

INTRODUCTION

In late September 1790, almost two years after C.P.E. Bach's death, the *Kaiserlich privilegierte Hamburgische Neue Zeitung* announced the release of a remarkable catalogue: 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 to the musical world. The "Nachlaß-Verzeichnis" (hereafter NV 1790) soon became a standard reference work that was used extensively by music historians and lexicographers such as Ernst Ludwig Gerber, Carl Hermann Bitter, and Robert Eitner,² and even today it represents an indispensable tool for any scholar of the music of J. S. and C.P.E. Bach or other members of their family.

The announcement signaled the completion of a project that had occupied 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 having been ill she 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.

1. Barbara Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Dokumente zu Leben und Wirken aus der zeitgenössischen hamburgischen Presse (1767–1790)*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 4 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2000), 133–37.

2. Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1790–1792), and idem., *Neues Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1812–1814); Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Wilhelm Müller, 1868); and Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols. (Leipzig, 1900–1904). Although Alfred Wotquenne lists NV 1790 in his *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von C. Ph. E. Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905), as item 279, he only includes a selection of C.P.E. Bach's vocal music.

3. *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Briefe und Dokumente*, ed. Ernst Suchalla, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), 2:1296–98.

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, mostly discarded items that were thought to be of little value. Although the printed auction catalogue 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 start a professional business of offering, by way of a detailed catalogue, manuscript copies of all his works for sale. 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 Bach himself had done with a number of his compositions since his Berlin period. The advantage was that, with little extra expense (i.e., the 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. 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. It ended only with her own death on 2 August 1804, which eventually led to the sale of the entire stock at an auction held again at the Eimbeckisches Haus on 4 March 1805.⁵

The publication of NV 1790 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 catalogue of the musi-

4. On this auction see Ulrich Leisinger, "Die 'Bachsche Auction' von 1789," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1991): 97–126.

5. Elias N. Kulukundis, "Die Versteigerung von C.P.E. Bachs musikalischem Nachlaß im Jahre 1805," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1995): 145–76.

cal 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 his family, plus 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-based musician Johann Friedrich Hering and the lawyer Johann Heinrich Grave from Greifswald, to serve as agents.⁶ In addition, 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 1773.⁷

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.⁸ The review culminates in the noteworthy proposal to initiate a complete edition of all of Bach's keyboard works and expresses the reviewer's 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 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 Claviersonaten

6. Wiermann, 133–34.

7. See the pertinent facsimile editions: *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements 1762–1787*, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Garland, 1966); and Christian Ulrich Ringmacher, *Catalogo de' Soli, Duetti, Trii . . . Berlin 1773*, ed. Wolfgang Reich (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1987).

8. Wiermann, 134–35.

des C. P. E. Bach bis zum Jahre 1772 komponirt.⁹ Other authorized accounts of Bach's compositions are the worklists given in Johann Adam Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*¹⁰ and in the autobiographical sketch that was added to the German translation of Charles Burney's travel diary.¹¹ Judging from the numbers found on the title pages of Bach's personal copies of his instrumental works (and the various layers of corrections this numbering system was subjected to), we can deduce that Bach began in the second half of the 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 Frederick the Great kept a detailed thematic list of all flute sonatas by his teacher Johann Joachim Quantz.¹²

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/Oder, B. = Berlin, P. = Potsdam, H. = Hamburg). Extensive revisions are indicated by the letter "E." (= *erneuert*; revised or renewed), 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 1790.¹³ Source-critical studies, however, have shown that particularly with regard to his early compositions, Bach seems oc-

9. Christoph Wolff, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Verzeichnis seiner Clavierwerke von 1733 bis 1772," in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke. Aspekte musikalischer Biographie. Johann Sebastian Bach im Zentrum. Festschrift Hans-Joachim Schulze zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 217–35.

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

11. *Carl Burney's der Musik Doctors Tagebuch seiner Musikalischen Reisen*, 3 vols. (Hamburg: Bode, 1772–3), 3:198–209.

12. Reinhard Oestreich, *Verzeichnis der Werke Christoph Schaffraths*, *Ortus Studien* 7 (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2012): 220–26; and Horst Augsbach, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Johann Joachim Quantz* (Stuttgart: Carus, 1997).

13. Notable exceptions are the keyboard fantasia in E-flat major (Wq deest, H 348) and the early cantata *Ich bin vergnügt in meinem Stande* (Wq and H deest); see CPEB: CW, I/8.1 and

asionally 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, he destroyed a large number of juvenilia.¹⁴

The catalogue is divided into sections and chapters containing Bach's contributions to particular genres, the instrumental pieces being 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 section "Instrumental-Compositionen" begins with the chapter "Clavier Soli" (keyboard solos) comprising 210 numbers from the time between 1731 and 1787. The second chapter 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 version, even if they preceded them. The third chapter contains trios (46 numbers, dated between 1731 and 1787), with the term "Trii" encompassing Baroque trio sonatas and modern keyboard trios, but also the two collections of "kleine Stücke mit 2 und 3 Stimmen." These three chapters fill no less than 42 pages of NV 1790, while the remaining four chapters specifying other instrumental music (symphonies, sonatinas, solos, quartets) cover less than 10 pages.

A significant caesura is noticeable on page 54 (= p. 52 in the original). Beginning with the chapter "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. Presumably we have reached here the point where Bach's own involvement with the catalogue stopped and the task of completing it was taken over by his wife and daughter.

V/5.2. See also Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny, "Altes Zeug von mir. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs kompositorisches Schaffen vor 1740," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1993): 127–204, and Peter Wollny, "Zwei Bach-Funde in Mügeln. C. P. E. Bach, Picander und die Leipziger Kirchenmusik in den 1730er Jahren," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2010): 111–51.

14. *Briefe und Dokumente*, 2:1135; see also the similar remark in the "Clavierwerke-Verzeichnis" of 1772 (cf. Wolff, 222 and 230). On the transmission of the few surviving juvenilia, see CPEB: CW, I/8.2, xx–xxiii.

The section “Sing-Compositionen” distinguishes between published and unpublished works. Apart from some occasional pieces the unpublished vocal works consist of the sacred music Bach had to provide in his function as music director of the five Hamburg main churches. The highly complex (and at times problematic) pasticcio practice that Bach employed in these works is far from being adequately documented. It is apparent that the extensive borrowing of material from other composers—found, for example, in the installation cantatas or Passions—completely escaped the awareness of the compilers of NV 1790. Unfortunately, we do not know how Bach himself would have selected and grouped his collated contributions to these genres of sacred vocal music.

Apart from being a catalogue of C.P.E. Bach’s own music, NV 1790 also represents the first extensive catalogue 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 the 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 C.P.E. Bach’s student years in Frankfurt/Oder and thus represent the oldest layer of his music library.¹⁵ Many other items came into his possession after his father’s death in 1750. But apparently he continued collecting Bach manuscripts throughout his life. 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 may go back directly to the music collection in the paternal home in Leipzig.

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

NV 1790 concludes with a list of Bach’s keyboard instruments, followed by a detailed account of his portrait collection, including an appendix listing the

15. See Peter Wollny, “Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Der Quellenbesitz Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1996): 7–21.

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 own time period. As we know from various documents, he had planned for quite some time to publish a catalogue of this unique gallery. Apparently the portrait 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 in B-Bc suggests) by the Hamburg artist Johann Benjamin von Ehrenreich.¹⁶

We are still lacking a detailed account of the manuscripts that were sold by Bach's heirs on the basis of NV 1790. So far sale copies have been found in the collections of Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal (now kept in B-Bc and B-Br), Gottfried van Swieten (now in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung), Johann Heinrich Grave, and the sisters Sara Itzig and Zippora Wulff (now in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv and the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin). An anonymous report about musical life in London around 1795 claims that many connoisseurs frequently placed orders for Bach's pieces on the basis of NV 1790.¹⁷ At the same time the book dealers Gebauer from Halle and Hofmann from Hamburg announced that they would give free copies of the catalogue to anyone who contacted them during the Leipzig Easter fair.¹⁸

16. Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny, *Die Bach-Quellen der Bibliotheken in Brüssel. Katalog*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 2 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997): 457–58; and Wiermann, 136 and 566. The libraries are abbreviated: B-Bc = Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque. Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliotheek; B-Br = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}.

17. *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spiegel seiner Zeit. Die Dokumentensammlung Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphals*, ed. Ernst Suchalla (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993), 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."

18. *Ibid.*, 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 selbst unter diejenigen vertheilen, die sich deshalb an sie wenden."

Ten copies of NV 1790 are still extant today (former owners, if known, in parentheses):

1. Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, Bibliothek, 349/4 (E. L. Gerber)
2. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1.er, Fétis 5217 A LP (J. J. H. Westphal)
3. Brussels, Conservatoire Royal de Musique, Bibliothèque. Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bibliothek, 16615 (G. R. Wagener)
4. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Db 312 (G. Poelchau)
5. Hamburg, Staatsarchiv, A 539/3
6. Leipzig, Städtische Bibliotheken, Musikbibliothek, I.8.679 (W. Wolffheim)
7. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung, Mus. Th. 3885
8. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, 128:2, 142 02055
9. London, The British Library, Hirsch I. 679
10. Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, Music Division, ML 134.B15.A1 (Eduard Grell)

Previous facsimile editions of NV 1790 were prepared by Rachel Wade and William Newman. A complete transcription by Heinrich Miesner appeared in three consecutive volumes of *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1938–1948).¹⁹ A critical edition with commentary is published in CPEB: CW, VIII/5. The present facsimile is based on the copy at the Library of Congress. We would like to thank Daniel Boomhower and the Library of Congress, Music Division for giving us permission to reproduce their copy of NV 1790 in facsimile.

Peter Wollny

19. *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, 1790*, ed. Rachel W. Wade (New York and London: 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," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1938): 103–36; (1939): 81–112; (1940–48): 161–81.