchdruckerkunst, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1740), 1:135. For a fuller discussion elaborating the evidence of Cruciger as printer,

of Cruciger's ambitious printing projects in terms of its sumptuous folio format: the large size of the leaves and the staggering number of musical examples rendered the printing of the music by copperplate - the process used in Walther's Lexicon - both impractical and highly expensive. Consequently Cruciger turned to movable type as the only viable possibility. It is significant that this constituted the only major music-publishing project employing movable music type undertaken in Leipzig during Immanuel Breitkopf's formative years. As an accomplished musician Breitkopf must have been interested not only in the problems of printing music but also in the problems of printing theoretical treatises on music, for among the very earliest publications employing his invention of improved movable music type were two treatises, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's Anfangsgründe der theoretischen Musik of 1756 and Marpurg's translation of Jean le Rond d'Alembert's Élémens de musique théorique et pratique of 1757. With his widely noted interest in the history and techniques of printing, Breitkopf would surely have known about Cruciger's project and followed it closely. He would surely have been as interested in the technical aspects of the book's printing as Leipzig musicians would have been in its contents. From such firsthand experiences, Breitkopf grew all the more acutely aware of the serious shortcomings of movable music type as it existed at the time. Such practical exposure to the difficulties of printing music from movable type no doubt prompted the statement accompanying a 1755 sonnet by Johann Friedrich Graefe with music by the future electress Maria Antonia of Saxony: "The book printers themselves have not been particularly satisfied with it [movable music type] not only because its complicated nature is annoying to them but also because setting it up is not as routine, so that it cannot be used without a great deal of artifice and patchwork that first must be thought out each time by the compositor himself." 11 I believe that Cruciger's printing of Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister was one of Breitkopf's most

see my study "J. S. Bach's Hudemann Canon Bwv 1074: A Note on its Engraving and Printing History," *Bach* 25 (1994): 6-7.

<sup>11. &</sup>quot;Die Buchdrucker selbst sind damit nicht sonderlich zufrieden, sowohl, weil ihnen ihre Weitläufigkeit beschwerlich fällt, als auch hauptsächlich, weil die Einrichtung nicht so regelmässig ist, daß sie ohne viele Künsteley oder Flickerey, die von dem setzer selbst allezeit erst ausgedacht werden muß, könne gebraucht werden" (cited in Hase, *Breitkopf & Härtel*, 89–90). The translation is mine.

#### Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf

important formative experiences with movable music type. From it stemmed ideas for his later invention.

One area in which there was limited activity in music publishing in Leipzig in the latter half of the 1730s and early 1740s was in the realm of vocal music, more specifically, in collections of lieder. This is important for a number of reasons. First and foremost the Breitkopf firm was directly involved in printing and publishing the two most prominent lieder collections of the day. In light of the young Immanuel Breitkopf's abiding interest in new poetry, an interest nurtured by his close ties with the Gottsched circle, and the fact that the earliest demonstration of his ingenious approach to music printing involved the printing of a lied, 12 this activity deserves our attention.

At Easter 1736, the same year that Immanuel Breitkopf first registered as a journeyman printer, his father, Bernhard Cristoph, published the *Schemellisches Gesangbuch*. The *Gesangbuch* was one of the most important collections of hymns issued in Protestant Germany in the late Baroque. In addition, J. S. Bach was a major contributor to the collection and served as its musical consultant. Immanuel Breitkopf, who was learning the printing trade in his father's firm at the time, was one of the few members of the staff with extensive musical training. Without question he would have been involved in the project. Indeed, it must have been a critical force in shaping his attitudes and convictions about music printing and publishing.

The Schemellisches Gesangbuch called for a somewhat complicated printing process. The music for hymns was etched on copper plates by engravers. Meanwhile, the hymn texts were set in type by Breitkopf's compositors, who left blank spaces for the music plates. The pages were then pulled in a letter press. After this printing was complete, the leaves with spaces for the music were sent with the engraved plates to a copper press. There the pages were repulled in the copper press to imprint the musical setting from the engraved copper plates. Obviously such an operation was fraught with potential hazards for the publisher. For one thing, control over the production and appearance of the finished product was limited. The publisher was not only at the mercy of the music engravers, who were both expensive and often highly unreliable, but also vulnerable to the whims of the copperpress printers, because they had

<sup>12.</sup> See ibid., 88-89.

to be entrusted with the pages from the letter press. The results (pl.1) were uneven at best and disastrous at worst.

In the case of the Schemellisches Gesangbuch, the appearance of the finished product can have pleased neither Bernhard Christoph nor Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf. For Immanuel, who was concerned with the aesthetic impression of printed music, the wedding of letterpress printing and copperpress engraving must have jarred his sensibilities. The results were often unsightly, as, for example, when a plate was off center or out of alignment or when a plate was too large to fit into the space provided. Ink blotches and scratches on the copper plates contrast with the clean imprint of the type. Even within the music plates themselves there is no consistency of appearance, for no fewer than five engravers were involved in the etching process. Over two-thirds of the plates were left to the least-skilled engraver, and there is no harmony or homogeneity of effect.

Another problem was the inconsistent approach to text in the engravings. Breitkopf's original conception (and Immanuel may have influenced this approach) called for text underlay of the first strophe, and this format appears in all the earliest engravings. It was quickly abandoned, however, probably because it was too time-consuming and consequently increased the cost of production. The small octavo page format of the hymnbook left little space for engraving texts on the diminutive plates. The resulting cramped appearance only adds to the already strong contrast between the engraved and printed texts. In short, the engraved musical settings in the *Schemellisches Gesangbuch* left much to be desired, and the lesson cannot have been lost on the young Breitkopf.

At the St. Michael's Fair in Leipzig the same year a second song book appeared, Sperontes's Singende Muse an der Pleisse. The work was published at the expense of the editor's "lustige Gesellschafft," and Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf may well have been the printer. Certainly he took over the publication of the second edition of 1740. The printing of this book involved the same basic difficulties encountered with the Schemellisches Gesangbuch, but in this instance the engravings display an even greater diversity of styles, for at least seven engravers were enlisted for the etching process. Furthermore, a number of these were Nuremberg engravers, and the logistics involved must have been formidable. The engraving was of a generally higher quality; however, no attempt was made at text underlay, and the larger quarto paper format allowed for a spacious layout not possible in the hymnbook.

trieg und streit haufig und stund- fur noth ofters mir wunsche den tich umgeben, hier ist kein ruh, Je- tod, darzu das ewige leben. fu, dir fliebe ich zu, schenk mir das 5. 26be du falsche welt! ade, du emige leben.

4. Schaue, wie thranen und feuf: ich ben Jesu dort ewiglich schwes gen mein berze abnagen, wie ich ben, freue dich nu , meine feel, muß dulben und leiden viel weil du haft ruh, dazu das ewige fcmergen und plagen ; daß ich leben.

zeitliches leben! nunmehro werd



ergiß mein nicht, vergiß mein licht, vergiß mein nicht, vergiß mein allerliebster mein nicht. nid)t,

Gott. fleben, ach! lag mir gnad gesches mein nicht, mein allerliebster hen, wenn ich hab angst und noth, Gott, vergieb mir meine sunden. du meine zuversicht. mein nicht, vergiß mein nicht.

mein nicht, ach! treibe fern von mein nicht. mir des bofen feindes tucke, inglei: 4. Bergiß mein nicht, vergiß chen bas gelucke, bas mid nur mein nicht , wenn mich die bofe

Ach! hore doch mein 3. Vergiß mein nicht, vergiß Bergiß 21ch! lag mich gnabe finden, fo hat es feine noth, wenn solche mich 2. Bergiß mein nicht, vergiß anficht, vergiß mein nicht, vergiß

trennt von dir, du meines lebens welt mit ihrer bogbeit plaget, und

Plate 1. A page from the Schemellisches Gesangbuch, published in 1736 by Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf. Courtesy of Georg Olms Verlag.

Another event that surely must have been instrumental in furthering Breitkopf's interest in the history and technical aspects of printing was the 1740 celebration of the tricentenary of printing's birth in Germany. Leipzig was the center of jubilee activities, and the Breitkopf firm played a prominent role. In conjunction with the tricentennial celebrations, Christian Friedrich Geßner's Der so nöthig als nützlichen Buchdruckerkunst was issued in four large volumes, the first two in 1740 and the third and fourth in 1741 and 1745, respectively. The publication carries no indication of its printer, but Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf is certainly a strong possibility. In the section on Leipzig, Breitkopf is singled out as the preeminent master printer in the city, and he is further honored as the only printer whose work was chosen for inclusion as a Schriftprobe in the series. In addition Immanuel took part in the jubilee, for he was named as "Kunstverwandter" and appears in the Gepriesenen Andenken published in 1740 in conjunction with the tricentenary.<sup>13</sup> Given his keen interest in printing and his breadth of knowledge, it is not surprising to find him listed as an artistic collaborator. More important, the activities of the jubilee, the close scrutiny of the present state of printing, and the focus on future technological developments must have been a stimulating experience for the twenty-yearold Breitkopf.

In 1741, on returning from a north European tour, Immanuel took over the printing and publication of the third edition of the Sperontes collection (and subsequently also the first, second, and third Fortsetzungen of 1742, 1743, and 1745, respectively). Perhaps he insisted on the new assignment. In any case, some of the young printer's changes reflect his own ideals and developing aesthetic sense. For example, the title page displays only a small portion of the original engraving from the first edition (pl. 2). The rest is replaced by a highly harmonious and stylish typeface. Here is evidence of Breitkopf's determination to take over one of the traditional preserves of the engraver. Viewed as a whole, the edition creates an impression of far greater homogeneity than the earlier editions, mainly because the musical settings are now the work of a single engraver, Johann Benjamin Brühl.

In this publication, Immanuel's first major undertaking, we see the incipient but unmistakable signs of the impulse and driving force behind so many of his later brilliant experiments, including the use of a letter press and movable type

<sup>13.</sup> See ibid., 85.



Dever nenesten besten und leichtesten unssicalischen Stücke

mit denen dazu gehörigen Melodien versehen und zu beliebter Clavier-Ibung und Gemüths-Ergötzung ans Licht gestellet:



Plate 2. Title page from Sperontes's Singende Muse an der Pleisse, the first Fortsetzung, published by Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in 1742. Courtesy of Breitkopf & Härtel Buch- und Musikverlag.

to print maps, portraits, playing cards, wallpaper, and most importantly, music. Breitkopf's almost obsessive belief in the limitless possibilities of movable type is perhaps best summed up by Wolfgang Schmieder: "These [areas of printing] had been the domain of copperplate engraving and it was in keeping with the whole fanaticism of a highly gifted talent to believe that not only could the letterpress manage everything but that it could manage it even better." <sup>14</sup>

I believe that Breitkopf harbored a very real antipathy toward engravers, an antipathy bred from long experience with them and fed by aesthetic and practical sensibilities. It was also nurtured by a strong will to wrest control of engraving and printing music from the *Kupferstecher-Kupferdrucker* monopoly and to restore it to the *Schwarzdrucker*. As Barry Brook has noted, Breitkopf constantly furthered his own music-printing method at the expense of the engraving process.<sup>15</sup>

Although Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf was undeniably a genius, it would be highly presumptuous to view his inventions in the domain of music printing simply as a flash of inspiration. The circumstances leading up to the developments of the early 1750s are no doubt complex and diverse. Nonetheless, the state of music engraving, printing, and publishing in Leipzig and the formative experiences of the 1730s and 1740s must have made a deep and lasting impression on Breitkopf; indeed, they must have been critical in shaping the future course of his career.

<sup>14. &</sup>quot;Das war die Domäne des Kupferstiches, und es gehört schon der ganze Fanatismus einer genialen Begabung dazu, zu glauben, daß der Letterndruck nicht nur alles, sondern alles noch besser leisten könne als der Stich" (Wolfgang Schmieder, "Breitkopf, Familie," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952], vol. 2, col. 252). The translation is mine.

<sup>15.</sup> See Brook, x.

## Breitkopf's Music Trade as Reflected in the Holdings of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek

## Ortrun Landmann

for the first time since the end of the [Seven Years] War. It is reported... that on May 4th the Court... visited the Breitkopf firm. Among the party were the widowed Electress Maria Antonia, ... the 14½-year-old Elector Prince Friedrich August, and the Regent... Prince Xaver."

The royal visitors saw the workshop in action and were presented with freshly printed panegyrics. "Prince Xaver then contributed the first hammer strokes at the laying of the cornerstone for the new Breitkopf residence, the Haus 'zum Silbernen Bären.' The honoring of a printing establishment in this way, through a princely visit, was a very unusual occurrence at the time" – so stated Oskar von Hase in his history of the publishing house Breitkopf & Härtel.²

This was impressive: a visit to an ordinary citizen paid by the head of the Saxon electoral family (until shortly before, it had been the Polish royal family as well). The Dresden court, one of the most distinguished, elegant, and cosmopolitan of mid-eighteenth-century Europe, esteemed and promoted the economically vital middle class of its domain. It did not, however, maintain a patriarchal relationship with this class – even with the financially powerful fig-

Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf und Härtel: Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht, 5th ed., 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1968), 1:76.

<sup>2.</sup> Hase, *Breitkopf und Härtel*, 1:78. For a discussion of the two Breitkopf residences in Leipzig, the Haus "zum Goldenen Bären" and the Haus "zum Silbernen Bären," see George B. Stauffer, "The Thomasschule and the Haus 'zum Goldenen Bären': A Bach-Breitkopf Architectural Connection," in the present volume.

## LANDMANN

ures of commercial Leipzig – notwithstanding all the licenses and privileges it granted them.<sup>3</sup> The visit to the Breitkopf firm is thus all the more interesting.

Nine years earlier, in 1756, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf had demonstrated his new method of printing music with type with a special publication – a *Prachtdruck* – of the score for Maria Antonia's *dramma per musica* entitled *Il trionfo della fedeltà*, and in 1765 he issued her *Talestri* in an even more splendid edition. Without a doubt the noble lady was not merely satisfied with Breitkopf's achievements. She must have been positively flattered. From the publisher's standpoint, it was no small honor to be permitted to issue works composed by an electress.

The whole matter of Breitkopf's relationship with Maria Antonia merits an objective look, all the more so because Hase also described in his monograph an oil portrait of the electress that Breitkopf seems to have received in 1754 as a present from "the distinguished author" and "Patroness of the house."

The Bavarian princess Maria Antonia Walpurgis married Prince-Elector Friedrich Christian of Saxony in 1747 and lived thereafter in Dresden, where her artistic interests blossomed. In 1763, following the conclusion of the Seven Years War and the death of her father-in-law, Friedrich August II, she ascended to the electoral throne with her husband. Within two months, however, she was widowed. She thereupon handed over the affairs of state to her brother-in-law Prince Xaver, who acted as regent until 1768, when her son Friedrich August became head of state. Friedrich August ruled for nearly sixty years, first as elector and then as king, at times under extremely difficult conditions. He was honored by his people with the epithet "der Gerechte" – "the Just." Together with Xaver, Maria Antonia worked intensively and successfully to reduce the state debt that had built up from defeat in the Seven Years War, when Prussia exacted a stiff tribute from Saxony.

It is said that Maria Antonia was less skillful at managing her own finances.<sup>5</sup> Apparently generous and ready to aid those about her, she seems to have found herself in debt frequently. May this not offer a link to the House of Breitkopf?

- 3. Among the privileges we find that sovereigns were not allowed to build or own palaces in Leipzig. When they needed accommodations, they were obliged to take lodgings in houses belonging to local patricians.
- 4. Hase, Breitkopf und Härtel, 78, 88, and 89.
- 5. Carl von Weber, Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Churfürstin von Sachsen: Beiträge zur einer Lebensbeschreibung derselben (Dresden, 1857), especially chap. 4.

## Breitkopf's Music Trade as Reflected in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek

It is not likely that the publisher commanded large amounts of readily available money, despite the fact that Immanuel built a second splendid Leipzig family residence (the Haus zum Silbernen Bären). Nevertheless, I regard it as possible that Immanuel Breitkopf was in a position to provide the electress with financing and thus make himself indispensable to her. This would explain the tokens of gratitude bestowed by the electress and also her contribution to Breitkopf's inventory of music. The most suitable prerequisite for the latter was Maria Antonia's private collection.

\* \* \*

Both a handwritten catalog in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden and items mentioned in the catalog that are preserved in the library reveal that the young princess brought a considerable collection of solo cantatas, arias, and other vocal music with her when she came to Dresden from Munich in 1747.6 The music stemmed either from Italy or from Munich. In Dresden she continued to collect, sometimes exchanging items with her mother-in-law, Maria Josepha,7 whose collection seems to have fallen to Maria Antonia after Maria Josepha's death in 1757. Finally, in 1763 Maria Antonia inherited the music that had belonged to her husband, Friedrich Christian.8

Thus by 1765 or so the electress possessed a significant portion of the core holdings of the Royal Music Collection (which was transferred in 1896 to the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, then known as the Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek). Housed together with Maria Josepha's collection would have been the estates of several musicians, most notably that of Johann Georg Pisendel (d. 1755), violinist and Konzertmeister at the Dresden court. It appears that Breitkopf drew liberally from the Pisendel material before it entered the archives of the Catholic Hofkirche, where it acquired the familiar music covers with their "Schranck" signatures.9

- 6. "Catalogo de Libri Musicali," Sächsische Landesbibliothek, BIBL. ARCH. III Hb 787e.
- 7. In her catalog Maria Antonia noted in pencil several times "reso a S.M. la Regina" (procured from her majesty the Queen) (p.128, for instance).
- 8. Friedrich August II's collection, however, must have been inherited by his grandson Friedrich August III. A thorough study of the history of the Royal Music Collection has yet to be undertaken.
- 9. In later periods, too, material from the Royal Music Collection was sold or traded in an effort to broaden the individual collections and create a comprehensive music library. Heavy

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Breitkopf's catalogs include works by approximately forty Dresden composers. Nevertheless, several court figures from the first half of the eighteenth century are conspicuously missing: Jan Dismas Zelenka, Jean-Baptiste Woulmyer (Volumier), Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin, Pantaleon Hebenstreit, and Louis André. Their works were either placed in one of the electoral archives immediately on acquisition <sup>10</sup> or never purchased in the first place. <sup>11</sup> Whatever the case, no trace of their music can be found in the private collections of the royal family.

I assume that Immanuel Breitkopf acquired material from the property of Electress Maria Antonia. My first task is to identify the person entrusted with selecting the music and giving or lending it. Could this have been the court organist Peter August, who functioned as a kind of music secretary for Maria Antonia <sup>12</sup> and later served as a music partner and arranger for Elector Friedrich August III? Remarkably, August is the only Dresden musician of his generation not represented in Breitkopf's thematic catalogs.

A second issue is the means by which the music was provided. On the basis of more or less accidental observations, the following appear to me to have been potential methods of acquisition:

1. Breitkopf may have received pieces owned in duplicate, or in cases where both a score and parts were available, he may have received the parts. Pisendel's collection in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek contains the scores of violin concertos in which Pisendel noted the composers' names in Greek letters, "Horn," "Kubasch," and "Pfeiffer," for example.<sup>13</sup> It may be that Pisendel used Greek

losses were sustained even after the transfer of private collections to the Royal Public Library, the unfortunate result of a lack of understanding of what constituted duplicate material and what was eligible to be sold.

<sup>10.</sup> Such was the fate of compositions left by Zelenka, whose musical estate, insofar as it survived, was kept in a music cabinet of the Hofkirche under special lock and key. Woulmyer's musical estate most probably entered the Kapell-Archiv of the Prinzliches Palais and was lost in the fire that destroyed the palace in 1760, during the Prussian bombardment of Dresden.

<sup>11.</sup> Such is the case with the collections of Buffardin, Hebenstreit, and André.

<sup>12.</sup> By far the greatest number of Dresden entries in Maria Antonia's music catalog are in August's hand. In addition, August served as scribe for much of the music in her collection.

<sup>13.</sup> Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MUS. 2726-0-1 (Horn), MUS. 2521-0-1 (Kubasch), and MUS. 2429-0-6 (Pfeiffer).

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partly to conceal the names of musicians who played in Dresden aristocratic ensembles that were maintained by lesser nobility, ensembles that occupied a lower social status than that of the Hofkapelle. The Greek letters may have been used to keep the copyists of the parts in the dark as to the identity of the composers. (To be sure, other explanations are possible.) Three of the concertos are listed in the Breitkopf catalogs and supplements. <sup>14</sup> Other violin concertos related to these seem to be of Dresden provenance and appear to stem from Pisendel's collection, including works by Francesco Maria Cattaneo, Franz Benda, Johann Gottlieb Graun, Christoph Förster, and Jan Kritel Jiri Neruda. It is precisely in the case of unfamiliar names such as Horn and Kubasch, however, that the correspondence between the Breitkopf catalog and the Dresden holdings is striking. <sup>15</sup> Perhaps the parts went to Leipzig, while the scores remained in Dresden.

Particularly suggestive of a Dresden provenance for certain Breitkopf catalog entries are pieces that were transmitted under various names. One such example is a trio sonata that Breitkopf attributed to Johann David Heinichen; in Dresden, the work is ascribed to Johann Joachim Quantz. In both cases only Dresden can be the origin, since Quantz wrote no trio sonatas after leaving the city.

- 2. The composite manuscripts of Maria Josepha and Maria Antonia may have been used for selective copying when copies of the particular pieces were not available. Thus the five Heinichen cantatas listed in the Breitkopf supplement of 1771 can be found in the two large Dresden collections of Heinichen cantatas.<sup>17</sup> In composite manuscripts mainly from Munich provenance one finds the
- 14. See Brook, col.66 (no.1 of "IV. Concerti di Horn" and "II Concerti di Kubasch") and col.236 (no.6 from "VI Conc. del Sigr. Pfeiffer").
- 15. Kubasch is represented in Breitkopf's thematic catalog solely by the pair of violin concertos (Brook, col. 66). For Horn, there are works that cannot be found in Dresden today. All fit the profile of Pisendel's collection, however.
- 16. The Breitkopf entry can be found in Brook, col.91 (Raccolta I, no.5: Heinichen). The Sächsische Landesbibliothek manuscript is catalogued as MUS. 2470-Q-3. Horst Angsbach, in *Johann Joachim Quantz: Thematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke* (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1984), 28, has placed the trio sonata among those dubiously attributed to Quantz.
- 17. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MUS. 2398-I-1 and MUS. 2398-I-2. Individual Heinichen concordances are as follows:
  - Brook, col. 187, "Heinchen" no. 1 = MUS. 2398-I-2, no. 26.
  - Brook, col. 188, "Heinchen" no. 2 = MUS. 2398-I-2, no. 11.
  - Brook, col. 188, "Heinchen" no. 3 = MUS. 2398-I-2, no. 17.

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- arias and duets by Domingo Terradellas that Breitkopf offered for sale, and in a Munich anthology likewise an aria by Leonardo Leo advertised by Breitkopf. <sup>18</sup>
- 3. Individual numbers may have been copied from complete opera scores. This is the case, surely, with the Hasse opera sinfonias listed by Breitkopf, and also with the sinfonia from *Vologeso* by Francesco Zoppis.<sup>19</sup> The Zoppis opera premiered in Prague in 1753, but the score was later sold or presented by the impresario Giovanni Battista Locatelli to Maria Antonia, who entered it herself in her music catalog. The score is still in Dresden today.<sup>20</sup>
- 4. Breitkopf may have received scores that existed in Dresden as single pieces. Whether this occurred by design or oversight cannot be determined. One thinks of Pisendel's Violin Concerto in C Major a work for which no trace remains except Breitkopf's entry<sup>21</sup> and of works by other composers that are no longer found in Dresden. Consider the pieces of Mauro Alay, for instance. Of his works, only his violin concertos are still housed in Dresden. Would not his violin sonatas advertised by Breitkopf also have come from Pisendel's collection?

Neither Brook, col.188, "Heinchen" no.4, nor the three Heinichen cantatas listed in Brook, col.192, have Dresden traces, nor were any of these pieces included in the Heinichen work catalog found in Gustav Adolph Seibel's Das Leben des Königl. Polnischen und Kurfürstl. Sächs. Hofkapellmeisters Johann David Heinichen (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1913).

- 18. Concordances for the Terradellas works:
  - Brook, col. 175, "Terradellas" no. 2 = MUS. 3016-F-1, 7.
  - Brook, col. 181, "Terradellas" no. 1 = MUS. 3016-F-1, 12 (from Astarto).
  - Brook, col.185, "Terradellas" no.1 = MUS. 1-F-28, 3 (Munich anthology volume, pp.56f.; here in Bb major, but in Breitkopf in A major).
- 19. Brook, col. 223, given without reference to the opera in question: "I. Sinf. del Sigr. Zoppis."
- 20. BIBL. ARCH. III Hb 787e, p.134. The title of MUS. 3031-F-1 is written in pencil and most likely stems from Locatelli: "Vologeso/dell' Apostolo Zeno/musica/del Zopis/in Praga 1753/Locatelli."
- 21. Brook, col. 233: "I. Conc. del S. Bishendel." The entries for Pisendel in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* and *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* do not include the C-Major Concerto.

<sup>-</sup> Brook, col. 188, "Heinchen" no. 4 = ?

<sup>-</sup> Brook, col. 188, "Heinchen" no. 5 = MUS. 2398-I-1, no. 22.

<sup>-</sup> Brook, col. 188, "Heinchen" no. 6 = MUS. 2398-I-2, no. 3.

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This consideration ought to be raised first and foremost in connection with the works of Antonio Vivaldi. Precisely because of the abundance of Dresden Vivaldiana, one tends to overlook the loss of a few items, all the more because there was scarcely any interest in Vivaldi's vocal music in the Saxon city. Perhaps the sixth Pisendel Sonata, now lost, was among these Vivaldi manuscripts that were dispersed.<sup>22</sup> We are just as entitled to imagine a Dresden origin for the lute compositions of Silvius Weiss that are listed in the fourth supplement of the Breitkopf thematic catalog.<sup>23</sup>

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Later business connections between Breitkopf and the Dresden court – if such connections did not cease with Maria Antonia's death in 1780 but rather continued through contracts with individual suppliers – probably brought then-current opera music to Leipzig. The following are a few examples: Antonio Salieri's *Grotto di Trofonio*, premiered in Vienna in 1785, performed in Dresden in 1786, and listed in Breitkopf's Supplement 13 of 1787;<sup>24</sup> Tommaso Traetta's *Buovo d'Antona*, given in Dresden in 1772 and offered by way of its sinfonia by Breitkopf in 1774;<sup>25</sup> and Franz Seydelmann's *Capriccio corretto*, premiered in Dresden in 1783 and available from Breitkopf from 1784 on (to judge from Supplement 15).<sup>26</sup> Even a Good Friday oratorio from the Catholic Hofkirche appeared among the Breitkopf offerings, albeit with more delay: Domenico

- 22. The fifth sonata of the set was acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, as part of the Malherbe Collection. Both it and the remaining four Dresden Pisendel sonatas are available in the facsimile edition, *Vier (Pisendel) Sonaten für Violine und Basso continuo*, with commentary by Karl Heller (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1982).
- 23. Brook, col.369-75. The correspondence of these entries with the collection Mus. 2841-v-5 in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek is noteworthy and raises the question of whether Breitkopf had access in Leipzig to the collection as a whole before it went through the hands of collectors and eventually made its way back to Dresden.
- 24. Brook, col.888, "Antonio Salieri. La Grotta di Trofonio," complete score in Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 3796-F-506.
- 25. Brook, col.524, "I. Sinfonia da Trajetta," complete score in Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MUS. 3262-F-1.
- 26. Brook, col. 840, "Seydelmann. il Capricio corretto," complete score in Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 3550-F-4.

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Fischietti's Morte d'Abele, first performed in 1767 and announced by Breitkopf in 1774.<sup>27</sup>

The relationship between Breitkopf and the younger generation of Dresden composers remains an open question. Did the publisher deal directly with Johann Gottlieb Naumann, Joseph Schuster, Seydelmann, Fischietti, Georg Schürer,<sup>28</sup> Christlieb Siegmund Binder, Jean Balthasar Tricklir, and others, or did he use an intermediary at the court?

Around this time music began to move not only from Dresden to Leipzig but in the opposite direction as well. A certain amount of music (exactly how much has not yet been determined) came from the Breitkopf establishment. This probably is the case with prints of keyboard concertos by Johann Andreas Colizzi, Christian Gottlob Neefe, and Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, issued by Hummel (in The Hague), Götz (in Mannheim), and Korn (in Breslau), respectively, and advertised by Breitkopf.<sup>29</sup> A Breitkopf provenance can be proven for Dresden manuscript copies of concertos by Johann Christian and Johann Michael Bach that are found in Supplements 14 and 15.<sup>30</sup> The same is true for numerous concertos by Carl Heinrich Graun.<sup>31</sup> All these manuscripts, handed down

- 27. Brook, col. 559, "Fischetti. La Morte d'Abele," complete score in Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 3269-D-4.
- 28. Surely the Dresden church composer Johann Georg Schürer is meant in Breitkopf's listings for "Schirer" (Brook, col. 85) and "Adam Schurer" (Brook, col. 99).
- 29. The correspondences are as follows:
  - Brook, col. 824, "I Conc. da I. A. K. Colizzi" no. 2 = MUS. 3424-0-1.
  - Brook, col. 825, "I Conc. da C. G. Neefe" = MUS. 3542-0-1
  - Brook, col. 826, "Conc. III da E. G. Wolff" and "Conc. IV da E. G. Wolff" = MUS. 3388-0-3, nos. 3 and 4.

It appears that Korn had Wolf's concerto set in Breitkopf's shop with Breitkopf's newly developed music type.

- 30. Brook, col.753, "Conc. da J. C. Bach" Mus. 3374-0-1, with the indication "Spl. xiv"; and Brook, col.365, "vi Concerti di Christiano Bach" (Johann Michael Bach's concertos, erroneously attributed) = Mus. 3374-0-9, with the indication "Spl. iv."
- 31. Of the Graun concertos listed in Breitkopf catalogs, the following can be located in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek: Brook, col.133: R.I.2 (MUS. 2953-0-1), R.II.1 (MUS. 2953-0-12), R.III.3 (MUS. 2953-0-9), R.III.1 (MUS. 2953-0-13), R.III.2 (MUS. 2953-0-3), and R.III.3 (MUS. 2953-0-2); Brook, col.134: R.IV.1 (MUS. 2953-0-5), R.IV.3 (MUS. 2953-0-10); and Brook, col.293: Spl.2.N.13 (MUS. 2953-0-7).

in the Royal Music Collection, contain Breitkopf markings (either supplement or raccolta numbers) and represent contemporary purchases – that is, purchases contemporary with the date of the Breitkopf notices, because they existed parallel to the famous Dresden two-keyboard arrangements that the elector ordered from the musicians with whom he performed (namely, August or Christlieb Siegmund Binder, and later, Joseph Schuster) and that were written out in fair copies by one of the court scribes.

In addition to containing keyboard compositions, concertos, and sinfonias, the elector's collection encompassed chamber music for various ensembles. The major part of this music came from Vienna. Indeed, the Sächsische Landesbibliothek's holdings of first and early editions of Mozart, Haydn, and their contemporaries is especially impressive.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the court continued to show a strong Italian bent. As a result, Breitkopf seems to have been used mainly as a source for compositions from north Germany, the Netherlands, and England. Whether the Dresden court's connections with regions to the south were fruitful for Breitkopf, in turn, remains to be investigated.

A truly systematic examination of the previously outlined historical circumstances has yet to be undertaken. To round out such a study one would need to explore later acquisitions by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek from antiquarian dealers. These may turn out to be manuscript material that returned to Dresden after having been dispersed from the royal collections to Leipzig (as in the case of the Weiss lute tablatures).<sup>33</sup> Alternatively, they may simply indicate that certain works existed in Dresden at an earlier time (as in the case of a keyboard work by Johann David Heinichen).<sup>34</sup> One way or the other, such research will undoubtedly help to flesh out one of the most important chapters in the history of German music publishing and at the same time offer all sorts of new findings on the role of the Dresden court as a buyer and distributor of music.

32. See Gertraut Haberkamp, Die Erstdrucke der Werke von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (Tutzing:

H. Schneider, 1986).

<sup>33.</sup> Brook, col. 888; Sächsische Landesbibliothek миз. 3796-F-506.

<sup>34.</sup> MUS. 2398-T-1. The title page of the manuscript is inscribed at the bottom "sc. C. S. Birnbaum 1731") and above with the Breitkopf mark "R.II.2." The corresponding Breitkopf listing is Brook, col.125, "VI. Sonate per il Cembalo Solo da diversi Compositori," racc.2, no.2, "da Heinichen."

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The music collection of the Zittau merchant August Christian Exner (1771-1847) also illustrates the connection between Breitkopf and a consumer in the context of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century demand for current works. Exner is known today particularly in Haydn scholarship; during his lifetime he enjoyed a reputation as a Mozart enthusiast.<sup>35</sup> In Zittau he paid for the construction of a concert hall and initiated several subscription series featuring the town pipers augmented by players drawn from the ranks of middle-class citizens. Exner obtained works for the concerts from music-selling centers such as Vienna, Dresden, and Leipzig. Exner's collection, together with other repertory from Zittau, is now in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek. At the moment only Exner's Breitkopf copies of works by Haydn have been systematically traced.<sup>36</sup> Despite demonstrable losses, twenty-one such copies remain. The Exner collection also contains Breitkopf copies of works by other composers, however, and an examination of these items would unquestionably prove to be a fruitful venture.

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Fully unexamined with regard to Breitkopf copies is the important music collection of the Fürstenschule in Grimma, a collection now housed in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek. The school was located between Leipzig and Dresden, and as one might expect, the Grimma kantors turned to the two cultural centers for most of their music, either buying it directly or arranging to have copies made from repertory found in the cities. Although research on this matter is still in its preliminary stages, one can see that a personal connection must have existed between the Fürstenschule kantor Johann Gottlob Reichel (served 1799–1810) and August Eberhard Müller, then a proofreader at the Breitkopf firm. Evidence of such a tie exists in the form of a corrected proof for the Breitkopf printed score of Haydn's Sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am Kreuz, HOB. XX/2, now found in the Fürstenschule collection. The many printing errors in the proof were carefully corrected with red ink and subsequently eliminated in the final print. The proof lacks a printed title page and

<sup>35.</sup> See Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen (1847), vol. 25, part 2, no. 291.

<sup>36.</sup> I did this for the new cataloging of Dresden Haydniana; see Ortrun Landmann, "Die Dresdener Haydn-Quellen im Hinblick auf ihre Provenienzen," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Haydn-Kongress Wien 1982*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda, 519-25 (Munich: G. Henle, 1986).

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has instead only Reichel's label of 1802 with the annotation "kostet neu 6 rl" ("costs 6 Reichstaler new"). This source must represent a gift or discount purchase. Might not other pieces of music from Breitkopf's older inventory have found their way to Grimma in a similar fashion? We know, too, that Reichel's successor as kantor, Heinrich Ludwig Hartmann, also enjoyed good connections with Leipzig.<sup>37</sup>

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With this surmise I bring my observations to a close. Although I am not in a position to offer conclusive findings, I am convinced nevertheless that the Breitkopf-related themes outlined here will prove to be of great importance for future scholars. The holdings of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek cry out for further inspection. The collections will unquestionably help to solve many of the riddles of Breitkopf research.

(translated by Carl Skoggard)

<sup>37.</sup> For information on the kantors of the Fürstenschule, see Reinhard Vollhardt, Geschichte der Cantoren und Organisten von den Städten im Königreich Sachsen (Berlin, 1899; rpt. Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1978); and Ortrun Landmann, Die Telemann-Quellen der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek. Handschriften und zeitgenössische Druckausgaben seiner Werke (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek, 1983).

# The Thomasschule and the Haus "zum Goldenen Bären"

## A Bach-Breitkopf Architectural Connection

## George B. Stauffer

Johann Sebastian Bach. Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf (1695–1777), founder of the Leipzig publishing firm, printed text sheets for a number of Bach's occasional vocal works, including Cantata 198, Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl ("Trauer-Ode"); Cantata 214, Tönet ihr Pauken, erschallet, Trompeten; and Cantata 205a, Blast Lärmen, ihr Feinde! verstärket die Macht.¹ Breitkopf also printed the title page and foreword – but not the music – for the Musical Offering,² and he issued Georg Christian Schemelli's Musicalisches Gesangbuch, a project in which Bach took part as composer and musical editor. After 1745 Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–94), Bernhard Christoph's only son, joined his father in running the firm. Beginning in the 1760s, under the stewardship of the two men, the House of Breitkopf offered for sale a wide assortment of Bach's compositions in manuscript form. Clients could buy handwritten copies produced in the Breitkopf scriptorium by pro-

I want to thank historic preservationist Wendy Darby for reading this essay in draft and offering advice on a number of architectural matters.

- 1. See Hermann von Hase, "Breitkopfsche Textdrucke zu Leipziger Musikaufführungen zu Bachs Zeiten," in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 10 (1913): 69–127. The Breitkopf text sheets that have survived are reproduced in facsimile in *Sämtliche von Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte*, ed. Werner Neumann (Leipzig: veb Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974).
- 2. See Christoph Wolff, "New Research on Bach's Musical Offering," *Musical Quarterly* 57 (1971): 379–408. Breitkopf probably printed the title page and foreword for the Art of Fugue as well, for he served as agent for the second edition. The printer is not named on the title page, however.

fessional scribes, or in some cases, they could purchase Breitkopf's original manuscripts, which appear to have been obtained from the estates of Bach's students and colleagues and other such sources.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to noting these well-known musical links, however, one can point to a circumstantial but nevertheless extremely interesting nonmusical Bach-Breitkopf connection. During the years 1731 to 1732 the Thomasschule, Bach's Leipzig residence, was thoroughly refurbished and expanded. During the next four years, 1732 to 1736, the Haus "zum Goldenen Bären" (the House of the Golden Bear), which served as the new home and business premises of the Breitkopfs, was constructed. The builder was the same in both cases: Georg Werner, the master architect responsible for many of Leipzig's finest late-Baroque structures. The Thomasschule and Haus zum Goldenen Bären, however, were quite unlike Werner's earlier work. In fact, they were quite unlike other buildings in Leipzig up to that time. Together they marked a departure from past standards. They pointed to a new architectural style, a style that reflected the growing influence of rationalism in Leipzig culture.

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For Leipzig, the years stretching from the end of the Thirty Years War, 1648, to the outbreak of the Seven Years War, 1756, were marked by unprecedented growth and prosperity. Like most other German cities, Leipzig suffered great devastation during the Thirty Years War, when its population dropped from approximately 17,500 to 14,000.<sup>4</sup> From that point, however, with the sole exception of the great plague of 1680 (which killed more than 3,000 inhabitants in five months), Leipzig grew steadily, and by 1753 it could boast 32,000 inhabitants. The three annual fairs – the New Year's Fair, the Easter Fair, and the St. Michael's Fair – lent Leipzig an aura of internationalism and contributed greatly to the considerable wealth of the town's leading merchants and businessowners. Leipzig was neither the home of royalty nor the seat of a religious

- 3. See Andreas Glöckner, "Handschriftliche Musikalien aus dem Nachlässen von Carl Gotthelf Gerlach und Gottlob Harrer in den Verlagsangeboten des Hauses Breitkopf 1761–1769," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 70 (1984): 107–16; and Yoshitake Kobayashi, "On the Identification of Breitkopf's Manuscripts" and Hans-Joachim Schulze, "J. S. Bach's Vocal Works in the Breitkopf Nonthematic Catalogs of 1761 to 1836," in the present volume.
- 4. Population figures and a fine overview of Leipzig's history during the Baroque period are given in Waltraud Volk, *Leipzig*, 2d ed. (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1979).

leader. Although it fell under the jurisdiction of the Saxon elector in Dresden, its day-to-day affairs were governed by the Town Council, an elected body of powerful, prosperous citizens. The council, rather than a monarch, duke, or bishop, ruled on all aspects of daily life, including the design of buildings.

Between 1648 and 1756 Leipzig's visage was transformed in a flurry of construction. While many German towns retained their Medieval and Renaissance look, Leipzig took on a distinctly modern, Baroque appearance. Almost one-third of the inner city was rebuilt in an up-to-date style. The moats surrounding the town were filled in and replaced with linden tree-lined promenades. Large French gardens with Lustschlößchen were laid out on the periphery of the promenades. The Baroque transformation was accomplished under the direction of a series of master builders appointed and supervised by the Town Council: Johann Gregor Fuchs (1650-1715), lured from Dresden in 1700; Johann Gottfried Fehre (1685-1753), who supervised the remodeling of public buildings; Christian Döring (1677-1750), responsible for many of the fine residences in the Katharinenstrasse; Friedrich Seltendorff (d. 1778), whose late structures incorporate elements of the French Rococo; and Werner (1682-1758), to whom I turn my attention shortly. A list of the most important architectural projects shows both the extent of the master builders' work and the great concentration on residential structures (see table 1).6

The Town Council carefully monitored the work, scrutinizing and discussing the plans of all projects before granting licenses for construction. Not surprisingly, the council, composed mostly of seasoned businessmen, preferred pragmatism over pretense. Under its direction, existing buildings were often

- 5. The builders were commonly termed *Ratsmaurermeister* in documents of the time and seemed to have served in the capacities of architect, contractor, and mason all at once.
- 6. The most important discussions of Baroque architecture in Leipzig discussions to which I am indebted are Nikolaus Pevsner, Leipziger Barock, die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig (Dresden: W. Jess, 1928); Leipziger Bautradition, ed. Heinz Füssler (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1955), which includes Hellmuth Bethe's fine essay "Leipzigs Barockbauten" (125–50); Heinz Füssler and Heinrich Wichmann, Das alte Rathaus zu Leipzig (Berlin: Henschel, 1958); Heinz Füssler, Leipzig (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1966); and Volk's Leipzig. Of these, Pevsner is unquestionably the most important, for he cites now-lost documents and gives floor plans for a number of buildings that fell in World War II. A general survey in English of Leipzig's Baroque architecture can be found in George B. Stauffer, "Leipzig: A Cosmopolitan Trade Centre," in Music and Society: The Late Baroque Era, ed. George J. Buelow (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1994), 254–95.

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Table 1. Leipzig: Principal Building Projects, 1648–1756

Date Finished	Building	Location	Builder	Commissioner	Current State
1650	Deutrichs Hof	Nikolaistrasse 15	Unknown	Unknown	Razed 1968
1672	Rathaus, renovation	Markt	Fehre	Town Council	Extant
1687	Alte Börse	Naschmarkt	Richter	Kaufmann- schaft	Extant
1693	Opernhaus	Brühl	Sartorio	J. A. Strungk	Razed 1729
1701	Georgenhospital	Brühl	Unknown	Unknown	Lost
1703	Romanushaus	Brühl & Katharinenstrasse	Fuchs	Conrad Romanus	Extant
ca.1706	Apelsches Haus (Könighaus)	Markt 17	Fuchs	Dietrich Apel	Extant
1707	Fregesches Haus	Katharinen- strasse 11	Fuchs	Frege	Extant
1730	Paulinerkirche, west portal		Unknown	Town Council	Razed 1968
1714	Äckerleins Hof (Hohmannisches	Markt 11	Fuchs	Peter Hohmann	Lost (WW II)
1016	Haus)	Katharinen-	Döring	Peter	Lost
1715	_	strasse 16	Döring	Hohmann	(WW II)
1716	Schellhaffersches	Katharinen-	Döring	Johann	Lost
1/10	Haus	strasse 14	Dornig	Schellhaffer	(WW II)
1717	-	Katharinen-	Döring	Polycarp	Lost
*/*/		strasse 12	Doring	Gottlob Schacher	(WW II)
1717	Hotel de Saxe	Kostergasse 9	Unknown	Johann Schellhaffer	Razed 1968; portal only extant
1718	Reithaus	Rannsche Bastei	Naumann	Town Council, at request of August 1	Lost
1719	Zum Kaffeebaum	Kleine Fleischergasse	Döring?	Unknown	Extant
1723	Peterstor	Petersstrasse	Pöppelmann	August 1	Razed 1860
1729	Hohmannshof	Petersstrasse 15	Werner	Peter Hohmann	Lost (WW II)
1731	Nicolaikirche, tower cap		Werner	Town Council	Extant

## The Thomasschule and the Haus "zum Goldenen Bären" Table 1. Leipzig: Principal Building Projects (continued)

Date Finished	Building	Location	Builder	Commissioner	Current State
			Werner	Town Council	D
1732	Thomasschule, renovation		vverner	10wn Council	Razed 1902
1736	Haus "zum	Universitäts-	Werner	Bernhard	Lost
	Goldenen Bären"	strasse 11		Christoph Breitkopf	(WWII)
1739	Kochs Hof	Markt 3	Werner	Michael Koch	Lost (WW II)
1744	Stadtbibliothek	Universitäts- strasse	Seltendorff	Town Council	Altered 1894
1744	Richters	2-4	Döring and	Johann	Razed 1895
, , ,	Gartenhaus	Gerberstrasse	Seltendorff	Christoph Richter	
1744	Rathaus, tower	Markt	Werner	Town Council	Extant
1748	Barthels Hof	Markt 8	Seltendorff	Barthel	Extant
1749	Hannsensches Haus	Katharinen- strasse 19	Werner	Johann Heinrich Hannsen	Extant
1749	Johanniskirche, tower		Werner	Town Council	Razed 1963
1750	Haugksches Haus	Petersstrasse 24	Unknown	Haugk	Extant
1750	_	Katharinen- strasse 21	Seltendorff	Gottlieb Bernhard Zehmisch	Extant
1750	Gartenhaus	Seeburgstrasse 45	Unknown	Unknown	Extant
ca.1750	Wendlers Gartenpavillon	Johannisgasse 9	Unknown	Wendler	Razed 1963
1755	Altes Kloster	Klosterstrasse 5	Unknown		Extant
1755	_	Klostergasse 15			Extant
1756	Gohliser Schlösschen	Menckestrasse 22	Seltendorff?	Caspar Richter	Extant

Sources: The information presented here has been culled from Pevsner, Leipziger Barock; Bethe, "Leipzigs Barockbauten"; Füssler and Wichmann, Das alte Rathaus zu Leipzig; Volk, Leipzig; the author's inspection; and correspondence with Hans-Joachim Schulze.

modeled and extended upward – sometimes to a height of five stories – rather than razed. Overly large rooms and space-squandering, extravagant exterior double stairways were avoided. (The council approved the use of an exterior double stairway for the Börse, completed in 1687, but only after a lengthy debate that included discussion of the proposed steps' condition in rainy weather. It was a long time before such an architectural flourish was seen again.) Decorative impulses were channeled into the surface embellishment of facades. The best and most useful aspects of buildings in Paris, Vienna, Rome, Prague, and Amsterdam were borrowed and amalgamated without hesitation to produce an eclectic, cosmopolitan style that reflected the international character of Leipzig, the fair town.

Perhaps the most distinctive aspect of private and public buildings, however, was the overriding concern for commercial space. The street level was commonly devoted to Gewölben, vaulted chambers that could be used for shops and storage. This principle had obtained for centuries in the town hall and other public buildings in Leipzig, but during the Baroque building boom it was applied in a vigorous way to private residences. Leipzig businessowners commissioned huge houses that were designed to provide working quarters, rental space, and living accommodations, all under one roof. Many houses were constructed on plots that had been occupied formerly by two or three buildings. Corner sites were especially desirable, since they provided store frontage on two streets, but even those building in the middle of the block were not deterred from obtaining double frontage: they commonly purchased plots that stretched back through the site, all the way to the next street. The houses built on the corner plots and the street-through plots normally had two facades, one on each street and both equally important. The facades usually had carriagesized entrance doors that were connected by a large inner passageway. The inner passageway led to an open central courtyard, which provided still more frontage for stores. These impressive houses, with central passage and courtyard, became a hallmark of Leipzig Baroque style. The art historian Nikolaus Pevsner termed them, aptly, Durchgangshöfe.

A representative example of Leipzig High Baroque building style is Fuchs's last work, Äckerleins Hof, which was built for banker Peter Hohmann during the years 1709 to 1714 (and initially named Hohmannisches Haus). An immense *Durchgangshof* with facades on the Market Place (Markt 11, facing the Rathaus) and Klostergasse, Äckerleins Hof survived until World War II, when

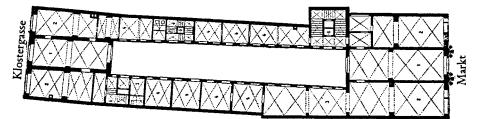


Plate 1. Äckerleins Hof, ground plan. From Nikolaus Pevsner, Leipziger Barock.

everything but the Klostergasse portal was destroyed. Floor plans show a wide passageway connecting the Market Place entrance with the Klostergasse entrance (pl.1). In the middle of the passageway was a large, open courtyard for shops and vending areas (pl.2). It was in this house, on 27 November 1725, that Bach performed the cantata Auf! süß entzückende Gewalt<sup>7</sup> for the wedding of Hohmann's son, Peter Jr., and Christiana Sibylla Mencke.

Johann Georg Schreiber's ca. 1715 engraving of the Market Place facade of Äckerleins Hof (pl. 3) shows an elaborate five-story front. Rows of seven windows are divided into three groups: a central section of three windows flanked on each side by a narrower section of two windows. The central section projects slightly from the facade, and the raised plane is set off with pilasters decorated with hanging garlands. The shouldered window architraves are gracefully molded; those of the center section are still more elaborate than those of the flanking sections. This is balanced, however, by the flanking sections' rusticated surface. A massive central entryway is framed by groups of three columns, topped by freestanding statues. Centered over the door appears the head of Mercury, Roman god of traders and merchants.

The building is capped by a steep mansard roof, set off by a parapet and decorated with statues, dormer windows, and chimneys. Many details link the roof with the facade. The hanging garlands of the large molded central dormer window mirror the pilaster garlands of the facade. The segmental hoods of the first row of dormer windows reflect the curves of the window entablatures of the facade's flanking sections. The projected central plane of the roof continues the lines of the projected central plane of the facade. The building has

<sup>7.</sup> The text, written by Johann Christoph Gottsched and printed by Breitkopf, survives. Bach's music does not (although movements 3 and 5 may well be extant, in parody form, in Cantata 11).

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Plate 2. Äckerleins Hof, central courtyard, ca.1928. Courtesy of Foto/Marburg Art Resource, N.Y.

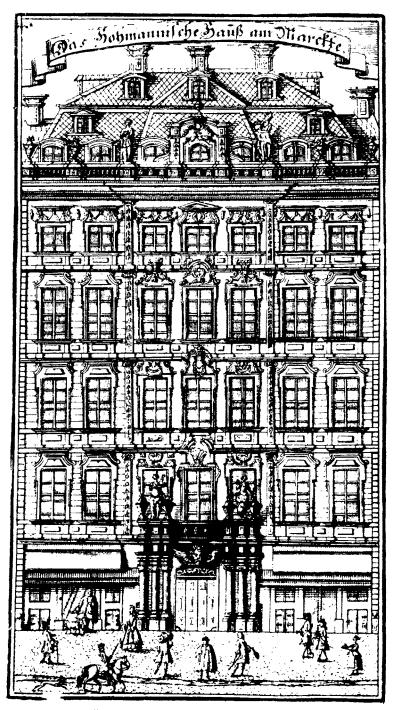


Plate 3. Äckerleins Hof. Schreiber engraving of ca.1715.

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strong horizonal and vertical elements. The rectangular tablets and cornice of the facade and the lateral bands of the facade, parapet, and roof emphasize the building's width. The entryway columns, pilasters, and strongly rectangular windows of the facade and the tall chimneys and peaked central section of the roof accent the building's height. Still, the overall impression is one of ornamental play. The sculpted detail and lively surface hold the eye and prevent it from tracing the full horizontal or vertical course of the building.

Used for living, business, and fair trade, Äckerleins Hof was but one of three large houses commissioned by Hohmann, who had been born into a poor family fifty-one years earlier. Such town palaces, grand yet pragmatic, were sources of great pride for Leipzig's inhabitants. They demonstrated what private citizens could accomplish through their own industry. A stanza in Sperontes's Singende Muse an der Pleisse captured well the optimistic spirit embodied in the new architectural monuments:

Geht in und um und vor die Stadt, Go in and around and before the city,

Und zeigt der Neu-Begierde And observe the new longing

Was hier und dort vor Zierde For embellishment that here and there

Die Gegend in sich hat! The region possesses!

Geht und bemerckt aufs beste Go and note in the best possible way

Die prächtigsten Palläste, The magnificent palaces,

Und was Verordnung, Kunst und Fleiß And what order, skill, and industry

Wohl zu ersinnen weiß; Can indeed conceive;

Das wird den Ausschlag geben: This will decide the issue:

Weil alles, alles ungemein, Since all find all quaint,

Hier muss ein englisch Leben! Here it must be an angelic life!

Hier muss ein Eden seyn! 8 Here it must be an Eden!

Lined with tall, stately town palaces, Leipzig was a city of the future. The contrast with its old commercial rival, Frankfurt, could not have been greater. Whereas Leipzig stood new and fresh, Frankfurt retained its Medieval and Renaissance guise, a fact that impressed the young Goethe, who visited Leipzig

<sup>8.</sup> Sperontes (Johann Sigismund Scholze), Singende Muse an der Pleisse (Leipzig, 1736; rpt. Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964), 53-54.

## The Thomasschule and the Haus "zum Goldenen Bären"

in 1765 to study law. In his autobiography, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1811–33), he recalled: "To the observer, Leipzig does not bring to mind an ancient age. Rather, this monument announces a more recent era, one of great industry, affluence, and abundance. To my mind, the unbelievably splendid buildings, which turn their faces to two streets and which encircle enclosed courts with sky-high walls, contain an entire bourgeois world. They are great citadels – indeed, cities within the city." <sup>9</sup>

\* \* :

Among the "unbelievably splendid buildings" viewed by Goethe were the renovated Thomasschule and new Haus zum Goldenen Bären. Goethe visited the latter, at least, several times, when he conferred with the champion of rationalism, Johann Christoph Gottsched, who lived on the second floor.

When Bach arrived in Leipzig in 1723, the Thomasschule stood as a large three-story building dating back to the sixteenth century. An engraving made by Johann Gottfried Krügner in 1723 (pl.4) <sup>10</sup> shows a flat, plain, strongly rectangular facade with three rows of ten windows organized as three vertical clusters: a central group of four flanked by groups of three. A single pedimented window marks the center of the facade. The steep saddleback roof is punctuated by a long row of shed windows (a common feature of sixteenth-century Leipzig structures). Higher up appear single dormer windows and chimneys.

In his 1731–32 renovation of the Thomasschule, Werner retained the first three floors of the old building and expanded the structure upward, in typical Leipzig fashion, to a new height of five stories. Another engraving by Krügner, from 1732 (pl. 5), shows the same vertical grouping of windows as before. Otherwise, the facade has been greatly transformed. The central section of four windows projects slightly forward and rises six stories to a strongly modeled pediment. In the flanking sections of three windows, the middle window is also stepped forward, to mirror the central group. Medallions over the windows and doors in the projected areas stress the symmetry of the arrangement, as do the shouldered architraves. By breaking through the cornice of the

<sup>9.</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, part 1, book 6; quoted here from *Goethes Sämtliche Werke*, 36 vols. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, n.d.), 32:37.

<sup>10.</sup> Made to serve as the frontispiece for *Ordnung der Schule zu S. Thomae* (Leipzig, 1723; rpt. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1987).

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Plate 4. Thomasschule (left). Krügner engraving of 1723.

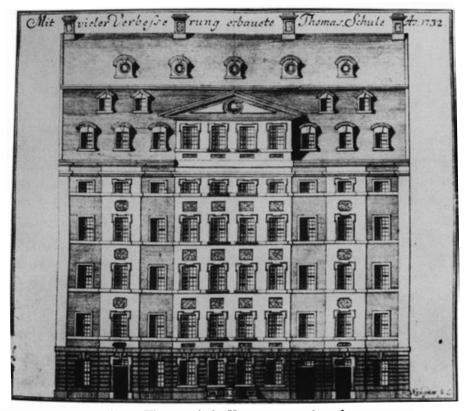


Plate 5. Thomasschule. Krügner engraving of 1732.

facade, the central four-window section accents the building's height. At the same time, the strong horizontal line of the pediment accents the building's width. Also stressing width are the horizontal bands that run the length of the facade, as well as the rusticated surface of the first floor.

The saddleback roof of the old building has been replaced with a more fash-ionable mansard roof, divided matter-of-factly by a single horizontal band. Single dormer windows, strategically spaced in three rows, display little decoration but an abundance of corresponding elements. The six windows of the first row are aligned with the windows of the flanking sections of the facade. The four windows of the second row suggest the four chimneys that crown the roof. The segmental hoods of the first row mirror the segmental hoods of the third. The triangular hoods of the second row reflect the central pediment.

The circular lights of the third row of dormer windows echo the circular light that punctuates the pedimented central section.

The multitude of corresponding elements and their symmetrical, hierarchical arrangement link the Thomasschule with other Baroque buildings such as Äckerleins Hof. As Pevsner first pointed out, however, the overall effect of the Thomasschule is not at all the same. Although the facade displays pleasing details, it lacks profuse, playful ornamentation. Gone are pilasters with garlands. Gone are the lively statuary and scrollwork. Gone are the projecting columns. Gone are the richly embellished architraves. Werner's lines are cleaner, and his surface decoration is simpler and more subdued. If one considers Äckerleins Hof by way of comparison, it is as if Werner took a scraper and rule over Fuchs's facade, removing the ornamentation and straightening the lines. In the Thomasschule the planes and shapes serve to emphasize the blocklike solidity of the building. The result is noble utilitarianism – modest decoration put to the cause of order. This quality did not go unnoticed by Johann Heinrich Winckler, the librettist of *Froher Tag*, *verlangte Stunden*, BWV ANH. 18, the cantata that Bach wrote for the inauguration of the building on 5 June 1732:<sup>12</sup>

Froher Tag, verlangte Stunden,
Nun hat unsre Lust gefunden,
Was sie fest und ruhig macht.
Hier steht unser Schul-Gebäude,
Hier erblicket Aug und Freude
Kunst und Ordnung Zier und Pracht.

O joyous day, desired hour,

Now our spirit, brings to flower,

Which you firm and tranquil render.

Here stands our new school building,

Here are captured sight and feeling,

Art and order, ornament and splendor.

One must seriously consider, too, the possibility that the decorative elements of the Thomasschule were even more subdued than Krügner portrayed them to be. A drawing made in 1868 by Susette Hauptmann (pl.6) strongly suggests that Krügner's 1732 engraving, the document by which the renovated Thomasschule is normally evaluated, represents an idealized rendering or a stage in the design process rather than the actual realization. In Hauptmann's drawing the Thomasschule lacks many of the details shown in Krügner's en-

<sup>11.</sup> Pevsner, Leipziger Barock, 117-18.

<sup>12.</sup> The music of the cantata is lost. The libretto is preserved in a text sheet printed by Breitkopf.

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Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig.

graving: the first story is not rusticated, the architraves are not shouldered, the medallions are absent, the middle window of the side groups does not project, the circular window in the pediment does not punctuate the molding, and the hoods of the first and third rows of dormer windows are triangular rather than segmental. Photographs taken before the Thomasschule was torn down in 1902 (pl.7) substantiate the accuracy of Hauptmann's drawing.

Although the Thomasschule may have been stuccoed at some point to reduce the expense of maintaining the facade – a step that would have eliminated the medallions – it is unlikely that the window and door projections of the side sections, the segmental dormer hoods, the shouldered architraves, the punctuated pediment molding, and the rustication of the first floor would have been eliminated. Such remodeling would have been more work than it was worth.<sup>13</sup>

If Krügner's engraving is an idealized drawing of the Thomasschule rather than a faithful rendering of the completed building, perhaps the Town Council, after examining the plans, insisted on a further simplification of Werner's already simplified decoration. If such a change took place, the motivating factor might have been financial (e.g., to save city funds) or aesthetic (e.g., to create an even more somber school building). In any case, the simpler version of the Thomasschule more greatly resembles the Haus zum Goldenen Bären, Werner's next large project.

In his diary Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf described the purchase of the site and the construction of the building:

Although I had entered into negotiations even then [1731] over the purchase of the House "of the Golden Bear," it was not until Easter Fair of the following year, 1732, that I was able to obtain it. I began forthwith to clear the rear portion of the building, and to enlarge it in such a manner that already by St. Michael's of the same year I was able to move in the book presses, and by New Year's, the typefoundry and scriptorium. Then I dispensed with construction until 1735,

13. For this point I am indebted to Wendy Darby. Pevsner (*Leipziger Barock*, 118) based his discussion of the *Thomasschule* on Krügner's 1732 engraving. He did note the different appearance of the building in turn-of-the-century photographs but attributed it to post-1732 alterations. Bethe ("Leipzigs Barockbauten," 141-42) took the Krügner engraving at face value. One should point out that there does not seem to have been a gradual stripping away of ornamental work from Leipzig's Baroque buildings over the years. Pre-World War II photographs of Äckerleins Hof, for instance, show the facade decoration intact and precisely as Schreiber presented it in his ca.1715 engraving (although the statues are missing).

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Plate 7. Thomasschule, ca. 1900. Courtesy of Bach-Archiv, Leipzig.

when with God's help I was able to overcome difficulties of litigation and appeals. . . . I then began, after the Easter Fair in 1737, to raze the front portion and consequently to erect the new front and sides, and to finish the same under most excellent counsel, so that by St. Michael's of the same year I was able to begin to establish the Dutch book press in the side buildings. The proprietor of the *Gasthof* could also be set up in the new quarters, and after Easter 1738, the building was fully inhabited and everything was moved in. 14

Although Breitkopf recalled 1737 as the year of construction, it was in 1736 that the house was dedicated. On 20 August of that year Breitkopf christened the building "zum Goldenen Bären," in honor of the inn that had occupied the site and that continued to lease space there (Breitkopf also adopted the Golden

<sup>14.</sup> From Diarium multorum collectaneorum pro Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf (destroyed in World War II), quoted in Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf und Härtel: Gedenkschrift und Arbeitsbericht, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917), 61.

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Bear as the emblem for his printing firm). Moreover, Breitkopf's close friend Gottsched, who was granted free living quarters in the house for life, wrote a poem in honor of the christening:

Freund! Da Dein neues Haus zu seinem Gipfel steigt, Und so, der ganzen Stadt ein herrlich Beyspiel zeigt, Daß Klugheit, Fleiß, Verstand und Redlichkeit noch blühen, Und dem, der sie besitzt, auch Vortheil nach sich ziehen: So freut sich sonderlich ein alter Freund dabey, Der Dich ins zwölfte Jahr, ohn Heucheley, Vor andern hochgeschätzt. Er sieht es mit Vergnügen, Wie sehr Dein Glück und Ruhm bisher emporgestiegen, Wie Du die edle Kunst, die Deutschland sonst erdacht, Durch Deinen Witz bey uns von neuem hoch gebracht; Wie nützlich Dein Bemühn der Wahrheit schon gewesen, Seit dem wir manche Schrift von Deinem Druck gelesen; Wie Du die Künste diennst, Vernunft und Weisheit liebst; Der Stadt durch Deinen Bau ein neues Ansehn giebst; Durch Pracht und Üppigkeit das Deine nicht verprassest, Und doch auch Stolz und Geiz und alles Unrecht hassest; Dir keine Feinde machst, und Freunden redlich dienst: Dieß sieht er, und ist froh, wenn Du an Wohlfahrt grünst; Und wünscht dir, alt und grau die Freude zu erleben, Daß deines Sohnes Glück sich noch mag höher heben. 15

Approximately translated, the poem reads:

Dear friend! Your new house stretches forth, upward, And in so doing, presents a splendid example to the entire town, That sagacity, industry, intelligence, and honesty still flourish, And draw reward to those who possess them.

<sup>15.</sup> Preserved in Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf und Härtel, 62.

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And this brings joy especially to an old friend,

Who for twelve years has esteemed you, in all honesty,

Above all others. He watches with pleasure,

How greatly your fortune and fame have thus far ascended,

How you here have brought the noble art, which Germany earlier invented,

To new heights through your common sense.

How profitable your endeavors have already been to truth,

Since we have already read many writings from your press.

As you serve the arts, loving reason and wisdom,

You give our town a new look through your edifice.

Your fortunes have not been wasted through pomp and haughtiness,

And you have disdained arrogance, greed, and injustice.

You have made no enemies, and have treated friends honestly.

This he sees, and is happy, as you nurture the public weal.

And he wishes that you have a long and happy life,

And that your son may lift fortune even higher.

Constructed on a grand scale to accommodate living quarters for the Breitkopf family and Gottsched and business quarters for the Gasthof and the various divisions of the Breitkopf printing trade, the new Haus zum Goldenen Bären was a town palace in every way. Architecturally it had much in common with the Thomasschule. Photographs taken before World War II (when the building was destroyed) show an imposing horizontal facade of three stories, with rows of seventeen windows divided into five sections. The central and outer sections contain three windows each; the sections in between, four (pls. 8 and 9). As was true with the Thomasschule, the central section projects forward and rises upward an extra story, punctuating the cornice. The pediment, however, lacks the frieze window of the Thomasschule; in fact, it is devoid of any embellishment whatsoever. The five sections of window groups are separated vertically by simple bands. As in the Thomasschule, the windows of the central section are set off, this time with straightforward horizontal double bands rather than shouldered architraves. The middle windows of the outermost sections display the sar le double bands. A horizontal band running the full width of the facade separates the first floor from the second.



Plate 8. Haus "zum Goldenen Bären," ca. 1914. Courtesy of Archiv Breitkopf & Härtel, Wiesbaden.

On the mansard roof single dormer windows with segmental hoods are arranged in two rows. In the first row the windows are divided into two groups of seven and spaced to correspond with the windows of the facade below. In the second row the six windows, now with circular lights (like the top row of dormer windows in the Thomasschule, at least in Krügner's engraving), are grouped three and three on each side of the pediment. The roof is topped with five chimneys similar to those of the Thomasschule.

Like the Thomasschule, the Haus zum Goldenen Bären creates a sense of strength and sturdiness. It is a broad three-story rectangle, whose width and height are accented with modest yet forceful horizontal and vertical elements. As with the Thomasschule, the central section is projected and capped with a strong, cleanly framed pediment. Surface decoration is reduced to an even greater degree in the Haus zum Goldenen Bären than in the Thomasschule. Nothing impedes the eye from following the lines of the building, from absorbing its full, impressive expanse. The building suggests industry rather than play.

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Plate 9. Haus "zum Goldenen Bären," ca. 1928 (Pevsner).

\* \* \*

The Thomasschule and the Haus zum Goldenen Bären constituted a departure from Werner's normal style. For Petersstrasse 15, Hohmann's third residence, completed in 1729, just two years before the Thomasschule, Werner created a huge *Durchgangshof*, with entrances on Petersstrasse and Neumarkt. To judge from photographs <sup>16</sup> (the building no longer stands), the main facade, on Petersstrasse, was highly elaborate, quite along the lines of Fuchs's work on Äckerleins Hof. In the light of this, it is likely that the commissioners of the Thomasschule and the Haus zum Goldenen Bären played a decisive role in Werner's decision to explore a new architectural style.

In the case of the Thomasschule the Town Council would have been in charge. Records from the time show that the council turned down a request by Johann Matthias Gesner, rector from 1730 to 1734, for an "alcove" that might

16. See Pevsner, pls.71 and 72.

serve as a guest room and for several other amenities.<sup>17</sup> Thus if there was a desire for a Spartan building to go with the Spartan training of the Thomasschule students,<sup>18</sup> it undoubtedly came directly from the council. For the Haus zum Goldenen Bären Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf would have had the principal say in the architectural decisions, with final approval granted by the Town Council. If Breitkopf wanted a forward-looking, practical design – and his publishing ventures showed him to be a forward-looking, practical man – it seems logical to assume that Werner would have showed him the recently completed Thomasschule to illustrate what could be done by way of a "modernistic," unadorned plan. This might explain the close relationship between the Thomasschule and the Haus zum Goldenen Bären.

In 1737 Bach's manner of composition was attacked by Johann Adolf Scheibe, who claimed that the Thomaskantor wrote in an overly intricate, outdated style: "This great man would be the admiration of whole nations if he had more amenity, if he did not take away the natural element in his pieces by giving them a turgid and confused style, and if he did not darken their beauty by an excess of art. . . . Every ornament, every little grace, and everything that one thinks of as belonging to the method of playing, he expresses completely in notes; and this not only takes away from his pieces the beauty of harmony but completely covers the melody throughout." <sup>19</sup>

What disturbed Scheibe about Bach's music was its lack of naturalness and unadorned lines, qualities associated with the emerging pre-Classical style. Certainly it was the naturalness and unadorned lines of the Thomasschule and the Haus zum Goldenen Bären that gave the buildings their progressive stamp. It seems likely that Scheibe would have associated Bach's approach to art with that of Fuchs rather than that of Werner. Pevsner termed the style of the Thomasschule and the Haus zum Goldenen Bären "nüchterner Rationalismus" – sober rationalism, a distinct turning away from the excessive embellishment of the Baroque.<sup>20</sup> It was a style especially fitting for Breitkopf and

<sup>17.</sup> Otto Kaemmel, Geschichte des Leipziger Schulwesens vom Anfange des 13. bis gegen die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909), 314-16. I am indebted to Hans-Joachim Schulze for drawing my attention to this source.

<sup>18.</sup> A glance at the school rules given in the *Ordnung* shows just how disciplined the training was.

<sup>19.</sup> BDOK 2, no. 400; trs. from BR, 238.

<sup>20.</sup> Pevsner, Leipziger Barock, 130.

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Gottsched, who through the *Deutsche Gesellschaft* supported the clear, rational ordering of ideas. Bach's first large work after Scheibe's criticism was *Clavier-übung* III, a complex, amalgamative collection whose roots extended back to the sixteenth century. With *stile antico* pieces and modal harmonies, it was a magnificent but decidedly retrospective creation. By contrast, Breitkopf's next building project, the Haus "zum Silbernen Bären" (a second residence completed in 1765), displayed progressive qualities that pointed forward to the Classical period.<sup>21</sup>

In his rationalistic town palace, the Haus zum Goldenen Bären, Breitkopf seems to have been appropriately placed. In the equally rationalistic quarters of the renovated Thomasschule, Bach may have been less so.

<sup>21.</sup> The house no longer stands, but photographs of it can be found in Oskar von Hase, Breitkopf und Härtel, 76, and Pevsner, Leipziger Barock, pl. 90.

### CONTRIBUTORS

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