BACH



NOTES

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE AMERICAN BACH SOCIETY

"MOST INGENIOUS, MOST LEARNED, AND YET PRACTICABLE WORK"

THE ENGLISH RECEPTION OF BACH'S THE WELL-TEMPERED CLAVIER
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
AS SEEN THROUGH THE EDITIONS PUBLISHED IN LONDON*

YO ТОМІТА

Unlike in Germany, where Bach was held in unparalleled esteem and enjoyed great fame as a virtuoso organist and composer of keyboard music, in foreign countries it took many decades for his most important compositions, such as The Well-Tempered Clavier (WTC), to penetrate the core keyboard repertory. It was not until nearly half a century after Bach's death that the English began to "catch up," a process that roughly coincided with the appearance in 1801 of the first complete printed editions of The Well-Tempered Clavier on the Continent. These were published by the three competing firms of Simrock, Nägeli, and Hoffmeister & Kühnel.¹ Bach's delayed recognition in England is attributable to both the unavailability of his music (or even information about it) and the unenthusiastic reception of his compositions that were known.

A. F. C. Kollmann: the first Bach apostle in England

It was the German immigrant Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann, as far as I can trace, who first planned to publish *The Well-Tempered Clavier* in England. He indicated as much in his 1799 treatise An Essay on Practical Musical Composition. Kollmann knew Burney, as well as his harsh views of Bach's fugues,² and having carefully dealt with the thorny issue of the fugal styles of Bach and Handel earlier in the treatise, he introduced the English audience to The Well-Tempered Clavier toward the end of the book:

The three particulars mentioned above in § 18 [organ sounds and their continuance with equal strength], 19 [the temperament of the scale], and 20 [the construction of the fingerboard, which is applicable in every key], have been attended to in Sebastian Bach's work, entitled Wohl temperirtes, Clavier, (well tempered Harpsichord, or Keyed Instrument in general,) consisting of twice twenty four Preludes and Fugues, or two in every major and minor Key. Every Prelude and Fugue may be considered as a Sonata of two Movements, each of which can be used as a piece by itself. This most ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable

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© 2007 The American Bach Society work, is so highly esteemed by all who can judge of it, that as it is grown scarce, I intend to offer it to the public analyzed [emphasis added].³

The last sentence, marked in bold, was a concise but carefully worded rebuttal to the commonly held view of Bach's works in England at the time. By using "ingenious," Kollmann means to insinuate that Bach's compositions are inventive, original, and intellectual in conception. With "learned," he acknowledges that Bach's compositional skills encompass a variety of styles and techniques. Finally, with "practicable" he claims that Bach's fugues can be used effectively in both teaching and performance and unreservedly recommends them for these purposes.

The nature of the disagreement between Burney and Kollmann is remarkably similar to that between Scheibe and Birnbaum of 1737–8.⁴ The analogy does not hold, however, with respect to the nature of the persons involved. In the present case, a senior but naïve and careless accuser is rebutted by a junior but careful and knowledgeable defender, and, unlike in the Scheibe-Birmbaum case, Kollmann's response apparently sparked no further dispute. To add substance to his argument, Kollmann proposed publishing *The Well-Tempered Clavier* with analysis so his readers could fully appreciate the "ingenious, most learned, and yet practicable style" of these compositions.

Kollmann's followers, such as Samuel Wesley, concerned themselves with these three aspects of the collection as well. From Wesley's daughter Eliza we know her father first encountered Bach's music not only from the published works of Kollmann, meaning presumably the treatise quoted above, but also from Joseph Diettenhofer's edition of miscellaneous fugues published in 1802 (see the discussion below and the entry in table 3). Wesley contributed significantly to the promotion of Bach's music in England by discussing the composer and his works in numerous sources, as considered in detail by both Michael Kassler and Philip Olleson. 6

J. W. Windsor's Awakening to Bach, a case study

Kollmann also inspired enthusiasm for Bach in James William Windsor, whose name appears as "Mr J. Windsor, Organist of St. Margaret's Chapel, Bath" among the 103 subscribers to Kollmann's 1799 treatise. Two years after the publication of Kollmann's work, Windsor copied both parts of *The Well-Tempered Clavier very* neatly and carefully, and inscribed "J. W. Windsor | Nov^r 30 | 1801 | <u>Bath</u>" on the inside front cover of the manuscript. Textually, Windsor's manuscript is very curious: it appears to have been copied from a source that is not closely related to any known surviving source of the work. Even though the paper on which it was copied was made in England, the lost model may have been of German origin. More important, however, are other aspects of the source, to which I now turn, that seem to reflect the English reception of Bach and his works.

Windsor was born in 1776 in London and died in 1853 in Bath, where his reputation as an able pianist seems to have been established before the age of twenty. He was nicknamed "The Harmonious Blacksmith," apparently because of his frequent performances of the air and variations from Handel's Suite in E major. In addition to being a fine pianist, he must also have been a keen student of music since he subscribed not only to Kollmann's 1799 treatise but also to Wesley and Horn's 1810 edition of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* (discussed below and indicated in table 1).

An inscription in the flyleaf of Windsor's manuscript provides insight into his musical activities to that point in his life. The inclusion in the inscription of the most basic facts about Bach's life suggests Windsor had not had a long-standing interest in Bach but was drawn to *The Well-Tempered Clavier* because of his professional career as a pianist. Windsor's note concerns not only Bach but also Handel:

Sebastian Bach was contemporary with Handel.

John Sebastian Bach was born, March 21–1685, at Eisenach in Upper Saxony — Died, July 30 – 1750. In the $66\frac{\text{th}}{\text{year}}$ year of his age.

George Frederic Handel was born, Feb: ^y 24 – 1684 at Halle in Lower Saxony — Died, April 13 – 1759. In the 76th year of his age.

The young Practitioner when sitting down to the study of this masterly work should recollect the Instruments in vogue at the time it was written, namely, the Organ and Harpsichord, only the Piano Forte not then being invented! Consequently the Effects producible from the last named Instrument are not to be expected in the performance of these admirable compositions. Nothing more being required than an equable tone on the P_F_ and a clear and clean execution on the part of the Performer. In order to the right understanding of the complicated and elaborate style of Fugue writing to the Auditor.

The way in which Windsor situates Bach historically alongside Handel seems to indicate that his interest in Bach's music stemmed from his interest in Handel's, which he must have known very well. One notices, however, that some of the biographical details concerning both Bach and Handel are incorrect. 12

Even more striking than this inscription is a further note written at the end of the manuscript in the space remaining after the final fugue. There, Windsor quotes William Crotch (1775 – 1847), an influential scholar who commented on the style of Bach's fugues in the preface to volume three of his *Specimens of Various Styles of Music* (London, 1809):

Sebastian Bach was contemporary with Handel. His most celebrated productions are organ fugues, very difficult of execution; profoundly learned, and highly ingenious. The prevailing style of these compositions is the Sublime; sometimes a mixture of the Sublime & Ornamental; but the Beautiful also occasionally appears as will be fully seen in the ninth fugue of this second set. ¹³ The student should be careful not to form a hasty judgment of his character as the riches of his learning are not scatter[e]d superficially, but lie too deeply buried to be immediately perceived. In the management of a strict fugue he stands unrivalled, and he seems to be the most scientific of all composers.

Crotch clearly understood and approved of Bach's approach to composition. As Bennett Zon observes, he believed "the composer must not write down to please his audience, but must remain true to his inspiration, despite the consequences." According to Crotch it was this practice that enabled Bach to develop such refined taste. ¹⁴ Of particular significance, however, is Crotch's attribution of the same three positive qualities to Bach's fugues as Kollmann—"most ingenious, most learned and yet practicable"—but in reverse order: "very difficult of execution; profoundly learned, and highly ingenious." ¹⁵ Even though Crotch's assessment of the practicability of the collection emphasizes its difficulty, his comments reflect the significantly greater appreciation of Bach's music that had developed since Burney's time, a development that must be seen as a vital step toward a conception of Bach's fugues as objects worthy of study.

Scholarly discussion of Bach's music was nevertheless slow to develop in England. An absence of considerable or sustained commentary on his keyboard music during the first decade of the nineteenth century is suggested by the fact that Windsor copied his manuscript in 1801 but found no observations worthy of inclusion until Crotch's, which he copied in 1809 at the earliest.

As noted above, Windsor's continued interest in Bach's music led him to subscribe to the 1810 Wesley/Horn complete edition of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*. The following discussion of that edition and the others published in London in the first half of the nineteenth century establishes a broader historical context for the Windsor case, while also revealing how and in what form *The Well-Tempered Clavier* was disseminated, and how the public interacted with it.

Complete Editions

The availability of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* in a complete printed edition was a prerequisite to its entering the nineteenth-century musical canon. As noted above, this important first step took place on the Continent, where the work was already well known, and these editions were quickly imported to London. In fact, all the early English editions were based on one of the three continental editions previously named: Simrock, Nägeli, and Hoffmeister & Kühnel. These continental editions were laid out in oblong format, without any editorial additions such as fingering or performance indications. (These practices had changed, however, by the time of Carl Czerny's 1837 C. F. Peters edition, which is in portrait format and includes editorial additions). The English editions discussed in this section are listed by publisher and year in table 1, and their genealogy is diagramed by continental source and year in figure 1.

The first English edition of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* was issued by Broderip & Wilkinson in June 1802, but it contains only the first half of part II.¹⁷ The title page, including the dedication to the Paris Conservatory, and the music engraving were clearly modeled on the Simrock edition (see figure 2). Similarly, the oblong format and lack of editorial additions clearly follow the example of continental models. ¹⁸ This first London edition, however, appears not to have sold very well, as suggested by three pieces of evidence: only one copy is known to survive; it was a full six years before a second volume appeared containing the second half of part II¹⁹; and part I was never published.

By the time the second half of part II appeared in 1808, Broderip & Wilkinson had changed its name to Wilkinson & Co.²⁰ The business was in turmoil at that time, and its stock was later offered at half price

in the August 25, 1809 edition of *The Times*. Wilkinson & Co. was eventually taken over by Thomas Preston in January 1811,²¹ and then by Coventry & Hollier in 1837, both of whom reprinted this ill-fated edition.

From surviving letters we know that Wesley and Horn were at work on their edition by October 1808, having chosen the Nägeli editionthe musical text they considered most reliable—as their model. Their edition, published by Birchall, was unlike the earlier English edition in that its musical text resulted from rigorous examination of the source. The phrase "New And correct Edition" engraved on their title-page (see figure 3) reflects their pride in this publication project. In effect, their efforts fulfilled Kollmann's dream of publishing the edition with analysis, and thereby established a new model for fugue publication that became the trademark English approach. This model was replicated by Cipriani Potter from 1838 (as in his lost edition of 1839) and even in Germany by Jean André in 1846.²² The reissue of the Wesley/Horn edition in its many guises until c. 1845 and the frequent appearance of copies of this edition at auctions of music libraries attest to the fact that it was the most popular English edition of The Well-Tempered Clavier for much of the first half of the nineteenth century.²³

The 1811 Lavenu edition, published around the same time as the Wesley/Horn edition, was a straightforward re-engraving of the edition by Nägeli. Consequently, the musical presentation is just as plain as in the Broderip & Wilkinson edition based on the edition by Simrock.²⁴ Since a number of copies of this edition survive, with watermarks ranging from 1807 to 1829, it is strange, to say the least, that there is no mention of it in Wesley's surviving letters. Lavenu's plates were reused in Potter's lost 1839 edition and in his 1845 edition published by Addison and Hodges (see figure 4).²⁵

Johann Nikolaus Forkel edited the Hoffmeister & Kühnel edition as part of a larger project to publish Bach's complete keyboard works. The partnership of Hoffmeister & Kühnel split up on January 2, 1805, and Kühnel took over the business on March 6, 1806, renaming it the "Bureau de Musique, A. Kühnel." After Kühnel's death in 1813, Carl Friedrich Peters bought the business, called it the "Bureau de Musique von C. F. Peters," and reissued the edition in 1814 (see figure 1). This Hoffmeister & Kühnel/ Peters edition, edited by Forkel, was the third and last brought from the continent. Thomas Boosey became the official London agent in 1819, but the edition had presumably made its way to England before that time. Thomas Boosey became the

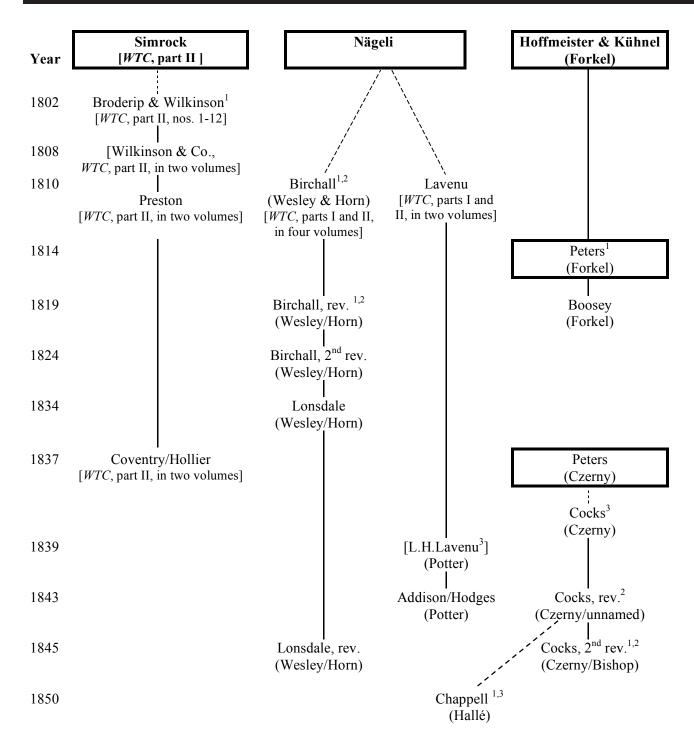
C. F. Peters introduced true innovation with its second attempt (in 1837) to publish Bach's complete keyboard works ("Œuvres complets")—this time with Carl Czerny as editor. Peters' was the first continental edition to include a one-page preface, in both German and French, concerning the care with which the text had been prepared and how one should practice. Perhaps more significantly, Czerny forged new ground beyond what was familiar from the Wesley/Horn edition by introducing fingering and including performance directions concerning not only dynamic levels but also phrasing, articulation, and tempo, the last indicated with the use of Maelzel's metronome marks. This edition was quickly imported to England, jointly by T. Boosey & Co., R. Cocks & Co., and J. Ewer & Co,²⁸ but in 1838 received a rather harsh review in *The Musical World* in which the Wesley edition was favored:

In some instances he [Czerny] differs from the mode of performance adopted by Wesley, and, we think, to

Table 1. Complete editions of *The Well-Tempered Clavier (WTC)* published in England between 1800 and 1850, by publisher, editor, and $year^1$

Publisher	Editor	Date	Comments		
Broderip & Wilkinson	anon.	June 1802	Volume 1 ("I. Partie"): WTCII, nos.1–12 (where each number signifies both the prelude and fuguein the particular key); musical text based on the Simrock edition; US-BER, Kenney 2462 bears watermarks "1801" and "R G" [or "G R"].		
[Wilkinson & Co.]		Nov. 1808	Volume 2 ("II. Partie"): WTC II, fugue of no. 12 (freshly engraved) and nos. 13-24; watermarks "1807" and "1808"; reprint of volume 1 available for sale.		
T. Preston		c. 1810	Preston bought the engraved plates of Broderip & Wilkinson and reprinted WTC II in two volumes; watermarks "1809," "1811," and "1813."		
Coventry & Hollier		c. 1837	Coventry & Hollier succeeded Preston and using the Broderip & Wilkinson plates sold an edition of $WTCII$ in two volumes, but no.12 is not duplicated in this instance; US-BER, Kenney 2464 bears no watermark.		
R. Birchall	S. Wesley & C.F. Horn	Sept. 1810	Book I: WTCI, nos.1–12; no watermarks; includes the names of 144 subscribers.		
		May 1811	Book II: WTC I, nos.13–24; no watermark; around this time a slightly revised edition of Book I was issued with the names of 152 subscribers.		
		Dec. 1811	Book III: WTC II, nos.1–12; watermarks "1811" and "S."		
		July 1813	Book IV: WTC II, nos.13–24; watermark "1812."		
		c. 1819	Reissue of Books I – IV with minor revisions to both the title-pages and the musical texts; watermarks "1817" and "1819."		
		c. 1824	Second reissue in which the publisher's address on the title-page, was changed from "133" to "140" New Bond Street; watermarks "1824" and "1827."		
C. Lonsdale		c. 1834	Lonsdale followed the practice of Birchall and sold the Wesley/Horn edition with a newly designed title-page.		
		c. 1845	Lonsdale reissued the same with a slightly modified title-page.		
		April 1811	All 48 preludes and fugues issued in two volumes; musical text based on the Nägeli edition; GB-Lbl, R.M.15.g.13 bears the watermark "1807"; publisher's address was given as "26 New Bond Street."		
			Appears to have been reissued at least three times: US-BER, Kenney 2467 bears watermark "1816"; another known copy bears watermark "1821," with the publisher's address given as "24. Edward Street"; the author's copy bears a clover watermark with "J C" and "1829" below.		
?L.H. Lavenu	C. Potter	1839	Reuse of L. Lavenu's plates, but with the addition of performance directions, fingering, and analytical icons similar to those found in the Wesley/Horn edition in nos. 1-6; no extant copies; see footnote 25.		
Addison & Hodges	C. Potter	c. 1845	Reprint of 1839 Lavenu edition (US-BER, Kenney 2436).		
T. Boosey & Co.	[J. N. Forkel]	1818–9	Boosey imported copies of the C. F. Peters' edition of WTC I and II and sold them with a slightly altered title-page.		
R. Cocks & Co. C. Czerny		1838	Based on the 1837 C. F. Peters edition; publisher's address given as "20 Princes Street, Hanover Square." (GB-Er, Accession number D2193).		
	anon.	after 1845	Revised edition; publisher's address given as "6 New Burlington Street" (US-BER, Kenney 2397).		
	J. Bishop	after 1848	Reissued: "revised by John Bishop of Cheltenham" published by "Robert Cocks & Co. New Burlington Street" (US-BER, Kenney 2408).		
Chappell & Co.	C. Hallé	c. 1850	Based on the Cocks 1845 edition; publisher's address given as "50 New Bond Street."		

¹ The chronological information in tables 1–4 for the years from 1800 to 1830 is taken from "Chronology of the English Bach Awakening," *The English Bach Awakening*, 12-32.



[&]quot;—" indicates the reuse of the same music plates

Figure 1. The genealogy of the English editions of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* from the first half of the nineteenth century, arranged by original continental source and year

[&]quot;---" indicates the creation of new plates based on the model

¹ Light typographical corrections

² Text-critical corrections to music text

³ Alterations with respect to performance directions, analytical comments, etc.





Figure 2. Title-pages of the Simrock (left) and Broderip & Wilkinson (right) editions. Reproduced by permission of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio.

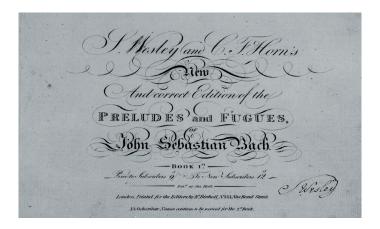


Figure 3. Title-page of the Wesley and Horn edition, published by Birchall. Reproduced by permission of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio.





Figure 4. Title-pages of the 1811 Lavenu edition (left) and the 1845 Addison & Hodges edition (right), both edited by Potter. Reproduced by permission of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio.

a disadvantage.... Wesley possessed a kindred spirit with the German giant.... M. Czerny's reading, in these instances, does not meet either with our sympathy or approval.... We perceive M. Czerny has adopted the text of Mr. Wesley, and in some instances also his mistakes.²⁹

Although it is not entirely clear what is meant by Wesley's "mode of performance," the reviewer clearly disagrees with many of Czerny's performance directions. His supposition that Czerny adopted Wesley's text is difficult to confirm since much of Wesley's text originated with the Nägeli edition. Whether or not the reviewer arrived at this criticism after consulting a wide range of editions is unknown. There is, however, one isolated instance in Czerny's edition in which Wesley's analytical icon—a caret—appears to have been copied by mistake, as shown above the second note of the left hand in the reproductions of figure 5.30

Robert Cocks, of R. Cocks & Co., appears to have been unfazed by the review and within a few weeks announced the imminent publication of "Bach's (J. S.) 48 Preludes and 48 Fugues, fingered by Czerny for the English student." Cocks' new engraved edition with "English" fingering, in which "+" indicates the thumb, appeared in May 1838. His enthusiasm for this project is most clearly seen in the extended "Address" that was prepared especially for this edition:

THE Musical World possesses no more splendid monument of the highest perfection of the Musical Art than the Works of J. S. BACH, the admirable and unequalled co[n]temporary of HANDEL. And as it required several centuries before we could comprehend and appreciate the beauties of a SHAKESPEARE, so SEB. BACH still stands a gigantic image before us, rather wondered at than understood—rather known and esteemed by name, than by his works.

All the compositions of this immortal Master are written in that strict, classical, and imperishable style, which alone remains elevated above every change of fashion, and every variation of taste,—which, like the eternal truths of mathematical science, is subjected to no caprice; and which even He, himself, only brought to the highest degree of perfection, by knowing how to unite all the secrets of the most abstract and subtle harmonic combinations with true beauty and sublimity; and who became thereby the Teacher and Lawgiver to all future times....



One cannot help but notice that although Czerny's name appears as author, the text bears such a strong resemblance to Crotch's paragraph quoted above—especially in placing Bach historically alongside Handel, and in referring to Bach's style with two of Crotch's keywords, "beauty" and "sublimity"—that the English writer must have referred to Crotch's preface. He found there words that were still relevant nearly thirty years after their original publication.³³

Theoretical Treatises

Two English treatises published around 1800—Kollmann's An Essay on Practical Musical Composition discussed above and William Shield's An Introduction to Harmony—are exceptional in that they contain one or more complete pieces from The Well-Tempered Clavier (see table 2).³⁴ Bach's compositions were often cited in treatises published in Germany, such as those by Mattheson, Marpurg, and Kirnberger, but it was exceedingly rare for theoretical works to contain full reproductions of pieces from the "48." The English studies undoubtedly adopted this less common practice because The Well-Tempered Clavier did not circulate as widely in manuscript in England as in Germany. Such "hybrid" treatises disappeared as soon as complete editions of The Well-Tempered Clavier became available.

Included in Kollmann's treatise is an edition of the Prelude and Fugue in C major from WTC, part II (not "part I" as erroneously indicated by Kollmann), which was prepared from a manuscript he obtained from Germany. The manuscript source is in oblong format, which was rare for the time, but Kollmann's edition is in portrait format, in line with many contemporary editions for harpsichord and pianoforte. Kollmann indicates in the treatise that the publication of this pair of movements anticipates the forthcoming edition of the entire collection, which was presently "being analysed." His edition, however, contains no analysis. In fact, it contains serious textual errors in the prelude. The serious in the prelude.

Shield's edition of the Prelude in D minor from part I that he included in his treatise follows the format and presentation style of Kollmann's edition. Shield's commentary is particularly revealing in that Bach is not introduced by name, almost as if it were taboo to utter his name in public. Instead, the reader learns that the composer, "The Father of a wonderful family of Harmonists produced many such masterly modulations as the following to delight and instruct his sons."

Since Shield found Bach to be an "ingenious" harmonist, it is not surprising that his edition also included interesting remarks on the music itself. In the top margin of the second page he recorded his observations concerning Bach's harmonic progression from measure 14: "The Extraneous Modulations in this Page will perhaps be too harsh for the

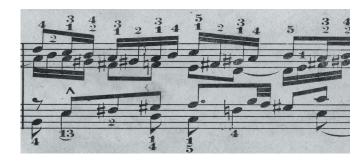


Figure 5. Fugue in C major, WTCI, m. 12, as it appears in the Wesley/Horn (left) and Czerny (right) editions.

Table 2. Pieces from The Well-Tempered Clavier included in theoretical treatises from around 1800

Date	Publication Title-Page (author in bold)	Compositions from WTC	Comments
1799	"An Essay on Practical Musical Composition by Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann , London: Printed for the Author (Friary, St. James's Palace,) "	Prelude and Fugue in C major, WTC II	Printed on plates 52–55; earliest publication of these movements. The second edition was issued in 1812 with some corrections to the musical text of the prelude.
1800	"An Introduction to Harmony by William Shield London. Printed for the Author & Sold by G. G. & J. Robinson, Pater-Noster Rew"	Prelude in D minor, WTC I	Printed on pages 114 and 115; earliest publication of this movement. "New Edition (being the Second)" was issued c. 1814 with no changes to the musical text.

common Ear, yet enrapture the educated admirers of Mozart." At the bottom of the same page he commented on the cadenza-like passagework of measures 24 and 25: "The above is regularly measured with bars, as it is not a Prelude to show the powers of a Performer, but to prepare the auditor for the piece that is to follow."

Pieces from *The Well-Tempered Clavier* assembled and arranged for public consumption

The musicians in London who were fortunate enough to have the opportunity to play some of the fugues from The Well-Tempered Clavier were "gratified" by the effect. They were convinced Bach's music should be promoted, in whatever form, for the enjoyment of the public. One way in which Bach's fugues reached a wider audience was through their inclusion in collections of miscellaneous pieces, as indicated in table 3. The importance of one such collection edited by Joseph Diettenhofer in 1802 was noticed early in the English Bach awakening by several key figures, such as Samuel Wesley³⁸ and John Wall Callcott.³⁹ In the "Advertisement" (preface), Diettenhofer explained that these fugues "have been tried at the Savoy Church, Strand, before several Organists and eminent Musicians attending the Performance, who were highly gratified, and recommended their Publication."40 Diettenhofer also describes Bach as "the most learned Composer of his Time." His source for this description may well have been the 1801/2 Simrock edition or possibly the 1802 Broderip & Wilkinson edition. Unlike these earlier publications, however, Diettenhofer's includes occasional analytical comments at the entry of the fugue subjects and the appearance of particular contrapuntal devices such as contrary motion and canon. This analytical approach, along with the appearance of Diettenhofer's collection only a few years after Kollmann's An Essay on Practical Musical Composition (1799), suggest he may have been in the same circle as Kollmann: recall that in the 1799 essay Kollmann made known his intention to publish an edition of The Well-Tempered Clavier with analysis.

In the preface to his "A Sett of Twelve Fugues, Composed for the Organ by Sebastian Bach," Charles Frederic Horn similarly communicated general approval and demand for these works:

Some time ago, I arranged them for a private party, as Quartettos; and as many of my friends were much gratified with the effect they produced, I was prevailed upon to publish them by subscription. Since that time, many lovers of Harmony wished to accompany them on the Piano-forte: instead of a simple Violoncello part, I therefore added a Basso-Continuo, or Thorough-Bass, which may serve a variety of purposes.

In preparing the quartets, Horn initially worked from his own manuscript copy, which he proofread against the Nägeli edition. The resulting text, however, is substantially different from its models. Besides the alterations required to accommodate the range of the string instruments, Horn occasionally introduced different textural treatments and additional chromatic shadings. These revisions reveal much about Horn's approach as an experienced and enthusiastic editor.

Crotch's anthology, published in 1809, appears to have favorably influenced the reception of Bach's fugues in a broad and lasting manner. His source was a manuscript copy prepared especially for him by Wesley, 42 a result of their correspondence on the textual problems in Crotch's "London copy" of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* published by Broderip & Wilkinson. 43

The public attitude toward Bach softened from the 1820s, indicating *The Well-Tempered Clavier*| had successfully entered the popular repertory. The collection's general appeal at the beginning of the decade is reflected in the inclusion of nine preludes, all shortened and deliberately made less difficult, in the opening pages of *The Beauties of Mozart, Handel, Pleyel, Beethoven* . . . published by Samuel Leigh in 1820. In the prefatory remarks, the unnamed editor writes

The Preludes have been selected from the celebrated Work of Sebastian Bach, but are now rendered less difficult of execution, therefore more generally acceptable than the extremely profound work from which they have been extracted.

Even though the simplification destroys the structural logic and drama of Bach's harmony, these pieces nevertheless served an important purpose: a pianist with only limited technical ability was able to derive satisfaction from playing them, and at the same time came to know and appreciate the music of Bach.

The editor's approach in creating these simplified versions may be seen in a comparison of the "Prelude No.5. Key of E Major" (see figure 6) with the original Bach source, the Prelude in C-sharp major from WTC, part I. His model appears to have been the early versions of some of the preludes from WTC, part I, included in Forkel's 1819 edition. The editor appears to have begun with the shorter, early version of the Prelude in C-sharp major, which is only sixty eight measures long, as opposed to the 104 measures of the final version, and shortened it even further by skipping from m. 16 to m. 59. In this case he did not find it necessary to re-work any of the musical text to connect the two newly adjacent sections, but in other instances he added a short bridge.

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Table 3. Pieces from *The Well-Tempered Clavier* assembled and arranged in miscellaneous collections published in England during the first half of the nineteenth century

Date	Publication Title-Page (author in bold)	Compositions from WTC, in order of appearance	Comments
1802	"Set of Ten Miscellaneous Fugues for the Organ or the Piano Forte and Four, with the Voluntary, by the late Celebrated John Sebastian Bach, Organist, Composer, & Conductor of the Music at the Cathedral at Leipzig in Germany. Chiefly intended for the Use of Organists;	WTCI: Fugues in C major and C-sharp minor	The fugues from the WTClappear on pages 19 – 25 and were preceded by three fugues by Handel, three by Diettenhofer, and the final fugue from Bach's <i>The Art of Fugue</i> with Diettenhofer's own conclusion.
	Third Set by Joseph Diettenhofer London, Printed by & for Goulding, Phipps & d'Almaine 45 Pall Mall & 76 St. James's Street"		The "Second Edition Revised & Corrected" was issued by the same publisher c. 1810, GB-Lbl, h.2732.l.(1.), and again c. 1815, GB-Lbl, R.M.11.f.6.(1.), with no additional changes but with a different publisher's address: "London. Printed by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, Sohl Square, & 7. Westmorland Street, Dublin."
1807	"A Sett of Twelve Fugues, Composed for the Organ by Sebastian Bach, Arranged as Quartettos by C. F. Horn. Printed & Sold for the Author, 13 Queen's Buildings, Knightsbridge."	WTCII: Fugues in D major, E-flat major, D-sharp minor, E major, G minor, A-flat major, B-flat minor, B major	This edition consists of a set of parts. The pieces from the WTC are preceded by BWV 898/2 and BWV 538/2.
		WTC I: Fugues in C-sharp minor and C major	
1809	"Specimens of Various Styles of Music Referred to in a Course of Lectures read at Oxford and London. and Adapted to Keyed Instruments by W ^m Crotch	WTC II: Fugue in E major	The Bach fugue opens this volume on pages 2 and 3 as "N ^o .1," with the subtitle "Fugue 9 th . of the 2 nd . Set in the Zurich Edition Sebastian Bach."
	London, Printed and sold for the Author by R. Birchall, N ^o . 133 New Bond Street."		"A new edition with corrections & additions" was printed c. 1821 by the Royal Harmonic Institution and again c. 1845 by Cramer, Beale & Co., 201, Regent Street & 67. Conduit Street. Bach's fugue, however, was not revised in either edition.
1820	"The Beauties of Mozart, Handel, Pleyel, Beethoven and Other Celebrated Composers adapted by an eminent Professor. London, Printed by Samuel Leigh in the Strand."	WTC11: Prelude in C major WTC11: Prelude in G major WTC11: Preludes in D major; G major, transposed to A major; C-sharp major, transposed to E major; F-sharp major, transposed to F major; B-flat major; E-flat major; A-flat major	All nine preludes were crudely truncated to fit on a single page. "A new and improved edition" was issued by the same publisher; the text of Bach's pieces contain modest corrections; a copy is owned by the Library at Queen's University Belfast, ww q M11/BEAU
1823	"Introduzione, Largo and Fuga from the Works of J ^{no} Seb ⁿ Bach. Adapted expressly for Two Violins, Viola, Violoncello & Contra Basso. By J. B. Cramer London, published for the Adapter by the Royal Harmonic Institution. (Argyll Rooms,) 246, Regent Street."	WTC I: Fugue in D major WTC II: Fugue in D major	The Bach fugues form the outer movements, surrounding BWV 572/2. The edition consists of the five instrumental parts only, without score; slurs and staccato marks lightly added; plate number 1208.
1823 – 4	"Organ Voluntaries. Consisting of Preludes & Fugues, Selected from the Works of John Sebastian Bach. (with such alterations additions and accommodations, as have been deemed necessary for their general use in Churches,) by George Drummond"	WTCI: Preludes and Fugues in C major; D major; C-sharp major, transposed to C major; C-sharp minor transposed to C minor	Published by the Royal Harmonic Institution, plate number 1398 ¹ ; the editor acknowledges his model in the top left margin of the Prelude in C major: "Altered from the 1 st Prelude and Fugue of the 1 st . Set Wesley & Horn's Edition"; pendulum and Maelzel's metronome marks are indicated for each movement.
1827 – 8	"Handel's Cuckoo and Nightingale Concerto, with a new Pastorale (composed by B. Jacob) and a Fugue by John Sebastian Bach, arranged for the Organ or Piano Forte by B. Jacob London, Published by Clementi & Co. 26, Cheapside."	WTCIII: Fugue in F major	Time signature given as 6/8 (rather than 6/16); metronome mark given as quarter note =100; "T" and "(2)" indicate the subject and the second part of the subject, respectively; registration changes frequently given.
1845	"The Celebrated 48 Preludes and Fugues Arranged as Duets for Four Hands on the Piano Forte or Organ, by Henri Bertini London Sacred Music Warehouse. J. Alfred Novello 69, Dean Street, Soho."	Entire Collection	The only extant copy, GB-Lbl, h.722.z.(2.), consists of WTC I only, minus nos. II – IV; it appears to be a reissue of the edition issued by Schott in Mainz, c. 1843 (plate number 6481) and includes no introductory remarks by the editor; the music is edited with performance directions, including tempo markings, mood in Italian, dynamic levels, pedaling, and articulation marks; plate number 1145.

 $^{{}^{1}\}text{Andrew McCrea "Professional Annotations: William Crotch's Study of the `48',"} \textit{BIOS Journal 28, (2004): 58–64.$



Figure 6. Prelude in C-sharp major from WTCI transposed to E major and shortened, as it appears in *The Beauties of Mozart, Handel, Pleyel, Beethoven and Other Celebrated Composers* (London, c. 1820). Reproduced by permission of the Library at Queen's University Belfast.

Table 4. Pieces from *The Well-Tempered Clavier* included in keyboard tutors in the early decades of the nineteenth century

Date	Publication Title-Page	Compositions from WTC	Comments
1813	"Six Fugues for the Pianoforte or Organ, selected from Handel, Mozart, and Seb. Bach by Jean Jousse"	WTC I: Fugue in C major WTC II: Fugue in C-sharp minor	Published by T. Preston; no extant copies, but according to a review in <i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i> 84, no. 2 (Dec. 1814), the contents of this volume were taken entirely from Jean Louis Adam, <i>Méthode de piano du conservatoire</i> , Paris, year XIII [=1805]
1821	"Second Part of Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte An Appendix Containing Two masterly Fugues of Sebastian Bach Op. 43. London, Published by Clementi, Collard, Davis & Collard. 26, Cheapside."	WTCIII: Fugues in C major and C-sharp minor	The fugue in C major was transcribed from Bach's autograph manuscript, GB-Lbl, Add.MS 35021, which was in Clementi's possession at the time; both fugues are marked "Allegro" and fingered.
1829	"A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte written by J.N. Hummel London, T. Boosey & Co,, 28, Holles Street, Oxford Street."	WTC I: Fugue in C-sharp minor	This fugue is found on pp. 298–301 with the heading "FUGA. 1 in the strict style"; includes fingering as well as indications concerning the hand to be used, but contains no tempo markings.

The version of *The Well-Tempered Clavier* arranged for piano duet by Henri Bertini and published by Novello in 1845 appears to be a revision of an edition issued by Schott in Mainz c. 1843. This adaptation of the work, like the inclusion of Bach's music in miscellaneous collections, also represents an effort to make Bach's music accessible to more music lovers, and it too contributed to the trend toward greater "Bach appreciation."

Piano "Tutors"

Muzio Clementi had always been interested in producing well-balanced piano tutors that had the stylistic diversity he considered important to proper pedagogy. He began including Bach's music in his tutors in 1801,⁴⁴ but published nothing from *The Well-Tempered Clavier* until the inclusion of "two masterly fugues" from part II in a tutor from 1821 (see table 4). In contrast to the shortened (mangled)

versions of the preludes published around this time by Leigh, Clementi typically chose technically advanced, lively fugues that he marked "Allegro." The English were not the first in this enterprise, however. Similar tutors containing fugues from *The Well-Tempered Clavier* had been published in Paris in 1805.

These piano pedagogues, French and English, shared a concern for proper fingering, which they indicated in their editions along with tempo markings. Although they stopped short of Czerny's indications of expression and articulation, in their boldness and thoroughness they represent a clear shift away from the analytical approach taken by Wesley and Horn. Bach's fugues had become the subject of performance rather than academic studies. These developments provide a new context for understanding Czerny's more heavily edited edition that appeared some fifteen years later. His more definitive interpretation of the music text may now be seen as a kind of remaking of Bach's image as a composer of piano music.

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Conclusion

From this brief survey of editions of Bach's The Well-Tempered Clavier printed in London between 1800 and 1850, a picture emerges, if somewhat pale, of how quickly pieces from this collection established a presence in England. There was not always a consensus on the nature of that presence, however. In the January 1813 issue of *The Gentleman's* Magazine, there is a reference to "ladies" who consider Bach's fugues "ugly old-fashioned stuff." 45 By contrast, in the May issue of the same publication one learns that Caroline Kerby, a young girl of thirteen, can "execute with ease and accuracy" Bach's fugues (presumably from The Well-Tempered Clavier). 46 Such differing views reflect both London's diverse societies and the beginning of The Well-Tempered Clavier's acceptance into the canon of English piano music, as outlined in this essay. That many fugues, not only Bach's, were published in London around this time indicates that the fugue, as a genre, was also gaining favor.47

The English reception of The Well-Tempered Clavier could be traced with even finer details and more vivid colors if the horizon were broadened and one looked at London and its citizens not only as a center of cosmopolitan trade but also with respect to historical events. The war with France, for example, presumably affected both trade and notions of national identity. Nationalistic developments in nineteenthcentury Britain, as Jeremy Dibble points out, were complex and less easily defined than in other European countries.⁴⁸ Consequently, it is difficult to determine the ways in which a specific genre of music came to capture the imagination of the general English public. A more comprehensive conclusion to this paper must await a more complete understanding of the social, cultural, and economic conditions that surrounded musicians and music lovers in London during the first half of the nineteenth century.

* This article is an abbreviated but updated version of a paper read at the biennial meeting of the American Bach Society in Leipzig, May 2006. An expanded version will be published later this year in The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Essays on Instruments, Performers and Repertoire, ed. Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg (Aldershot, England: Ashgate).

of the English Bach Awakening manifested in Sources of the 48," in The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his music in England 1750–1830, ed. Michael Kassler (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 35-167, esp. 49-64. For Kollmann's consideration of the fugal styles of Bach and Handel, see An Essay on Practical Musical Composition, 27 and 55, and for further discussion see Tomita, "Dawn," 113.

³ Kollmann, An Essay on Practical Musical Composition, 97-98. This treatise was apparently prepared using a manuscript copy of WTC now held at the St.

Andrews University Library, GB-SA, ms M24.B2.

⁴ See The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents, eds. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 337-53.

⁵ C.W. Pearce, "Wesley and Horn editions of Bach" [letter to the editor], The Musical Times 67 (June 1, 1926), 544.

⁶ Kassler and Olleson, Samuel Wesley (1766-1837): a source book (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), especially 78f; Philip Olleson, "Samuel Wesley and the English Bach Awakening," in The English Bach Awakening, 251-313.

⁷ The manuscript is now held at the Royal College of Music, London (GB-Lcm,

 8 The paper is a mixture of several laid papers made by John Taylor (watermark "ITAYLOR"), Edmeads & Pine (watermark "EDMEADS & PINE" and stylized script "E & P"), and possibly William Elgar (watermark "W E"). Other identifiable watermarks include portions of Strasburg shields and fleur-de-lis. Further, "1794," "1796," and "1798" appear as years of manufacture. The flyleaf is woven paper bearing the watermark "WS," initials of either William Slade or William Sharp. If the initials belong to Slade the date of the paper is 1786; if they belong to Sharp the date is 1789. See Alfred H. Shorter, Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England, 1495-1800 (Hilversum, 1957), 349.

⁹ To some extent its textual origin can be traced to J.C. Altnickol's copy of 1755

(D-Bsb, Mus. ms. Bach P 402).

For a fuller biographical account, see Tomita, "Dawn," 122f.

11 Kenneth Edward James, "Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Bath" (Ph.D.

dissertation, Royal Holloway College, London, 1987), 649.

¹² Handel was born on February 23, 1685 and died on April 14, 1759. The erroneous year of Handel's birth originates with John Mainwaring's Life of Handel (London, 1760), but I do not know the source of the incorrect day of the month given for Handel's birth. The incorrect date of Handel's death stems from Burney. See Percy A. Scholes, The Great Dr Burney: His Life, his Travels, his Works, his Family and his Friends (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 2:74, 75. The date of Bach's death is July 28, 1750; he was buried on July 30. See Bach Dokumente II, nos. 609 and 611. The obituary published in 1754 gives the date of Bach's death as July 28,, but Forkel, in 1802, gives the date erroneously as

July 30. Forkel may have been the source of Windsor's misinformation.

13 The words marked in bold were substituted, presumably by Windsor, for the

original "specimens given in this volume."

¹⁴ Bennett Zon, Music and Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century British Musicology (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 25-26.

¹⁵ Crotch's knowledge of Kollmann's 1799 publication is not disputed. Howard Irving argues, for example, that in one of his lectures Crotch quietly attacks Kollmann's unreasonable discussion of Haydn's harmonic language (Norfolk Record Office, Norfolk, England, MS 11231/6). See Irving, Ancients and Moderns: William Crotch and the Development of Classical Music (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 190.

16 S. Wesley and C. F. Horn's new and correct edition of the preludes and fugues of John Sebastian Bach (London: Rt. Birchall, 1810-). Windsor's decision to subscribe to the Wesley/Horn edition may well have been influenced by the acknowledgement Crotch gave to Wesley in a footnote to the paragraph quoted above that reads, "The public will be happy to hear that the life and several works of this great composer will shortly be published by Mr. Horn and Mr. Samuel Wesley; to the latter, I am much indebted for the use of his valuable and correct manuscript copy of the above work." I believe the copy of the Wesley/ Horn edition now held at the William F. Maag Library of Youngstown State University, Ohio (call number M38.B32), was once owned by Windsor because it also contains, in a similar hand, the inscription of the slightly modified passage from Crotch's 1809 book found in GB-Lcm 743. For further discussion of this copy, see Tomita, "Pursuit of Perfection: Revisions of the Wesley/Horn '48'," in The English Bach Awakening, 346.

¹⁷ The date of publication is known from the advertisement that appeared in The Times on June 14, 1802 that reads "NEW PIANO FORTE MUSIC-Just

¹ Nicolaus Simrock of Bonn and his brother Henri of Paris published *The Well-*Tempered Clavier, part II (WTC II) as "I Partie" (plate number 138) between April and June 1801; WTCI followed (plate number 166). See "Intelligenz-Blatt, Nr.V," Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung 3 (1800-1801) and Nägeli's letter to Breitkopf of June 6, 1801, reproduced in Edgar Refardt, "Briefe Hans Georg Nägelis an Breitkopf & Härtel," Zeitschrift für Musik 13, no.7 (1930-31): 397. Concerning his own edition, Nägeli wrote to Breitkopf that the engraving of WTC I had been completed by May 16, 1801, and the engraving of WTC II by September 9. Consequently, the first volume must have been published by August 1801 and the second by January 1802. See Refardt, 397-98. Franz Anton Hoffmeister of Leipzig and Ambrosius Kühnel of Vienna formed a partnership in December 1800 and jointly issued Œuvres complettes de Jean Sebastien Bach (1801–1804) in sixteen installments containing most of Bach's keyboard works. WTC I was fully published by April 30, 1802 and WTC II by June 1803. See Karen Lehmann, Die Anfänge einer Bach-Gesamtausgabe 1801-1865 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2004), 125-46.

² Kollmann dedicated his earlier work, An Essay on Musical Harmony (London, 1796), to Burney. In this treatise, however, Kollmann did not cite Bach's "learned" fugues from WTC I or II but rather the Prelude in F Minor from WTCI II, which is a rather charming binary piece. For a detailed discussion of Burney's attitudes toward Bach's keyboard works, see Yo Tomita, "The Dawn

printed." Further, the source held at the Riemenschneider Bach Institute (US-BER, Kenney 2462) contains a water mark that reads "1801" and "G R" [or "R G"]. See Michael Kassler, "Broderip, Wilkinson and the first English edition of the '48,'" The Musical Times 147, no.1895 (Summer 2006): 67-76.

 18 Whether or not Broderip & Wilkinson received authorization from Simrock to sell their edition in England in this manner is unknown. I am not aware of any archival records indicating business dealings between these two publishers. Simrock's WTC II volume was the first to appear in print, ahead of the WTC I volumes of Nägeli and Hoffmeister & Kühnel. See also endnote 1.

¹⁹ The date of publication may be deduced from the reference to this edition in Samuel Wesley's letter to William Crotch of November 25, 1808—see Philip Olleson, The Letters of Samuel Wesley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 89-91 - and from the "1807" and "1808" watermarks on the extant copies.

²⁰ Broderip & Wilkinson's last entry at Stationers' Hall was made on January 1, 1808; Wilkinson & Co.'s first entry was made on February 1, 1808. See Michael Kassler, ed., Music Entries at Stationers' Hall, 1710-1818 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), xx.

²¹See Musical Publications selected from the Catalogue published by Broderip and Wilkinson, lately purchased, and now printed and sold by Preston . . . No. 97, Strand, and Exeter 'Change, London, GB-Lbl, Hirsch IV 1113.(10). The following appears under the heading "Voluntaries" on page four: "Bach's (Sebastian) 1st Set Fugues [£] 0 8 0" and "- 2d Ditto [£] 0 8 0."

22 For a discussion of the ways in which the English analyzed fugues in print,

see Tomita, "Samuel Wesley as Analyst of Bach's Fugues," in The English Bach Awakening, 402n36. For more on the Potter and André editions, see Tomita, 'Samuel Wesley as Analyst," 380.

23 For more on this point, see Tomita, "Pursuit of Perfection: Stages of Revision of the Wesley/Horn '48'," in *The English Bach Awakening*, 341–77.

24 The earliest known reference to the Lavenu edition is found in *The Morning*

Post of Friday, April 26, 1811, no. 12555, p. 1, col. 5. Lavenu advertised his edition of the "48" under "new music" as "A Complete and Correct Edition of forty-eight Fugues and forty-eight Preludes, for the Piano forte or Organ, Composed by Sebastian Bach, two vols, each 1£ 1s." See Fiona M. Palmer, Vincent Novello (1781-1861): Music for the Masses (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006),

²⁵ The lost 1839 Potter edition may have been published by Louis Henry Lavenu, presumably the son of Lewis Lavenu, who took over the firm of Mori and Lavenu (c. 1828 to 1839) in 1839. Addison and Hodges took over the business of Louis Henry Lavenu in 1844 and published the reissue of Potter's 1839 edition c. 1845. See Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

(Oxford, 1970), 206.

²⁶ George Stauffer, ed., The Forkel-Hoffmeister & Kühnel Correspondence: A Document of the Early 19th-Century Bach Revival (New York, 1990), xi and Lehmann, 66.

²⁷ The earliest known advertisement appeared in *The Times* on August 3, 1819: "NEW CLASSICAL MUSIC for PIANOFORTE, Violin, Violoncello, just published by T. Boosey and Co. importers of foreign music, 28, Holles-street, Oxford-street, John Sebastian Bach's 48 Preludes and Fugues, a beautiful and exceedingly

correct edition, price 25s."

28 LE CLAVECIN BIEN TEMPÉRÉ... Edition nouvelle...par CHARLES CZERNY. . . . LEIPZIG, au Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters; the plate numbers are 2635 (WTC|I) and 2636 (WTC|II). This edition was advertised in the December 15, 1837 issue of The Musical World under "Organ Music" as "Bach's (J. S.) 48 Preludes and 48 Fugues, a new Edition, fingered by Czerny, and the Metronome marked to each subject, 2 vols ... 27s." I am grateful to Michael Kassler for making me aware of this source.

²⁹ The Musical World 8, no.97 (New Series 1, no.3, January 19, 1838), 39.

30 This caret has never been removed from Czerny's editions. It is found in the revised edition by F. A. Roitzsch (plate number remains 2635); the revised edition by Adolf Ruthardt (plate number 7694) and the corresponding English edition by Augener (plate number 14850); and in the 1906 revised edition by Philipp Wolfum (plate number 7916), which is still for sale in music shops today. To my knowledge, the edition prepared by Charles Hallé is the only one based exclusively on Czerny's edition (though Czerny is nowhere mentioned) in which the symbol in question has been removed.

31 The advertisements were published on February 8 [recte 9] 1838 in The

Musical World 8, no.100 (New Series 1, no.6), 96, and again in the next issue,

February 16, 1838, vol. 8, no. 101 (New Series 1, no. 7), 111.

32 Plate nos. 3233 (WTC I) and 3234 (WTC II). This edition was advertised in the May 26, 1838 issue of *The Times* under "Organ Music" as "Just published." ³³ The lasting influence of Crotch's *Specimens of Various Styles of Music* comes as no surprise. Originally published in 1807-1809, Specimens was continuously available throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. For information regarding the revised editions, see table 3. Crotch's scholarly authority was seriously questioned, possibly for the first time, by Rimbault in 1842. See Jonathan Rennert, William Crotch (1775-1847): Composer, Artist, Teacher (Lavenham: Dalton, 1975), 76.

34 In addition to the treatises listed in table 2, two other London publications

contain excerpts from WTC. A.F.C. Kollmann's Essay on Musical Harmony (London, 1796) excerpts the Prelude in F minor from WTCI II on plates 8 and 17, and John Wall Callcott's A Musical Grammar (London, 1806) excerpts the Fugue in C major from WTC I on page 283.

35 The only full reproduction is found in Marpurg's Abhandlung von der Fuge (Berlin, 1753-4), Tab. XLII-XLIII, in which the Fugue in D minor from WTC II is given in open score to accompany the analysis.

³⁶ The manuscript is GB-SA, ms M24.B2, which Kollmann most likely obtained from Breitkopf. The error probably originated with this source since it is also found in Breitkopf's edition of WTC. For more on Kollmann's source, see

Tomita "Dawn," 118f. ³⁷ See Tomita, "Dawn," 117.

38 See endnote 6.

³⁹ In A Musical Grammar, Callcott acknowledged Diettenhofer's publication as the source of the opening fugue and discusses this work on pages 283-84.

⁴⁰ A single imprint of each of the three editions of this collection (see table 3) is held at the British Library London. The "Advertisement" is a single sheet printed separately by "S. Gosnell, Little Queen Street, Holborn," and found only in the source to the second edition of c. 1810 (GB-Lbl, h.2732.1.(1.); watermarks "1807," "1808," or "1809"). The "Advertisement" is inserted between two blank pages—the verso of the title-page and the recto of the first page of music, paginated as "p.2." The watermark of the "Advertisement," however, is "1801," suggesting it was probably first printed for the first edition of c. 1802. The advertisement to the imprint of the first edition held at the British Library, which contains the two blank pages, must have been lost (this source was acquired by GB-Lbl in 2004 and does not yet have a shelfmark; watermark "1801"). The third edition, also marked "Second Edition Revised & Corrected" was printed on woven paper that bears no watermark. This edition contains no blank pages, so presumably it was at this point that the decision was made to omit the "Advertisement."

⁴¹ See Tomita, "Dawn," 97f.

42 See endnote 16.

43 See Tomita, "Dawn," 147f.

44 See Tomita, "Dawn," 78f.

45 "S. Wesley and C. F. Horn's New and correct Edition of the Preludes and Fugues of John Sebastian Bach. Book 1, 2, 3, and 4" [Review], The Gentleman's Magazine 83 (New Series 6) part 1, January 1813, 60.

46 "An Introduction, March and Rondo, for the Pianoforte, composed and dedicated to Miss Caroline Daubeney," by Caroline Kerby [Review], The

Gentleman's Magazine 83 (New Series 6) part 1, May 1813, 461.

47 Within the collections of the British Library one finds not only fugues by Bach but also by such composers as Thomas Adams, Beethoven, Clementi, Benjamin Cooke, George Drummond, Johann Ernst Eberlin, Timothy Essex, George Guest, Handel, John Jeremiah Jones, Kollmann and Johann Bernhard Logier that were published in London between 1810 and 1820. One does not find works by such a diverse group of composers in this library dating from the next decade of the century.

⁴⁸ Jeremy Dibble, "National Developments in Britain and Ireland: a Matter of Style and Morality," in Welttheater: Die Künste im 19. Jahrhundert, ed. Peter Andraschke and Edelgard Spaude (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1992), 58-

BACH • NOTES No. 7

Book Review

Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St Matthew Passion, by Celia Applegate. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2005. xii, 288 pp. \$35.00 (hardcover)

The epochal 1829 performance of Bach's *St Matthew Passion* in Berlin is less the subject of this book than its fulcrum. Celia Applegate, a historian with a strong interest in German music, knows a lot about the various ways through which nation and culture were construed by German writers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The present book describes how this discourse shaped (and was shaped by) a crucial moment in Bach's posthumous career: March 11, 1829, when the young Felix Mendelssohn led the first performance of the *St Matthew Passion* since Bach's lifetime.

While other writers have had more to say about the actual performance, no one else has placed it in such a detailed context. Bach in Berlin describes how the 1829 "revival" of the St Matthew Passion invoked the most important musical, intellectual, sociological, and theological "spirit[s] of the age." Applegate's admirably thick history necessitates a series of overlapping narratives that examine German musical aesthetics, music journalism, the crisis in German Protestantism, German cultural aspirations (Bildung), and the rise of musical amateurism—in addition to the requisite chapters on the Great Event itself and those responsible for it. Though one might devote a series of volumes to such an array of topics, Applegate stays mostly on message, and along the way there are plenty of insights into Bach reception in general and the 1829 reception of the St. Matthew Passion in particular.

Applegate begins with Mendelssohn's preparations for the Berlin performances of Bach's masterpiece, and then steps back to explain how and why such a thing happened. Only at the end does she return to 1829, to describe the gradual process of secularization of the *St Matthew Passion* and to chart briefly the multiple resonances of this important event in the lives and careers of its prime movers. The strategy is a bit like multiple flashbacks in a film, though the actors in Applegate's book speak in subtly different dialects in each chapter. Putting it all together are the first and penultimate chapters, devoted to Mendelssohn's great project and Bach reception up to that point, respectively.

The interior chapters are the most original and enlightening of the lot. "Toward a Music Aesthetics of the Nation" (chapter 2) eschews the familiar dichotomies (professional vs. amateur, high vs. low, etc.) in favor of a nuanced account of the gradual change in social orders and the value placed on music over the course of the eighteenth century. Music, as Applegate reminds us here and in subsequent chapters, became ever more valuable during this time not only for its own merits but also as a national cultural product, one that (by 1829) was invested with "nothing less than the future well-being of the German people" (p. 85). This national project, the focus of chapters 3 and 4 ("Music Journalism and the Formation of Judgment" and "Musical Amateurism and the Exercise of Taste," respectively), was a challenge to improve oneself while affirming the value-indeed, the primacy-of German art music. Applegate is well acquainted with the key figures-her chapter on aesthetics takes us from Mattheson through Forkel, while the chapters on journalism and amateurism focus on the efforts of Rochlitz, A. B. Marx, and Zelter-and she

does an admirable job of explaining how each furthered the aims of both the larger cultural project and the narrower effort to rehabilitate Bach's music as the fountainhead of the German canon.

The amount of detail is impressive, and there are many fascinating excursions: my personal favorite has got to be the hilarious discussion of some well-meaning but utterly daft Prussian music education programs (pp. 152-159). Throughout, Applegate remains alert to the tensions among Bach enthusiasts that are usually glossed over in the literature: Zelter and A. B. Marx's arguments over the proper repertoire for the Berlin Singakademie, for example. At times these digressions threaten to become scholarly cul-de-sacs, but that is a small criticism to level against such a fine study.

Ultimately, what interests Applegate most is how German self-interest worked in tandem with the desire to recover Bach during the era that gave us the Western musical canon. The 1829 performance of the *St Matthew Passion* was, in other words, not just Mendelssohn's doing. This seminal event in J. S. Bach's posthumous career has long needed the kind of context that Celia Applegate provides. By situating this performance at the center of momentous changes within German culture as a whole, *Bach in Berlin* "make[s] explicit . . . why they thought making music was important, who they were, and how they made music" (p. 4).

Matthew Dirst

Bach Bibliography turns 10!

On May 5, 2007, the Bach Bibliography, founded and maintained by Yo Tomita of Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland, celebrated its tenth year online (www. mu.qub.ac.uk/tomita/bachbib). On this occasion, Tomita would like to emphasize that this resource belongs to all of us, to the community of Bach scholars at large, and to Society members in particular. In that we all have a proprietary interest in the Bibliography, Tomita would like to encourage you to inform him of your new and upcoming publications and to make him aware of any errors you find. Many thanks to Tomita, who may be reached via email at y.tomita@qub.ac.uk.

Directions to Contributors

Bach Notes is published twice yearly (Spring and Fall) and mailed to all members and subscribers. Members and non-members are invited to submit short scholarly articles (preferably not more than 3,500 words), and members are encouraged to share their thoughts, activities, and achievements by contributing to "News from Members" and "Communications." Submissions for the Fall 2007 issue are due by August 31, 2007, and should be in Microsoft Word, employ endnotes, and follow the stylistic guidelines of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (15th ed.). Email submissions (much preferred) should be sent to bachnotes@americanbachsociety.org and submissions on compact disc (CD), with hard copy, may be mailed to Reginald L. Sanders, Department of Music, Kenyon College, Gambier, OH 43022.

News from Members

The Bach Choir of Bethlehem held its 100th Annual Bethlehem Bach Festival, the oldest Bach Festival in America, on the first two weekends in May. The celebration opened on May 3 with a major exhibit at the Zoellner Arts Center Gallery at Lehigh University entitled "The Bach Choir of Bethlehem, A Visual History" at which Bach's Calov Bible, on loan from Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, was on display. The festivities continued with more than just musical artistry, as Taylor 2, the touring ensemble of the Paul Taylor Dance Company, performed Taylor's acclaimed Esplanade, choreographed to the music of Bach's Violin Concerto in E major and Double Concerto for Two Violins in D minor. Other guest artists included jazz pianist and composer Donal Fox, who performed jazz improvisations on Bach themes, and the Baltimore Consort. Festival attendees were also treated to the world premiere of the film "Mr. Bach comes to Call," a dramatic musical story for all ages based on the award-winning Classical Kids CD. The Choir was co-producer of the film, which will be distributed internationally and broadcast on PBS. The heart of the 100th Festival, however, was performances on both weekends of the St. Matthew Passion (about which Society member Michael Marissen spoke) and the Mass in B minor by The Choir and Bach Festival Orchestra under the direction of Greg Funfgeld. One performance of Bach's great Latin work included the participation of The Baldwin-Wallace Bach Festival Choir, which this year celebrated its 75th Bach Festival, modeled on the Bethlehem Festival. (For the Baldwin-Wallace Festival, The Choir traveled to Cleveland for a joint performance of the same work in Severance Hall.) The success of the Festival is reflected in the words of Barrymore Laurence Scherer of the Wall Street Journal: "After hearing the choir in its 100th Annual Bach Festival, I can say that Wolle's legacy is an American musical treasure. . . . Certainly Friday's "Matthew Passion" and Saturday's Mass were well worth the pilgrimage from New York. These Bach singers come from all walks of life here. But together they sing with a fervor and a level of musicianship that carries one away. . . . Mr. Funfgeld's long relationship with the choir and musicians was apparent in the fine choral and instrumental balances he achieved, the clarity of the contrapuntal textures throughout, and his thoughtful tempos...."

The International > Bach Festival Week > Philadelphia, a ten-day celebration held around Bach's birthday (this year from March 16 to 25), is one of the largest Bach festivals in North America. Sponsored by a coalition led by The Philadelphia Bach Festival and including the Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance, the Philadelphia Orchestra, and the In-dependence Visitor Center, the 2007 Festival Week involved more than thirty events in neighborhoods throughout the city. The festivities included lectures and various educational programs; concerts by period-instrument performers and vocal artists such as The New York Collegium, Bergen Barokk, and countertenor Franz Vitzthum; performances of Bach's cantatas within the appropriate liturgical context; and performances of old and new works based on Bach's music (some works received their premiere). The Festival also featured multimedia performances, electronic remixes, dance, and film, causing David Stearns of the Philadelphi Inquirer to remark, "The Bach Festival is full of smart and fresh ideas."

The Baldwin-Wallace College Bach Festival, the oldest collegiate Bach festival in the nation, celebrated its 75th year in April with many sold-out performances. On this important anniversary, the Baldwin-Wallace Bach Festival Choir was joined by The Bach Choir

of Bethlehem in a performance of the Mass in B minor in Severance Hall (home of the Cleveland Orchestra) led by Festival Music Director Dwight Oltman, and featuring Tamara Matthews, soprano, Jennifer Lane, mezzo-soprano, Stanford Olsen, tenor, and Christòpheren Nomura, baritone. Other events included the performance of vocal and instrumental works by Bach and Handel led by Festival Choral Director Stuart Raleigh; a concert by Ullrich Böhme, organist at the St. Thomas Church in Leipzig; and a Sunday morning "Bach Service" led by Melvin Unger, featuring the Baldwin-Wallace College Singers and soloists Allen Cadwallader, organ, Nanette Canfield, soprano, Sandra Ross, mezzo-soprano, J. R. Fralick, tenor, and Benjamin Czarnota, bass. In addition, Society member Russell Stinson lectured on Bach, Brahms, the Schumanns and a recent discovery in the Riemenschneider Bach Library. New to the Festival was a jazz concert featuring the Quartet of Dave Brubeck, "a jazz legend influenced by Bach."

CONCORA (Connecticut Choral Artists, Inc.), led by founder and artistic director **Richard Coffey**, featured the music of Bach in two of its concerts of the 2006-07 season. In collaboration with the Hartford Symphony Orchestra, CONCORA treated December audiences to performances of part II of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, and March saw performances of *Wachet! Betet!*, BWV 70, *Herz und Mund und Tat und Leben*, BWV 147, and "Jesu, meine Freude," BWV 227. CONCORA is supported in its performance of Bach's music by the local auxiliary organization "Friends of Bach."

Under the aegis of the French Ministry of Culture, the Dallas Bach Society (James Richman, artistic director) performed Rameau's opera-ballet *Pygmalion* in collaboration with the New York Baroque Dance Company and Houston's Mercury Baroque at the Meyerson Symphony Center in Dallas on February 20. The spring saw performances of the *St. Matthew Passion* on March 30 at St. Andrew's UMC in Plano and March 31 at Zion Lutheran Church in Dallas, with featured soloists Kim Childs, tenor, as the Evangelist; David Grogan, bass, as Jesus; Rebecca Choate Beasley, soprano; Jennifer Lane, alto; Daniel Baker, tenor; and Patrick Gnage bass.

The Louisville Bach Society, founded in 1964 by Melvin and Margaret Dickinson, has concluded its 43rd successful season. The five-concert season began in August with performances of Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit, BWV 106, Komm, du süsse Todesstunde, BWV 161, and Mozart's Missa brevis in B-flat major, K. 275. The season continued with an October concert featuring soprano Julianne Baird that included Handel's Laudate pueri Dominum (Psalm 112), Ich habe genung, BWV 82, Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht, BWV 186, and "Komm Jesu, komm," BWV 229. The January concert was conducted by the Society's new assistant conductor, Will Simpson, and featured co-founder Margaret Dickinson as soloist in Joseph Rheinberger's First Organ Concerto. Julianne Baird returned in February, along with soprano Kendra Colton, for a performance of Mozart's Mass in C minor, K. 427. This concert also included a performance of Bach's Missa brevis in F major, BWV 233, and, for stunning contrast, Hugo Distler's little known cantata Wo Gott zu Haus nit gibt sein Gunst. The season concluded in April with a performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*.

Mary Oleskiewicz was awarded a fellowship for the 2006-07 academic year by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation to support research for her book on Johann Joachim Quantz and music at the Prussian and Saxon courts. She spent much of the year in Berlin, where she was hosted by the Universität der Künste as a visiting scholar. In addition to her research, Oleskiewicz has also been active performing and giving papers. Last October she spoke on "The Art of the Cadenza:

Improvisation in 18th-Century Flute Concertos and Sonatas" and performed as flute soloist at the opening concert of the 27th Symposium on Musical Instrument Building at Michaelstein, Germany. November found her in Los Angeles for the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, where her topic was "Rewriting the Recent Past: Icons, Anecdotes, and the Music of Eighteenth-Century Berlin." This paper, which she also presented last July at the 12th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music in Warsaw, critically reexamines the biography of C.P.E. Bach. On March 23, she performed as principal Baroque flutist in a performance of Bach's *St. John Passion* with Boston Pro Musica.

Joseph P. Swain of Colgate University has just published *Historical Dictionary of Sacred Music* (Scarecrow Press, 2006), a one-volume encyclopedia that considers the most important aspects of the sacred music of the world's major, and many of its minor, religions.

Channan Willner's article "Baroque Styles and the Analysis of Baroque Music" appears in *Structure and Meaning in Tonal Music: Festschrift in Honor of Carl Schachter*| (Pendragon Press, 2006). Willner's contribution includes a detailed analysis of the Allemande from Bach's French Suite in D minor, BWV 812, as well as a discussion of the differences between Bach's high style and the middle style of Vivaldi and Couperin.

Communications

Performing Bach's B-Minor Flute Suite, BWV 1067

Having performed Bach's B-minor Suite on Boehm flute several times, and with period instruments on voice flute (tenor recorder in d') and sixth flute (soprano recorder in d''), I was much interested to read Joshua Rifkin's article "The 'B-Minor Flute Suite' Deconstructed: New Light on Bach's Ouverture BWV 1067," Bach Perspective 6: J. S. Bach's Concerted Ensemble Music, The Ouverture (edited by Gregory Butler, 2007). The very frequent doubling of the solo flute and first violin parts has always seemed strange to me, whereas Telemann's treatment of the solo instrument in his A-Minor Recorder Suite is more natural. If the original solo instrument in Bach's Suite had been a violin, however, the doubling makes perfect sense, the solo violin "swimming with the other fish" in the tuttis; and apparently Bach and his copyist made no changes in the revised version for a solo wind instrument.

I have performed this piece observing rests for the flute in some of the tutti passages in the opening movement, and alternating flute and first violin in sections of some of the other movements. I wrote a paper entitled "Instrumental Doubling in J. S. Bach's Orchestral Suite No. 2 in B minor, BWV 1067," published in Continuo: The Magazine of Old Music, 21, no. 2 (1997), 7-8. Originally I sent this paper to a more learned journal of performance practice, but the editor rejected it because he said it was unsupported by contemporary evidence. Rifkin's research suggests, however, that my hunch was correct. Rifkin believes that the original was in A minor, and in this key the piece could have been performed on a fifth flute (soprano recorder in c'').

Dale Higbee, Music Director, Carolina Baroque info@carolinabaroque.org

John Koster and Russell Stinson Awarded William H. Scheide Research Grants

Koster, conservator of the National Music Museum and professor of music at the University of South Dakota, will use his award to continue his survey of early German harpsichord building. In particular, he will examine an instrument constructed in 1726 by I. N. Cusseneers of Düsseldorf that is now in the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in Virginia. His study of this rare, perhaps unique, example of Rheinish harpsichord making will help explicate the nature of a regional school of great historical significance, especially in its relationship to other German schools.

Stinson, professor of music and college organist at Lyon College, Batesville, Arkansas, will travel to the Arnold Schoenberg Center in Vienna to study the numerous markings made by Schoenberg in his personal copies of Bach's organ works.

The American Bach Society awards William H. Scheide Research Grants to support research on Bach or figures in his circle. The grant is awarded biennially and typically ranges in amount from \$500 to \$4,000. It is ordinarily available to Ph.D. candidates, as well as those who have held the doctorate for no longer than seven years. Awards will normally go to citizens or permanent residents of the United States or Canada and are awarded in odd-numbered years.

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works



The following three volumes have appeared in recent months:

I/10.1: Arrangements of Orchestral Works I, edited by Douglas Lee

III/7: Keyboard Concertos from Prints, edited by Elias N. Kulukundis

III/9.13: Keyboard Concertos from Manuscript Sources XIII, edited by Arnfried Edler

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works is an editorial and publishing project of the Packard Humanities Institute, in cooperation with the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, and Harvard University. Its goal is to make available, in both printed and digital formats, a critical edition of the composer's works. A total of twelve volumes are currently available at www.cpebach.org.

"Bach and the Oratorio Tradition"

American Bach Society's Fifteenth Biennial Meeting Bethlehem, Pennsylvania May 8-10, 2008

The Society's fifteenth biennial meeting will focus on "Bach and the Oratorio Tradition" and take place in conjunction with the 2008 Bethlehem Bach Festival. The meeting/festival will include lectures and performances, as well as excursions to points of interest in the vicinity of Bethlehem. Proposals on all aspects of Bach research are invited, but of particular interest are those that focus on the conference theme. A one-page, double-spaced abstract should be submitted, preferably as an e-mail attachment, by September 1, 2007, to:

Mary Dalton Greer Chair, Program Committee, ABS Meeting 2008 3 Channing Place Cambridge, MA 02138-3306 USA GreerM1750@aol.com; fax (617) 576-0038

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The eighth volume of *Bach Perspectives*, to be edited by Daniel R. Melamed, will also take "Bach and the Oratorio Tradition" as its theme. Papers read at the meeting on this subject will be considered for inclusion in the volume, and other submissions are invited at this time. Articles should be no longer than 6,000 words (approximately thirty-five pages of double-spaced text, including footnotes) and should be sent in hard and digital form to Daniel R. Melamed, Jacobs School of Music, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405 (dan@melamed.org).

Contributors to this Issue

Matthew Dirst, associate professor of music at the Moores School of Music, University of Houston, and the Society's secretary-treasurer, holds a Ph.D. in musicology from Stanford University and degrees in organ and sacred music from the University of Illinois and Southern Methodist University. The first American to win major international prizes in both organ and harpsichord performance, Dirst is also the founding artistic director of Ars Lyrica Houston, a period-instrument chamber group based in Houston. His articles and reviews on the music of J. S. Bach and its reception have appeared in *Music and Letters* and *Early Music*, and his essay "Doing missionary work: Dwight's Journal of Music and the American Bach awakening," published in *Bach Perspectives* 5, earned him the Society's William H. Scheide Prize in 2004.

Yo Tomita received his doctorate from the University of Leeds in 1991 with a dissertation on the sources of Bach's *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, part II. In 1995 he was appointed research fellow at the School of Music, Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland, where he has recently been promoted to professor of musicology. His recent publications include three articles in *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his Music in England 1750-1830*, ed. Michael Kassler (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), a new revised critical edition of *The Well-Tempered Clavier*, part II (G. Henle Verlag, 2007), and an article entitled "Anna Magdalena as Bach's copyist," which appears in *Understanding Bach 2* (2007), the web journal of the Bach Network UK (http://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/), where he clarifies his views on the subject that were misrepresented in print in 2006. He is currently working on a two-volume monograph on *The Well-Tempered Claver*, part II, for Ashgate Publishing.

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Visit the Society's website at

www.americanbachsociety.org for links to festivals and other websites of interest.

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Founded in 1972 as a chapter of the Neue Bachgesellschaft, the American Bach Society is dedicated to promoting the study and performance of the music of Johann Sebastian Bach. Annual dues are \$40 (\$25 for students). Membership information and application materials are available online at www.americanbachsociety.org. Interested persons may also contact Matthew Dirst, ABS Secretary-Treasurer, Moores School of Music, 120 School of Music Bldg., University of Houston, Houston, TX 77204-4017, USA.

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