

# INTRODUCTION

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At the time of his death in 1788, the portrait collection of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, as listed in Bach's estate catalogue (*Nachlaßverzeichnis*, hereafter NV 1790), contained 378 portraits and an additional 37 silhouettes.<sup>1</sup> The sub-heading in NV 1790 summarizes the contents: "Bildniß-Sammlung von Componisten, Musikern, musikalischen Schriftstellern, lyrischen Dichtern und einigen erhabenen Musik-Kennern." (Portrait collection of composers, musicians, writers on music, lyrical poets, and other eminent music connoisseurs.) That Bach was an avid collector of musician portraits was widely known to his contemporaries. Charles Burney, who visited Bach in Hamburg in 1772, gave the first published report of the collection:

The instant I entered, [Bach] conducted me up stairs, into a large and elegant music room, furnished with pictures, drawings and prints of more than a hundred and fifty eminent musicians: among them, there are many Englishmen, and original portraits, in oil, of his father and grandfather.<sup>2</sup>

An introduction to the portrait collection was apparently the first order of business for visitors to the Bach house, before any music was heard or discussed. In 1772 the collection numbered at least 150 items,<sup>3</sup> but by the time of Bach's death in 1788 it had increased to more than four hundred.

Accounts of the collection circulated in North Germany in the 1780s,<sup>4</sup> and it soon became the focus of, and inspiration for, what amounted to a collect-

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1. The picture collection as a whole is listed in three sections at the end of NV 1790: (1) "Bildniß-Sammlung"; (2) "Eine kleine Sammlung Musikalischer Silhouetten"; and (3) "Verzeichniß verschiedener vorhandenen Zeichnungen," 65 works of Carl Philipp Emanuel's son, Johann Sebastian the younger. For a catalogue raisonné of the latter's work, see Fröhlich 2007. See appendix A for a list of the silhouettes listed in NV 1790. Appendix B includes all the known portraits of C.P.E. Bach and his family, most of which are not listed in NV 1790.

2. Burney 1775, 2:269.

3. This is the number given in Burney 1775, but it may refer only to the items on display. Others may have been kept, unframed, in folders. This was standard practice for print collections, and became Bach's only option in the later 1780s, as space on his walls filled up. In NV 1790 215 out of 378 portraits are listed as framed.

4. In his *Magazin der Musik* in the 1780s, Carl Friedrich Cramer published a series of letters from Gerber in which he assembled a preliminary list of available composer portraits, and asked

ing craze among Bach's contemporaries and admirers. Perhaps the most devoted collector was Ernst Ludwig Gerber, whose portrait collection, modeled on Bach's, became the basis for his monumental music-biography project, the *Tonkünstler Lexicon* (1790–92).<sup>5</sup> But others collected too, including Major von Wagener, who was stationed with the Knobelsdorff infantry regiment at Stendhal in the early 1780s;<sup>6</sup> Johann Nicolaus Forkel, the biographer of J.S. Bach and correspondent with C.P.E. Bach; Christoph Transchel, a student of J.S. Bach later residing in Dresden; and Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal, a devoted collector of Bachiana. These collections contributed to the foundations of the vast nineteenth-century musician-portrait collections of two other important collectors of Bach materials: Georg Poelchau and Aloys Fuchs.

Until recently, it had been assumed that C.P.E. Bach's collection had been irretrievably lost, despite the fact that some items from it (mostly the Bach family portraits) were known to be in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB).<sup>7</sup> Recent research into the very large holdings of musician portraits there, however, reveals that a much greater portion of C.P.E. Bach's collection than had been thought survives intact as part of the portrait collection bought by the SBB in 1841 from the estate of Georg Poelchau. Indeed, not only have hitherto unknown drawings and pastels come to light, but it appears that a substantial portion of prints in the Poelchau collection are from the C.P.E. Bach collection itself. Building on the foundation provided by the holdings in Berlin, and using the list of items in NV 1790, it has been possible to a great extent to reconstruct the Bach collection: many of the prints he owned were widely circulated, and

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correspondents to send in more. See *Magazin der Musik* 1.2 (1783): 962–69, esp. 965. *Musikalische Bibliothek* 1 (1784): 123–30, also reported on composer portrait collections: "According to Dr. Burney, Kapellmeister C.P.E. Bach in Hamburg possesses one of the largest collections." (Nach Herrn Doctors *Burnei* Versicherung, sol der Herr Kapellmeister C.P.E. *Bach* in Hamburg eine ser [*sic*] große Sammlung besitzen.)

5. See Thomas Tolley, *Painting the Cannon's Roar: Music, the Visual Arts and the Rise of an Attentive Public in the Age of Haydn* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001), 165.

6. *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783): 962–63. Major von Wagener was possibly related to the painter Gottfried Christoph Wagener (d. 1772), and to the family of the Hamburg senator Anton Wagener, who was involved in Bach's hiring as director of music for Hamburg in 1767. Major von Wagener was perhaps also related to the nineteenth-century collector of Bachiana, Guido Richard Wagener (1822–1896). See Schmid 1988, 515–16.

7. For a selection of portraits in D-B, see Biehahn 1961.

exemplars survive in libraries and museums across Europe and in the United States. The *unica* are more difficult to recover: some were acquired by Poelchau in the forty or so years after Bach's death (see below) and eventually found their way to Berlin; others were bought by a number of different collectors and their whereabouts remain unknown today.

### The Formation of the Collection

The origins of C. P. E. Bach's collection date to well before Burney's visit in 1772. Although there is no mention of portraits in the specification of J. S. Bach's estate, it is clear that at least some of Bach's pictures were inherited from his father. The Bach family portraits, related to the musical material in the "Alt-Bachisches Archiv," included the portraits in oil of C. P. E. Bach's grandfather Johann Ambrosius Bach (no. 27), his father J. S. Bach (no. 28), and his stepmother Anna Magdalena Bach (no. 29, now lost). C. P. E. Bach's acquisition of the other family portraits would have built on this foundation.

Robin Leaver has suggested that the basis of C. P. E. Bach's collection may have been not only the family portraits, but a collection started by his father that included engraved portraits of non-family members.<sup>8</sup> This would account for the presence in the collection of a number of the more obscure figures, especially the seventeenth-century theologians and sixteenth-century Reformation and Counter-Reformation polemicists. The connection to J. S. Bach might also account for the large number of organists, kapellmeisters, violinists, and lutenists in the collection. While no firm evidence can be given to support the view that the collection originated with J. S. Bach, it clearly reflects C. P. E. Bach's role as a curator of his father's legacy. If there are many individuals represented there who were part of his father's cultural milieu, figures whom Bach would have heard spoken of, would have been recommended to read, or would have met, growing up in the Bach household, the collection can be understood in part as a window into the intellectual and musical interests of the Bach family in the first half of the eighteenth century.

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8. See Robin A. Leaver, "Überlegungen zur 'Bildniss-Sammlung' im Nachlaß von C. P. E. Bach," *BJ* (2007): 105–38.

However, the majority of the collection was acquired by C.P.E. Bach himself, and its scope is extraordinarily broad: here are gathered together family members, colleagues of his father and of his own in Berlin and Hamburg, poets and philosophers both present and past, music theorists, scientists, mythical figures, kings, and emperors. The view it offers of Emanuel Bach's knowledge of both contemporary and historical music, and of the long cultural legacy that culminates with him, is unparalleled. The portrait collection is a rich source of information on Bach's expansive geographical circle and the role art, its reproduction, and the crucial practice of collecting played in nurturing Bach's social, intellectual, and artistic networks, and indeed the culture of music in the period. These pictures were not treated simply as valuable images. They were meant to be cherished for conveying a sense of the accomplishments of the broadly conceived musical past and making immediate the richness of the musical present, in one of the most famous musical households in Europe.

Considerable insight into the way the collection was built can be gathered from Bach's letters in the 1770s and 1780s to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, Forkel, and J.J.H. Westphal. Mostly concerned with professional affairs, these letters include discussions of portraits and requests for items for the collection that shed light on the culture of portrait collecting, and on the cachet of the portrait, among members of this circle. On 20 April 1774, in correspondence with Forkel, whom he was supplying with information for a biography of J.S. Bach, Bach replied to a request for a portrait of his father with information about a pastel in his possession, and with a passing reference to the collection as a whole:

... With the delivery of these psalms, which should occur as soon as I receive them at the fair, I will have the pleasure of sending you a recently finished, clean, and quite realistic engraving of my dear father's portrait. The portrait of my father that I have in my musical portrait gallery containing more than 150 professional musicians is painted in pastel. I had it brought here from Berlin by water, since such paintings with dry colours cannot tolerate the shaking over the axle; otherwise I would very gladly have sent it to you to be copied.<sup>9</sup>

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9. "Beÿ Ueberschickung dieser Psalmen, welche, so bald ich sie mit der Meÿße kriege, so gleich geschehen soll, werde ich Ihnen einen kürzlich verfertigten saubern u. ziemlich ähnlichen Kupferstich von meines lieben seeligen Vaters Portrait zu überschicken, das Vergnügen haben.

Copying was a standard method for expanding a collection.<sup>10</sup> The letter continues with an inquiry about two portraits Forkel had mentioned, one of C.P.E. Bach's brother Wilhelm Friedemann and one of Bach himself, the latter painting a copy:

Who, then, painted the portrait of me that you own? Perhaps it is a copy by Herr Reiffenstein, who painted me in Kassel in 1754 with dry colours. Perhaps I will be fortunate enough to present to you soon a clean engraving of my portrait, if it would otherwise be of value to you. The one you have does not have wrinkles, but the one I hope to send you will have all the more. Who painted my oldest brother?<sup>11</sup>

That Bach was concerned with portraits, and with family likenesses especially, comes across vividly from his letters. So too does the problem of making copies from fragile pastels; this is a topic that recurs some years later—this time again in conjunction with a portrait of Bach himself. In the margin of a letter to his Leipzig publisher, Engelhardt Benjamin Schwickert, on 27 January 1786, Bach wrote:

Drop the expensive plans with the portrait. My only appropriate portrait is with dry colours, framed, under glass, and may not be sent. My family will not permit it. Someone will make a good copy here in oil for 4 ducats. Since I have been engraved badly often enough, who is looking particularly for something new?<sup>12</sup>

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Meines Vaters Portrait, welches ich in meiner musicalischen Bildergallerie, worin mehr als 150 Musiker von Profession befindlich sind, habe, ist in pastel gemahlt. Ich habe es von Berlin hieher zu Waßer bringen laßen, weil dergleichen Gemählde mit trocknen Farben das Erschüttern auf der Axe nicht vertragen können: außerdem würde ich es Ihnen sehr gerne zum Copiren überschickt haben." *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:392; *CPEB-Letters*, 54. The pastel portrait mentioned here was not listed in NV 1790. On its possible identity as the so-called Meiningen pastel of J.S. Bach, see entry on Johann Ludwig Bach (no. 35).

10. It is possible that some of the lost paintings listed in NV 1790 may survive in copies by other artists (see J.C.F. Bach, no. 32, and Kirnberger, no. 189).

11. "Wer hat deñ mein Portrait, welches Sie besitzen, gemahlt? Vielleicht ist es eine Copie von H. Reiffenstein, welcher mich anno 1754 in Caßel mit trocknen Farben abmahlte. Vielleicht bin ich so glücklich, weñ Ihnen anders damit gedient ist, bald mit einem saubren Kupferstich, von meinem Bildniß, aufzuwarten. Dasjenige, was Sie haben, hat keine Runzeln, aber, was ich hoffe, Ihnen zu schicken, desto mehr. Wer hat meinen ältesten Bruder gemahlt?" *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:392; *CPEB-Letters*, 54.

12. "Das Kosten machende Vorhaben mit dem Portrait laßen Sie liegen. Mein einziges getroffenes Bildniß ist mit trocknen Farben im Rahm, unter Glas u. läßt sich nicht verschicken.

Breitkopf in Leipzig, the city at the heart of the printing industry, was an important collaborator in the expansion of Bach's collection. In his exchanges with Breitkopf, one can see Bach taking the chance to pursue his hobby even as he carefully attended to his business affairs. "Do get for me Rhau's portrait, the book printer in Wittenberg at Luther's time. I will gladly pay for it," Bach wrote in the margin of a letter to Breitkopf on 9 October 1784; on 15 April 1785 he was still pursuing the print: "Is Rhau's portrait really not at all available? It is a woodcut engraving."<sup>13</sup> This kind of request had been going on for many years. A letter sent to Breitkopf in April 1775, ten years before the request for Rhau's portrait, includes the following comment:

I purchased Herr [Johann Adam] Hiller's portrait here as soon as it was available and this honest worthy German has already been parading in my picture gallery for a long time. The portrait is in quarto. Herr [Christoph Daniel] Ebeling thinks the one in octavo is more realistic. If it is not much trouble, I would also like the latter. Give my best regards to this admirable man. Herr Schröter's portrait would be very welcome to me. I will pay everything with pleasure.<sup>14</sup>

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Meine Familie läßt es nicht. Eine gute Copie in Oehl macht hier Jemand für 4 Dukaten. Da ich oft genug schlecht gestochen bin, wer verlangt sonderlich was neues." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1139–40; *CPEB-Letters*, 245. Bach must have been referring to the pastel portrait by Johann Philipp Bach (1752–1846), painted in 1775. At least two copies of this pastel survive; see appendix B. Other copies of items were made for the collections of C. P. E. Bach's friends: on 13 May 1786, he sent to Forkel a copy of his portrait of Padre Martini (itself a drawing): "The mail is about to leave, most esteemed friend; therefore in short! You are receiving herewith Pater Martini. The artist did his work rather well. Herr Capellmeister Naumann, who studied with him, told me it is a good representation of Martini when he was younger. I have enclosed a lyric poet, the honest Rist. I am making you a little present of both of them." (*Die Post eilt, theuerster Freund; also kurz u gut! Hierbey erhalten Sie Pater Martini. Der Zeichner hat seine Sachen ziemlich gut gemacht. Es soll Martini, wie er jünger war, gut gleichen; so sagte mir H. C. Mstr. Naumañ, welcher bey ihm studirt hat. Ich habe einen lyrischen Dichter, den ehrlichen Rist beygelegt. Mit beyden mache ich Ihnen ein kleines Präsent.*) *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1151; *CPEB-Letters*, 247.

13. "Schaffen Sie mir doch Rhaws des gelehrten Buchdruckers in Wittenberg zu Luthers Zeiten Portrait. Ich wills gerne bezahlen." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1044; *CPEB-Letters*, 216. "Ist deñ Rhau Portrait gar nicht zu haben? Es ist ein Holzschnitt." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1074; *CPEB-Letters*, 227. Despite Bach's efforts to present a complete picture of the immediate circle around Martin Luther in the portrait collection, NV 1790 does not list Rhau's portrait.

14. "H. Hillers Portrait kaufte ich hier so gleich, als es zu haben war, und dieser würdige brave Teutsche paradirt schon lange in meiner Bilder-Gallerie. Das Portrait ist in 4to. H. Ebeling meñt, dasjenige in octav sey ähnlicher. Weñ es nicht viele Umstände macht, so wünschte ich dieses letztere auch." *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:497; *CPEB-Letters*, 79.

The Hiller portrait in “quarto” is listed in NV 1790 (no. 166), but the “octavo” image appears not to have been available as Bach had hoped (or if he did acquire it, he quickly passed it on). The Schröter portrait is mentioned again, in a letter on 11 July 1775, and yet again on 26 December 1775. By 17 January the following year, the determined collector was still trying to acquire the image, and suggested an alternative method: “My son, who is very negligent in writing to us, can possibly look into the portrait of Herr Schröter you kindly promised for me, since you do not have much time to spare.”<sup>15</sup> All these efforts appear to have been unsuccessful, for the portrait is not listed in NV 1790.

This letter points to another collaborator in the development of the collection: Bach’s son, the artist Johann Sebastian Bach the younger, who was at that time studying in Leipzig at the Kunstakademie with Adam Friedrich Oeser.<sup>16</sup> The close family involvement in the visual arts should be kept in mind when assessing Bach’s portrait collection. The fine arts were a topic of real interest in the Bach household, and the collection offers plenty of evidence that C.P.E. Bach was a connoisseur of the visual arts, as of music. That J.S. Bach the younger chose to be a painter and was supported in this endeavor by his proud father suggests the importance of the elder Bach’s interests and his collection in the professional path chosen by his son. J.S. Bach the younger appears to have assisted with the collection in several ways. He made drawings of painted portraits for it, including those of Caterina Regina Mingotti (no. 234) and Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (no. 60); the now-lost drawings of Rudolf Agricola (no. 6), Padre Martini (no. 222), and Palestrina (no. 258) were also likely made by him from pre-existing paintings or engravings. The younger Bach also made portraits from life, such as the drawing of Johann Gotthilf Ziegler (no. 374, lost)<sup>17</sup> and the oil painting of Christian Friedrich Abel (no. 2, lost). Additionally, he may have acquired for his father some of the Italian drawings listed in NV 1790, between 1777 and 1778 on his study trip to Italy (where he died in

15. “Mein Sohn, der im Schreiben an uns sehr nachlässig ist, kan allerfals das mir von Ihnen gütigst versprochene Portrait von H. Schröttern auskundschaften, da Sie nicht viele Zeit übrigen haben.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:556; *CPEB-Letters*, 82.

16. See Wolfgang Stechow, “Johann Sebastian Bach the Younger,” in *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961); see also Fröhlich.

17. Maria Hübner, “Johann Sebastian Bach d.J. Ein biographischer Essay,” in Fröhlich, 24.

1778). A poignant reminder of the personal currency of the portrait is provided by Bach's letter to Breitkopf, 19 December 1778, after his son's death:

Most cherished compatriot, you will receive through Herr Professor Oeser a silhouette of my dear late son. I know you loved him too. The likeness is very good. A young artist here used this style to great advantage. Darker and better than those of Lavater. Inexpensive. Keep this portrait in memory of me.<sup>18</sup>

One important function of portraits was, indeed, as a reminder of friendship, a substitute for the personal presence of the sitter.<sup>19</sup> Bach wrote to his friend, the Braunschweig professor of literature and writer J.J. Eschenburg, with a request that he, "one of my best friends," should have his portrait drawn for the collection:

. . . I already have Zachariaas' portrait, but how happy I would be if I could add your dear portrait, drawn, to my collection? You are not only an amateur and connoisseur of our art, but also an author, of which I have several, and NB one of my best friends.<sup>20</sup>

Specially commissioned portrait drawings appear to have been a theme for Bach in the 1780s. Distant friends such as Hans Adolf Friedrich von Eschstruth (no. 105), former pupils such as Nils Schiørring (no. 308), acquaintances and visiting musicians passing through Hamburg in the 1780s including the blind

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18. "Liebwehrtester Herr Landsmann, Sie werden durch den Herrn Profefor Oeser einen Schattenriß von meinem lieben seeligen Sohn erhalten. Ich weiß, Sie haben ihn auch geliebt. Er ist sehr gut getroffen. Ein junger Künstler hier hat diese Art sehr hoch gebracht. Schwärzer u. beßer, wie die Lavaterschen. Wohlfeil. Verwahren Sie dies Bild mir zum Andenken." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:719; *CPEB-Letters*, 131.

19. For more on the portrait and friendship circles, see Roland Kanz, *Dichter und Denker im Porträt: Spurengänge zur deutschen Porträtkultur des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1993), esp. 121–71.

20. "Zachariä's Portrait habe ich nun schon: aber wie glücklich wäre ich, wenn ich Ihr liebes Portrait, gezeichnet, meiner Sammlung beyfügen könnte? Sie sind nicht nur Liebhaber und Kenner unserer Kunst, sondern auch Schriftsteller, dergleichen ich mehrere habe, und NB. einer meiner besten Freunde." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1049; *CPEB-Letters*, 218. Typically, Bach could not resist including additional requests in this letter for portraits of the two Braunschweig court musicians Johann Gottfried Schwanenberger and Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer. His request to Eschenburg concludes with the hint that "Herr Schwanenberger and Herr Fleischer will be very welcome to me." (Hr. Schwanenberger und Hr. Fleischer werden mir sehr willkommen sein.) *Ibid.* Whether or not Eschenburg fulfilled the request is unknown, but none of the three drawings is listed in NV 1790.

flutist Friedrich Ludwig Dülon (no. 97), the blind piano virtuosa Maria Teresia Paradies (no. 262), the violinists Regina Strinasacchi (no. 340) and Antonio Lolli (no. 210), the singers Mme Mara (no. 216) and Mme Duschek (no. 98), all appear to have been asked to provide portraits for the collection. On 25 February 1785 Bach wrote to Alexander Reinagle, whom he had met in Hamburg with his brother Hugh two years earlier, to ask about his music and to make a request for portrait drawings:

At the same time I ask you to let me have your portrait and that of your brother, only drawn, to include them in my cabinet of portraits of musicians. That will serve to help me remember your friendship, for the return of which I am and will be always, Sir, your very humble servant . . .”<sup>21</sup>

In 1783 the 14-year-old Dülon played for Bach at his house in Hamburg, and Dülon later recounted in his autobiography how he and his father had responded to a request from Bach for a portrait. The account is worth quoting at length, for the light it sheds on Bach’s practise of commissioning portrait drawings:<sup>22</sup>

Before I leave Lübeck again, I must mention yet another interesting acquaintanceship with an artist, which gave rise to the following circumstance. The late Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach owned an exquisite collection of paintings of famous musicians. On that day that was so important for me, on which the above-mentioned story with the theme took place at his house,<sup>23</sup> he entreated my father to have me painted at some point for the said collection. How flattering that must have been

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21. “En même tems je Vous prie de me faire avoir Vôtre portrait et celui de Ms. Vôtre frère, seulement en dessin, pour les placer dans mon cabinet de portraits des musiciens. Cela me servira d’aide dans le souvenir de Vôtre amitié, dans le retour de la quelle je suis et serai toujours, Monsieur, Vôtre très humble Serviteur . . .” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1069; *CPEB-Letters*, 225. Neither Alexander nor Hugh Reinagle’s portrait was added to the collection.

22. In the account the portrait is referred to as a painting (*Gemälde*), although it is listed in NV 1790 as a drawing. Dülon may have misremembered (or, at fourteen years old, not have been fully aware of the medium in which his portrait was being made); it is possible, however, that the portrait was made in pastels, like that of Maria Theresia Paradies which NV 1790 lists as a drawing, but which was described by its subsequent owner J.J.H. Westphal as a pastel.

23. As recounted by Dülon, and then in the Hamburg newspapers, Bach had given the young flutist a theme in A major on which to improvise, in order to test his compositional skills. Dülon executed the test to Bach’s satisfaction, and his own pride. See Christoph Martin Wieland, ed., *Dülon des blinden Flötenspielers Leben und Meynungen von ihm selbst bearbeitet*, 2 vols. (Zurich, 1807–8), 1:164–69. See also Leta Miller, “C. P. E. Bach and Friedrich Ludwig Dülon: Composition

for me, one can easily understand. When we then heard coincidentally in Lübeck, that in that very place a skilled painter resided, this was very welcome news to us, and we wasted not a moment in making use of his artistry. When the painting was finished, the general verdict agreed upon by all who saw it, was that it lacked nothing but the faculty of speech. When we were then, a little later, in Hamburg again, my father presented it to the great Bach, who took great pleasure in it. The portrait collection was sold after his death, and it flattered me not a little, when the estate catalogue was read, to hear my name in it. The above-mentioned painter was not only first-rate in his art, but he also possessed a highly cultivated spirit, and the gift of endearing himself to those around him. . . . He was called Karstens. . . .<sup>24</sup>

In the last years of Bach's life perhaps the most important correspondent as regards the portrait collection was J. J. H. Westphal, who was not only occupied with gathering together as complete a collection as he could of the works of C. P. E. Bach, but was also busy amassing a portrait collection of his own inspired by Bach's. Bach asked Westphal for help with his collection on 5 March 1787, in the year before his death, when all his other affairs were in order and his business dealings completed: "I have a large collection of engraved portraits of musicians and musical authors. Should you have the opportunity to obtain a

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and Improvisation in Late 18th-Century Germany," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 65–80, and John A. Rice, "The Blind Dülön and His Magic Flute," *Music & Letters* 71 (1990): 25–51.

24. "Ehe ich Lübeck wieder verlasse, muß ich noch einer interessanten Bekanntschaft mit einem Künstler erwähnen, zu welcher folgender Umstand die Veranlassung gab. Der selige Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach besaß eine auserlesene Sammlung von Gemälden berühmter Tonkünstler. An jenem für mich so wichtigen Tage nun, an welchem die bereits erzählte Geschichte mit dem Thema in seinem Hause vorfiel, ersuchte er meinen Vater, mich doch bey Gelegenheit für die bewußte Sammlung malen zu lassen. Wie schmeichelhaft mir dies seyn mußte, kann man sich leicht vorstellen. Als wir nun in Lübeck zufälliger Weise erfuhren, daß sich ein geschickter Maler daselbst aufhalte, war uns dies sehr erwünscht, und wir säumten keinen Augenblick Gebrauch von seiner Kunst zu machen. Als das Gemälde fertig war, fiel das einstimmige Urtheil aller, die es sahen, dahin aus, daß demselben nichts weiter mangle als die Sprache. Als wir nun einige Zeit darauf wieder in Hamburg waren, überreichte es mein Vater dem großen Bach, welcher eine herzliche Freude darüber hatte. Die Bildersammlung wurde nach seinem Tode verkauft, und es schmeichelte mir nicht wenig, als man mir das Verzeichnis derselben vorlas, auch meinen Namen darin zu hören. Der erwähnte Maler war nicht nur vorzüglich in seiner Kunst, sondern besaß auch viele Geistesbildung, und die Gabe, sich durch seinen Umgang beliebt und angenehm zu machen. . . . Er nannte sich Karstens [Asmus Jakob Carstens (1754–1798)] . . ." *Dülöns des blinden Flötenspielers Leben*, 1:319–21, 326ff.

few recruits for me, please do so; I will gladly pay for them."<sup>25</sup> On 4 August 1787 Bach wrote to Westphal in more detail about the portraits, revealing the extent of the collection (now expanded beyond the available display space on his walls) and conveying the complicated business of portrait exchange:

Now something about the portraits. I can get Kellner's portrait for you. You have made me very embarrassed by your far too great kindness. I thank you most respectfully for Mme de Saint-Huberty and Herr Professor Engel. I wanted to keep the latter without a frame since, for lack of space in my hall, I now put my remaining portraits unframed in a portefeuille, and will deal with whatever new ones I receive in the same way. Well, I packed the Engel with the frame, but incompetent packer that I am, I was so unlucky as to break the glass, *en fin* I had to keep it and I am hereby sending the Engel without the frame back to you. As some compensation for you, I have enclosed seven portraits that you do not yet have. Forgive me, therefore, and make do with them. I am still waiting impatiently for a few recruits who were promised to me, then my catalogue of portraits shall certainly be printed.<sup>26</sup>

The catalogue that Bach mentioned in this letter had already been in preparation for some time; Carl Friedrich Cramer reported in the *Magazin der Musik* in 1784 that Bach had promised that it would soon be ready for publication. It did not appear before Bach's death, but was eventually printed in NV 1790. The list of the collection occupies 36 pages (pp. 92–128), and many of the entries are remarkably detailed. Each entry gives the name of the sitter, followed by a brief description, which usually includes the medium (whether the portrait is a woodcut, copperplate engraving, drawing, pastel or painting in oils); the paper

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25. "Ich habe eine starke Sammlung von Bildnißen der Musiker u. musikalischen Schriftsteller in Kupfer; sollten Sie Gelegenheit haben, mir einige Rekruten zu verschaffen: so bitte ich darum, ich bezahle sie gerne." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1198; *CPEB-Letters*, 259.

26. "Nun etwas von den Portraits. Kellners kriege ich. Durch Ihre allzugroße Gutheit haben Sie mich sehr verlegen gemacht. Für M. d. St. Huberti u. H. P. Engeln danke ich ganz ergebenst. Diesen letztern ohne Rahm wollte ich behalten, weil ich jetzt, aus Mangel des Raums in meinem Saale, alle übrige Portraits ohne Rahm in ein Portefeuille thue u. mit dem, was ich etwa noch kriege, eben so verfahren werde. Genug ich pakte den Engel mit dem Rahm ein, allein ich ungeschickter Einpaker war so unglücklich, das Glas zu zerbrechen, en Fin ich mußte ihn behalten, u. schicke Ihnen hierbey den Engel ohne Rahm wieder zurück. Zu einiger Schadloshaltung für Sie habe ich 7 Portraits, die Sie noch nicht haben, beÿgelegt. Vergeben Sie mir also u. nehmen damit vorlieb. Ich laure nun noch auf ein Paar mir versprochne Recruten, alsdeñ soll mein Bildercatalogue gewiß gedruckt werden." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1221–22; *CPEB-Letters*, 267 (modified).

size; details as to whether or not the picture was framed, and if framed, whether in gold or black and under glass.

### The Posthumous Fate of the Collection

Although materials from Bach's estate were auctioned in 1789,<sup>27</sup> a decision appears to have been made by his heirs to try to keep the portrait collection together. In 1790 Gerber emphasized the importance of the collection, and of keeping it intact: "Finally, Herr Bach, earlier than anyone else, owned a trove of 330 portraits exclusively of virtuosi, among which were to be found a particularly large number of paintings and drawings. It is to be hoped, that this valuable collection comes, intact, into good hands."<sup>28</sup> In 1797, however, following the death of Bach's widow, items began to be sold off piecemeal by Bach's daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina. Her principal advisor in this endeavor was J.J.H. Westphal. He was one of the first to be notified of plans for the sale, which she excused on account of advice from friends and lack of space on the walls of her new apartment.<sup>29</sup> Westphal helped to price the prints in the collection, marking up a copy of NV 1790 for Bach's daughter; the drawings

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27. See Leisinger 1991.

28. "Endlich besaß Herr Bach, früher schon als jemand, einen Schatz von 330 unvermischten Virtuosenbildnissen, worunter sich besonders viele Gemälde und Zeichnungen befanden. Es ist zu wünschen, daß diese schätzbare Sammlung unzertheilt in gute Hände kommt." *GerberL*, 1:83. Gerber's count of 330 items refers to the portraits of what he considered practicing musicians (virtuosi), and excludes those of writers, mythical and historical figures, and the other less obviously musical portrait subjects.

29. In a letter to Westphal on 3 May 1797 ACPB wrote: "On the advice of various friends I have come to the point of selling off the musical portrait collection piecemeal, as soon as I have had it priced by an expert, for whom I am currently on the lookout." (Auf Anrathen verschiedener Freunde bin ich anjetzt gekommen, die musikalische Bildniß-Sammlung im einzelnen zu verkaufen, so bald ich sie werde, durch einen Sachverständigen, nach dem ich mich jetzt umthue, taxieren lassen.) On 24 May 1797 she wrote: "Partly I think that it will be difficult to find a Liebhaber who is interested in the whole collection, partly I was requested to do so [to sell the collection piecemeal], and partly it was made necessary to pursue this course on account of the lack of room on changing my apartment." (Theils glaube ich, daß sich zu der ganzen Sammlung schwerlich ein Liebhaber finden wird, theils werde ich so dazu aufgefordert, und theils nöthigt mich der Mangel an Raum bey Veränderung meiner Wohnung, diesen Weg einzuschlagen.) See Schmid 1988, 514–15.

and paintings were priced with the help of the Hamburg artist and engraver Friedrich Wilhelm Skerl, as well as the collector Wagener.<sup>30</sup> There appears to have been no attempt to sell the collection as a whole to a single individual; indeed, A.C.P. Bach's letters reveal a concern that many items would not be of interest to the print-collecting enthusiast, "for in this it largely comes down to hobby-collecting" (weil es hiebey hauptsächlich auf Liebhaberey ankömmt), and that many would not have the means to buy the paintings, drawings, and other more expensive items.<sup>31</sup>

To judge from annotations made by Westphal in his own copy of NV 1790, he himself appears to have acquired around 160 of the items listed in the catalogue.<sup>32</sup> Most of these were prints, but there is additional evidence, in fragmentary drafts of a catalogue of Westphal's collection that survive in B-Bc,<sup>33</sup> that Westphal also took some of the more expensive "treasures." On the draft pages of his catalogue, under the heading "Aus der Bachischen befinden sich in meiner Sammlung," are listed four items from NV 1790: the drawing of Bononcini (no. 54), the miniature of Fischer (no. 119), the drawing of Santa Stella Lotti (no. 211), and the portrait of Paradies (no. 262), listed in NV 1790 as a drawing, but emphatically described by Westphal as "NB Not drawn, but painted in pastels by Schubart." (NB nicht gezeichnet, sondern in Pastell gemahlt von Schubart.)<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, Westphal managed to acquire some of the busts

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30. The copy of NV 1790 in B-Bc, 34,734 H.P., contains a handwritten note stating that Hofrath von Ehrenreich of Hamburg had provided descriptions of the works of J.S. Bach the younger; see Leisinger/Wollny, 126 and 458.

31. Certain that it would be easier to sell the prints than the much more expensive drawings and paintings, she wrote on 17 October 1797: "The paintings and drawings, of which there are a considerable number, and which are naturally much more expensive than the copperplate engravings, will not be sought after, since the enthusiasts are seldom so well off that they can spend very much on their hobby, and generally limit themselves to engravings." (Die Gemälde und Zeichnungen, deren Anzahl sehr beträchtlich ist, und die natürlicher Weise viel theurer, als die Kupferstiche sind, werden nicht gesucht werden, da die Liebhaber selten so bemittelt sind, daß sie für ihre Liebhaberey viel anwenden können, und sich bey ihrem Sammeln gemeiniglich nur auf Kupferstiche beschränken.) See Schmid 1988, 516.

32. See Schmid 1988, 481–83.

33. Both the complete catalogue and the collection itself are now lost.

34. The folder containing these pages, B-Bc, 34,734, also contains many other loose sheets. Most of these seem to be part of Westphal's project to collect portraits, or to list, in the manner

and reliefs: he lists “Telemann, . . . In Gips von Gibbons”, “Noelly, in Gips . . .”, “Noelly . . . in Wachs, von Sirl”, and “Bach, C.P.E. in Gips von Schubart.” The latter, the plaster bust of C.P.E. Bach, was a gift from A.C.P. Bach, thanking Westphal for his help in the sale of the collection. The waxen Noëlli had been part of negotiations with Bach before his death—Bach had planned to send it to Westphal, and the difficulty of packing it had been the subject of several letters. Eventually, Bach’s widow sent the object on 24 September 1790.<sup>35</sup>

The fate of Westphal’s collection is unknown. After his death in 1825, his library was eventually sold in 1838 to Fétis in Brussels,<sup>36</sup> but the portraits appear not to have been part of the sale; there is no trace in Brussels today, at either B-Bc or B-Br, of the several hundred portraits Westphal owned (in 1819 his collection stood at 518 items, by his own count).<sup>37</sup>

Among the less well-known and more wealthy collectors who acquired items from the Bach collection was Ernst Florens Friedrich Chladni (1756–1827). Chladni had already acquired several items from the estate, when A.C.P. Bach wrote to Westphal in October 1797 that an engraving of E. W. Wolf (no. 369) that Westphal had requested (letter of 15 June 1798) had already been in Chladni’s possession for some time.<sup>38</sup> According to Gerber, Chladni had been particularly interested in the Italian drawings, and in 1815 owned drawings of Folega (by Tiepolo, no. 121), Pugnani (which Gerber thought was probably by Tiepolo, no. 278) and Palestrina (no. 258). Unlike the average collector, Chladni had the resources to buy some of the more expensive items, and it is possible that some of the other now-lost portraits, including paintings, were part of his collection. Information on his collection is scarce: in his autobiography of 1824 he described how he had saved his “very numerous and well-ordered collection

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of Gerber, extant portraits and to provide additional information to Gerber for the second edition of his *Tonkünstler Lexicon*. Of particular interest is No. 25 (reprinted in Leisinger/Wollny), which seems to have been the list sent with a letter of 21 July 1788 from Bach, supplying Westphal with 23 of Bach’s duplicate copies, and asking for others.

35. Although it appears that Bach had in his possession two reliefs by Noëlli, only one is listed in NV 1790: a plaster relief on slate; perhaps this is the first Noëlli listed by Westphal as residing in his own collection. Both of these items are now lost. See Schmid 1988, 518.

36. See Leisinger/Wollny.

37. Letter to the Schwerin “Zahl-Kommissair” Henk, 30 June 1819; see Leisinger/Wollny, 74.

38. Schmid 1988, 518.

of portraits of musicians" (sehr zahlreiche und gehörig geordnete Sammlung von Tonkünstlerbildnisse) from fire; it is not known what happened to his collection after his death in 1827.

Anna Carolina Philippina Bach also mentioned that Gerber bought items from the Bach collection to expand his own,<sup>39</sup> and it is likely that Forkel also would have tried to acquire items to fill out his own collection. Forkel's estate catalogue (1818) lists a collection of portraits that includes several drawings (many of them copies of earlier portraits by a certain "Loggan"), 46 silhouettes, and well over 450 prints.

After the death of A.C.P. Bach in 1804, the rest of the Bach estate was sold at auction on 4 March 1805. It was at this sale that a number of the more expensive portraits, including those of Paolo Bedeschi (no. 42) and Mingotti, were bought by Georg Poelchau. Very actively acquiring items from the Bach collection, Poelchau also bought items from the Forkel estate, and from other sales later in the 1820s and early 1830s.<sup>40</sup> A number of the portraits which Poelchau annotated as having come from the Bach collection ("aus der Bachschen Sammlung") appear to have entered his own collection quite late. (See, e.g., Poelchau's annotations in the lower left and right corners of the drawing of Mara, no. 216, plate 169.) Poelchau's collection was sold to SBB in 1841; Poelchau's detailed handwritten catalogue of the collection is to be found in D-B, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 131.

### Reconstructing the Portrait Collection

The portraits assembled here reconstruct as far as possible the collection documented in NV 1790. The basis for this reconstruction is the Poelchau collection. Although many of the paintings are lost, several of the drawings and

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39. In a letter of 11 January 1799 ACPB reported that she was sending a package of portrait prints, in answer to a prior request from Westphal, but that the portrait of *Damião a Góis* was not among them, since it had for a while already been in the collection of "Herr Gerber in Sondershausen." Schmid 1988, 519.

40. See Klaus Engler, *Georg Poelchau und seine Musikaliensammlung: Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferung Bachscher Musik in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: s.n., 1984), and Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958).

paintings listed in NV 1790 are to be found in Poelchau's collection, and his annotations on many of them identify their provenance without doubt. Some items from the Poelchau collection lack these attributions, but can be identified by the artist and size of the image. In several cases, this provenance has led to important discoveries, including the identification of two drawings by J. S. Bach the younger, of Buffardin and Mingotti.<sup>41</sup> The Kniep drawing of Jürgensen (no. 180), and likewise the drawing of J. F. Reichardt (no. 289), were hitherto unknown. The provenance of the Kniep drawing of St. Cecilia (no. 62) has been identified for the first time here.

The majority of the collection consists of prints. Where possible, the images reproduced here for these have been taken from the Poelchau collection, although in most cases it cannot absolutely be ascertained whether a print in Poelchau's collection had come from Bach's collection. Indeed, prints were widely disseminated in the eighteenth century, and in a sense the object itself (the piece of paper) is of far less significance than the image printed on it (even whether or not the print was a first or later impression was also not of great significance to most collectors—these are not fine art prints). Nonetheless, it is very likely that many of the prints in Poelchau's collection, and now in D-B, were in fact bought from the Bach collection. These would include portraits of figures who were truly obscure by the beginning of the nineteenth century (especially those for whose presence in Bach's collection Gerber could find no explanation), as well as figures who had no strong connection to music (such as the sixteenth-century German legal scholar Nicolaus Cisner, no. 77). Into this category would fall some of the theologians and Reformation or Counter-Reformation figures, who may have had particular significance for the Bach family (and especially J. S. Bach), but who had little interest for other collectors of musical portraits in the nineteenth century (such as Joseph Müller or Aloys Fuchs). However, it is important to stress that many of the late-eighteenth-century prints listed in NV 1790 circulated fairly widely; it was precisely because they were relatively inexpensive that they were so attractive to the print collector. On the other hand, some of the older items were very rare (as Gerber notes), and it would have required great expertise, effort, and financial outlay

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41. Fröhlich, 163–65.

to assemble a portrait collection of this size. Although the likelihood is strong that at least some of Poelchau's prints had been in Bach's collection, the actual provenance of individual sheets should not be overstated.

Concordant exemplars of prints listed in NV 1790 but not present in D-B have been traced to collections and archives across Europe and in the United States. The main collections consulted in this process have been the comprehensive collection of A-Wn ([www.bildarchivaustria.at](http://www.bildarchivaustria.at)); the portrait collection of D-W (see Mortzfeld); the collection of US-NYp ([digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm](http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/index.cfm)); the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum ([www.britishmuseum.org/pd/pdhome.html](http://www.britishmuseum.org/pd/pdhome.html)); and the National Portrait Gallery, London ([www.npg.org.uk/collections.php](http://www.npg.org.uk/collections.php)). Other museums, libraries, and archives consulted online or visited in person include B-Bc and B-Br; the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; the Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden; the Art Institute of Chicago; the libraries of Cornell University and Harvard University; as well as many smaller museums and archives across Europe and the United States.

In gathering exemplars from other collections, every effort has been made to match the print with the portrait that was in C.P.E. Bach's possession. In cases where the names of original artist and engraver are given in NV 1790 and visible on the portrait, identification has been straightforward (although not all items have come to light). In cases where NV 1790 does not identify artists, the extensive appendix in *GerberL* has provided important information: since NV 1790 normally gives the approximate paper size, and Gerber always adds artists' names if possible, in many cases it has been possible to identify the print in question using Gerber's additional information. While many portrait prints were issued as single items or as series, others were published as frontispieces to books or music. Gerber usually gives the source for these portraits. In cases where no artists' names are given in NV 1790 or in Gerber, and where several different portraits of the same sitter appear to have been available, the entry in NV 1790 has been taken as a clue to the identity of the print: we have taken the portrait whose inscription conforms most closely to the rubric given in NV 1790. In several cases NV 1790 gives too little information for any definitive identification of the image to be made. NV 1790 does not cite a source for the woodcuts, but the most likely source (according to Gerber) is Nikolaus

Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines* (1587, 1589, 1590), several volumes of woodcuts of illustrious theologians and other cultural figures. Corroborating evidence for this is given in the NV 1790 entries, whose information generally reflects the inscriptions on the Reusner images.

Sizes given in NV 1790 are either indications of the paper size on which the image was engraved, or the dimensions of paintings and pastels. These can be used as a fairly reliable point of reference for the extant paintings, although NV 1790 is not without errors. With respect to the prints, the sizes do not always correspond well to the objects as they are today. In the majority of cases, the prints have been cropped to various degrees. Many are cropped to the plate line, and some beyond the plate line right to the image itself (or even into the image); in some cases the paper has been cut in such a way that the name of the subject, or a dedicatory verse, has been lost. It is not clear when this cropping took place, although traces of gray paper and glue in the corners of most of the Poelchau collection prints indicate that his prints were glued into albums, and were likely reduced in size as far as possible. In the case of NV 1790, measurements probably refer to the complete sheet of paper, and not the portrait image alone; the commentary in the present volume gives the sheet size where possible, and otherwise just the size of the image.

### Notes on Using this Catalogue

The present volume presents the portraits and the commentary in the more-or-less alphabetical order in which they are listed in NV 1790; all items listed in NV 1790 are accounted for in the commentary (and numbered editorially according to their place in NV 1790). Items presented as plates in part II are also identified by plate numbers and presented in NV 1790 order. A classified index groups the portraits into four categories:

- A. Items known to have been in the possession of Bach, including the extant paintings and drawings, as well as one print;
- B. Engraved portraits concordant with items listed in NV 1790, many of them from the collection of Georg Poelchau, and perhaps originally in the possession of Bach;
- C. Items possibly concordant with those listed in NV 1790, including portraits for

which NV 1790 gives only partial information but for which a likely match is available, based on provenance, on portrait inscription, on rarity of portraits of a particular sitter, on the absence of artists' names, and on availability to Bach;

- D. Lost items and those for which NV 1790 gives too little information for identification of an exact concordant exemplar to be made.

All items in the A, B, and C categories are included as plates in part II. An index of artists (alphabetical by surname) gives their birth and death dates (if known) and lists all portraits in the collection with which they were involved.

The commentary gives the NV 1790 entry for each portrait. Information supplied there refers to the subject, to the artists (if known), the size of the object, and the medium: "in Oel gemahlt" (oil painting); "mit trocknen Farben" (with dry colors, i.e., pastels); "gezeichnet" (drawing); "gestochen" (engraved); "Holzschnitt" (woodcut); "schwarze Kunst" (mezzotint). The NV 1790 entry also gives information as to whether the portrait was framed: "in goldenen Rahmen" (in a gold frame), "in schwarzen Rahmen" (in a black frame), or "in schwarzen Rahmen mit goldenen Stäbchen" (in a black frame with gilded inner edge). In the commentary, full names of artists follow, as well as the current size of the object (with image and sheet size where relevant), rounded to the nearest .5 cm. Transcriptions of all inscriptions on the prints have also been provided, with common abbreviations tacitly realized. These inscriptions offer an important glimpse into the kind of biographical-historical information portraits such as those provided to C.P.E. Bach and his contemporaries. Any annotations made by C.P.E. Bach are noted, but other markings or numberings in pencil or pen (usually by a previous owner or librarian) are not mentioned. Provenance is given for all unicas (paintings, drawings, pastels), as far as it is known; provenance is generally not included for the prints except as indicated by the reference to numbering in Cat. Poelchau in the "References" line. The current location of prints and engravings is given using library sigla, with the shelf mark or identification number of the individual item as given by the holding institution.<sup>42</sup>

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42. While several items reproduced here from collections other than the SBB are also listed in the Poelchau catalogue, this has not been noted here: references to Cat. Poelchau indicate the provenance of a particular item from the Poelchau collection. References to Mortzfeld indicate

The editorial board of CPEB: CW conceived this volume as a critical edition of NV 1790, including plates of the portraits owned by C. P. E. Bach, but without biographical information on the subjects.<sup>43</sup> Biographical information on many of the portrait subjects can be found in standard reference works. *NG<sup>II</sup>* and *MGG<sup>II</sup>* have been consulted in the preparation of this volume; many subjects who do not appear in those dictionaries can be found in eighteenth-century dictionaries that would have been available to Bach, and, in almost all cases, they are also found in *GerberL* or *GerberNL*. References to those works are cited along with any other relevant secondary literature on the portraits. Gerber's *Lexicon* (1790–92) is an important point of reference: not only does it represent the state of music historical-biographical knowledge around the time of Bach's death (1788), but it is very closely linked to C. P. E. Bach's portrait collection itself. As Gerber explains, his *Lexicon* grew out of the musician-portrait collection he had assembled based on the Bach model, and it is clear that NV 1790 was a vital primary source for the preparation of Gerber's *Lexicon*. Information on individuals, then, and explanations for their particular importance or relevance given by Gerber, are likely indications of the type of knowledge possessed by Bach and his circle.<sup>44</sup>

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the location of that particular item in the Wolfenbüttel collection, and its discussion in Mortzfeld's critical commentary.

43. I am currently completing a separate study of CPEB's portrait collection that presents the critical and biographical information needed to relate the portraits and their subjects to Bach's musical, social, and intellectual world.

44. This catalogue represents my research on CPEB's portrait collection through March 2011. As the volume was going to press, I came upon engravings by Andreas Ludwig Krüger of busts of Aelius Dionysius, Homer, Horace, Socrates, and Virgil (see Krüger 1769; online edition available at <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB000058A300010000>, accessed 12 December 2011). Additionally, at least one of the "lost" portrait drawings is believed to be in the possession of Andreas Beurmann, but at the time of going to press we have been unable to confirm this. These and any other portraits that come to light will be made available as part of the "Addenda & Corrigenda" of CPEB: CW.

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*Annette Richards*