

INTRODUCTION

In late September 1790, almost two years after Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's death, the *Kaiserlich privilegirte Hamburgische Neue Zeitung* announced the release of a printed catalogue of the composer's musical estate: the *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, published by the Hamburg "Ratsbuchdrucker" Gottlieb Friedrich Schniebes.¹ It was the first time that a comprehensive, detailed, and reliable account of the complete oeuvre of a major composer and his music library was made available in Germany.² The "Nachlaß-Verzeichnis" (NV 1790) soon became a standard reference work that was used extensively by music historians, collectors, and lexicographers such as Johann Nikolaus Forkel, Carl Friedrich Zelter, Georg Poelchau, and Ernst Ludwig Gerber; even today it represents an indispensable tool for any scholar of the music of Johann Sebastian and C.P.E. Bach, as well as other members of their family.

The announcement signals the completion of a project that had occupied C.P.E. Bach's widow and daughter for at least a year and a half. In a letter of February 1789, Johanna Maria Bach informed the Leipzig publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf that she was planning to sell the music library of her husband, but due to illness had been unable to prepare a catalogue yet.³ From this statement it appears that J.M. Bach initially planned a complete "clearance sale"; soon after, however, she must have changed her mind. In August 1789, an auction was held at the Eimbeckisches Haus in Hamburg that offered—together with many other books of unknown provenance—395 lots of musical manuscripts and prints. It seems that all these items came from Bach's estate, yet they represented only a small portion of his library. Although the

1. Wiermann, 133–37. A facsimile edition of NV 1790 with an introduction by Peter Wollny is published as a supplement to CPEB:CW, series VIII.

2. In 1765 the Amsterdam bookdealer Theodorus Craijenschoot published a catalogue of the library of Pietro Antonio Locatelli; see *Catalogus van een uitmuntende verzameling boeken . . . en een extra verzameling . . . Muziek-Werken . . . nagelaten door den Heer Pietro Antonio Locatelli* (Amsterdam, 1765); facsimile in Albert Dunning, *Pietro Antonio Locatelli. Der Virtuose und seine Welt* (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1981), 2:141–95.

3. CPEB-Briefe, 2:1296–98.

printed auction catalogue (BA 1789) does not explicitly mention Bach's name in connection with the music items, their provenance must have been known to the buyers—the collector Casper Siegfried Gähler frequently added the remark “Aus der Bachschen Auction” on objects he purchased.⁴

Subsequent to her first letter to Breitkopf, J.M. Bach must have realized that it might be better—not least for economic reasons—to keep the extensive oeuvre and music collection of her husband together and instead start a professional business by offering for sale, by way of a detailed catalogue, manuscript copies of all his works. Only his stock of exemplars of the printed collections, his instruments, and his portrait collection were sold directly. With this decision J.M. Bach continued what C.P.E. Bach himself had done at least with a number of his compositions since his Berlin period. The advantage was that with few extra expenses—mostly fees for reliable scribes and postage—Bach's widow could sell multiple copies of each work and thus secure a regular income for many years.⁵ The handwriting found in the surviving letters suggests that this business lay mainly in the hands of Bach's daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina, who continued to sell copies of her father's compositions even after her mother's death in 1795. This ended only with A.C.P. Bach's death in 1804, which eventually led to the sale of the entire stock at an auction (AK 1805) held again at the Eimbeckisches Haus on 4 March 1805.⁶

The present volume makes available the three catalogues that provide insights into Bach's music library, starting with NV 1790. It attempts for the first time a complete reconstruction of the collection by adding, wherever possible, references to the actual sources of the works.

4. On this auction see Leisinger 1991.

5. An early reference to Bach's music library is found in Johann Friedrich Reichardt's journal, *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 1 (1791): 65: “Von C.Ph.E. Bach existirt noch ein schooner Vorrath von Klaviersachen zu seiner besten Zeit, in Berlin geschrieben, den er selbst als einen einträglichen Nachlass für seine Familie ansah, und auch in dieser Rücksicht nicht gerne bei seinen Lebzeiten bekannt werden liess.”

6. See Kulukundis.

NV 1790

History and Structure

The “Nachlaß-Verzeichnis” is the main catalogue of C.P.E. Bach’s estate. Its publication was carefully planned. On 4 March 1789 J.M. Bach explored the possibilities and conditions of having the printing executed by Breitkopf but eventually decided to commission Schniebes. In early March 1790, the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* published an invitation to subscribe to a “Verzeichniß” of the musical estate of the late kapellmeister C.P.E. Bach, containing his instrumental, vocal, and miscellaneous compositions as well as various works by J.S. Bach and other composers of that name plus C.P.E. Bach’s collection of portraits of famous composers. The subscription price was 1 Mark, and the offer would end in mid-May. In order to secure a wide distribution of the catalogue, J.M. Bach asked two old friends of her husband, the Berlin musician Johann Friedrich Hering and the lawyer Johann Heinrich Grave from Greifswald, to serve as agents.⁷ As in addition to the text the announcement mentions three sheets of music (“3 Bogen Noten”), Schniebes apparently had in mind at this stage to publish the incipits separately. Eventually, however, he adopted a format with integrated incipits that had been successfully tested by Breitkopf in a series of thematic catalogues published between 1762 and 1787 and by Christian Ulrich Ringmacher in a small catalogue of instrumental music published in 1773.⁸

NV 1790 must have made a great impression on the public. An enthusiastic review in the *Kaiserlich privilegirte Hamburgische Neue Zeitung*, probably written by Christoph Daniel Ebeling, praises Bach’s “inexhaustible spirit” and in particular mentions the large number of unpublished and little-known instrumental works.⁹ The review culminates in the noteworthy proposal to initiate a complete edition of all of Bach’s keyboard works, and expresses the hope that a prince or even a king might be willing to acquire the entire collection and keep it for posterity. As Ebeling immediately realized, NV 1790 is not simply a sale catalogue; its goal obviously was to demonstrate the remarkable stylistic breadth

7. Wiermann, 133–34.

8. See Cat. Breitkopf and Cat. Ringmacher.

9. Wiermann, 134–35.

and versatility of an oeuvre that spans almost six decades. The exactness of its data, its striving for completeness, and the inclusion of works by other members of the Bach family make it a first-rate historical document.

It has long been suggested that NV 1790 was compiled on the basis of draft catalogues prepared by Bach himself. Only one of these earlier manuscript catalogues is still extant, the “Autographischer Catalogus von den Claversonaten des C.P.E. Bach bis zum Jahre 1772 komponirt” (CV 1772).¹⁰ An authorized list of Bach’s compositions is given in Johann Adam Hiller’s *Wöchentliche Nachrichten*.¹¹ Bach also included a list of his published works in his *Autobiography* included in the German translation of Charles Burney’s travel diary (see appendix A). In addition, Bach seems to have kept inventories of individual sections of his library.¹² Judging from the numbers found on the title pages of Bach’s personal copies of his instrumental works (and the various layers of corrections to which this numbering system was subjected), we can deduce that Bach began in the early 1740s to keep a written account of his artistic output. We do not know whether the keeping of such accounts was required from all members of the Prussian court chapel, but it should be noted that traces of similar catalogues are found on the autographs of Bach’s colleague Christoph Schaffrath, and we also know that Friedrich II kept a detailed thematic list of all flute sonatas by his teacher Johann Joachim Quantz.¹³

10. Wolff 1999. This catalogue was obviously not part of Bach’s estate; its provenance is still unknown. A copy of CV 1772 is located in D-B, SA 4132; it probably belonged to Johann Samuel Carl Possin (1753–1821).

11. Hiller, *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* 1 (1766): 77–78.

12. Three of these are announced in Katalog 174 of the firm of Leo Liepmannsohn, p. 6 (lot nos. 98, 99, and 103): “98 . . . (C)P.E.B. . . . Eigenhänd. thematisches Verzeichnis von Menuetten u. Polonaisen des Komponisten, zumeist in dem Musikalischen Vielerley, Hamburg 1770 ange-druckt. (ca. 1770) 3 ¾ S. fol. . . . Wahrscheinlich aus Forkels Nachlass”; “99 Thematisches Verzeichnis einer musikalischen Bibliothek enthaltend Werke Carl Phil. Emanuel Bachs, Wilhelm Friedemann Bachs, von Händel, Kirnberger, Hasse, Graun, Telemann, Benda, Jomelli, Tartini, Neruda, Foerster, Pergolesi. Mit eigenhändigen Korrekturen Carl Phil. Eman. Bachs. (ca. 1770). 18 ½ S. fol. – Möglicherweise das Verzeichnis von Bach’s eigener Bibliothek. Vermutlich aus Forkels Nachlass.”; “103 Eigenhändiges Inhaltsverzeichnis seines Werkes ‘Neue Lieder Melodien nebst einer Kantate zum Singen bey dem Klavier’ 1 S. 4° / Eigenhändiges Verzeichnis sämtlicher Liederanfänge (mit Ausnahme des letzten) mit Angabe der Verfasser, die teilweise bei Wot-quenne, Themat. Verzeichn. No. 200 fehlen. 1 S. 4°.” While the first two inventories are lost, the third is preserved in D-Hs, Literaturarchiv. See also *CPEB-Briefe*, nos. 82 and 83, and no. 597.

13. Oestreich, 220–26, and Augsburg.

The information provided in NV 1790 is remarkably concise. Usually, each entry contains the year as well as a letter referring to the place of composition (L. = Leipzig, F. = Frankfurt an der Oder, B. = Berlin, P. = Potsdam, H. = Hamburg). Extensive revisions are indicated by the letter “E.” (= *erneuert*), followed by the place and year in which this “renewal” took place. The accuracy of the information is remarkable; apart from some alternate scorings for trios and symphonies, almost no authentic works by Bach could be traced that are not recorded in NV 1790.¹⁴ Source-critical studies, however, have shown that particularly with regard to his early compositions, Bach seems occasionally to have manipulated the chronology of the repertoire. We also know from his famous letter to Johann Joachim Eschenburg that in the mid-1780s, probably in connection with compiling inventories of his achievements in various musical genres, Bach destroyed a large number of juvenilia.¹⁵

NV 1790 is divided into parts and sections containing Bach’s contributions to particular genres, with the instrumental pieces placed before the vocal works. The order is not entirely systematic, however; instead, the main areas of Bach’s artistic output are given priority of place. Thus the part “Instrumental-Compositionen” begins with the section “Clavier Soli” (keyboard solos), comprising 210 numbers from the time between 1731 and 1787. The second section contains the keyboard concertos, with 52 numbers dated between 1733 and 1788. It is noteworthy that concertos for other solo instruments (flute, oboe, cello) are only mentioned in connection with their respective keyboard versions, even if they preceded them. The third section contains trios (46 numbers, dated between 1731 and 1787), a term that encompasses Baroque trio sonatas and modern keyboard trios, as well as the two printed collections of “kleine Stücke mit 2 und 3 Stimmen.” These three sections fill no less than forty-two pages of NV 1790, while the remaining four specifying other instrumental music (symphonies, sonatinas, solos, quartets) cover fewer than ten pages.

14. Notable exceptions are the Fantasia in E-flat Major (Wq *deest*, H 348), the early cantata *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande* (BR-CPEB F 30), as well as the cantatas composed in Frankfurt an der Oder. See CPEB: CW, I/8.1 and V/5.2. See also Leisinger/Wollny 1993 and Wollny 2010a.

15. CPEB-Briefe, 2:1135; see also the similar remark in CV 1772 (cf. Wolff 1999, 222 and 230): “Alle Arbeiten, vor dem Jahre 1733, habe ich, weil sie zu sehr jugendlich waren, caßiret.” (All works, before the year 1733, I have discarded, because they were too youthful.) On the transmission of the few surviving juvenilia see CPEB: CW, I/8.2, xx–xxiii.

A significant caesura is noticeable on page 52. Beginning with “Kleinere Stücke” (smaller pieces) the incipits and work numbers are lacking, the references to dates and places become rather patchy, and the contents appear considerably less well-organized. While the sonatas and dances for wind instruments are independent and substantial works (albeit in a lighter tone), the cadenzas, varied reprises, and sketches hardly qualify for the term “work” at all.¹⁶ The section closes with references to a number of anthologies, published in the 1750s and 1760s in Berlin and containing selected contributions by Bach as well as a separate list entitled “Folgende Werke hat der Selige, theils als Autor, theils als Sammler im Druck gegeben” (The following works were published by the deceased, partly as author, partly as collector), which contains the two parts of the *Versuch*, the *Vielerley*, and the first part of Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel’s edition of J.S. Bach’s four-part chorales. It should be noted that the much more important edition of the chorales published in four volumes by Breitkopf is missing.

The section on “Sing-Compositionen” (vocal music) distinguishes between published and unpublished works. Unlike the sections on the instrumental works, the vocal music does not appear in strict chronological order, but places the oratorios *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* and *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, as well as the double-choir *Heilig* and *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste*, at the beginning of the published compositions. Apart from some occasional pieces, the unpublished vocal works comprise mostly the sacred music Bach had to provide in his function as music director of the five Hamburg main churches. Again the order is not strictly chronological, but instead groups the works by genre and function. Thus the *Bürgercapitainsmusiken*, the *Einführungsmusiken*, the Passions, and the *Quartalstücke* are grouped together. These are followed by a few secular pieces, individual choruses (with a reference to additional pieces found in the Passions), motets, and some miscellaneous works. The section is concluded by a summary account of the published and unpublished songs. The highly complex (and at times problematic) pasticcio practice that Bach employed in these works is far from being adequately documented.

16. In addition, the distinction between “Kleinere Stücke” and “Clavier Soli” is not always clear. The “Variations zur 4ten Sonate des 2ten Theils der Trii” (Wq 118/10) represent, as Ulrich Leisinger has shown (see CPEB:CW, I/7, xxii–xxiii), a substantial set of keyboard variations with varied reprises, and the four duets (Wq 114/1–4) are closely related to the “Sechs leichte kleine Clavier-Stücke” (Wq 116/23–28), which are indeed listed under “Clavier Soli” No. 175.

It is apparent that the extensive borrowing of material from other composers—found for example in the *Einführungsmusiken* or Passions—completely escaped the awareness of the compilers of NV 1790, or they chose to suppress this information.

Only a few pieces have been singled out as “Einige vermischte Stücke.” Here we find collaborations with other composers (such as the lost “Trio ... mit Johann Sebastian Bach gemeinschaftlich verfertigt” and the lost “Sinfonie mit dem Fürsten von Lobkowitz, einen Takt um den andern, aus dem Stegreif verfertigt”), arrangements, five pasticcios, and a rather vague reference to various accompanied recitatives by Bach inserted into cantatas by other composers. A seemingly misplaced item is the anthology of keyboard works by members of the Bach family.

The House Copies and Their Scribes

The largely accurate chronological order of instrumental works, particularly the keyboard solos, does not correspond with a chronological order of the manuscripts in Bach’s collection. Due to the continuous and extensive revision process, Bach decided to replace older manuscripts (containing outdated versions) with new copies. When a work was published, Bach usually did not keep manuscript versions. The discarded manuscripts were apparently either destroyed or given away. Only in a few cases is it possible to trace more than one house copy or manuscript house copies of printed pieces.¹⁷ Bach’s decision to replace outdated manuscripts had severe consequences, particularly for his early works. In general, none of the pieces composed in Leipzig or Frankfurt an der Oder survive in original sources prior to the renewal dates mentioned in NV 1790. And only for a relatively small number do we have the first manifestations of the revised versions. In many instances (such as the collection of the six sonatinas Wq 64), Bach asked his Hamburg copyist Johann Heinrich Michel to prepare new copies.

The frequency of a few copyists (such as Michel, Anon. 303, and “Schlichting”) seems to indicate that Bach worked in several chronologically distinct stages on the revision of his solo keyboard repertoire (while other genres, such as the concertos and the trios, do not show the same degree of

17. See the list in Wollny 2012.

changes). In order to date the different layers of revisions, it is desirable to gather biographical information about the main copyists. The present state of knowledge can be briefly summarized as follows.

JOHANN HEINRICH MICHEL

Michel (c. 1739–1810) was engaged as a singer in Hamburg in 1763 by Telemann.¹⁸ As a copyist he first can be traced in the second half of the 1770s, but his main activity started only in the early 1780s, after the retirement of Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein (Anon. 304), who had served as Bach's main copyist until about 1781.¹⁹ In the following years, Michel advanced as Bach's most prolific scribe and also after 1788 frequently worked for Bach's daughter in order to prepare sale copies of the works listed in NV 1790. It is likely that the house copies of solo keyboard works in the hand of Michel are related to an extensive revision process around 1785, about which Bach reported in his letter to Eschenburg that he had recently burned "a ream and more of old works."²⁰ Since we have evidence that most of the pieces composed in Leipzig and Frankfurt an der Oder were no longer existent at this time, it is likely that Bach was referring here to a phase of revision of works that had already been "renewed" in the 1740s.

ANON. FRANKFURT I (= ANON. D-B 129)

This copyist evidently started working for Bach during his years at Frankfurt an der Oder. He is responsible for four fascicles (nos. 7, 9, 10, and 11) of the composite manuscript D-Hs, ND VI 3191.²¹ These fascicles contain some juvenile works, apparently going back to Bach's Leipzig years (before 1734), as well as the original versions of two sonatas composed in Frankfurt in 1735 (Wq 65/5) and 1738 (Wq 65/10). That these fascicles were indeed written in Frankfurt is documented by the watermark found in the paper, which shows the coat of arms of the city.

18. For the biographical data see Neubacher, 443.

19. Schieferlein's last contribution seems to be the transposed organ parts for the St. Matthew Passion of 1781; see CPEB:CW, IV/4.4.

20. See n. 15 above.

21. On this volume see Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 142–63, and Wollny 1996.

The same copyist is found in four sets of parts from Bach's library, containing three orchestral works and one secular cantata by J.S. Bach: D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 81 (BWV 211); PL-Kj, Mus. ms. Bach St 148, fasc. II (BWV 1043); D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 153, fasc. II (BWV 1068); and D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 155 (BWV 249/1–2). While the parts for the double concerto BWV 1043 show similar handwriting characteristics as the pieces in D-Hs, ND VI 319I, the remaining three display an apparently later stage of this copyist's hand. This later stage is also found on the wrapper of Wq 144.

Contrary to my former claim that all the above-mentioned manuscripts belong to Bach's time in Frankfurt an der Oder,²² I would now opt for the possibility that the later stage of his hand may well be connected with Bach's first years in Berlin. It is thus possible that the wrapper for the score and parts of Wq 144 dates from the early 1740s and represents the only remnant of the early version of this work. Anon. Frankfurt 1 may have been a fellow student of Bach's in Frankfurt an der Oder, who later moved or returned to Berlin.

ANON. 303

This Berlin copyist can be identified on the basis of two letters as the organist of the Neue Kirche, Johann Friedrich Kaufmann (c. 1728–98).²³ Kaufmann worked for Bach probably only for a short span of time in the second half of the 1750s; later on he apparently dealt with manuscript music. Kaufmann's work for Bach seems to be focused around the year 1759, when he prepared copies of Wq 65/33, Wq 35, and Wq 88.²⁴

ANON. 301

Like Anon. 303, this scribe worked for Bach primarily in the mid-to-late 1750s.²⁵ Although he copied many earlier works, his consistent and almost uniform handwriting suggests that the chronological center of his activities for Bach was around or after 1755, when he prepared the house copy of Wq 65/29 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 359, fasc. IX). At the same time, he copied most of

22. Cf. Wollny 1996, 8–9.

23. On Kaufmann's biography see Sachs, 183 and 212–13.

24. For a preliminary list of copies in the hand of Anon. 303 see Horn, 195.

25. For a preliminary list of copies in the hand of Anon. 301 see Horn, 177.

Bach's character pieces into the miscellany D-B, Mus. ms. 38050.²⁶ The latest datable trace of his hand is his participation in the original set of parts for the keyboard concerto Wq 36 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 530; composed in 1762). Apart from writing out house copies, Anon. 301 also prepared a considerable number of sale copies. Many of these manuscripts are today found in the two composite manuscripts D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 371 and D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 6333. Both manuscripts contain not only copies by Anon. 301 and Kaufmann, but also in the hand of the Berlin organist Gottfried Heinrich Moering (1747–1825), who noted the key of the pieces on the title pages and thus seems to have been the later owner. As we know from a note by the Berlin collector Friedrich August Grasnick (1798–1877), Moering had studied with Kaufmann's son Johann Carl Kaufmann and was the nephew as well as successor as organist of the Großes Friedrichs-Waisenhaus in Berlin, Joachim Busse.²⁷ Busse was a student of C.P.E. Bach in the second half of the 1750s.²⁸ On the basis of Grasnick's information and on the evidence provided by the provenance of the two mentioned volumes, it is likely that Anon. 301 is identical with Busse.

ANON. 337

This copyist is found in several house copies of Bach's trio sonatas (Wq 145, 146, 148, and 154) and in the original parts of the double concerto Wq 46 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 362). He also prepared parts for three keyboard concertos found in the Library of Congress (M1010.A2 B 13.W2, M1010.A2 B 13.W12, and M1010.A2 B 13.W17) as well as for the trio sinfonia Wq 156 (US-Wc, M312.A2 B13.W156), where he worked together with Hering. Since the three concertos contain owner's marks by Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, who studied in Berlin in 1762–63, and since Hering's script in the parts for Wq 156 shows the mature stage of his handwriting, which emerged around 1765, the copies in US-Wc probably date from the early 1760s. It is likely that the copies Anon. 337 made for Bach date from before that time. His string parts for the double concerto

26. On this important source see CPEB:CW, I/8.2 (source A 6).

27. See the note on D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 1152: "Die alte Abschrift selbst, sowie das ganze Heft in blauem Umschlage rührt her aus dem Besitze meines alten früheren Klavierlehrers Möring, der gleich seinem Onkel Busse Organist an der Kirche des großen Friedrich-Waisenhauses war. Letzterer war ein Freund von Emanuel Bach und Carl Fasch | Grasnick | 9. Febr. 69."

28. See Sachs, 180–81.

Wq 46 still show the early version of the first movement.²⁹ We thus tentatively assume that Bach hired Anon. 337 to write out the parts for Wq 46 and for the trio sonatas Wq 145, 146, and 148 around 1755.

“SCHLICHTING”

The Berlin copyist known under the name “Schlichting” wrote numerous house copies for Bach; in addition, his hand has also been recorded in copies of symphonies by Carl Heinrich Graun. His name is mentioned by Kast and frequently in the *Kritische Berichte* of the NBA, but no source has ever been found which connects his handwriting with his name. Apparently the name “Schlichting” was connected with this scribe on the basis of two manuscripts found in D-B: the sets of parts to keyboard concertos attributed to C.H. Graun (D-B, Mus. ms. 8282/1) and to Schaffrath (D-B, Mus. ms. 19750/10). The title pages of the solo keyboard parts in these two sources do indeed contain the name “Schlichting,” but the signatures and the parts themselves are in a different hand; only the string parts were prepared by the copyist we associate with the name. It is thus clear that the identification is erroneous. The copyist participated in preparing the first set of parts for Bach’s Magnificat, Wq 215 (1749), which were used for the performance in the Thomaskirche in March 1750. Even earlier are his parts for the keyboard concerto Wq 6 (D-B, SA 2581), composed in 1740. The latest traces of his hand are the original sets of performance parts for the two keyboard concertos Wq 31 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 524) and Wq 32 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 534), which both were composed in 1753.

The copyist’s handwriting looks quite old-fashioned. Possibly by around 1750 he was an elderly man. This fits well with the fact that his hand is found in a miscellany for the Prussian princess Louisa Ulrika compiled in 1735 by two scribes (D-B, Am.B. 485). The main scribe of Am.B. 485 (Blehschmidt/Wutta: Anonymous XI) can be identified on the basis of several autograph documents as the organist of the Berlin Domkirche, Gottlieb Hayne.³⁰ Before becoming organist at the Dom, Hayne served as court organist of the Prussian king Friedrich I (1657–1713), but was dismissed when Friedrich Wilhelm I

29. On the chronology of Wq 46, see CPEB: CW, III/10, esp. xii.

30. Several letters are found in Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam, Rep 10A Domstift Cölln/Domkirche Berlin, Akten Nr. 181–183.

ascended the throne in 1713 and dissolved the court orchestra. Parallel to his position, Hayne served as a music teacher to the children of Friedrich Wilhelm I, and in this context his work on Am.B. 485 has to be seen. The fact that the copyist “Schlichting” appears next to that of Hayne leads to the assumption that he also was a former court musician. An identification beyond any doubt is not possible at this point. It should be noted, however, that the handwriting of “Schlichting” resembles that of Johann Gottfried Ellinger (d. 1765), who between 1714/15 and 1734 was a member of the orchestra of Margrave Christian Ludwig of Brandenburg-Schwedt (1677–1734) and afterwards applied for several vacant organ positions at municipal churches in Berlin.³¹

* * *

We have to assume that the copyists Bach employed to prepare fair copies of his works for his own archive worked under his close supervision.³² Apart from preparing house copies, they often also wrote out copies that Bach sold to his students, colleagues, and friends. It is thus likely that beginning in his Berlin years, at the latest, Bach distributed his own pieces on a professional basis. In one case, a sale copy returned into his possession and became a house copy. The manuscript D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 772, fasc. X (containing the Sonata in F Major, Wq 65/21) contains on the title page, as an owner’s mark, the monogram “G E S”.³³ This may refer to Bach’s close friend Georg Ernst Stahl (1713–72), whose important music collection was auctioned in 1772.³⁴

Another remarkable case is the Sonata in A Minor, Wq 62/21. This work was published in Johann Ulrich Haffner’s *Ceuvres mêlées* around 1762/63, and Bach at first did not keep a manuscript house copy. Only in the mid-1780s

31. See Pegah 2017.

32. Apart from Michel, the principal copyists of the Hamburg period are not discussed here in detail. See CPEB: CW, VIII/6.

33. The holdings of the SA contain additional sources with this monogram: (1) SA 4074: Johann Gottlieb Graun, Flute Sonata in G Major, Graun WV D:XVII:90; (2) SA 4361: Johann Matthias Leffloth, Suite in D Minor; (3) SA 4434: Angelo Conti, Sonata in F Major; (4) SA 4530: Pietro Giuseppe Sandoni, Sonata in D Major; (5) SA 4531: Georg Muffat, Suite in A Major; (6) SA 4647: Kunz, Suite in F Major.

34. See Maul 2001.

did he acquire a manuscript in the hand of the musician and lawyer Johann Christoph Farlau (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 789, fasc. VI). Farlau studied in Leipzig between 1767 and 1770, where he copied a number of works by J.S. Bach and other members of the Bach family. As an album entry shows, he still lived in 1783 in Gotha.³⁵ Bach owned at least seven manuscripts in Farlau's hand (see below). It is unknown, however, whether Bach acquired these items after Farlau's death or at an earlier point.

Source in D-B	Work	Provenance
Mus. ms. 8155	Passion Oratorio (pasticcio)	NV 1790, p. 87
P 37, fasc. I	BWV Anh. 160	"JCFarlaw"; NV 1790, p. 73
P 46, adn. 4	BWV 148	NV 1790, p. 81
P 789, fasc. VI	Wq 62/21	NV 1790, p. 14 (No. 101)
SA 243	JCFB, Concerto in C Minor (only wrapper extant, used by CPEB for the parts of H 823)	"Possessor JCFarlaw"
SA 253	Nichelmann, Keyboard Concerto (only wrapper extant, used by CPEB for the parts of Wq 245)	"JCFarlaw"
SA 257	BWV 226 (only wrapper extant, used by CPEB for the score of H 817)	"JCFarlaw"

Numbering

Bach seems to have kept an accurate account of his own works from early on in his professional career. A distinctive feature of the house copies are numbers, usually in Bach's own hand, on the title pages or in the captions. These numbers are most prominent on the house copies of the solo keyboard music. The earliest extant autographs from the Berlin period—such as those of the sonatas Wq 65/8 (rev. version) and Wq 65/13, both dating from 1743—contain numbers, apparently referring to an inventory list that was continuously kept up to date.³⁶ CV 1772 is a copy of this inventory, apparently made for a potential

35. *Album amicorum* in the possession of Hans Bergmann in Jena. Farlau's entry is dated 3 May 1783.

36. Numbers are missing in the concerto autographs from the early 1740s (all found in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 352). This absence is probably due to the fact that the original wrappers for these pieces (containing scores and parts) are not preserved.

buyer of sale copies.³⁷ The numbers are in broad terms chronological; numerous corrections, particularly in the house copies of the earlier pieces, show that Bach made various adjustments to the sequence of works. For example, the autograph of the Suite in E Minor, Wq 65/4 (1733, rev. 1744) originally began the "Clavier Soli" as "No. 1," possibly because of its old-fashioned form, while the more modern Sonata in F Major, Wq 65/1 (1731, rev. 1744), despite its earlier date, originally was counted as "No. 19." The first house copy of the Sonata in A Minor, Wq 65/33 (1759), the autograph fair copy later owned by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, contains the inventory position "No. 106," while the second house copy in the hand of Kaufmann was counted as "No. 105."

The inventory was revised again, probably in 1786.³⁸ Apparently, during this process Bach's daughter entered another, more systematic set of numbers in the house copies.³⁹ The guiding principle of this last renumbering seems to have been a more accurate chronological order, and in this sequence the works appear later in NV 1790. To emphasize the new numbers as definitive, A.C.P. Bach placed them within parentheses. In several cases the original numbering system underwent significant changes. Thus Bach's "No. 19" became "(2.)," and the position of Wq 65/33 was changed again to "(114)." The most drastic change, however, is found in the late autograph of the Sonata in F Major Wq 65/19. Bach's own "No. 211" would have placed it at the end of the "Clavier Soli," suggesting 1788 as the date of composition. A.C.P. Bach's number "(48.)" places the work much earlier and claims as its place and date of origin "B[erlin] 1746."

37. The older numbers from CV 1772 appear on the copies in the hand of Johann Samuel Carl Possin.

38. This date is suggested by the following observations. In the autograph of the variations Wq 118/8 (dated "1781") Bach's original number ("194") is significantly different from that of ACPB ("190."). The next surviving autograph is that of the Sonata in C Minor, Wq 65/49 (dated "1786"); here and in the following four works the autograph numbers are in accordance with the revised set with CPEB ("No. 205") and ACPB ("205.").

39. Ulrich Leisinger has suggested that A.C.P. Bach's numbers could have been entered only after her father's death in connection with her preparation of NV 1790. While this option cannot be excluded, it should be noted that in the last years of C.P.E. Bach's life A.C.P. Bach increasingly assumed the role of an assistant to her father. She copied vocal texts, prepared various lists and documents (such as a copy of the family genealogy in D-B, Mus. ms. theor. 1215), and helped in maintaining correspondence. I consider it therefore likely that the final renumbering of the house copies was begun in the last phase of C.P.E. Bach's life.

An equally drastic change is found on the title page of the *Arioso with Variations in A Major*, Wq 79. Bach originally conceived the work a “Clavier Solo” and counted it as “No. 188”; later he added a non-obbligato violin part as an accompaniment and transferred it to the trio section. A. C. P. Bach subsequently added the new number “(45).”

While Bach in several chronologically distinct phases spent considerable time on the proper order of the “Clavier Soli,” the numbering in the ensuing sections of NV 1790 is much more straightforward. In the house copies of the concertos we find numbers only in Bach’s late hand, and there is only one correction.⁴⁰ Judging from the style of his handwriting, Bach seems to have started a comprehensive inventory of his concertos only in the mid-1780s. The latest original number is found on the wrapper of the concerto Wq 39 (1765). Since only a few original sets of parts and their wrappers survive, it remains unclear whether the cataloguing was interrupted here and completed only in connection with the preparation of NV 1790.

A less consistent numbering is found in the section “Trii.” While the wrappers of the unpublished genuine trio sonatas Wq 143–151, 154–155, 162, and 157 (Nos. 3–14 and 17) contain numbers that were apparently written down together with the original sets of parts, the house copies of the later Berlin trios—starting with the *Sinfonia in A Minor for Two Violins and Basso*, Wq 156 (1754) and reaching up to the trio Wq 87 (1766)—contain numbers in Bach’s late Hamburg hand.⁴¹ The surviving copies of all works composed in Bach’s Hamburg period contain numbers only in A. C. P. Bach’s hand. No autograph numbers exist for the symphonies and the quartets.⁴² It is possible that the numbers found in NV 1790 go back entirely to Bach’s daughter. The section “Kleinere Stücke” and all the vocal music lack any numbering system.

It is likely that Bach either did not get to work on these parts of his compo-

40. The concerto Wq 11 was originally counted as “No. 11”; this was later changed to “(12)”. The discrepancy may have been caused by the changing the position in the inventory from its date of publication (1745) to that of its composition (1743).

41. A discrepancy between the autograph numbers and A. C. P. Bach’s later counting for Wq 88 and Wq 75–78 was probably caused by the later insertion of the print of Wq 81.

42. It is noteworthy that for the entire section “Soli für andere Instrumente als das Clavier” no house copies survive. The numbering of the sonatinas is based on Bach’s titles “Sonatina I” to “Sonatina XII.”

sitional output, or found it unnecessary to come up with a thorough systematization. (For instance, he did not need to number his Passions or the installation music and other works that were written and performed for specific occasions.) Traces of cataloguing plans are found on the wrappers of some vocal works.⁴³ Surprisingly, the numbered sequence is not restricted to his own compositions, but also encompasses pieces from his Hamburg performance repertoire. Most of the pieces are *Quartalstücke*, but we also find Masses by Benda and J.G. Graun as well as the choruses Wq 221–224. Table 1, based on a systematic examination of all sources of sacred vocal music from Bach's library, shows that these parts of NV 1790 are the least reliable. Quite a number of manuscripts containing numbers in Bach's hand and—as AK 1805 proves—in Bach's possession at the time of his death are not listed in NV 1790 (see also the list in appendix D).

Manuscripts of J. S. Bach and Other Family Members

Apart from being a catalogue of C.P.E. Bach's own compositions, NV 1790 also represents the first extensive overview of the works of J.S. Bach. By the time of his death, C.P.E. Bach had gathered a substantial number of manuscript sources of his father's works, including the autographs of all major choral works, significant portions of the two cantata cycles, the *Art of Fugue*, and the *Inventions*, to mention only a few. Some of these materials date back to Bach's student years in Frankfurt an der Oder and thus represent the oldest layer of his music library.⁴⁴ Many other items came into his possession after his father's death in 1750, but apparently he continued collecting Bach manuscripts throughout his life. Thus a number of copies, including the Chromatic Fantasia, BWV 903 and the suite BWV 997, are in the hand of Johann Friedrich Agricola and may have been acquired from his estate, as well as others, such as the secular cantata BWV 204, the four masses BWV 233–236, and the Well-Tempered Clavier II.

43. Ulrich Leisinger first drew attention to these sources; the present list expands his preliminary overview. See Leisinger 2003, 124–25. Some of the original wrappers do not survive, and these also might have included Bach's numbering.

44. Cf. Wollny 1996.

At some point, probably during the 1780s, Bach added a series of numbers on selected manuscripts of instrumental works by his father. (See table 2.) It remains unclear whether this represents his first attempt to catalogue this part of his music library or whether he attempted to sell these items (not all of them are mentioned in NV 1790; see also the appendix to NV 1790). If the numbers are interpreted as an offer list, we may add two further autographs, namely, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 612 (containing the double concerto in C minor, BWV 1062 and the fragmentary flute sonata in A major, BWV 1032) and D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 975 (containing the flute sonata in B minor, BWV 1030); both sources have notes in the hand of C.P.E. Bach testifying to the autograph status of the manuscripts, and both are missing from NV 1790. The same applies to the lost autograph parts of the gamba sonata in G minor, BWV 1029, which according to Wilhelm Rust contained in C.P.E. Bach's hand the remarks "in origineller Handschrift" and "G moll" on the title page.⁴⁵

In addition, a "Thematisches Verzeichniß J.S. Bachischer Werke" in the hand of Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke lists manuscripts of the gamba sonata in D major, BWV 1028 with the annotation "Handschrift von C.P.E. Bach" and of the organ prelude BWV 541 with the annotation "C.P.E. Bachische Copie." A manuscript copy of the concerto BWV 1060 also mentioned in Schwencke's list ("Copie nach dem Originale") turns out to be identical with a score in the hand of Michel (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 241) and contains in the second movement the tempo marking "Andante" in C.P.E. Bach's hand. There may be even more sources like this that went through the hands of Bach in Hamburg, but the entire topic requires a separate study. Another strange fact is that in its listing of J.S. Bach's church cantatas according to the liturgical year, the pieces of the late Trinity season are missing, a number of works that were evidently in Bach's collection.⁴⁶

Much less complete is Bach's collection of works by his brothers. The few items he acquired seem to have been the result of random opportunities. Some of them, such as the keyboard pieces by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, may go back directly to the music collection in the paternal home in Leipzig; others

45. See NBA, VI/4, KB, 33.

46. See the comprehensive list in appendix C; see also *Bach-Dokumente* III, no. 957, especially the commentary (p. 503). It remains unclear whether these pieces were left out of NV 1790 by mistake, or whether they had been sold prior to its publication.

TABLE I. VOCAL MUSIC WITH CPEB'S NUMBERING

No.	Composer, Work	Source	Reference
5	Benda, <i>Die Gottheit türmte Flut auf Flut</i> , L 547	D-B, Mus. ms. 18704, fasc. II	NV 1790, p. 89
12	CPEB, "Wer ist so würdig als du," Wq 222	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 189	NV 1790, p. 61
13	CPEB, <i>Nun danket alle Gott</i> , Wq 241 (Easter <i>Quartalstück</i> 1780 and 1783)	D-B, SA 245	NV 1790, p. 61
14	Handel, <i>Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebet</i> (Easter <i>Quartalstück</i> 1777 and 1785)	F-Pn, L-1157	NV 1790, p. 91
16	CPEB, <i>Der Himmel allenthalben</i> , BR-CPEB F 25 (Trinity XII 1774, 1779, 1782, 1784, 1786, and other occasions)	D-B, SA 250	AK 1805, no. 82
19	CPEB, <i>Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket</i> , Wq 244 (Easter <i>Quartalstück</i> 1769, 1776, and 1787)	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 182	NV 1790, p. 61
20	Benda, <i>Gott steigt herab</i> , L 511; cf. BR-CPEB F 1 (Christmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1771, 1777, and 1784)	D-B, SA 288	AK 1805, no. 81
22	CPEB, <i>Es erhob sich ein Streit</i> , BR-CPEB F 18 (Michaelmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1770, 1776, and 1781)	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 25b	AK 1805, no. 80
23	WFB, <i>Lasset uns ablegen die Werke der Finsternis</i> , BR-CPEB F 14 (Pentecost <i>Quartalstück</i> 1772 and 1779)	A-Wgm, III 19687	NV 1790, p. 82
24	CPEB, <i>Sing, Volk der Christen</i> , BR-CPEB F 6 (Easter <i>Quartalstück</i> 1768, 1775, and 1781)	D-B, SA 251	AK 1805, no. 79
25	JCFB/CPEB, <i>Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt</i> , BR-CPEB F 21 (Michaelmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1778 and 1784)	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 266	NV 1790, p. 82
26	CPEB, <i>Ich will den Namen des Herrn preisen</i> , Wq 245 (Michaelmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1772, 1777, 1782, and 1786)	D-B, SA 253	NV 1790, p. 61
27	JCFB, <i>Wie wird uns werden</i> , BR-JCFB F 4 (Michaelmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1771)	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 265	NV 1790, p. 82

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

No.	Composer, Work	Source	Reference
28	CPEB, <i>Den Engeln gleich</i> , Wq 248 (Michaelmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1769 and 1774)	D-B, SA 248	AK 1805, no. 78
29	Homilius, <i>Lobsinget dem Heiland</i> , HoWV II.74; cf. BR-CPEB F 35 (Easter Tuesday 1768, Easter Sunday 1773 and 1778 [<i>zweite Musik</i>], Easter Monday and Tuesday 1778 [<i>zweite Musik</i>])	D-B, SA 366	NV 1790, p. 91
30	CPEB, <i>Ist Christus nicht auferstanden</i> , BR-CPEB F 8 (Easter <i>Quartalstück</i> 1771)	D-B, SA 249	AK 1805, no. 76
32	CPEB, "Zeige du mir deine Wege," Wq 223 (Trinity VIII 1777)	D-B, SA 258	NV 1790, p. 62
33	CPEB, "Lass mich nicht deinen Zorn empfinden," Wq 224 (Trinity X 1775)	D-B, SA 265	possibly AK 1805, no. 100
34	CPEB, "Mein Heiland, meine Zuversicht" Wq 221 (Trinity X [1771])	D-B, SA 259	NV 1790, p. 62
35	Homilius, <i>Uns schützt Israels Gott</i> , HoWV II.78 (Second Sunday after Easter or Pentecost Tuesday 1780)	D-B, SA 369	AK 1805, no. 71
37	<i>Der Gerechte, ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt</i> , H 818 (Advent I 1774 and other occasions)	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 167	NV 1790, p. 66
38	CPEB, <i>Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe</i> , BR-CPEB F 2 (Christmas <i>Quartalstück</i> 1772, 1778, and 1782)	D-B, SA 247	AK 1805, no. 83
39	CPEB, <i>Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn</i> , H 819 (Visitation 1768, 1773, 1776, and 1780)	D-B, SA 256	NV 1790, p. 65
52	Benda, Mass in E-flat Major, L 504	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Benda, G. II	NV 1790, p. 87
53	Benda, <i>Ode auf den Sterbemorgen der Herzogin von Gotha</i> , L 501	D-B, Mus. ms. 1340/1	NV 1790, p. 88
57	Benda, <i>Beweise deine wunderbare Güte</i> , L 545	D-B, Mus. ms. 1336 (3)	NV 1790, p. 88
64	J.G. Graun, Kyrie in E-flat Major, GraunWV A:VI:1	D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Graun, J.G. I	NV 1790, p. 87

TABLE 2. WORKS BY JSB WITH CPEB'S NUMBERING

No.	Work	Source	Scribe; Notes	Reference
5	Trio in A Major, BWV 1025	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 462	CPEB	NV 1790, p. 68
14	Keyboard Concerto in A Major, BWV 1055	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 127	JSB	NV 1790, p. 67
15	Suite in C Minor, BWV 997	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 650	Agricola	NV 1790, p. 68
16	Toccata in E Minor, BWV 910	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 228	"J. Fr. Scheibe"	
18	Toccata in C Major, BWV 566	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 286, fasc. III	"Christel"	
20	Concerto in D Major, BWV 1050	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 131		NV 1790, p. 67
22	Prelude and Fugue in G Major, BWV 541	D-B, Mus. ms.	"Christel"	
23	Prelude and Fugue in B Minor, BWV 544	US-NYpm, B 1184. P898 (Robert Owen Lehman Collection)	JSB; "Christel"	
27	Trios BWV 1014 (–1019?)	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 463(–St 468?)		NV 1790, p. 68
28	Toccata in C Major, BWV 566	D-B, SA 4258	Agricola	NV 1790, p. 68
32?	Clavier-Übung II	Private collection	Print, with revisions by Agricola	Sotheby's, London, auction on 24 May 2016, lot 84

were acquired only in later years. While the vocal works by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach are apparently traces of a friendly exchange between the two brothers in their later years,⁴⁷ the orchestral works by Johann Christian Bach seem to be manuscripts the youngest brother left behind when he moved to Italy. The Pentecost cantata by W.F. Bach, on the other hand, probably came into C.P.E. Bach's possession from the estate of Telemann.⁴⁸ The orchestral suites by Johann Bernhard Bach as well as the entire "Alt-Bachisches Archiv" represent precious collections from J.S. Bach's library.

Manuscripts by Other Composers

Largely unexplored is the provenance of the musical manuscripts "von verschiedenen Meistern." These include annual cycles of cantatas by Telemann, Johann Friedrich Fasch, Christoph Förster, and Georg Benda, as well as many miscellaneous manuscripts (among them an autograph by Friedrich II) that Bach must have acquired—or received as gifts—during his professional career in Berlin and Hamburg.

From the ten annual cantata cycles listed in NV 1790, only selections of the cycle by Benda and from the "Lingische Jahrgang" by Telemann survive. While the manuscripts of the former were prepared in Hamburg by two of Bach's principal copyists and represent Bach's efforts in his first years in office to create an attractive repertoire of sacred pieces, the pieces belonging to the latter go back to the collection of the Weißenfels cantor Georg Lencke (1685–1744).

While one of the three cycles by Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel can be identified on the basis of several printed libretti from the 1780s, the identity of the cycle by Fasch remains entirely speculative. If the reference on a wrapper now kept with the autograph of the *Art of Fugue* (D-B. Mus. ms. Bach P 200) points to this cycle, we may look for a two-part cantata containing two arias in its first half followed by a chorale, and a second part opening with a chorus and textually suited for Easter Sunday. One candidate is Fasch's *Ach, wie beißt mich mein Gewissen*, FWV 651 from his cycle of 1741–42; the other candidate is *Jetzt*

47. Among the items J.C.F. Bach sent to Hamburg were the cantatas from his father's first Leipzig cycle. See Wollny 2001.

48. See the introduction to CPEB: CW, V/2.3, xvii–xviii; this is supported by the score from Bach's library, which came to light only later in 2023.

ist die Zeit des Heils, FWV 355 from his cycle of 1730–31. It is noteworthy that the latter cycle was performed by Telemann in Hamburg in 1732–33; thus, the sources may still have been available during Bach's time.

While several Masses by older masters can be identified as formerly belonging to J.S. Bach's library, other items reveal various provenances. The two masses by Jan Dismas Zelenka, for example, are in the hand of the Leipzig scribe Gabriel Gottlob Gerstenberger.⁴⁹ Born in 1725 in Sitten (near Leisnig, Saxony), Gerstenberger enrolled at the Thomasschule in Leipzig on 4 June 1739 and subsequently (from 1747) studied at the university.⁵⁰ He continued to be active as a composer and copyist in Leipzig and seems to have belonged to the circle of musicians associated with the "Großes Concert." These sources probably came into Bach's possession via his contacts with his Leipzig acquaintances, such as Breitkopf and Hiller. Another remarkable provenance concerns Bach's copy of Telemann's *Brockes-Passion*—actually a pasticcio made of the parallel settings by Telemann, George Frideric Handel, and Reinhard Keiser. The scribe of the score can be identified on the basis of numerous signed receipts found in the archive of the Marienkirche in Halle as the local cantor Johann Gottfried Mittag (1705–67). Mittag had to leave his position in Halle in 1749 after a dispute with W.F. Bach; in 1754, he found a position as cantor in Uelzen, a town in Lower Saxony about 95 km south of Hamburg, where he stayed until his death. It is likely that the manuscripts originates from Mittag's tenure in Uelzen and that Bach acquired it (together with other sources?) from his estate.

The collection of individual compositions (mostly vocal pieces) mentioned in NV 1790 obviously represents only a selection of the repertoire that Bach collected over the years. Apart from the items sorted out soon after Bach's death and sold in 1789, there are a number of remarkable manuscripts that either were sold separately or for unknown reasons not included in NV 1790. The most surprising work is Handel's setting of the Passion oratorio by Barthold Hinrich Brockes. Two sources of this work from Bach's library survive: a score, partly in the hand of J.S. Bach, with some entries in C.P.E. Bach's hand, and a hitherto

49. He can be identified on the basis of an entry in the enrollment list of the Thomasschule Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Thomasschule, Nr. 483, Album Alumnorum Thomanorum, fol. 68r.

50. On Gerstenberger's biography see Bernd Koska, *Bachs Thomaner als Kantoren in Mitteldeutschland* (Beeskow: ortus, 2018), Anh. VII.1.

unknown score in the hand of a Hamburg scribe, who was active around 1720. Other substantial works are Stölzel's Passion oratorio *Jesu, deine Passion will ich itzt bedenken* and two large-scale funeral cantatas by Telemann. Other manuscripts were sold or given away at various stages in Bach's life. His offer of scores and parts for eighteen cantatas by Johann Ludwig Bach around 1760 is well documented.⁵¹ Bach's letter is kept with the scores of J. L. Bach's cantatas (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 397). As the lot number on the title page of the first fascicle of P 397 ("IV.277") indicates, these sources later belonged to the collection of the Berlin music director and cantor Johann Georg Gottlieb Lehmann.⁵² In 1779 Lehmann succeeded Rudolf Dietrich Buchholz as cantor of the Petrikirche and took over his music library. Thus, Bach's letter concerning the cantatas by J. L. Bach was apparently addressed to Buchholz, who bought the precious sources and—as various entries indicate—used them repeatedly for his performances. Altogether Bach's collection of manuscripts by other composers represents a fascinating repertoire for research. The information given in the commentary to the individual entries aims at stimulating further scholarly investigation.

NV 1790 concludes with a list of Bach's keyboard instruments, followed by a detailed account of his portrait collection (see CPEB:CW, VIII/4) as well as an appendix listing the drawings by his son Johann Sebastian Bach the Younger. Over the years Bach had acquired a fine and almost comprehensive collection of paintings, drawings, etchings, and woodcuts of musicians from antiquity to his days.⁵³ As we know from various documents, he had planned for quite some time to publish a catalogue of this unique gallery. Apparently the list that appears in NV 1790 goes back to drafts that Bach had compiled in preparation of this project, while the catalogue of drawings by J. S. Bach the Younger was collated, as a note in the copy B-Bc, 16615 suggests, by the Hamburg artist Johann Benjamin von Ehrenreich.⁵⁴

51. See *Bach-Dokumente* III, no. 704.

52. See *Verzeichniß der von dem Königl. Obermedizinalrath Herrn Klaproth, Musikdirekt. Hr. n. Lehmann und andern hinterlassenen Bücher, ... welche ... den 1ten Juli u. f. T. d. J. Vormittags 9 Uhr am Dönhofsplatze Nr. 36. durch den Königl. Auktionskommissarius Bratring gegen gleich baare Bezahlung in kling. Preuß. Cour. meistbietend versteigert werden sollen* (Berlin, 1817), 168.

53. See the recent study by Richards.

54. Leisinger/Wollny, 457–58; and Wiermann, 136 and 566.

BA 1789

The catalogue of the “Bachsche Auction” of 1789 was discovered by Ulrich Leisinger, who in 1991 published a thorough discussion of its significance. Leisinger was also able to detect a number of sources to which the individual lot numbers refer. Although in the past thirty years some sources have been located, most of the items listed in BA 1789 have to be considered lost. A positive identification of the relevant manuscripts and prints is possible on the basis of the catalogue numbers. These were usually entered by Bach’s daughter on the title pages in the form “N.” plus lot. Items that were acquired by Gähler usually contain the additional note “Aus der Bachschen Auction” in the latter’s hand.

The catalogue contains the chapters “Gedruckte Sachen” (Printed Music, lots 1–137), “Geschriebene Sachen” (Manuscript Music, lots 138–349), and “Musikalische Bücher” (Books on Music, lots 350–95). Among the printed editions, collections of keyboard music, chamber music, and songs with keyboard accompaniment are predominant. The collection of manuscripts contains mostly sacred vocal music, including a rich collection of cantatas and motets by Telemann. The pieces listed here probably belonged to Bach’s Hamburg performing repertoire. It should be noted that among the manuscripts are many anonymous works as well as individual church pieces. In addition, we find chamber and orchestral music as well as some miscellaneous secular vocal compositions. The collection of books consists of treatises dating from the early seventeenth to late eighteenth century, and includes some rare items; it seems that this section represents Bach’s entire collection of books on music at the time of his death.

As Leisinger was able to show, most of the printed keyboard music had a direct connection with Bach. These are mostly editions by his students, friends, and colleagues; some were dedicated to him, others contain his name on the subscription lists. Remarkable is Bach’s interest in the Viennese musical scene; he even owned a complete collection of Franz Anton Hoffmeister’s two “Praenumeration” (subscription) series.

Among the seventeen securely identified manuscript sources no less than six (lot nos. 150–153, 210, 235) stem from the music library of Bach’s father. This leads to the assumption that there were many more similar items among the lost manuscripts; possible candidates include no. 5 (Kuhnau, *Musikalische Vorstel-*

lung einiger Biblischer Historien), no. 184 (“Lateinische Compositions-Regeln”), no. 186 (“Ricercar mit 4 Subjecten”), no. 195 (“2 Sanctus”), nos. 196–199 (4 Mass settings), no. 200 (anonymous motet “Ich bin eine Blume zu Saron”), no. 204 (cantata by Johann Christoph Altnickol),⁵⁵ no. 256 (cantata by Bertouch),⁵⁶ no. 267 (Johann Gottfried Walther, Prelude and Fugue for Organ),⁵⁷ no. 288 (trio sonatas by Carl Bernhard Linike),⁵⁸ and especially no. 291 (Johann Adam Reinken, Keyboard Variations on “Schweiget mir vom Weibernehmen”).⁵⁹

A Leipzig origin can be documented for no. 148 (Francesco Durante, motet “Misericordias Domini”). The scribe, Gerstenberger, is also found in copies of the two Masses by Zelenka mentioned in NV 1790. Other manuscripts point to Bach’s colleagues in Berlin. The numerous instrumental works by Carl Heinrich Graun—especially the autograph of a trio sonata (no. 162)—correspond with the mostly autograph scores of Graun’s secular cantatas in NV 1790. Bach may have acquired all the works from Graun’s estate in or after 1759. Similarly, the autograph score of Agricola’s unfinished oratorio *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* must stem from the composer’s estate.

Lot no. 258 (containing vocal duets by Agostino Steffani) represents a problematic case. The Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin owns a manuscript from the Poelchau collection entitled “Duetten | von | Agostino Steffani | Pietro Torri, und | Bernard Sabadini” (D-B, Mus. ms. 30275). This title is in the hand of

55. In his testimony for Altnickol of 1 January 1748, J.S. Bach mentions that “verschiedene wohlgerathene Kirchen-Compositiones seiner Arbeit unsres Orthes viele Adprobaton gefunden” (see *Bach-Dokumente* I, no. 82); this suggests that cantatas by Altnickol were performed in Leipzig under Bach’s direction.

56. According to Lorenz Christoph Mizler, J.S. Bach corresponded with Bertouch (see *Bach-Dokumente* II, no. 421) and thus may have exchanged compositions with him.

57. Walther, J.S. Bach’s cousin and colleague in Weimar, was a keen collector of Bach’s keyboard works; lot 267 may document that Bach, in exchange, owned organ pieces by Walther.

58. Linike was J.S. Bach’s colleague in Cöthen.

59. The only known concordance of this piece is a copy in the hand of J.S. Bach’s oldest brother Johann Christoph Bach, found in the “Andreas-Bach-Buch” (D-LEm, Becker III.8.4); lot 291 may have been an early autograph by J.S. Bach, particularly since the diction and spelling of the name “Reincken” in J.S. Bach’s handwriting leads to the erroneous reading “Remcke” found in BA 1789; cf. Bach’s copy of Reinken’s chorale fantasia “An Wasserflüssen Babylon” (dated 1700) in D-WRz, Fol. 49/11, fasc. 1; facsimile edition: *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur. Die frühesten Notenhandschriften Johann Sebastian Bachs sowie Abschriften seines Schülers Johann Martin Schubart mit Werken von Dietrich Buxtehude, Johann Adam Reinken und Johann Pachelbel*. Faksimile, Übertragung und Kommentar, ed. Michael Maul and Peter Wollny (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007).

Gähler, and thus was entered around 1800 in Hamburg or Altona. The manuscript itself, however, is much older; it dates from the early eighteenth century and was prepared in Berlin. This is evident from the context of its scribe. The copyist (RISM A/II labels him Anon. Sing-Akademie 78) is found in a number of other sources among the holdings of D-B (see table 3).

The initials “C. W. V. B.” found in most of these sources point to Christoph Wilhelm von Brandt (1684–1743), Chamberlain and later Oberhofmeister of Queen Sophie Dorothea, who was a cellist and frequently played in the musical soirees of crown prince and young king Friedrich II.⁶⁰ Here he must have met C. P. E. Bach, and it is feasible that Bach acquired the volume with duets by Steffani and other composers from Brandt’s estate. Since the volume was newly bound in 1913, the characteristic lot number may have been lost with the original cover. If Mus. ms. 30275 is indeed identical with lot 258, this may explain why the volume was later owned by Gähler.⁶¹

Other manuscripts came into Bach’s possession in connection with his work on the *Musikalisches Vielerley*. This is evident for no. 182 (songs by Johann Gottlieb Graun and Johann Philipp Kirnberger) and likely for nos. 157 and 192 (trio sonatas by J. G. Graun). Since Bach initially planned a second part of this anthology, he may have collected further similar pieces for that purpose; possible candidates include a selection of compositions by Johann Ernst Bach (no. 183), a keyboard piece by Johann Gottfried Mützel (no. 266), and three fugues on B–A–C–H by Georg Andreas Sorge (no. 268). These three manuscripts were certainly sent to Bach by the respective composers; while the pieces by J. E. Bach and Sorge represent autographs, the work by Mützel is in a scribal hand, but contains an autograph attribution.

AK 1805

After the death of A. C. P. Bach, the last member of C. P. E. Bach’s family, on 2 August 1804, the sale of manuscripts prepared on the basis of the house copies came to an end. The remaining estate was auctioned in Hamburg on 4 March

60. I am indebted to Rashid-S. Pegah, who first suggested the identification of the initials to me; on von Brandt see also Pegah 2017, 128. Additional information is found in Exner, 149.

61. See Cat. Gähler, no. 9943.

TABLE 3. MSS IN THE HAND OF
ANON. SING-AKADEMIE 78

Shelf Mark	Content	Early Owner's Mark	Provenance
D-B, SA 1273	15 secular cantatas by Bononcini and Handel	"C. W. V. B. 1713"	Zelter
D-B, SA 1286	15 secular cantatas by Conti, Bononcini, Scarlatti, Fago, Attilio, and Astorga		Zelter
D-B, SA 1289	12 secular cantatas by Fago, Bononcini, Caldara, Mancini, Ariosti, Handel, and Conti	"C. W. V. B."	Zelter
D-B, SA 1390	11 secular cantatas by Hurlebusch	"C. W. V. B. 1724"	Zelter
D-B, SA 1450	25 secular cantatas by Telemann, Handel, Stricker, Conti, and others		Zelter
D-B, SA 3247	Telemann, Overture in C Major	"C. W. V. B. 1724"	Zelter
D-B, Mus. ms. 6825/1	Fux, Intrada in C Major	"C. W. V. B. 1709"	Voß
D-B, Mus. ms. 6825/2	Fux, Intrada in C Major	"C. W. V. B. 1709"	Voß
D-B, Mus. ms. 30103	13 secular cantatas by Conti, Ariosti, Bononcini, Handel, and Fago	"C. W. V. B."	Poelchau

1805. Much of the manuscript music seems to have been sold in large lots; see for instance, "41 [recte 42]–61 Passionsmusiken mit allen Stimmen, vom Jahr 1769 bis 1789, als die letzte Arbeit des Verfassers, (das Jahr 1775 fehlt) 3 starke Stöße." (Passion music with all performing parts from 1769 to 1789, the last work of the composer (missing 1775 [St. Luke Passion]) 3 large bundles.); even larger lots were formed of Bach's instrumental music and of works by other composers. It seems that most of the instrumental music and some selected vocal works were acquired by Bach's former student Gähler. The auction catalogue of Gähler's music library demonstrates that the large bundles of manuscripts offered in 1805 remained more or less intact until his death.⁶² When Gähler's estate was auctioned, most of it was purchased by Poelchau, who used the opportunity to

62. See Cat. Gähler, esp. 54–56.

complement his own collection. In 1805, Poelchau had already acquired as many autographs as he could for his collection, focusing mainly on J.S. Bach as well as on some of C.P.E. Bach's vocal music; another buyer of the 1805 auction was Abraham Mendelssohn (Felix and Fanny's father); he purchased the bulk of the vocal music and later donated it to the Berlin Sing-Akademie shortly after they moved from Hamburg to Berlin in 1811.

Bach gave away a number of his autograph scores before his death, and so these are not included in NV 1790 or AK 1805. Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch may have received the autograph of the Sonata in A Minor, Wq 65/33, since his first name formed the inspiration for the last movement, as well as the Arietta in A Major, Wq 118/2 (with variations 12–17; now in D-B, SA 4512). Bach gave his autograph of the Sonata in F Minor, Wq 57/6 to Johann Friedrich Reichardt in the summer of 1774.⁶³ In 1781 Bach sold his favorite keyboard instrument, a clavichord built by Gottfried Silbermann, to Dietrich Ewald von Grotthuß; together with this instrument, he also sent an autograph fair copy of his Rondo in E Minor, Wq 66.⁶⁴ Occasionally Bach also sent autograph scores to patrons and friends, including the Sonata in G Minor, Wq 70/6 (now in A-Wgm, A 87 (VII 38661), provenance unknown) and the Sonata in E-flat Major, Wq 65/42 (now in F-Pn, Ms. 12, dedicated to Baron von Ditmar). Baron van Swieten received the autographs of the *Orchester-Sinfonien*, Wq 183 (now in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 350) and the double-choir *Heilig*, Wq 217 (now in A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 15517). The autograph score of Wq 240 went to J.C.F. Bach (now in D-B, P 336), while the autograph of Wq 238 was also probably given away, though only the last page survives (in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 97). An autograph fair copy of *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata*, Wq 216 was presented to Crown Prince Gustaf of Sweden (lost). Bach also likely gave away the original performance parts of the double concerto Wq 46 (now in D-B, Sammlung Thulemeier 16).

63. Cf. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:414 and 420. Reichardt's estate catalogue, *Verzeichniß der von dem zu Giebichenstein bei Halle verstorbenen Herrn Kapellmeister Reichardt hinterlassenen Bücher und Musikalien, welche den 29sten April 1816 und in den darauf folgenden Tagen . . . an den Meistbiethenden verkauft werden sollen* (Halle, 1815), lists manuscripts of instrumental music in voluminous lots. The autograph of Wq 57/6 may have been included in lot A 14 (p. 110: "36 Hefte Sonaten und andere Piecen für das Pianoforte oder Klavier v. Benda, S. Bach, Kirnberger, Fasch, Haydn, Clementi, Beethoven, Steibelt, Charpentier, Westenholz, E. Bach u. anderen").

64. See *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:891 and 900–901.

Sara Levy apparently bought the autographs of the Concerto in E-flat Major, Wq 47 (now in D-B, N. Mus. SA 4) and the flute quartets Wq 93–95 (now in D-B, SA 3328 (1–2); Wq 93 is lost) immediately after Bach's death from his heirs.

Poelchau's enormous music collection (including his acquisitions from Gähler's library) was acquired by the Royal Library in Berlin (now D-B). In 1855, the Sing-Akademie sold a significant portion of their autographs of J.S. Bach to the Royal Library, while the original manuscripts of C.P.E. Bach's vocal music, the Alt-Bachisches Archiv, and other items from Bach's collection remained in their possession. At the end of World War II, the Sing-Akademie Library was taken to Kiev as war booty of the Russian army. It was retrieved only in 1999 and eventually returned to Berlin in 2002, where it is now on deposit in D-B.⁶⁵ Thus the majority of Bach's music library is now again united in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, while only relatively few manuscripts are transmitted by different routes.

Sources

An anonymous report about musical life in London around 1795 claims that many collectors were still placing orders for Bach's works on the basis of NV 1790.⁶⁶ Around the same time the book dealers Gebauer from Halle and Hofmann from Hamburg announced that they would give free copies of NV 1790 to anyone who contacted them during the Leipzig Easter fair.⁶⁷ Today, twelve copies of NV 1790 are still extant (former owners, if known, in parentheses):

65. For an overview of the story see Wolff 2001.

66. *CPEB-Westphal*, 212: "So sehr auch hier die neumodischen, wässerigen, musikalischen Compositionen in Umlauf sind, so gereicht es doch dem Geschmacke vieler Liebhaber zur Ehre, daß sie den Meisterstücken des verstorbenen Hamburger Bachs, Mozarts und Haydns Gerechtigkeit wiederfahren lassen, und es werden von hier noch häufige Bestellungen Bachischer Musikstücke aus dem Catalogus des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Kapellmeisters C.P.E. Bach nach Hamburg gemacht."

67. *CPEB-Westphal*, 212: "Von diesem Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses sind hier in Hamburg noch Exemplare bey der verwittweten Frau Kapellmeisterin zu haben, und die Herren Buchhändler, Gebauer aus Halle, und Hofmann aus Hamburg, werden in der jetzigen Leipziger Ostermesse selbige unter diejenigen vertheilen, die sich deshalb an sie wenden."

1. A-Wgm, 349/4 (E.L. Gerber)
2. A-Wn, S. H. Varia. 167
3. B-Bc, 16615 (G.R. Wagener)
4. B-Br, Fétis 5217 A LP, fasc. I (J.J.H. Westphal)
5. D-B, Db 312 (G. Poelchau)
6. D-Ha, A 539/3 (O.C. Gaedechens)
7. D-LEm, I.8.679 (W. Wolffheim)
8. D-Mbs, Mus. ms. 3885
9. DK-Kk, 128:2, 142 02055 (C.E.F. Weyse)
10. GB-Lbl, Hirsch I. 679
11. S-Uu, Utl. vok. mus. i tr. 896 (incomplete)
12. US-Wc, ML 134.B15.A1 (E. Grell)

Apart from the edition published in the facsimile supplement to series VIII of CPEB: CW (based on the copy in US-Wc), earlier facsimile editions were prepared by Rachel W. Wade and William S. Newman; a complete transcription appeared in three consecutive volumes of *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1938–48).⁶⁸

BA 1789 survives in two copies, both from the collection of J.J.H. Westphal:⁶⁹

B-Br, Fétis 5177 A LP, fasc. VIII

B-Br, Fétis 5217 A LP, fasc. II

AK 1805 has come down to us in only one copy from the Poelchau collection:⁷⁰

D-B, Mus. Db 313

68. *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, 1790*, ed. Rachel W. Wade (New York: Garland, 1981); *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Autobiography, Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses*, ed. William S. Newman (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1991); Heinrich Miesner, "Philipp Emanuel Bachs musikalischer Nachlaß: Vollständiger, dem Original entsprechender Neudruck des Nachlaßverzeichnisses von 1790," *BJ* (1938): 103–36; *BJ* (1939): 81–112; *BJ* (1940–48): 161–81.

69. For a facsimile see Leisinger 1991, 112–22.

70. For a facsimile see Kulukundis, 154–58.

Acknowledgments

When as a young graduate student at Harvard University I developed my interest in C.P.E. Bach's music collection, I had the privilege to discuss various aspects with my colleague Kirsten Beißwenger (1960–2013), who spent the spring term of 1989 at Harvard as a visiting scholar. As part of her dissertation work on J.S. Bach's music library, she had also prepared a preliminary list of the manuscripts related to the chapter "Von verschiedenen Meistern" in NV 1790. Since her professional career led her into different areas, she never returned to this work. I am extremely grateful to her for providing me with a copy of her list, which formed the nucleus of the present edition.

A couple of years later, Ulrich Leisinger and I began our work on the catalogue of the Bach manuscripts in Brussels. Since then we have frequently discussed issues related to Bach's music collection. I owe Ulrich my sincere thanks for a stimulating dialogue over more than three decades. The present volume benefited significantly from his vast knowledge. A special word of thanks is extended to Paul Corneilson for thoroughly examining the whole manuscript, giving valuable advice, and critically testing my arguments and decisions, as well as the condensed presentation of the wealth of facts. For help of various kinds I thank Jason B. Grant, Christine Blanken, Christian Haslinger, Stephen Roe, Maria Schildt, Christoph Wolff, and Wolfram Enßlin. My wife Stephanie Wollny participated—as always—in preparing the final version.

Finally, I wish to thank all the libraries named in this volume for allowing me access to their sources. I am particularly grateful to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv (Martina Rebmann); the library of the Brussels Conservatory (Johan Eeckeloo and Ilse Beel); the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna (Johannes Prominczel); and the British Library in London (Rupert Ridgewell and Loukia Drosopoulou).

Over the course of thirty years I have enjoyed the privilege of benefitting from the support and friendship of Elias N. Kulukundis. Our continuous stream of discussions about the Bach sources has always been deeply inspiring. This volume is dedicated to Elian on the occasion of his ninetieth birthday with deep gratitude and admiration.

Peter Wollny