Veiled Aspects of Bach Reception in the Long Nineteenth Century Exposed through a Macro-examination of Printed Music: with Particular Focus on The Well-Tempered Clavier

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There has been a significant increase in scholarship focusing on the history of Bach reception during the last decade. Much of this new research examines the influence of Bach's music over the years and investigates how successive generations have appreciated and engaged with it.

Reception scholars often begin by looking for source material, such as the manuscripts and printed music that were available to the people, institutions or firms they are studying. Some time ago I embarked on the formidable task of cataloguing all sources of such material relevant to nineteenth-century Bach reception studies. Apart from printed music, these sources include reviews of and advertisements for particular editions and concerts, as well as correspondence, books and articles by or about influential figures of the time. This work has become an important extension to the Bach Bibliography project.¹

One of the main objectives of this paper is to introduce to the study of reception statistical information on the printed music of the Bach family, published from 1800 to 1949, to demonstrate how such an approach could be used in future studies, and how it could improve existing methodologies and their validity. I will also review current research techniques and strategies, as at this stage of the project's development several issues require attention so that the quality and usability of the resource can be improved. First, however, it must be

- Yo Tomita, Bach Bibliography, http://www.mu.qub.ac.uk/tomita/bachbib/. The main part of it (without the latest extension of printed music) is currently being converted to the format used by the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, to be integrated into its online catalogue by December 2012. After the merger, the two databases will be maintained separately, with the new extension continuing under the name of Bach Printed Music Database.
- ² Here the word 'statistics' is used for basic statistical operations such as counting and calculation of percentages rather than as a mathematical term. It is hoped that more comprehensive statistical analyses will be conducted in the future.

said that the value of the information conveyed by printed music has been generally underrated by scholars—and this is a perception that ought to change.

Printed music reflects a work's market appeal, the ambitions of its editors and publishers, trends in its interpretation and the handling of source information at the time of its publication. Scholars looking into how musicians such as Chopin or Schumann and, in particular, Mendelssohn, encountered and interpreted Bach's works, should study the actual copies these musicians owned. Any annotations are of course important, but in addition the musical text of a particular edition could reveal clues as to how its owner's ideas were influenced and shaped. The circumstances in which copies of Bach's works were acquired should be established so the reasons for choosing a particular edition can be investigated. To be able to gain a better understanding of such a large volume of historical information and evaluate it from the broader perspective of changing modes and forms of reception (macro-examination), it is important to consider both the background to a work and the process of its publication and marketing (micro-examination).

Compiling the printed music database

In a recent article, Ruth Tatlow states that 'Bach scholarship has been at the cutting edge of musicology for generations'.³ Indeed, Bach scholars have been blessed with an online bibliography database since 1997⁴ and a database of manuscript sources since 2002.⁵ However, there was no equivalent resource for printed music, apart from RISM, the records of which stop with the year 1850. So I decided in the summer of 2009 to extend the collection of data to the present time; for the moment efforts have been restricted to pre-1950 editions. By July 2012, the number of prints recorded in the Bach Bibliography had reached 10,372, of which 8635 were published between 1800 and 1949. Both these figures include not only the works of J. S. Bach and those attributed to him at the time, but also those works of Bach family members, as well as their close colleagues and students considered essential for Bach research.⁶

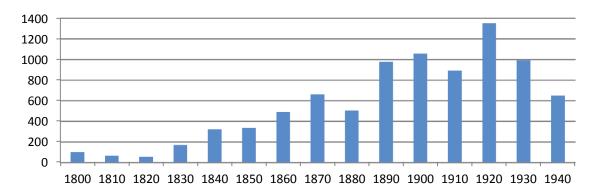
The distribution of records within this period is depicted in Graph 1, which shows a gradual and steady increase in the number of new editions published between 1800 and 1949, although there are discernible dips in the 1820s, 1880s and 1910s. The significant dip towards the end of the period coincides with the start of World War II.

³ Ruth Tatlow, 'Challenging Virtuality: A Personal Reflection', *Bach Notes: The Newsletter of the American Bach Society*,16 (Spring 2012), 5–6 (reprinted on pp. 57–60).

⁴ See note 1.

⁵ Göttinger Bach-Katalog: Die Quellen der Bach-Werke. Datenbank der Werke J. S. Bachs und ihrer handschriftlichen Quellen bis 1850, http://www.bach.gwdg.de/. This information is now being further developed as part of Bach Digital, http://www.bach-digital.de/.

⁶ The statistics on purely those by J. S. Bach will be discussed below.



Graph 1: New editions published 1800-1949 as recorded in the Bach Bibliography, July 2012

A note on the data collection methodology

Before discussing the actual data and ways of interpreting it, a brief overview of the data collection strategy as well as the current state of research in this area may help to explain the nature of the information being discussed.

The first phase of cataloguing included the most important series such as that of the Bach-Gesellschaft (1851–1899) and the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (1954–2007).

The next phase was to extend the collection to include all significant items for scholarship, such as first and other influential editions, together with information about the reviews published of these editions. One of the most crucial decisions taken at this stage was to build on existing scholarship in the cataloguing of printed music. Two library catalogues stood out: the Emilie and Karl Riemenschneider Memorial Bach Library in Berea, Ohio, compiled by Silvia Kenney in 1960,7 and the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig by Peter Krause in 1970.8 Although the former, boasting the finest collection of editions of The Well-Tempered Clavier (WTC) in the world, 9 made use of Adolf Hofmeister's Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen (1829–1947) to date the publications, the latter proved to be more beneficial for my objectives. It attempted to ascertain the dates of specific imprints by carefully studying their contents and the changes introduced therein, and by consulting both advertisements and reviews in nineteenth-century journals, as well as O. E. Deutsch's Musikverlags Nummern (1960) to double-check the dating.

The third phase of cataloguing was to identify all the publications reported in Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* from 1829 to 1947 by using OPAC search with SWB (Südwestdeutschen Bibliotheksverbundes), GVK (Gemeinsamer Verbundkatalog), BVB (Bibliotheksverbundes Bayern), COPAC (UK), and WorldCat (mainly for items in the US). The search was then extended to all related items, such as those in the same series or by the same editors or arrangers. Numerous

⁷ Catalog of the Emilie and Karl Riemenschneider Memorial Bach Library (New York: Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

⁸ Originalausgaben und ältere Drücke der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs in der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek, 1970).

⁹ Walter Emery in a review for *Music and Letters* 42/4 (Oct 1961), 376–7, remarks: 'as is well known, Riemenschneider's collection of editions of the "48" ... is almost complete'.

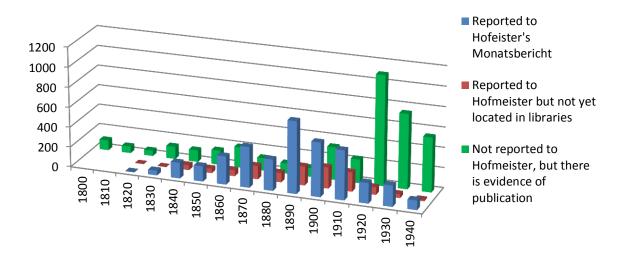
library visits were necessary to check actual specimens to resolve queries that had arisen during the data collection.¹⁰

From this process I concluded the following:

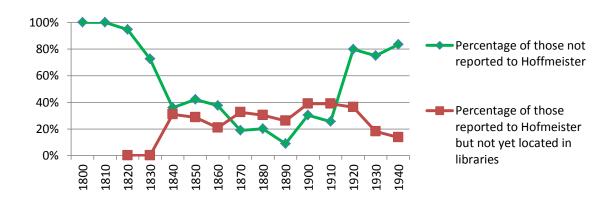
- 1. Music libraries do not yet have an agreed systematic way of cataloguing editions published between 1800 and 1949. Their catalogue entries are often too incomplete to be of use either for identifying the actual edition or for dating the specific imprint.
- 2. Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* does not necessarily give the actual month of publication; it seems that there were time lags from one to several months before the publication was reported to the journal.
- 3. Approximately one quarter of the items reported to Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* (see Graphs 2 and 3: red) do not appear in the OPAC search, the implication being that they are either lost or not yet catalogued.¹¹
- 4. Numerous editions have never been reported to Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* (Graphs 2 and 3: green).
- 5. Some university/college of music libraries in the UK have quite a few rare items that are unknown to Bach scholars in Germany, including the rare prints of Bach's organ music issued by G. W. Körner from the late 1840s to 1850s in Erfurt, some of which are first editions.¹²
- 6. Contrary to what is commonly assumed, plate numbers are not always a reliable guide to date sheet music, but merely a rough guide to date the first imprint. It was up to the publisher whether or not the same plate number was used for later imprints, including the re-engraved ones.
- 7. Enticingly named series often repackage the same works. This may have been a marketing ploy to boost sales, or a genuine attempt to supply a more comprehensive catalogue. See Examples 1 and 2 for the series
- I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of the following libraries for their generous assistance provided for this project so far: Bach-Archiv Leipzig; British Library, London; Cambridge University Library; Edinburgh University Library; The McClay Library at Queen's University Belfast; Musikbibliothek in der Stadt Leipzig; The Pendlebury Library of Music, Cambridge; The Riemenschneider Bach Institute Library, Baldwin Wallace College, Berea, Ohio; Royal Academy of Music Library, London; Royal College of Music Library, London; and Sibley Music Library of Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester. I am deeply indebted to Nobuaki Ebata for his help in building and revising the contents of the database.
- More precisely, 26.3 per cent of the total number of items reported to Hofmeister (3617 in the Bach Bibliography as of July 2012) is yet to be located in libraries. The number of items not yet located (1093) will only be reduced as more research is carried out.
- Körner's ambition seems to have been to publish all the organ works of the Baroque masters, particularly those of Bach, but this must never have materialised. He published a number of series such as the *Orgelfreund*, *Der vollkommene Organist*, *Das höhere Orgel-Spiel*, *Orgelvirtuos*, and *Musikalische Aehrenlese*, all of which included organ works by J. S. Bach. Although the direct models for Körner's editions are not always clear, we do know that a number of them were modelled on manuscripts (many of which are lost) from the Kittel tradition (cf. NBA KB IV/5+6, pp. 257ff.; see also Bach Bibliography. Cf. Karen Lehmann, "Boten des Aufschwunges": Gotthilf Wilhelm Körners Editionen und die Thüringer Orgellandschaft seiner Zeit', in Anselm Hartinger, Christoph Wolff and Peter Wollny (eds.), 'Diess herrliche, imponirende Instrument': die Orgel im Zeitalter Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bach-Rezeption, III (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2011), pp. 389–401.

Hosianna offered by Schlesinger in Berlin; first offered in the 1840s, the same piece in the series is renumbered a few decades later. For example, 'Qui tollis peccata—Der Du alle Sünden' (BWV 234/4) is item 18 in a c.1860 imprint, renumbered 6 in a c.1890 imprint of the same series.

8. In earlier times printed music was often bound in a joint volume, and consequently the original cover pages of the editions may have been removed.

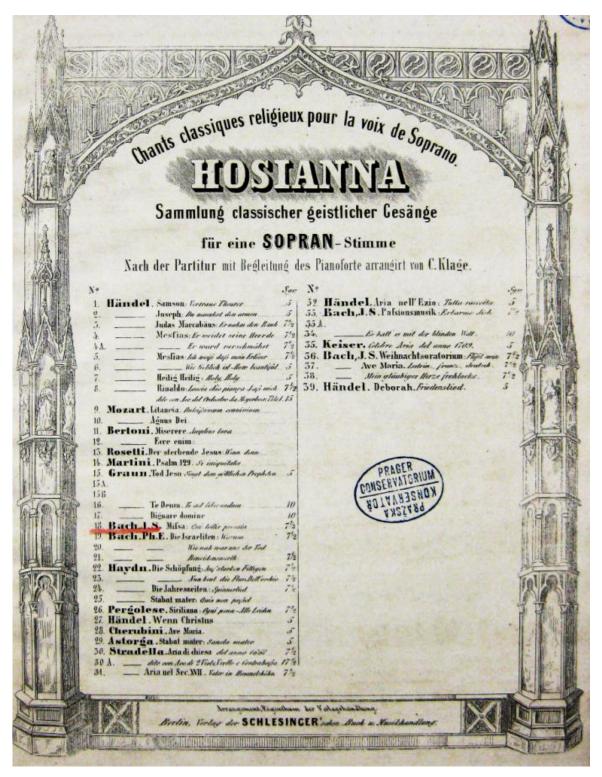


Graph 2: Breakdown of newly published editions (including new reprints) in relation to Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* (1829–1947), as recorded in the Bach Bibliography, July 2012



Graph 3: Percentage of new editions in relation to Hofmeister's *Monatsbericht* (1829–1947) and percentage not yet been located in libraries by the Bach Bibliography project, July 2012

Example 1: Hosianna title-pages c.1860, with the list of pieces in the series



Example 2: Hosianna title-pagesc.1890, with the list of pieces in the series



My approach to this research could be likened to that of an archaeologist collecting Roman remains; harvesting the information first, then evaluating it. Many copies must be examined before a publication date can be ascertained. A publication history must be reconstructed from advertisements and reviews. One of the most valuable things I have learned from compiling this database is that it is possible to establish both the details and the full extent of a publishing firm's activities, neither of which are revealed when a single published item is considered in isolation.

Table 1 shows the data format used in the Bach Bibliography for prints, while Example 3 depicts the sample search result screen—searching for the prints containing the Fugue in E-flat major of WTC II (BWV 876/2) without its accompanying prelude.

Table 1: Data format of a record in the Bach Bibliography

Data fields	Divisions within field	Comments (supplementary info in [])
Editor / arranger	Name	Of editor(s) or arranger(s)
J	(Relationship definer)	Indicates relationship between name and title: e.g. ed., eds., arr.
Title		Main title (displayed in the initial search result): Name of composer is added at the end, separated with ' / '.
Supplementary information	Subtitle	Subtitle (not displayed in the initial search result): explains the types of arrangements, features of editions and clarifies the nature of the work of the people involved, all in the original spelling [with occasional supplements].
	Dedication	If present.
	Item type	e.g. Full score, piano score, parts.
	Place of publisher	Location of publisher.
	Name of publisher	Name of publisher.
	Year of publication	Year of publication. Deduced year in []. Year of copyright is preceded by 'c'.
	Pages	Includes the start and end number, supplementary pages, with clarification where required (e.g. preface, commentary, facsimile).
	Order number / BestNr. Plate number / PlNr. ISBN / ISMN Series information Works catalogue numbers	Order number specified by the publisher. Plate number specified by the publisher. ISMN number (for items after 1993). Series title and number in round brackets. BWV (as well as Fk, Wq, H, etc.).

Example 3: Data display from the Bach Bibliography



Bach Bibliography

Search Result - Ordered Chronologically The keys being searched are: Book type: m Bibliographical information: 876/2 Music: wc Filter (1=added; 2=modified): 1 Show full details: ON Max number of results shown: 300 Output sorted: chronologically Your search has generated the following results .. Author: Title, Series, Vol/No (Year/Month/Date of Publication), Pages Type List Status 1. Horn, Charles Frederick (ed.): A Sett of Twelve Fugues, Composed for the Organ by Sebastian Bach, Arranged as Quartettos, for Two Violins, Tenor & Bass, with the Addition of A Piano Forte part, or Thorough. Bass. Dedicated with Permission to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. by C. F. Horn. - [London:] Printed & Sold for the Author, 13, Queen's Buildings, Knightsbridge. 1807. score + parts. [BWV 898/2, 538/2, 874/2, 876/2, 877/2, 878/2, 885/2, 886/2, 891/2, 892/2, 849/2, 846/2] 'n 2. Horn, Charles Edward: Rich and Poor, a Comic Opera in Three Acts, performed at the English Opera Theatre Royal Lyceum. Written by M. G. Lewis, Esq. The Music Composed and Selected by C. E. Horn. London: J. Lower. 1812. 80p. Pl.-Nr.: 180. [BWV 876/2 transposed in D and presented twice in the overture] J.D 3. Braun, Guillaume [Braun, Wilhelm] (arr.): Six Fugues du celebre I. Seb. Bach arrangées pour deux Violons, Viola et Violoncelle par Guill. Braun ... 1re suite. - Leipsic, chez Fréderic Hofmeister, [1821?] 4 parts: 5, 4, 4, 4p. Druckpl.-Nr.: 772 [WTC II, Nos. 2, 5, 7, 9, 22, 23; BWV 871/2, 874/2, 876/2, 878/2, 891/2, 892/2] 'n 4. Orgel-Journal: oder Auswahl guter Orgel-Compositionen nach Original-Manuscripten der jetzt lebenden vorzüglichsten Orgel-Componisten und aeltern noch nicht oder wenig bekannten Werken; für das Bedürfniß des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes und das erweiternde Studium des Orgelspiels Mannheim: Heckel, 1.1830/31 - 3.1832/33; 4.[1835/36][?]. [BWV 533 (Bd.2, H10, p.196-199); BWV 574 (Bd.4, H10, p.49-60); BWV 696 (Bd.1, H4, p.16); BWV 876/2 (Bd.2, p.22); Krebs-WV 819 (Bd.1, p.80-83)] 5. Best, William Thomas (arr.): Six Fugues by John Sebastian Bach. [arranged for organ by] W.T. Best. - London: Novello, Ewer & Co. [c.1870]. 15p. Pl.-Nr.: 3295. - repr. pp. 492-505. (= Arrangements from the scores of the great masters for the organ by W.T. Best, [Vol. 2], No. 38) [BWV 876/2, 878/2, 874/2, Anh.III 181 (Eberlin), 945, 947] J.D. 6. Volckmar, Wilhelm (ed.): Orgel-Album: Sammlung klassischer Orgelcompositionen. Band III: schwer. progressiv geordnet und hrsg. von Volckmar. - Leipzig u. Berlin: C. F. Peters, [1875]. 60p. Pl.-Nr.: 5779. [Enth: 1. Praeludium. 'Maestoso.'; Fuga. (BWV 553); 5. Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott. 'Allegro moderato.' (BWV 720); 6. Fuga. 'Moderato.' (BWV 579); 7. Fuga. [in A] v. C. Ph. Em. Bach; 10. Fuga. 'Con moto.' (BWV 878/2); 12. Fuga. 'Allegro moderato' (BWV 891/2); 15. Jesus Christus, unser Heiland. Fuga. (BWV 689); 16. Fuga. 'Con moto.' (BWV 876/2); 18. Fuga. 'Allegro' [in c] v. J. C. F. Bach; 19. Fantasia. 'Andante' (BWV 562); 22. Fuga. 'Andante con moto.' (BWV 131a); 23. Pastorale. 'Andantino.' (BWV 590/1); 25. Canzona. 'Andante' (BWV 588)] ŢD, 7. Zahn, J. G. (ed.): Praeludien und Fugen aus dem wohltemperierten Klavier für die ORGEL bearbeitet / Johann Sebastian Bach. von J. G. Zahn. - Leipzig: F. E. C. Leuckart, [1879]. 101p. Pl.-Nr. F.E.C.L.3335. (= Handbuch für Organisten / Kothe, Bernhard, Dritter Theil) [BWV 870/1, 849/1, 852/1, 854/1, 880/1, 857/1, 885/1, 891/1, 846/2, 871/2, 849/2, 851/2, 874/2, 876/2, 878/2, $879/2,\,857/2,\,859/2,\,861/2,\,863/2,\,886/2,\,865/2,\,867/2,\,891/2,\,892/2,\,868/2,\,869/2,\,893/2,\,891/1\,\,(\text{in a}),\,878/2\,\,(\text{in Es}),\,886/2\,\,(\text{in G}),\,863/2\,\,(\text{in G}),\,863/2\,\,($ (in g), 867/2 (in a), 868/2 (in B)] 'n 8. Wolfram, Ernst H. (ed.): Bach-Album, Sammlung berühmter Orgelkompositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach. [Bd. 1.] herausgegeben von Ernst H. Wolfram. - Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [1884]. 51p. Pl.-Nr. 6786. (= Edition Peters, 2178a) [BWV 67/7, 38/6, 144/3, 32/6, 269, 17/7, 386, 80/8, 267, 226/3, 744, 765, 706, 696, 632, 558, 555, 557, 554, 737, 627, 727, 710, 700, 890/2, 878/2, J.D 9. Hofmann, Richard (arr.): 14 vierstimmige Bach'sche Fugen aus dem wohltemperierten Klavier für zwei Violinen, Viola und Violoncell. [Heft 1] zum Gebrauche beim Unterricht für das Zusammenspiel in Konservatorien und Seminarien bearbeitet und mit Fingersatz und Stricharten versehen von Richard Hofmann. Heft I. M.3. - Leipzig. C.F. Siegel. 1885. 4 St. Pl.-Nr.: 7796. [BWV 878/2, 892/2 (in B), 891/2 (in h), 876/2, 874/2, 864/2 (in g), 862/2 (in c)] TI. 10. Humperdinck, Engelbert (arr.): Praeludium und Fugen im Quintenzirkel aus dem Wohltemperirten Klavier von J. S. Bach. Zur Erleichterung der Ausführung auf zwei Klaviere zu vier Händen übertragen von E. Humperdinck. - Mainz & Leipzig: Schott, [1890]. 73p. Pl.-Nr.: 25001. (= Edition Schott, 548) [BWV 852/1; 853/2, 867/2, 891/2, 857/2, 846/2, 885/2, 874/2, 865/2, 878/2, 869/2, 892/2, 859/2, 849/2, 863/2, 876/2] J.D 11. Hänlein, Albrecht (ed.): Leichte Präludien und Fugen für Orgel von Johann Sebastian Bach. Progressiv geordnet und mit Finger- und Pedalsatz versehen von A. Hänlein. - Leipzig: C. F. Peters [1896]. 39p. Pl.-Nr.: 8336. (= Edition Peters, 2880). [BWV 546/1, 553, 554/2, 555, 556, 557/2, 558/1, 559/2, 560, 567/1, 572/2, 589, 700, 871/2, 876/2, 878/2, 890/2, 943] Search took 3.38s cpu time (0.04s in system), 15738 records per second BachBib Search Engine 1c Version 1.57 (c) M. Vincent 1997. Last revised on 2 May 2011 by Yo Tomita

Return to the previous page

To develop the database further, the record structure needs some fine tuning to incorporate the following features.

- 1. Title description should be more specific, recording from where the wording has been taken, e.g. front cover, designated title-page, title as found in the header of the first piece; where more than one title-description is found, all the title-descriptions should be recorded, specifying the location of each title.
- 2. Information regarding the production of the imprint should also be recorded where available, e.g. the engraver's name, which sometimes appears on the title-page, or the printer's (or publisher's) record-keeping information, which is often found at the bottom corner of the last page.
- 3. Some editions published in the nineteenth century follow the conventions of earlier centuries with regard to the spelling and language used to describe the place of publication and the publisher's name. This information may be useful in dating the imprint and so should be retained in square brackets for search purposes.
- 4. When dealing with various imprints, the differences should be described and cross-referenced with related publications.
- 5. At least two pages—title-page and the first music page—should be given in picture format, so as to facilitate further study of musical plates and engravers.

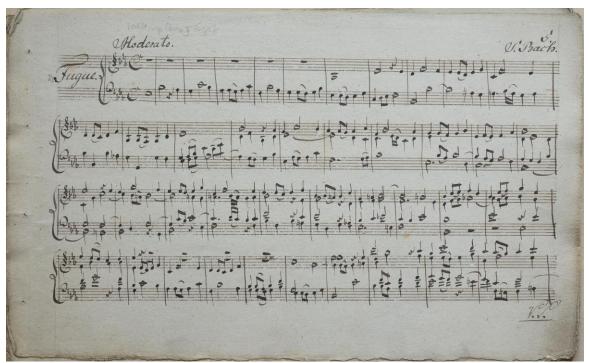
What can be deduced from the study of printed music, particularly in the case of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*?

In his 2002 article, 'Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Wohltemperierten Klaviers I', Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen recognises, among the many individuals appreciating and promoting this celebrated work in their own ways, several distinct and significant strands of reception. These are manifest in the form of printed editions published in the long nineteenth century; analytical editions, Busoni editions, arrangements and paraphrases.¹³

The picture Hinrichsen paints is quite convincing; for me, his overview captures the richness of the activities of nineteenth-century musicians. However, I do have some reservations about his conclusion as it is drawn without thorough and systematic engagement with the prints. His approach seems to take broad trends, partly based on narratives from documentary sources such as the reviews and opinions of some core participants of Bach reception such as Schumann, von Bülow, Kroll, Liszt and Busoni, and partly based on quantifiable facts that

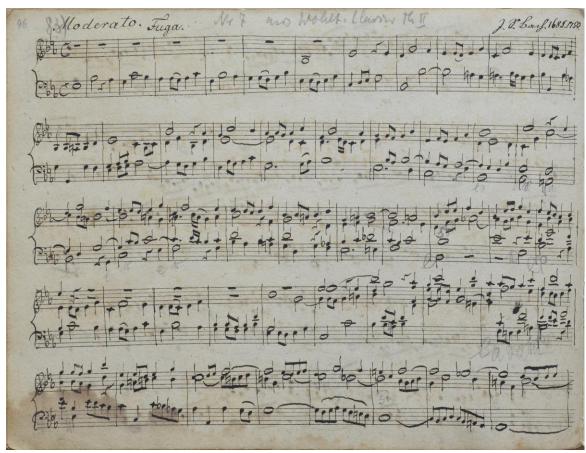
Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Zur Wirkungsgeschichte des Wohltemperierten Klaviers I', in S. Rampe (ed.), Bach: Das Wohltemperierte Klavier I: Tradition, Entstehung, Funktion, Analyse. Ulrich Siegele zum 70. Geburtstag. Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften, XXXVIII (München-Salzburg: Katzbichler, 2002), pp. 27–51.

Example 4: D-LEb, Go.S.316, p. 5



(reproduced with permission of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig)

Example 5: D-LEb, Go.S.315, p. 96



(reproduced with permission of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig)

have not yet been quantified: there is no attempt to measure the significance or influence of the editions cited. While Hinrichsen's summary of the wider historical tide may be valid, I cannot help but wonder whether his overview could accommodate the many other editions that do not fall under the featured strands of reception. Other publishing activities, which could also have contributed to the overall picture, may have been missed. I fear that very little can be learned from the impressionistic approach of the kind that focuses on, for example, an isolated instance of manuscript copies of the E-flat major fugue of WTC II, as shown in Examples 4 and 5.14

In my own studies of 2004 and 2007 on the same subject,¹⁵ I restricted the area of focus to editions published in London in the first half of the nineteenth century. From this level of observation, more detailed strands of reception came into view, namely:

- 1. The work was made available to the public in the most correct way possible through complete editions.
- 2. A small number of pieces was quoted in theoretical treatises as examples of excellence in composition from which a great deal could be learned.
- 3. Individual pieces were assembled and arranged for public consumption, which attests to the work's rising popularity.
- 4. As the work's practical educational potential was recognised, the pieces were increasingly featured in piano tutors.

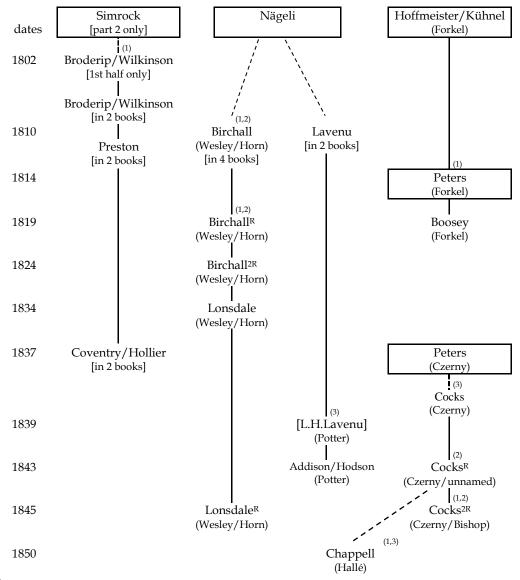
The stemma of the complete editions of WTC shown in Example 6 has been arrived at by a close examination of the musical text in which the editorial activities of individuals may be traced. Only through comprehensive and systematic cataloguing of editions can the various connections between them eventually be discovered.¹⁶

¹⁴ Being nineteenth-century manuscript copies, they are disregarded as the sources of 'no information value' by the editor of NBA for their edition. See NBA V/6.2 KB (1996), p. 122.

Yo Tomita, 'The Dawn of the English Bach Awakening Manifested in Sources of the "48"', in M. Kassler (ed.), The English Bach Awakening. Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his Music in England 1750–1830 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 35–167; 'Pursuit of Perfection: Stages of Revision of the Wesley/Horn "48"', in ditto, pp. 341–77; 'Samuel Wesley as Analyst of Bach's Fugues', in ditto, pp. 379–402; '"Most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable work": The English Reception of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century seen through the Editions Published in London', in T. Ellsworth and S. Wollenberg (eds.), The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture. Instruments, Performers and Repertoire (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 33–67. An abridged version is published in Bach Notes: The Newsletter of the American Bach Society, 7 (Spring 2007), 1–12, http://www.americanbachsociety.org/Newsletters/BachNotes07.pdf

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 43–56.

Example 6: Complete editions of WTC circulated in London, 1801–1850, tracing their textual origins in the continental editions shown in box



Notes:

- the reuse of the same music plates
- --- the creation of new plates based on the model [re-engraving].
- (1) evidence of light typographical corrections
- (2) evidence of text-critical corrections to musical text
- (3) evidence of other score alterations, such as performance directions and analytical comments
- R reissues that can be described as 'revised edition'
- 2R reissues that can be described as 'second revised edition'

The Gorke-Sammlung manuscripts in the Bach-Archiv Leipzig shown in Examples 4 and 5 share numerous variants; they are also related to the edition published in the 1830s in a series called *Orgel-Journal* (Mannheim: Heckel) as shown in Example 7.¹⁷

¹⁷ For the title-page description, see Example 3. Variants common to the three sources under discussion include the tempo mark 'Moderato', time signature 'c' (not ¢), b. 55, the second note

Example 7: Orgel-Journal, Vol. 2 (1830), p. 22: Fugue in E-flat major (BWV 876/2), bars 1-26



In terms of the musical text, the *Orgel-Journal* source and Go.S.316 are almost identical. From Schulze's dating of these sources ¹⁸ it could be inferred that Go.S.316 ('around 1810') served as the model for the 1830 edition. However, the small textual differences between them—particularly the presence of a strange extra tie/slur between bars 14–15 in Go.S.316 that could have originated from the split-system notation of the *Orgel-Journal* score—provide stronger evidence for reversing their genealogical relationship. ¹⁹ Together with another manuscript Go.S.315, ²⁰ which Schulze dates 'around 1850', they may be evidence for a small

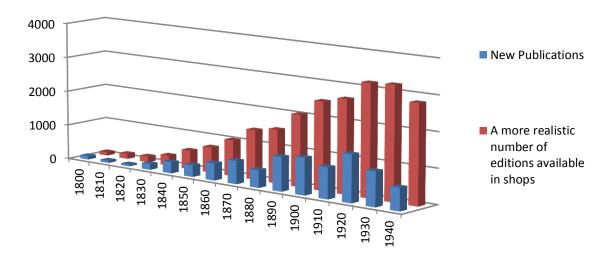
- in the tenor $\exists f'(\text{not } f')$, b. 69, last note in the tenor $\exists a \mid (\text{not } b \mid)$ and articulation marks (slurs) on quavers and semiquavers, e.g. bb. 4, 6–7, 10, 17 (Bass).
- Hans-Joachim Schulze, Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorke. Bachiana und andere Handschriften und Drucke des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek, 1977), p. 78.
- ¹⁹ See also how in Go.S.316 the last three down-stemmed notes [c c b b c of the tenor in b. 14 appear loosely placed between the right-hand and left-hand staves: specifically, the ledger line for b b is redundant: this is another typical error resulting from mechanical copying, strongly indicating that the scribe of Go.S.316 used the *Orgel-Journal* print as his model. In addition, Go.S.316 lacks two further symbols, viz. a breve rest in b. 37 and one slur in b. 8, the only one of the 73 slurs added to the *Orgel-Journal* version of the fugue. Given this new evidence, it follows that the *terminus ante quem* for the copy of the E-flat major fugue in Go.S.316 is 1830. I am grateful to Nobuaki Ebata for drawing my attention to the textual details of these sources.
- Go.S.315 contains numerous readings that set it apart from the *Orgel-Journal* exemplar and Go.S.316, e.g. the title 'Fuga' (instead of 'Fugue'); 59 of the 73 slurs added in the *Orgel-Journal* are missing, but two unique slurs have been added in bb. 35 and 60; three pitch errors: b. 26, Bass, second Ja (instead of f); b. 43, Alto, bt. 2, g' (instead of bb'); b. 64, Bass, first Jab (instead of f); a missing stem in b. 43, Tenor, eb'; six missing ties from bb. 21, 22, 41, 42, 57 and 62, but the tie missing in b. 21 of the *Orgel-Journal* source has been supplied. Furthermore, an extra bar

nexus of tutelage for organists somewhere in Germany yet to be discovered. As for these three sources containing a closely-related variant version of BWV 876/2, it is quite possible that they attest to a common strand of trends in which some of the WTC pieces were popular choices for organists, and thus found their way into collections of organ pieces.

What can statistical analysis tell us?

Let us return to Graph 1 (p. 31), which simply counts the number of newly published editions in the database in an attempt to produce a crude but broad snapshot of the flourishing music publishing industry from 1800–1949. More specifically, the graph hypothetically simulates the impact the appearance of these publications would have had on a printer or a keen follower of new editions. From the general public's perspective, a new edition would remain current while it was available. If the statistics are to be meaningful, they must also take into account the shelf-life of a new publication from the customers' perspective. Graph 4 simulates this 'impression' by artificially incorporating the following factors in the calculation:

- 80 per cent of editions published in the previous year would still be available in a shop
- 60 per cent of editions from the two preceding years would be available
- 40 per cent of editions from the three preceding years would be available
- 20 per cent of editions from the four preceding years would be available.²¹



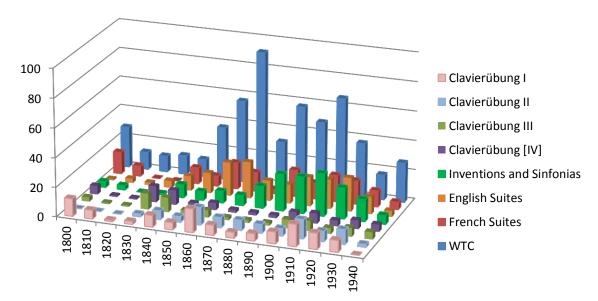
Graph 4: A more realistic estimation of the number of editions available in shops, assuming the availability of previously published editions

is added at the end to create a drawn-out effect. Therefore, the later manuscript Go.S.315 appears to be only loosely related to the *Orgel-Journal* exemplar and Go.S.316.

²¹ These adjustments are based on an assumption about the real situation made for argument's sake, rather than factual records. Future research should also investigate these adjusting factors.

Using this hypothetical calculation, Graph 4 shows a steep rise in stock level until the 1930s and hides all the dips, with the single exception of the 1940s. This highlights how seriously World War II affected the printed music market.

Graphs 5–7 test the validity of the common claim that WTC was Bach's most popular work between 1800 and 1949. Graph 5 explores the popularity of WTC against his keyboard works, Graphs 6a and 6b against his vocal works, and Graph 7 against his other instrumental works.



Graph 5: Breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC against Bach's other major keyboard works

Graph 5 necessitates some further explanation. Firstly, the number of prints offered in the 1800s is greater than that offered in the 1810s. One of the reasons is that Hoffmeister and Kühnel initially offered their editions of the *Oeuvres complettes de Jean Sebastian Bach* (1801–1804) in 16 instalments comprising twelve keyboard works,²² and thus resulting in 39 separate entries in the database. In addition, several reprints were offered in very quick succession (16 reprints are recorded between 1805 and 1806!), which can be discerned from the slightly modified title-pages and sometimes from the revisions made on the plates containing the musical text.²³ The smaller number of reprints and revised editions in the 1810s, when the firm was taken over by C. F. Peters, has to do with the fact

The twelve keyboard works are: Toccata in D minor (early version, BWV 913a); 15 Inventions; WTC I; 15 Sinfonias; 6 Partitas; Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue; WTC II; 6 Little Preludes (BWV 933–938); Fantasy in C minor (BWV 906); French Suites; the 'Goldberg' Variations; and Clavierübung III (without BWV 802–805).

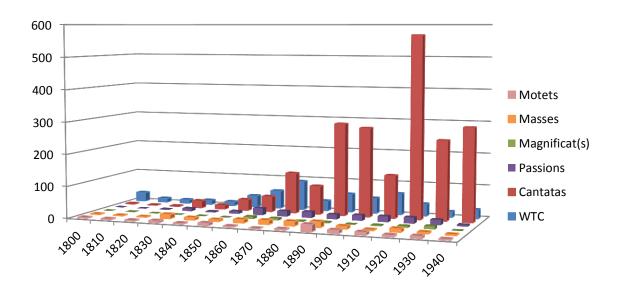
The same can be said of the Simrock edition. See Yo Tomita, 'The Simrock Edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier II', http://www.mu.qub.ac.uk/tomita/essay/simrock/, esp. the section 'Simrock's preparation of musical text and revisions'. For details on Hoffmeister and Kühnel's activities, see Karen Lehmann, *Die Anfänge einer Bach-Gesamtausgabe*. Leipziger Beiträge zur Bachforschung, VI (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2004), p. 55 ff.

that Peters offered the prints in the usual way, as volumes rather than split into segments, thus resulting in only 23 entries.²⁴

Secondly, the uniform number of prints of Bach's keyboard works in the 1840s reflects C. F. Peters' successful international operation, liaising with its counterparts in London and Paris to promote the *Oeuvre Complets* in both countries (see also Graph 8). C. F. Peters' editor, Carl Czerny, is responsible for this. His editions are still on sale today, and the extent of his influence in the market will make an interesting future study.

Thirdly, the steep surge in numbers of WTC editions in the 1870s can be explained partly by the sales of individual pieces, and partly by the increasing popularity of Gounod's arrangements, entitled *Méditation* ('Ave Maria'). These aspects are examined separately in Graphs 10 and 11, as the statistics make better sense at micro level.

Finally, the macro level observation confirms that throughout this period WTC remained the most visible of all Bach's keyboard works; it is also interesting to observe that the English and French Suites sustained their popularity after the 1840s, whereas the Inventions and Sinfonias only caught up forty years later.

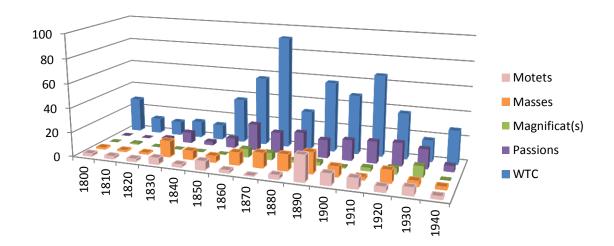


Graph 6a: Breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC against Bach's major vocal works

One fact stands out in Graph 6a: cantatas were published in greater numbers than WTC editions from 1870s onwards, witnessing the trend for Bach to be seen as a composer of cantatas, possibly associated with Spitta's emphasis on him as a composer of sacred vocal works. However, caution must be exercised when dealing with statistical analysis of this kind. With over 200 items, cantatas

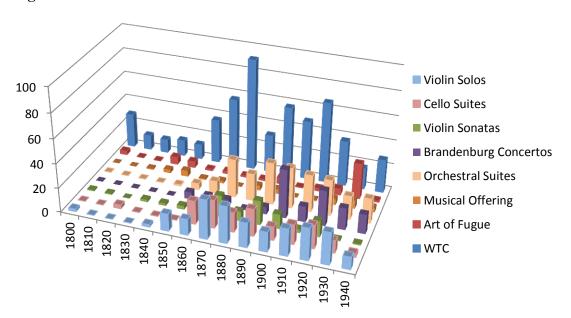
²⁴ It should also be noted that copies issued by C. F. Peters in 1810s and 1820s survive in far greater number than those produced in 1800s. Future statistical analyses should therefore take into account the number of surviving copies.

represent Bach's largest corpus of works; the prints consist not only of full scores, but also separate choral parts or choral scores with piano reductions, instrumental parts, and off-prints from the Bach-Gesellschaft edition for each cantata—not including the number of various arrangements of cantata movements, such as BWV 68/2, which became extremely popular from the 1850s. To appreciate the true impact of this statistic, the editions must be broken down further and the relative significance of their contributions to Bach reception measured.



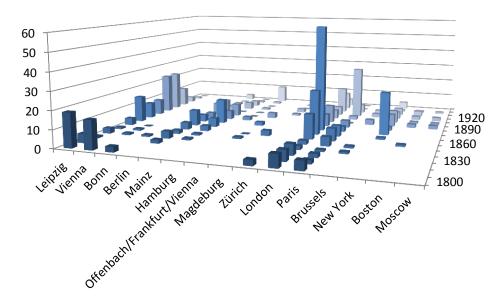
Graph 6b: Breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC against Bach's major vocal works excluding cantatas

Graph 6b examines the same scenario, but without the cantatas. It shows a continuous presence of passions and masses from 1830s, but not of motets and magnificats, a fact which may offer an interesting insight for future studies of these genres.



Graph 7: Breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC against Bach's other major instrumental works

Graph 7 yet again shows that WTC was much the most popular of Bach's instrumental works from 1800–1949, whereas other instrumental works gained in popularity only in the second half of the period. In the future, it would be fascinating to examine in detail how much of this popularity was based upon particular arrangements rather than its original format, as the arrangements of BWV 1002/7 and BWV 1068/2 appear to have been enormously popular. These aspects of WTC are examined in Graph 9 below.



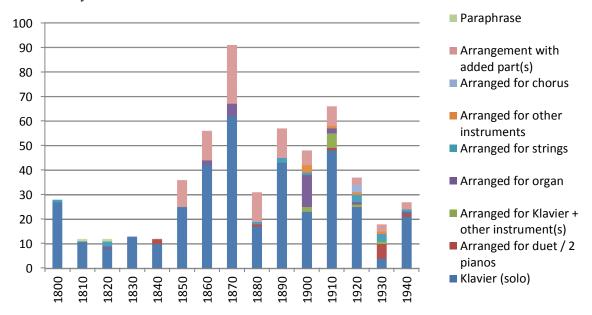
Graph 8: Breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC by place of publication

Graph 8 shows the expansion of the publishing of WTC between 1800 and 1949, reaching the USA and Russia towards the end of the period. Initially WTC was offered in full in 1801–2 by Simrock (Bonn and Paris), Hoffmeister and Kühnel (Vienna and Leipzig), and Nägeli (Zürich and Paris). Two further publishers also joined the race: Imbault (Paris, 1801) printed a fugue-only collection, in which the movements are arranged according to the circle of fifths rather than Bach's chromatic ascent; and Broderip and Wilkinson (London, 1802 and 1808) copied the Simrock edition of WTC II.²⁵ Zürich disappears from the map after its initial publication, but its edition remains visible in the market as a rebadged Richault edition (Paris, 1828). The competition between firms in six different cities across Europe at the beginning of the work's publication history is probably unique to WTC.

From the middle of the period, many publishers began to establish branch offices in and outside their home countries. Future studies will need to take these publishers' sales records into account so that their impact can be measured more realistically. For example, the printed music sold by a successful firm such as Breitkopf and Peters is expected to weigh more heavily in the statistics. Research is also needed to identify and examine editions published in St Petersburg during

²⁵ See Michael Kassler, 'Broderip, Wilkinson and the first English edition of the "48", Musical Times, 147/1895 (Summer 2006), 67–76.

this time, both through direct exploration of Russian libraries and by examining literature written in Russian, as well as that written in German or French and published in St Petersburg. The same applies to Eastern and Central Europe, which are yet to be studied.



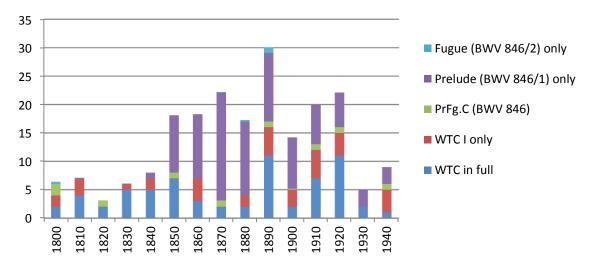
Graph 9: Breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC by edition type

Graph 9 gives a more detailed breakdown of the statistics shown in Graphs 5–7. As already mentioned, the demand for 'arrangements' is an important feature of the reception history of WTC in the latter half of this period. From Graph 9 it is evident that free arrangements occupy a fairly large proportion of new editions of WTC, following the popularity of Gounod's *Méditation* ('Ave Maria'), first published in 1853, (see Example 8); by 1900, the arrangements have increased in variety. ²⁶ It would be valuable to compare the sales' success of WTC arrangements and the arrangement of Bach's other works against that of original scorings and settings. For instance, it would be interesting to examine how isolated pieces such as BWV 68/2, BWV 232 II/5 and BWV 244/29 prepared the way for the reception of cantatas, masses and passions.

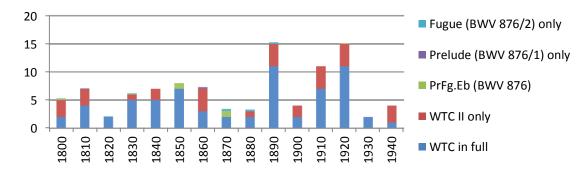
Graphs 10 and 11 break this analysis down to the level of individual movements of WTC and at the same time attempt to measure the level of exposure they had on the market. A prelude and fugue pair from each volume of WTC was selected for this study: no.1 (C major) from WTC I, and no.7 (E-flat major) from WTC II. The algorithm used for these graphs is based on the assumption that, where the movements appear in a selection or collection of miscellaneous pieces, they would not be identified as WTC pieces (viz. assigned value = 0.1), whereas where they appear in the complete volume of WTC (book I,

²⁶ There is a detailed study on Gounod's *Méditation* by Georg Feder, who examines this specific trend from a historical perspective. See Georg Feder, 'Gounods "Méditation" und ihre Folgen', in Walter Wiora (ed.), *Die Ausbreitung des Historismus über die Musik: Aufsätze und Diskussionen*. Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts, XIV (Regensburg: Bosse, 1969), pp. 85–122. It includes a comprehensive list of editions (pp.112–22).

book II, or both volumes bound as one) or as an individual piece explicitly stated to be part of WTC on the title-page, they would be clearly identifiable (viz. assigned value = 1).



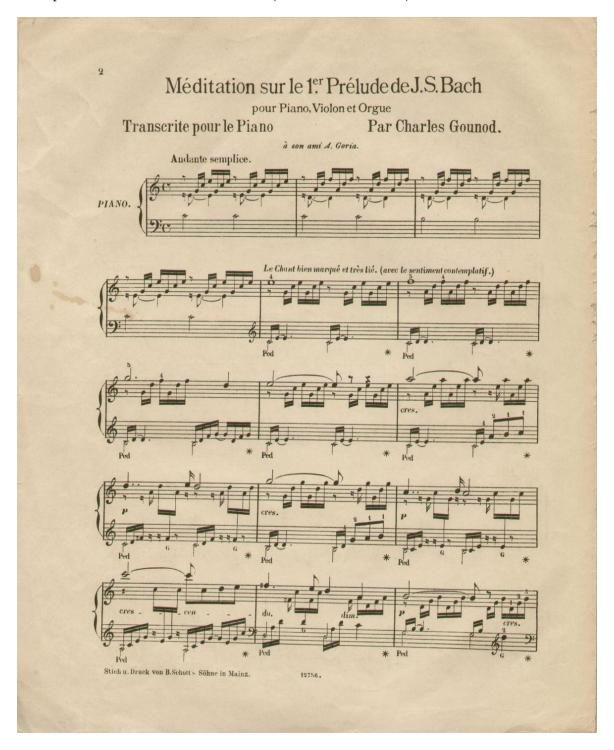
Graph 10: Further breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC seen through individual movements (1): BWV 846 (WTC I, C major)

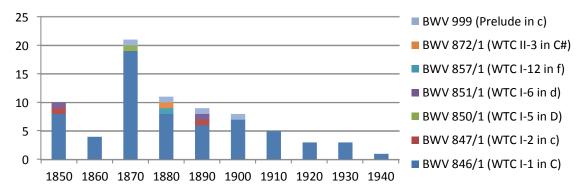


Graph 11: Further breakdown analysis of the new editions of WTC seen through individual movements (2): BWV 876 (WTC II, E-flat major)

Graph 10 reveals that between 1850 and 1880 Prelude no. 1 of WTC I was more visible as a stand-alone piece than as belonging to a pair of movements. A comparison with Graph 11 shows that this is a unique phenomenon among the movements of WTC, in which Gounod's arrangement must have played a significant role.

Example 8: Charles Gounod's Méditation (Mainz: Schott, c.1854)





Graph 12: Breakdown of the new editions bearing the title Méditation (on various preludes)

Graph 12 plots the new editions of BWV 846/1 entitled *Méditation* against similar arrangements of other preludes that bear the same title. One such example is shown in Example 9. A number of arrangements in the manner of Gounod, that do not bear the title 'Méditation' may be explored in the future so that the wider impact of Gounod's legacy can be measured.

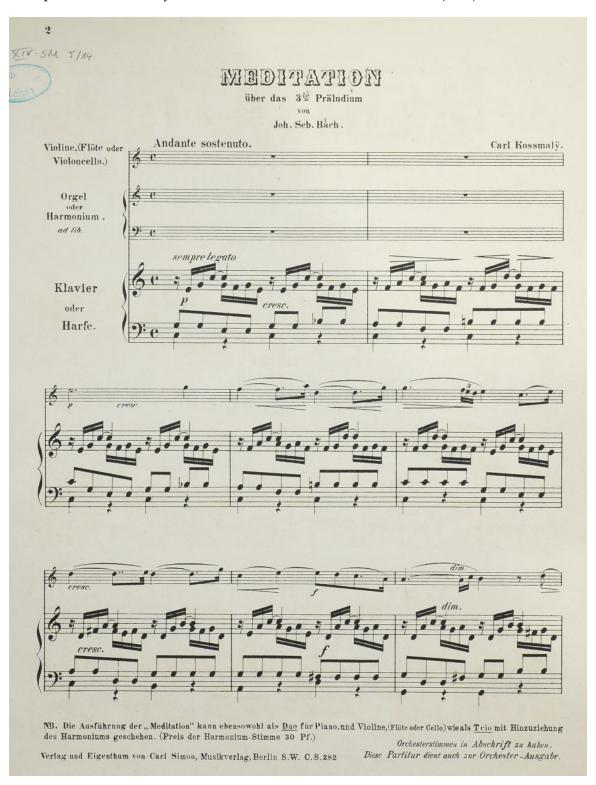
Conclusion

Examining the editions of WTC at both the macro and micro level clearly demonstrates that trends in the reception of Bach's music between 1800 and 1949 can be measured and quantified by carefully interpreting statistical information. One way of doing this is to look into the records of newly published editions. Systematic examination of the printed music gives us access to the thoughts of the people who produced these editions. Many of them must have recognised the works Bach as something worth dedicating their lives to. For others it may have just been an opportunity to make money.

This study has found that people's tastes for Bach's music continued to mature and diversify over time. If a fuller understanding of this process is to be gained, the question must be approached from all angles, including economics, aesthetics and sociology of the period. And concert records must be studied in addition to printed music. A combination of these approaches may produce a clearer view of Bach reception between 1800 and 1949.

Research of this kind offers broader possibilities for future Bach scholarship. To gain a wider perspective on Bach, one should also investigate printed music that is not exclusively linked to him; such a study may add a new dimension to nineteenth-, as well as twentieth- and twenty-first-century, Bach reception. An obvious next step is a thorough investigation of each publisher, tracing chronologically all publications of the printed music of every composer, including revised editions and reissues. Research similar to Karen Lehmann's on Hoffmeister and its successor C. F. Peters²⁷ is needed on other publishers, starting with Breitkopf, Nägeli and Simrock. In the same way, case studies comparing Bach with other 'great' composers throughout the nineteenth century will result

Example 9: Carl Kossmaly's Meditation on the 3rd Prelude of WTC II (1889)



in a more holistic and objective picture of their reception. For example, a comparative study of Bach's St Matthew Passion and Mendelssohn's St Paul through the lens of printed music studies may, revealing how the musical public of the time responded to these works, may add a new perspective to the familiar view of Mendelssohn's appreciation of Bach.²⁸ Enquiries such as the number of exemplars sold, which publishers were involved, and which formats were most sought after (viz. full score, vocal parts, vocal score with piano reduction), should offer a range of objective and quantifiable data which may provide valuable new information. Similarly, research of piano reductions-whether for two or four hands, a type of score which did not exist during Bach's time - as a vehicle of nineteenth-century reception may offer a fascinating subject of research, in a similar way that recordings and broadcasts have done for twentieth-century scholars.²⁹ Research on a specific personage who nurtured great interest in Bach, such as Franz Hauser, is an obvious next step.³⁰ Numerous studies of composers have relied on diaries and correspondence to illuminate their publishing activities. In the same spirit, studies on the supporters of the Bach revival are due.

While the methodologies to evaluate such information remain to be developed so that their impact on others can be measured, the Bach Printed Music Database will have a role to play in improving our understanding of the various aspects of nineteenth-century Bach Reception in the twenty-first century.

²⁸ On Mendelssohn and his publishers, see Rudolf Elvers (ed.), *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Briefe an deutsche Verleger* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968). Together with Lehmann's research, this is one of the few studies that demonstrate the value of print studies in present-day Bach scholarship.

²⁹ For example, the published arrangements of Bach's major organ works for piano duet represent one such avenue of research. I am grateful to Nobuaki Ebata for pointing out this idea in private communication.

See Yoshitake Kobayashi, 'Franz Hauser und seine Bach-Handschriftensammlung', PhD diss., University of Göttingen, 1973.