

**“What’s in a Score?”: J. S. Bach’s *Capriccio*, BWV 992, and Editorial Practices in Baroque
Music From 1839 to 2011**

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Abstract

For musicians working in the tradition of Western classical music, scores are a constant companion. Alongside our instruments, our scores are a fundamental tool in learning, performing, teaching, analyzing, and researching music. But like many daily tools, few pause to consider what went into the making of their scores. This tendency to take scores for granted, often assuming them to be direct conduits of the composer's intent, may be seen among practicing musicians, as well as musicologists. The existing literature on music editing deals primarily with issues of methodology. Scores are typically categorized by the methodology used in their creation, centering the treatment of source material. This means that many aspects of a score's creation are overlooked.

As a case study, this thesis examines the publication history of J. S. Bach's *Capriccio*, BWV 992. Originally composed in or around 1704, Bach's only programmatic keyboard sonata has been published in 26 unique editions. Examining these editions reveals hundreds of variants in the piece's musical text and showcases significant diversity in the piece's presentation.

This thesis explores two main research questions: how do we explain the diversity of the *Capriccio*'s published editions, and how do published editions reflect the context of their creation? These questions have been addressed by thorough analyses of the *Capriccio*'s 26 unique published editions along several axes, including variant analysis, physical characteristics, and contextual research into the scores' editing and creation.

The analysis demonstrated that, regardless of when an edition was published or what methodology was used, patterns depend on publication agenda and/or the other professional activities of the editor, necessitating the development of a new system of categorization. Additionally, this is the first in-depth research on the *Capriccio*.

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Chapter 1:

Introduction

To be faithful to a composition is not to play exactly what is on the page,
But to question, critique, and reimagine notation as art.
Mark Clague¹

Musicians working in the western classical tradition interact with musical scores on a daily basis. Like our instruments, they are a fundamental tool for our work, whether that be playing, performing, teaching, analyzing, researching, arranging, or composing music. Or, more likely, some combination thereof. We pore over our scores, learning every note and symbol, often covering their surface with notes and reminders. We carry them around with us, into lessons and practice rooms, teaching studios and classrooms, rehearsals and performances. We balance them precariously on music stands, and cram them into overflowing bookshelves. Despite being the constant companion of classical musicians, scores are rarely investigated or discussed beyond their base function of providing the notes. Like so many tools necessary for our day-to-day life, few pause to ask how our scores get to us. Not in the compositional sense, not the question of who put those notes in that order; but how the specific score in your hands, or on the music desk of your piano, or shoved into your backpack, came to be.

This questioning, into the process that brings our scores to us as musicians, has importance beyond simple curiosity. The tendency of the classical music world to be incurious about its scores can often lead to the passive assumption that scores are infallible, an attitude all too common in the training of performers. By extension, music students may come to understand the written note as carved in stone, and may inherit, through no fault of their own, the belief that

¹ Mark Clague, "Portraits in Beams and Barlines: Critical Music Editing and the Art of Notation," *American Music* 23 (2005): 63.

the task of the performer is to replicate exactly what they see on the page in front of them, without additions, subtractions, or modifications.² This widespread phenomenon is symptomatic of another issue: the misrepresentation of scores as objective and unbiased representations of composers' intent, which grants scores an outsized degree of authority in the musical process. This misrepresentation is present not only in performance circles; musicologists and music theorists also take the score for granted as a stable, unchanging basis for their research.

While the misrepresentation of the score has important ramifications for working with music from any historical period, it is particularly relevant in discussions of Baroque music. Interpreting Baroque music in a historically aware and informed manner requires knowledge of the music beyond what is present in the score. Composers of this era expected interpreters of their music to make the musical text their own through practices such as ornamentation, and forms of structured improvisation like the realization of figured bass.³ None of this is possible if one solely plays or sings what is notated on the page.

The current approach of faithfully following the score fails to take into account that editing music is inherently an act of interpretation. As explored by James Grier, it is impossible to edit a piece of music in a purely objective way. Examining the sources and history of a specific piece as part of the editorial process will always necessitate that the editor make critical

² Bruno Forment, edit., *Performing by the Book? Musical Negotiations Between Text and Act* (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2025); Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music, Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 243-286; Jonathan Dunsby, *Performing Music: Shared Concerns* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 49-58.

³ Howard Schott, *Playing the Harpsichord* (Mineola, New York: Dover, 2002), 118; Paul Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Bach at the Keyboard*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 474. Jerome Carrington, *Trills in the Bach Cello Suites: A Handbook for Performers* (Norman, Oklahoma: Oklahoma University Press, 2009); Robert Donington, *A Performer's Guide to Baroque Music* (London: Faber, 1973); Fulvia Morabito, edit., *Musical Improvisation in the Baroque Era* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2019).

decisions based on their knowledge of the piece and its context.⁴ This idea can be taken further, and these critical decisions can be read.

As a case study for this research, I am examining the transmission and publication history of J. S. Bach's *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo*, BWV 992, henceforth referred to as the *Capriccio*.⁵ The *Capriccio* was written in or around 1704, when the 19-year-old Bach was working as an organist in Arnstadt. An anomaly among Bach's compositions, the *Capriccio* is his only programmatic instrumental work, and takes the form of a six-movement sonata for unspecified keyboard instrument. It is very likely that Bach drew inspiration from Johann Kuhnau's *Bible Sonatas*, published in 1700.⁶ Not only does the *Capriccio*'s layout mirror the structure used by Kuhnau, with programmatic subtitles woven throughout the music to tell a story, but J. S. Bach's older brother Johann Christoph Bach (24 in the Bach family genealogy) had a selection of the *Bible Sonatas* in his personal music library.⁷

Unlike Kuhnau's *Bible Sonatas*, in which the composer endeavored to tell the events of full biblical stories such as that of David and Goliath, Bach instead chose to prioritize the emotional side of a story.⁸ The programmatic subtitles of the *Capriccio*, describe the emotions felt by the family and friends of a young man leaving on a lengthy journey, from shock and grief towards eventual acceptance. The first movement sees the friends trying to stop the beloved

⁴ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1-37.

⁵ A note on the title of the *Capriccio*: the title of this piece varies extensively between sources. The title I choose to use, *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo*, is the most common. It is a modified version of the title found in the Möller manuscript, the source that is both earliest and closest to J. S. Bach, with the Italian grammar and spelling errors corrected for clarity. This title is typically translated to "Capriccio on the Departure of his Dearly Beloved Brother."

⁶ David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 66.

⁷ Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, edit, *The New Bach Reader, Revised Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 199-211; Robert Hill, *Keyboard Music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991), xxxvii.

⁸ Johann Kuhnau, "Il combattimento trà David e Goliath," in *Sämtliche Werke für Tasteninstrument*, 1-9 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 2014).

brother from leaving, with a program describing the movement as a “flattery from friends to dissuade him from his journey.”⁹ In the second movement, the friends try to use various scare-tactics to convince their loved one to stay: “It is a representation of various accidents that could happen to him in a foreign country.”¹⁰ The third movement is a “general lament of the friends.”¹¹ The fourth movement depicts the friends gathering, and coming to terms with the impending departure of their beloved brother: “Here, the friends come because they see it cannot be otherwise, and they take their leave [of him].”¹² While the programmatic subtitles of the first four movements are in German, Bach returns to Italian for the final two movements. The programs of the fifth and sixth movements invoke images of the events unfolding instead of the emotions being felt: “Aria of the Postilion,” and “Fugue in imitation of the Postilion.”¹³ The slight ambiguity of these two programmatic subtitles allows the musician the opportunity to complete the emotional arc of the piece as they see fit. They may choose to interpret the bouncy, almost jolly character of the fifth and sixth movements from the melancholic perspective of someone experiencing a challenging goodbye, or they may interpret these movements as if the stagecoach is bringing news of a loved one’s continued safety, or another option besides.

This story has historically been considered an autobiographical one – Bach’s brother Johann Jacob (25 in the Bach genealogy) left Germany to join the army of the Swedish king as an oboist around the same time the piece was composed – however, some scholars disagree,

⁹ “Ist eine Schmeichelung der Freunde, um denselben von seiner Reise abzuhalten.” Translation my own. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

¹⁰ “Ist eine Vorstellung unterschiedlicher Casuum, die ihm in der Fremde könnten vorkommen.” Translation my own. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

¹¹ “Ist eine allgemeines Lamento der Freunde.” Translation my own. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

¹² “Allhier kommen die Freunde, weil sie doch sehen, daß es anders nicht sein kann, und nehmen Abschied.” Translation my own. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

¹³ “Aria del Postiglione,” and “Fuga all’ imitation della Posta.” Translation my own. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

suggesting that Bach was referring to a close friend, not his biological brother.¹⁴ Regardless of Bach's reason for choosing this program, the *Capriccio* represents an outlier in his compositional output.

The *Capriccio* is unique not only due to its programmatic nature, but also as a result of its musical language. Across the six movements we can observe the young Bach trying on different hats, as it were, in an effort to find and define his personal musical style. The first movement, identified as an *Arioso* alongside its programmatic subtitle, draws heavily on elements of French Baroque keyboard music, especially in the style of ornamentation. The second movement, which has only a programmatic subtitle in the Möller manuscript but is often referred to as a *Fughetta* in later sources, shows signs of the same influence.¹⁵ In the third movement, Bach experiments with a standard musical idiom of his day by writing for continuo and soloist in a solo keyboard context. The left hand serves as the continuo instrument, realizing the provided figures over the written-out bassline, while the right hand provides the melody as soloist, an extremely unusual use of figured bass. The fourth movement is in essence an organ prelude, relying heavily on overlapping lines and parallel thirds. In the fifth and sixth movements (respectively an aria and a fugue) we see elements much more characteristic of Bach's mature harpsichord compositions; however, they exist alongside musical insecurities and immaturities.

The *Capriccio* is uniquely positioned to be a case study for the interpretative reality of music editing and the evolution of editorial practices across the 19th and 20th centuries. Likely because of its distinctive programmatic nature, the *Capriccio* has been published more than any

¹⁴ Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, edit, *The New Bach Reader, Revised Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1966), 199-211; Christoph Wolff, "The Identity of the 'Fratro Dilettissimo' in the Capriccio B-Flat Major and Other Problems of Bach's Early Harpsichord Works," in *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire: Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium, Utrecht 1990*, edited by Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1992), 145-65.

¹⁵ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

of Bach's other obscure early keyboard pieces. These publications were produced by a wide variety of publishing houses from a broad array of countries. Consequently, an in-depth study, analyzing the variants across the *Capriccio*'s history in publication will reveal much more than a similar study done on a more mainstream Bach composition would.

Researching the *Capriccio* to determine how an edition reflects the context of its creation has led to the two central research questions of this thesis: In what ways do published editions reflect the context and purpose of their creation? How do these reflections impact the way scores are discussed and categorized? Endeavouring to determine the ways in which published scores represent the time and place in which they were created allows for new insights into the editorial process and into reception history. These insights are missed if scores are taken to be unbiased conduits of the composer's intentions.

These questions have, in turn, led to the research aims of this study. The first aim is to unpick the transmission history of the *Capriccio*. In addition to establishing the philological history of the piece, examining the *Capriccio*'s transmission over time allows insight into how the piece's source material has been handled and approached across its history. The second aim is to categorize the editions of the *Capriccio* in a manner that accurately reflects the diversity of these publications. Exploring these aims will result in contributions to knowledge of the editorial process in various historical contexts, and reveal valuable information about the *Capriccio*'s reception over time. Both of these aims illustrate the ways in which a published edition reflects the context in which it was produced. Additionally, the editors role and impact on the publications they produce is frequently discussed.

Literature Review

This research builds on the existing scholarly literature about music editing. The current landscape of this literature is primarily centered on texts meant to educate perspective editors on the process of editing music and the considerations they must keep in mind when undertaking such a project. Additionally, texts on music editing are primarily focused on Medieval and Renaissance music, likely due to the unique challenges facing editors of these repertoires in navigating notational practices. The most practical of these guides is by John Caldwell, who walks the reader through the process of preparing an edition to be submitted for publication.¹⁶ Caldwell devotes tremendous detail to the aspects of notational practices that differ from our modern system, and the issues of filiation, philology, and mentions stemmatics only briefly. Much of the practical advice in Caldwell's volume builds on the contents of two pamphlets about editing early music published by Novello in the mid-20th century.¹⁷ Covering the topics of filiation and philology in much greater depth is James Grier's *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice*, which, despite the subtitle, is largely a rich theoretical guide to the process of tracing a piece's filiation, and to determining the quality of different scribal readings.¹⁸ For his discussion of musical philology, Grier draws heavily on the work of Georg Feder.¹⁹ Although these are all incredibly valuable resources for tracing the history and development of the *Capriccio*'s musical text over time, none of them provide any insight into

¹⁶ John Caldwell, *Editing Early Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

¹⁷ Walter Emery, *Editions and Musicians: A Survey of the Duties of Practical Musicians & Editors Towards the Classics* (London: Novello, 1958); Thurston Dart, Walter Emery and Christopher Norris, *Editing Early Music: Notes on the Preparation of Printer's Copy* (London: Novello, 1963).

¹⁸ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁹ Georg Feder, *Music Philology: An Introduction to Musical Textual Criticism, Hermeneutics, and Editorial Technique*, translated by Bruce C. MacIntyre (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2011, reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987).

how the methodological and ideological frameworks of music editing have evolved. Both Grier and Feder uphold the traditional way of categorizing scores by their editorial methodology.

Endeavouring to contextualize the ideological frameworks of music editing is Deborah Mawer, Barabara Kelly, Rachel Moore, and Graham Sadler's book *Accenting the Classics: Editing European Music in France, 1915–1925*.²⁰ This book details the history of the “Édition Classique” published by Durand, which was intended to replace German publications and to make European music accessible to a French audience. In doing so, they place great focus on how European music was received and treated in France during this period. Editing is discussed largely in cases where well-known figures of French musical life, such as Claude Debussy, are serving as editors for the series. Oftentimes, the discussion of editorial technique is focused on the information accompanying the score, such as forewords, and not the treatment of the musical text. Overall, the authors are primarily occupied with determining the strength of the “French accent” present within the publication being examined.

Investigating a case comparable to that of the *Capriccio* – of a piece with several manuscript sources and no extant autograph – Zoltán Szabó's doctoral work and subsequent publications on the Bach cello suites uses similar methodology to the one I used to investigate filiation.²¹ That being said, despite the Bach cello suites having significantly more published editions (approximately 106 in contrast to 26) than the *Capriccio*, Szabó has chosen to focus primarily on the transition from manuscript sources to published editions. He devotes only seven pages of his doctoral dissertation to the editorial process, and has not analyzed the variants

²⁰ Deborah Mawer, Barbara Kelly, Rachel Moore, Graham Sadler, *Accenting the Classics: Editing European Music in France, 1915–1925* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: The Boydell Press, 2023).

²¹ Zoltán Szabó, “Precarious Presumptions and the ‘Minority Report’: Revisiting the Primary Sources of the Bach Cello Suites,” *Bach* 45 (2014): 1-33; Zoltán Szabó, “Problematic Sources, Problematic Transmission: An Outline of the Edition History of the Solo Cello Suites” (PhD diss., Sydney Conservatorium of Music at The University of Sydney, 2016).

between published editions, although he does provide a spreadsheet detailing the differences between the four manuscript sources and the first published edition as an appendix.²² The examples provided demonstrate the numerous approaches one can take to studying the differences between scores; however, all of them take their respective case studies as standalone, without connecting them to a broader theoretical framework in an effort to understand why these sorts of variants occur.

This research builds on the existing literature about music editing by investigating the musical text, not just for philological reasons, but to look at variants within the context of their occurrence to gain insight into the *Capriccio*'s reception history. This will, in turn, reveal patterns in editorial approaches over the 19th and 20th centuries.

Theoretical Framework

Underpinning the research into the development of editorial practices over the 19th and 20th centuries, and specifically, how it has manifested in editions of the *Capriccio*, is the idea that the music community's current way of portraying and treating scores is incomplete. As it currently stands, scores are treated paradoxically, given both too much and not enough emphasis. On one hand the score's supposed ability to convey the composer's intent is taken for granted.²³ This may result in music students in performance programs, even at the highest levels, being taught to follow scores precisely, thus granting the scores outsized authority in the musical process. On the other hand, scores are often assumed to be objective, and little attention is given to their choice

²² Zoltán Szabó, "Problematic Sources, Problematic Transmission: An Outline of the Edition History of the Solo Cello Suites" (PhD diss., Sydney Conservatorium of Music at The University of Sydney, 2016).

²³ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music, Revised Edition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

of scores. Theoretical publications about music typically do not label their musical examples beyond specifying the piece, thereby making it difficult to quickly identify their sources. Even in monographs specifically detailing how reading the minute details of the score can enlighten elements of a piece's original performance, such as David Breitman's *Piano-Playing Revisited*, the importance of selecting a score that will allow one to examine minute details original to the composer is not mentioned.²⁴ In these scenarios, the information conveyed is undervalued by the assumption that all scores are created equal. Neither side of the paradox consider the potential consequences of approaching scores in an uncritical manner.

The widespread tendency of the music community to leave scores unquestioned grows out of an equally widespread tendency to forget that the so-called "great canonic composers" were human. It makes sense then, if we assume composers to be immune from human error, that we assume scores, as the written conduits of their music, to be the same. To treat composers in this manner simply does not reflect the reality that they were mortal, defined and influenced by their contexts, with differing and often complex relationships to their instruments, to the compositional process, and to musical notation. By placing them on a pedestal, we do more harm than good. J. S. Bach, in particular, has been impacted by this practice, due to his position within the classical canon.

I am far from the first to question the utility of treating composers this way; both Theodor Adorno and Susan McClary addressed this topic on the occasion of the last two Bach anniversary years.²⁵ While both of them touched on the harm treating Bach's music with

²⁴ David Breitman, *Piano-Playing Revisited: What Modern Players Can Learn from Period Instruments* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2021).

²⁵ Theodor Adorno, "Bach Defended Against His Devotees," in *Prisms*, translated by Samuel and Sherry Weber (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1981), 133-146; Susan McClary, "The Blasphemy of Talking Politics During Bach Year," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception*, edited by Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 13-62.

reverence does to performances, citing concerts lacking individuality and expression out of the fear of misrepresenting Bach, neither of them mentioned the preoccupation with following scores exactly as a contributing factor. This further proves the point posited by this research: the music community's approach to the score, as communicative musical object, is incomplete. These essays by Adorno and McClary also foreshadow the primary theoretical framework this research enters into conversation with.

Lydia Goehr's 1992 book, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, subsequently re-released in a revised version in 2007, shed new light on the aesthetics behind the Western Art Music canon.²⁶ In her monograph, Goehr posits the work-concept as a theory of artistic ontology to explain why canonic composers and compositions are treated with such veneration. She is not the first to raise questions of the musical work, but she is credited with linking the idea of a regulative work-concept with a historicized argument.²⁷ The term "work-concept" grows out of the writings of E.T.A. Hoffmann, and refers to the idea that musical compositions are self-contained, autonomous works that convey meaning greater than their original intended purpose. Running parallel to this is the belief that composers are divinely inspired geniuses, creating timeless, transcendent music untouched by the context of its creation and representing an objectification of the composer's expression. Goehr's five characteristics for a piece of music to qualify as an autonomous artwork, are that the pieces be: original and unique, be structurally

²⁶ Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Revised Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²⁷ For a detailed discussion of the musical work, see Roman Ingarden, *The Work of Music and the Problem of Its Identity*, translated by Adam Czerniawski, edited by Jean Harrell (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

composed and defined by the tonal elements they are made up of, persist after the death of the creator, exist out in the world, and belong to Western art music.²⁸

This idea of the genius composer is not unique to Goehr. Edward Lowinsky traced the development of the concept using a variety of primary source documents in an effort to understand how composers became treated as geniuses.²⁹ Peter Kivy suggests George Frideric Handel as the first composer to be treated this way, and argues that the musical conception of genius follows a cyclical pattern between Platonic and Longinian ideals.³⁰ In his response to Kivy, James Young refutes these ideas, arguing instead that composers began to be considered as geniuses alongside poets and painters in the first half of the 16th century.³¹ Much of the disagreements in this branch of scholarship hinge on differing ideas of what it means to consider an artist to be a genius, which demonstrates that the concept is a cultural construct.

To support her theory of the work-concept, Goehr provides a historical thesis, referred to as the “Beethoven Paradigm,” exploring the changing face of music production before and after the year 1800. Prior to the year 1800, a year chosen to represent the birth of Romanticism, music was typically composed with a particular purpose or event in mind, whether that be a royal coronation, or a Sunday service. Composer, as a job title, bore no mystic weight, as it was considered a perfectly normal profession, not to mention one typically linked with a wide variety of other musical activities. As Goehr puts it “Bach did not intend to compose musical works.”³² While from a modern perspective this idea may seem shocking, our reaction reveals just how

²⁸ While Goehr’s original writings on the work-concept are limited to the music of the Western Classical canon, more recent scholarship and discussion have applied her frameworks to non-Classical genres.

²⁹ Edward E. Lowinsky, “Musical Genius – Evolution and Origins of a Concept,” *The Musical Quarterly* 50 (1964): 321-340.

³⁰ Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2001).

³¹ James O. Young, “Kivy on Musical Genius,” *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 51 (2011): 1-12.

³² Goehr, 8.

strong the work-concept's grasp is on 21st century music making and how far our modern conceptions are from Bach's own. In her view, when Bach composed his innumerable pieces, he was not doing so with the intent of expressing his innermost personal philosophies, nor with the aim of creating music for posterity. He did so because it was his job; composing large quantities of music nearly continually was a major part of his job description and employment contract, as was the case for many of his peers.

The landscape of music production began shifting as the 18th century drew to a close; however, the true change is often argued as being tied to Beethoven, hence Goehr's choice of the term "the Beethoven Paradigm." Christopher Reynolds explores the impact of Beethoven's death on concert life throughout Europe, and the compositional output of various composers to quantify its impact.³³ Beethoven is often considered to be first composer to be treated as an otherworldly genius, and his treatment as such cemented the notion of music production as the result and portrayal of a composer's innermost emotions. The broader impact of Beethoven's legacy on musical scholarship has been examined by numerous early music scholars. In the introduction to his book, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères*, John Haines uses Beethoven reception studies as an example of how cultural contexts shape musical repertoire.³⁴ Paula Higgins describes how in the second half of the 20th century Josquin des Prez came to be compared to Beethoven, and hailed as the greatest composer of his day.³⁵ In her view, this comparison has led the preoccupation of scholars with authenticating music attributed to Josquin,

³³ Christopher Reynolds, "The Sanctification of Beethoven in 1827-1828," in *The New Beethoven: Evolution, Analysis, Interpretation*, edited by Jeremy Yudkin and Lewis Lockwood (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2020), 89-119.

³⁴ John Haines, introduction to *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1-6.

³⁵ Paula Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57 (2004): 443-510.

and the dismissal of pieces perceived as flawed so as to “absolve him from the sin of technical error.”³⁶

Beethoven also represents a turning point in practicing musicians’ relationship with the score. Much of the music written in the 18th century and earlier was related with the expectation that performers would add their own touches and style to the musical text. This took numerous forms, such as ornamenting repeats, free ornamentation in slow movements, and improvised cadenzas.³⁷ Practices such as ornamentation were already in decline at the end of the 18th century in response to the new musical style of the early Classical era, but Beethoven secured this change by writing out cadenzas for his concertos, thereby fully removing structured improvisation and similar abilities from the lexicon of skills performers needed.

This dramatic shift in the way music was created, and consequently, perceived and performed is hugely present in 21st century musical culture, impacting nearly every facet of disciplines interacting with classical music. Music created before the year 1800, such as the *Capriccio*, has been particularly negatively affected as the artistic philosophies of the 19th century were retroactively applied. The primary negative effect is the concept of *Werktreue*. *Werktreue*, which literally translates from German as “work loyalty,” is the idea that one ought to be faithful to the work, that is to the idea of the piece of music as representative of more than the sum of its parts. In practice, the idea of faith to a given work typically translates into being faithful to the score, making *werktreue*, in classical music at least, synonymous with *texttreue*.³⁸ While this can have negative ramifications to the artistry of a performance of music written after 1800, the consequences will be much greater in a piece of Baroque music, for which the score

³⁶ Higgins, 467.

³⁷ Fulvia Morabito, edit., *Musical Improvisation in the Baroque Era* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2019).

³⁸ Goehr, 231.

will not convey all that the musician would have been expected to play. Improvisation is a recorded part of musical life in the 19th century, often appearing in stories of the greatness of Chopin or Liszt; however, it no longer held the position it had in the Baroque era, where improvisation was an expected skill taught to all musicians. This can be seen in the differing relationship between improvisation and score between these two periods. In the Baroque era, the expectation for structured improvisation is imbedded in the score, through practices like figured bass. In contrast, the stories we have of improvisation after the Baroque era, and especially in the 19th century, happen before the score, either in the form of improvised preludes to a fully written-out piece or in entirely freeform improvisation.³⁹

In practice, the results of employing *werktreue* in performances of Baroque music are deeply related to the idea of authenticity in historically informed performance (HIP). The often-criticized idea of authenticity in HIP has to do with the notion that trying to replicate the performance of a piece as it would have been heard by its composer brings one closer to the “truth” of that piece.⁴⁰ Laurence Dreyfus has commented on the theological and moralistic undertones of many discussions surrounding these questions, commenting that “authentic renditions, it appears, are ethically superior to inauthentic ones.”⁴¹ Much of this sort of rhetoric also applies to how musical scores are currently treated.

Many musicologists and music theorists have used the ideas of the work-concept and of *Werktreue* as tools to critique the Western Art Music canon. However, these ideas have not

³⁹ Rudolf Rasch, edit., *Beyond Note: Improvisation in Western Music of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011).

⁴⁰ John Butt, “Historical Interpretation and ‘Truth to the Composer’: Rehabilitating Intention,” in *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 74–95; Howard Mayer Brown, “Pedantry or Liberation? A Sketch of the Historical Performance Movement,” in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, edited by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 27–56.

⁴¹ Laurence Dreyfus, “Early Music Defended Against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century,” *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 297–322.

previously been used to examine the role of the score in music performance and studies, likely because of the widespread presumptions made about scores. It is this gap in the literature that my research endeavours to correct, using the pre-existing idea of the work-concept as a theoretical foundation for my discussion of the legacies of 19th century artistic philosophy in editorial practices applied to Baroque music. This thesis challenges the attitude that led Robert Schumann to advise young musicians to “think it a vile habit to alter works of good composers, to omit parts of them, or to insert new-fashioned ornaments. This is greatest insult you can offer to Art.”⁴²

Methodology

The theoretical framework of the proposed research is centered around the impacts of *Werktreue* and the work-concept, and investigate how, because of these concepts, scores are taken as unbiased conduits of composer intent. The methodology used was thus created to shed light on the fallible nature of music editing by gaining the most exhaustive understanding possible of the variants between the *Capriccio*’s published editions. Additionally, the methodology was designed to shed light on the piece’s transmission history.

Techniques used in stemmatics were a significant inspiration in developing the methodological process outlined below; however, this methodology is not a perfect science.⁴³

⁴² Robert Schumann, *Advice to Young Musicians*, translated by Henry Hugo Pierson (Urbana, Illinois: Project Gutenberg, 2009), 15.

⁴³ For a detailed guide of stemmatics in music see: Georg Feder, *Music Philology: An Introduction to Musical Textual Criticism, Hermeneutics, and, Editorial Technique*, translated by Bruce C. MacIntyre (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2011, reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987). For a more general and equally detailed resource on the history, methods, and applications of stemmatics see: Philipp Roelli, edit., *Handbook of Stemmatics: History, methodology, Digital Approaches* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

Stemmatic methodology, which is often attributed to Karl Lachmann, was designed with the aim of uncovering the “true” text of a piece of literature or music; however, this so-called “true text” often does not exist and presupposes the notion of authenticity to the creator and of autonomous art.⁴⁴ This notion is further disrupted when the piece in question has a complicated source landscape. Karl Kügle observes that “both the ‘best-text- approach and stemmatics are reaching their limits when an editor is faced with multiple versions of a single piece or text, none of which can justifiably be privileged over any other on secondary grounds.”⁴⁵ The process of constructing a stemma also asks that the scholar or editor (in the case of preparing a critical edition) make subjective decisions about past “good” or “bad” readings of the text.⁴⁶ This process works in direct opposition of one of the goals of this thesis: to endeavour to understand why editorial decisions were made and how variants emerge, without assigning value judgements, even when the decisions of past editors do not align with current notions of performance practice.

However, freed from the baggage of a “best-text,” many elements of stemmatic methodology remain the best option for this project. It is possible to use the core methodological practices of stemmatology, of critically examining and comparing sources of a piece, without making value judgements about the variants found or using the data collected to reconstruct an attempt at the “original” text. Instead, a stemma may be used as a way of visually representing

⁴⁴ Grier, 67. For information on Karl Lachmann’s contributions to the field of textual criticism see: Karl Lachmann, “Rehenschaft über seine Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments,” in *Kleinere Schriften von Karl Lachmann*, 2: *Kleinere Schriften zur Classischen Philologie von Karl Lachmann*, edited by Johannes Vahlen, 250–72 (Berlin: Reimer, 1876); Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann’s Method*, edited and translated by Glenn Most (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, “Lachmann’s Method: History of a Misunderstanding,” in *The Uses of Greek and Latin: Historical Essays in Memoriam Arnaldo Dante Momigliano*, edited by Carlo Dionisotti, Anthony Grafton, and Jill Kraye, 227–36 (London: Warburg Institute, 1988).

⁴⁵ Karl Kügle, “Textual Culture Shock, or The Making and Remaking of (Early) Music ‘Philology’,” in *Early Music Editing: Principles, Historiography, Future Directions*, edited by Theodor Dumitrescu, Karl Kügle, and Marnix van Berchum, 9–19 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013), 16.

⁴⁶ Grier, 49.

the movement of musical information – for that is what scores are – over time. As Barbara Bordalejo has remarked “a stemma, computer-generated or made by hand, is only a graphic representation of a hypothesis ... created following a specific model and has to be treated as such.”⁴⁷

The proposed methodology falls into five broad stages: the collection and organisation of the sources, the variant-based analysis of published editions, the variant-based analysis of manuscript sources, the comparison of published editions to manuscript sources, and the qualitative analysis of the published editions.

The first stage, the collection and organisation of sources, further divides into published editions and manuscript sources. The 40 total published editions of the *Capriccio* identified were gathered from a wide variety of sources. These sources are as follows: numerous university libraries in the Omni database, the University of Toronto Music Library, the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, the Leipzig Bach Archiv, the Loeb Music Library at Harvard University, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, AbeBooks, eBay, and sheetmusicplus.com. Of these 40 editions, 26 of them are unique published editions, with the remaining 14 being reprint editions. All 40 published sources are introduced in detail in chapter 2. While it is impossible to determine if every edition of the *Capriccio* has been spoken for, every feasible effort to be exhaustive in collecting the publications has been made. Additionally, the sheer diversity of editions collected, along the axes of both date and location, provide a sufficiently broad representational landscape for this research.

The *Capriccio* does not have a surviving autograph manuscript, although it is widely assumed that one existed at some point. There are, however, 17 confirmed manuscript sources

⁴⁷ Barbara Bordalejo, “The Genealogy of Texts: Manuscript Traditions and Textual Traditions,” *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 31 (2016): 563–77.

for the *Capriccio*. Of these, four have been destroyed or lost, and one is in the hands of an unknown private owner. This leaves 12 remaining manuscripts, housed respectively in Berlin, Brussels, Leipzig, Munich, and Warsaw. These 12 sources were accessed via digital reproductions of the manuscripts in Brussels and Munich, and via visits to Berlin, Leipzig, and Warsaw. The *Capriccio*'s manuscript sources are described in detail in chapter 2. Having collected the published editions and manuscripts, I digitized them as necessary.

The second stage of this research was the analysis of the published editions of the *Capriccio*, focused on tracing the development of variations between sources so as to understand the transmission of the piece to the greatest extent possible. This involved a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to catalogue all differences between editions and using a colour code to trace patterns. The spreadsheet is structured with the 26 unique editions each receiving a column. They are arranged in chronological order, and have each been assigned a colour. The colour code is provided as figure 2.1 in chapter 2, and alongside a legend to aid in reading the spreadsheet in appendix 1.

Variants between published editions encoded in the spreadsheet are limited to the musical text (the notes and rhythms themselves) and ornaments. These variants include the use of accidentals. Variations between the *Capriccio*'s title and programmatic subtitles will be recorded and analyzed in a subsequent study. In the case of the third movement, written for figured bass and "soloist," suggested realizations of the figured bass were not analyzed. While the suggested realizations vary extensively between publications of the *Capriccio*, they represent additions to the musical text instead of edits to it. An analysis of the suggested realizations is planned for a subsequent study, as it would reveal valuable information of evolving approaches to Baroque performance practice over the 19th and 20th centuries.

Interpretative suggestions, such as articulation markings, dynamic and expression indications, and pedal markings, have been excluded from the variant spreadsheet for all movements for several reasons. Firstly, like the suggested figured bass realizations, interpretative markings represent additions to the text. Furthermore, while interpretative suggestions are symptomatic of the evolving editorial attitudes this research seeks to understand, they require a different analytical approach to understand the changing attitudes towards Baroque music they represent. Unlike individual variations between ornamentation and musical text, which can reveal both philological and editorial information, individual interpretative suggestions contain little information on their own. The interpretative suggestions included in any given edition need to be viewed as a whole, unless considered with the variants in ornamentation and musical text. As such, they do not need to be individually catalogued.

Moreover, the spreadsheet analysis of the 26 published editions serves a dual purpose: to investigate the editorial decisions made over time and to trace the filiation of the musical text. While it is possible that editors drew inspiration from the interpretative suggestions made in their source material, they would serve as weak evidence in establishing transmission.

Instead of including them in the variant focused spreadsheets housed in appendix 1, observations about the presence, quantity, and type of interpretative suggestions included in the *Capriccio*'s published editions are presented in appendix 3. This allows the interpretative suggestions to be examined in an organized and systematic way without interfering with the philological aspects of the spreadsheets in appendix 1.

After the completion of the spreadsheet, the data was analyzed and expressed in the form of a stemma portraying the *Capriccio*'s publication history and the development of its musical text. This stemma will also differentiate between the three types of relationships between

editions: reprints, explicit relationships, and implicit relationships. Explicit relationships are those cited in the score, either by an editor stating in the introduction that they consulted another publication, through footnotes offering a variant taken from a named source, or, in the case of more scholarly editions, in the critical commentary section. Implicit relationships are more difficult to define, which is why I believe it is so important to differentiate them. These relationships are extrapolated from the presence (or absence) of telling variants, but cannot be conclusively confirmed. These telling variants are found in the musical text and ornamentation. This stemma is established in chapter 2.

The third research stage involves repeating the analytical process for the 12 extant manuscript sources. As there already exists a stemma for the manuscript sources of the *Capriccio*, which was created as part of the research process for the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*, this part of stage two will not be replicated.⁴⁸ The patterns observed in the manuscript spreadsheet have affirmed the existing stemma. The data collected in the manuscript spreadsheet was also used in stage four of the methodology. The spreadsheet analysis of the manuscript sources is located in appendix 2.

The fourth stage of this research was to link the analysis and chronology of the 26 unique published editions of the *Capriccio* with the analysis of the 12 extant manuscript sources. The aim of this stage in the research was to gain the deepest possible understanding of the *Capriccio*'s textual history by attempting to decipher the manuscript sources used in creating the published editions. This was done by comparing the patterns of variants present between the published edition and manuscript spreadsheets. Due to the complexity of the *Capriccio*'s source

⁴⁸ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 20.

landscape, and the large number of variants, only a handful of connections between manuscript sources and printed editions were able to be established. However, despite their small number, these connections provide important insight into the place manuscript sources held in editing Bach's keyboard music, especially in the 19th century. These findings are also discussed in chapter 2.

The fifth and final stage of the research involved the qualitative analysis of the published editions. This involved critically examining the characteristics of the *Capriccio*'s published editions, including the patterns of variants found via the spreadsheet analysis, any textual information accompanying the scores, the context of each edition's creation, and a variety of physical characteristics. Additionally, this included researching their editors and publishers in the case of published editions, and copyists in the case of manuscript sources. Then, any introductory or critical materials appearing in a language other than English was translated. This qualitative analysis led to the establishment of several categories which serve as a tool to discuss patterns in the history of the *Capriccio*'s published editions. Details of the edition characteristics examined in stage five, the process of establishing the categories, and the reasoning behind the use of categorization is explained in depth in chapter 3.

Chapters 4–8 of the thesis describe the characteristics of each of the categories established in chapter 3. This is done not only to illustrate and support the decision to categorize the *Capriccio*'s diverse published editions in this way and to explore the typical characteristics of each category, but also as a way to better understand the mentality that led to the editorial decisions made.

In chapters 4–8, the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) edition of the *Capriccio* will be used as a control to provide context for the examples of editorial interventions discussed.⁴⁹ This series of editions, published 1954–2007, represents the result of extensive research conducted in collaboration by the Bach Archiv Leipzig and the Bach Institut Göttingen. As *urtexts*, NBA editions replicate in modern notation the musical text found in the earliest surviving manuscript source of a piece. In the case of the *Capriccio*, this is found in the Möller manuscript, copied by Johann Christoph Bach.⁵⁰ The volume of the NBA that contains the *Capriccio* was edited by Hartwig Eichberg. The concept of an *urtext* has been widely criticized as it promotes the idea of a singular, true musical text.⁵¹ As in textual criticism of literature, the sources of a piece of music rarely point to a single version of the text, a nuance passed over by the methodology used in publishing *urtext* editions.

Despite the valid criticism to be made of *urtext* scores, the NBA edition of the *Capriccio* remains the optimal choice in this situation. The decision to use it as the control is not intended to portray the NBA edition as an unbiased publication, as there is no such thing. Nor was the decision intended to posit the NBA edition as the best or truest version of the *Capriccio*, as choosing the so-called best edition of a piece is a subjective decision, ultimately made according to the needs and priorities of the individual. Instead, the decision to use the NBA as a control was made out of practicality. The research presented in chapters 4–8 frequently draws comparisons between various aspects of different editions of the *Capriccio*, including variants of the musical text. While these comparisons will be described and analyzed in depth, they cannot be

⁴⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio B-Dur sopra la lontananza del fratello diletteissimo,” in *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V: Klavier- und Lautenwerke, Band 10*, edited by Hartwig Eichberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1976), 3–11.

⁵⁰ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

⁵¹ Mark Clague, “Portraits in Beams and Barlines,” 40, 64–65. For further discussion of the *urtext*, see chapter 8.

understood in a vacuum. Placing examples of variants in the musical text in contrast with the NBA allows the discussion of editorial decision making to be more easily understood. The NBA remains the favourable choice for a control due to its clearly stated and easily verifiable source material, and transparent methodology.

In keeping with the research aims, the body of the thesis is structured to examine the transmission history of the *Capriccio*, and the ways in which published editions reflect the contexts of their creation. Chapter 2 introduces the manuscript and published sources of the *Capriccio*, and establishes the stemma representing the piece's transmission history. Chapter 3 proposes and establishes an alternative to the current system of categorizing published editions. Chapters 4–8 are each dedicated to the characteristics of a category of edition: chapter 4 is dedicated to editions of the *Capriccio* published as part of collected works projects, chapter 5 addresses editions linked to pedagogical practices, chapter 6 explores exhibition editions, chapter 7 examines editions edited by performers and composers, and chapter 8 investigates the professionalization of music editing. The thesis ends with a conclusion, chapter 9, which presents the conclusions and ramifications of this research, and proposes avenues for further research.

Chapter 2:

A Philological Look at the *Capriccio*

The source landscape of the *Capriccio* is nothing if not complicated. Since the piece was composed in or around 1704, more than fifty versions of it have been created including both manuscript copies and published editions. The manuscripts, which do not include an autograph, were copied between the early 18th and mid 19th centuries. The more than 40 published editions were created between 1839 and 2020.

This chapter strives to gain a thorough understanding of the *Capriccio*'s conjoined publication and transmission histories. The published editions will be introduced, followed by the presentation and analysis of the stemma of published editions. This will be followed by the introduction of the manuscript sources, and the stemma of manuscripts. The chapter ends with a discussion of the manuscripts as source material for the published editions. While manuscripts would traditionally be considered before published editions, published editions have been placed first in this chapter as they are the primary focus of this study.

Published Editions

The *Capriccio*'s publication history comprises at least 40 publications over a period of 180 years. Of these, 26 are original publications, and the remaining 14 are reprints. Reprints are broadly defined as reproductions of an existing publication. These can exist under numerous guises, including the reuse of a set of printing plates, the exact reproduction (physical or digital) of a set of printing plates or the exact replication of a score (pagination, typesetting, musical text, title(s) and other textual elements, interpretative suggestions, and all other elements) even if the

plate numbers have been removed or otherwise obscured. Reprints can be produced by the original publishing house (usually in the form of repeat printings or the reuse of the work of an editor in a new volume) or by a different company. Some reprints explicitly state that they are reprints and cite the original publication, and others do not. In cases without an explicit statement, reprint status is determined by observing the edition alongside its suspected source. Even when plate numbers have been removed or obscured, reprints are obvious due to the fact that they are identical to the original edition they reproduce. Instances of all of these forms of reprint editions may be found below, and while they are all categorized as reprints, details of their production are provided where available. Including reprints in the philological discussion of the *Capriccio* displays evidence of the continued life of certain important published editions, and provides insight into the published editions commercially available to musicians at different moments in time.

Below, all of the *Capriccio*'s published editions are presented with details of their publication. The original publications are in chronological order, and the reprints are presented alongside the original they reproduce. The editions described below are of varying levels of rarity. The vast majority of them are no longer commercially available, and several are very rare, housed in just one or two library collections. As a result, I have chosen to specify where the copy I consulted of each edition is housed, the way one does with manuscript sources. Additionally, I specify when a particular edition is still commercially available. Hopefully this will provide a leg up to anyone researching any aspect of this study (whether that be the *Capriccio* itself, the work of any of the editors or publishing houses represented below) in locating source material. For a similar reason, I specify when the copy I consulted has been rebound, as a way of indicating that no comment on the edition's original binding is possible.

Peters 1839⁵²

This first published edition of the *Capriccio* was published by the Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters (now Edition Peters) in Leipzig in 1839. It is the fourth volume of a project to publish the collected instrumental works of J. S. Bach, for which Carl Czerny was chief editor. Czerny was also the editor of the volume containing the *Capriccio*. The volume has visible plate numbers of 2696, and is of a standard size for a volume of sheet music, measuring 24 x 30 x 4 cm. The volume has been rebound. The paper used is noticeably heavy, weighing around 200 GSM.⁵³ The copy of this publication consulted is housed at the Leipzig Bach Archiv, and this publication is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

Two reprints of the Peters 1839 edition have been identified. They were published, respectively by Launer in 1843 and S. Richault in 1850.⁵⁴ Both are French-language reprints of the fourth volume of the Peters collected instrumental works project published in Paris, likely intending to bring this edition to a French audience. Additionally, both are exact replications of the musical text, ornamentation, interpretative suggestions, and pagination; however, they have different plate numbers. New plates would have needed to be created to allow for the accompanying textual elements (table of contents, title, programmatic subtitles) to be translated into French. The Launer 1843 edition has plates numbered 5275, and the Richault 1850 edition has plates numbered 9565. The copies of both editions consulted in this study are housed at the

⁵² Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio Auf die Entfernung eines sehr theuern Bruders,” in *Compositions pour le Piano-forte sans et avec accompagnement par Jean Sebastien Bach, Oeuvres complets Liv. 4*,” edited by Carl Czerny, 64–9 (Leipzig: Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters, 1839).

⁵³ GSM signifies Grams per Square Meter, the standard way of measuring paper density and thickness. For reference, standard printer or notebook paper is between 70 and 100 GSM.

⁵⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Le Caprice et la Fugue sur Le départ d’un Ami [in table of contents],” “Capriccio Sur le départ de son très cher frère. [above score],” in *Collection Complète Pour Le Piano, Avec et Sans Accompagnement, des Œuvres de J. -S. Bach, Cahier 5*, edited by Charles [Carl] Czerny, 64–9 (Paris: Launer, 1843); Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio et Fugue sur le départ d’un ami en Si bemol,” in *Collection complete des Compositions de J. Séb. Bach pour le piano avec ou sans accompagnement*, edited by Carl Czerny, 64–9 (Paris: S. Richault, 1850).

Leipzig Bach Archiv. The Launer 1843 edition was consulted via microfiche, and the physical volume of Richault 1850 edition was examined. The Richault volume is of a standard size, measuring 30 x 24 x 4 cm, with heavyweight paper weighing approximately 200 GSM. This edition has been rebound.

Peters 1851⁵⁵

The second published edition of the *Capriccio* was published by C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique (now Edition Peters) in 1851. Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl served as editor in a publication that appears to have been intended to replace Czerny's 1839 edition of the same grouping of pieces in light of new source material becoming available.⁵⁶ Despite the several changes to the musical text, the Peters 1851 edition utilizes the same plate numbers as the Peters 1839: 2696. The volume measures 24 x 30 x 3 cm, has paper weighing approximately 200 GSM, and has been rebound. The copy of this edition consulted for this study is owned by the Leipzig Bach Archiv.

The Peters 1851 edition has been reprinted numerous times by the company now called Edition Peters. The first instance was in 1869, as part of the Edition Peters series, which was designed to make high quality sheet music available at financially accessible prices.⁵⁷ This volume was edition number 208, with plates numbered 8242, despite the musical text being virtually identical to that of the Peters 1851 edition. Griepenkerl is credited as the editor, and the volume is of a relatively standard size, measuring 22.5 x 30 x 1 cm. The edition has been

⁵⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Compositions pour le Clavecin seul par J. Seb. Bach. Oeuvres de Bach, Série I, Cahier 4*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, 62–7 (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851).

⁵⁶ Annika Fabbi, "The Many Pens of Edition Peters: A Story in Three and a Half Bach Editions" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the New York State-St. Laurence chapter of the American Musicological Society, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, May 8–9, 2025).

⁵⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Französische Ouvertüre, Fantasia con Fugue, Capriccio, Vier Duette*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, 30–5 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1869, reprint, Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851).

rebound. The paper is of a lighter weight and coarser construction in comparison with earlier Peters publications of the *Capriccio*; the paper weighs around 150 GSM. The copy of this publication consulted is owned by the Leipzig Bach Archiv.

The Peters company continued to reprint the text of the 1869 edition of the *Capriccio* into the 20th century. Two such publications have been sourced as part of this research project, neither of which were dated. Both are standalone copies of the *Capriccio* with edition number 208c and plates numbered 8242. They were published in New York and London, respectively, and were published post-1950.⁵⁸ Griepenkerl's editing was used for both publications; however, his name does not appear anywhere in the publication, and his original introduction has been replaced with one by Stainton de B. Taylor. Both volumes are of a standard size, measuring 22.5 x 30 x 0.3 cm, and are staple bound paperbacks. The New York edition consulted is owned by the author, and the London edition consulted is owned by the Riemenschneider Bach Institute at Baldwin Wallace University in Berea, Ohio. Both the Peters 1851 edition and its reprints are discussed in chapter 6.

L. Holle 1856⁵⁹

L. Holle published an edition of the *Capriccio* edited by Friedrich Chrysander in 1856. The *Capriccio* was published alongside several other keyboard compositions by Bach in a collected

⁵⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio on the Departure of his Beloved Brother Johann Jacob Bach (1704)*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Greipenkerl, introduction by Stainton de B. Taylor (Unknown city of publication, likely New York City: C. F. Peters corp., unknown date, post-1950, reprint, Leipzig: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851 and 1869); Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo/auf die abreise seines geliebten Bruders/on the Departure of his Beloved Brother Johann Jacob Bach (1704)*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, introduction by Stainton [de] B. Taylor (Unknown city of publication, likely London: C. F. Peters & Hinrichsen Edition, unknown date, 1950–75, reprint, Leipzig: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851 and 1869).

⁵⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio Sopra la lontananza del suo fratello Dilettissimo," in *Sammlung der Clavier. Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, herausgegeben von Friedrich Chrysander, Band I*, edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856).

volume, with plates numbered 341. This edition was consulted via a digital reproduction provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and as a result details providing the edition's size, paper weight and binding are unavailable. No reprints of this edition have been located, and it is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

La Croix 1866⁶⁰

The La Croix edition of the *Capriccio* was published in 1866. No editor is listed in this publication, and the piece appears to have been published in a standalone volume with plates numbered 2840. The La Croix edition was consulted via a digital copy provided by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Therefore, no information on the edition's size or paper weight is available. Virtually no information about this edition or this publishing house is available, and as a result the edition is not discussed in detail in later chapters of the thesis. No reprints of this edition have been located.

Breitkopf & Härtel 1888⁶¹

This edition was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in collaboration with the Royal Conservatory of Brussels in 1888. This volume, containing the *Capriccio* and a suite in e minor, forms part of a series of pedagogical scores edited by Auguste Dupont. It used plates numbered 17760, and the volume is of a standard size, measuring 23 x 30 x 1 cm. Relatively heavy paper, weighing around 175 GSM, was used. The copy of this edition consulted for this study is owned by the

⁶⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Caprice Sur le depart de son très cher frère," in *Oeuvres choisies pour piano, Volume II*, 85–92 (Paris: Imp. La Croix, 1866).

⁶¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Ecole de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles VIIième Livraison, Cahier I, J. S. Bach, Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo (Caprice sur le départ de son frère très chéri), Suite en mi min. Toccata et Fugue-Allemande-Courante-Air-Sarabande-Gavotte-Gigue*, edited by Auguste Dupont, 2–10 (Leipzig and Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888).

Leipzig Bach Archiv, and the edition is discussed in detail in chapter 5. No reprints of this score have been located.

Steingräber 1888⁶²

Steingräber Verlag published an edition of the *Capriccio*, edited by Hans Bischoff in 1888. This edition of the piece is included in a volume of the complete keyboard works of Bach edited by Bischoff. The publication is edition number 117, and uses plates numbered 327. The volume is somewhat oversized, measuring 26.75 x 33 x 0.5 cm, and the paper used is thin, around 120 GSM, and slightly glossy. The copy consulted is owned by the author, and has been rebound. This edition is discussed in chapter 4.

One reprint of this edition has been located, having been published by Kalmus in 1950.⁶³ The reprint edition lists Bischoff as the editor, and provides his original introduction translated from German into English. Kalmus has published the *Capriccio* in a standalone volume as edition number 3050, and with no visible plate numbers. The physical volume is slightly oversized, measuring 25.5 x 32.5 x 0.2 cm. The paper is thin, weighing around 120 GSM, but unlike the original, matte in finish, and the volume is a stable bound paperback. The copy of the Kalmus reprint consulted is owned by the author.

⁶² Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio (B-dur) sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo,” in *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, edited by Hans Bischoff, 24–9 (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888).

⁶³ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio in Bb Major On the Departure to Distant Climes of His Dearly Beloved Brother*, edited by Hans Bischoff (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1950. Reprint, Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888).

Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe 1890⁶⁴

The Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (BGA) volume containing the *Capriccio* was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1890. The *Capriccio* was edited by Ernst Naumann, and published in a volume with plates numbered B. W. XXXVI. The physical volume is extremely oversized, measuring 26 x 35.5 x 3.5 cm, and uses very heavy paper, weighing around 200 GSM. The copy consulted is owned by the University of Ottawa, and has been rebound. The BGA edition is discussed in detail in chapter 4, and has been the subject of many reprints.

The earliest reprint located is a pocket or study score published by Lea Pocket Scores in 1954.⁶⁵ This reprint lists the BGA as its source, is edition number 46, and has the same plate numbers as the BGA original, BW XXXVI. The volume measures 12 x 16.5 x 0.7 cm, is a staple bound paperback, and has paper weighing around 150 GSM. The copy consulted is owned by the author.

The second reprint of the BGA was published by Kalmus in 1968, and does not list the source of the music it contains.⁶⁶ It is edition number 730, and does not have visible plate numbers. Like the Lea edition, this is a study score, in this case measuring 14 x 18 x 0.6 cm, with paper weighing around 150 GSM. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the University of Ottawa, and has been rebound.

⁶⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo, B-dur,” in *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe Band XXXVI, Clavierwerke Band IV*, edited by Ernst Naumann, 190–6 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

⁶⁵ Johann Sebastian, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo. B-dur,” in *J. S. Bach The Works for Clavier in Nine Volumes – Vol. VII: Twelve Little Preludes; Six Little Preludes; Fantasies; Fughetta; Fugues; Two Capriccios; Aria Variata; Three Minuets*, 190–6 (New York: Lea Pocket Scores, 1954, reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

⁶⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo,” in *Various Works for Clavier, Volume II*, 190–6 (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1968. Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

Dover has published two reprints of the BGA edition of the *Capriccio*. The first was in 1991 as part of a volume of collected Bach keyboard pieces, all taken from various installments of the BGA, which is clearly stated on the title page.⁶⁷ The volume has no visible edition or plate numbers, and is of a standard size, measuring 23.5 x 31 x 2.5 cm. The paper used weighs around 150 GSM. The copy of this reprint consulted is owned by the University of Ottawa, and has been rebound.

The second such reprint is also found in a volume of collected Bach keyboard pieces, this time taken from the BGA and other sources, and was published in 1999.⁶⁸ It also cites its sources, and has no edition or plate numbers. The volume is a standard size, measuring 23.5 x 31 x 2.5 cm, and uses paper weighing around 150 GSM. The copy consulted is owned by the University of Toronto, and has been rebound. Both Dover reprints of the *Capriccio* are still commercially available.

Durand 1900⁶⁹

Durand & C^{ie} published an edition of the *Capriccio* edited by Isidor Phillip in 1900, as a standalone volume. The copy consulted for this study, which is owned by the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, has been rebound without its covers, so there is no way of knowing whether it originally had an edition number. However, the edition used plates numbered D. & F. 11, 106.

⁶⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletto,” in *Miscellaneous Keyboard Works: Toccatas, Fugues and other Pieces*, 291–7 (New York: Dover, 1991, reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

⁶⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio on the Departure of His Most Beloved Brother/Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletto,” in *Bach Masterpieces for Solo Piano*, 7–13 (New York: Dover, 1999, reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

⁶⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le depart de son frère bien-aimé*, edited by Isidor Philipp (Paris: Durand & C^{ie}, 1900).

The volume is slightly wider than average, measuring 29.5 x 31 x 0.5 cm, with paper weighing 120 GSM. This edition is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Durand continued to print this edition of the *Capriccio* until at least 1960.⁷⁰ The later version has an edition number on the front cover matches the plate numbers: D. & F. 11, 106. The volume measures 29.5 x 31 x 0.2 cm uses paper weighing approximately 120 gsm, and is a stitched paperback with a single gathering. The copy consulted is owned by the author.

Litolff 1900⁷¹

The next edition of the *Capriccio* was published by Henry Litolff's Verlag in 1900 in a collected volume of keyboard music by J. S. Bach. No editor is listed. The edition is numbered 170. The volume is a standard size in terms of height and width, however the copy consulted was rebound with a number of similar publications in a large volume measuring 24 x 30 x 5 cm. The paper used is noticeably thin and somewhat glossy, weighing around 120 GSM. The copy consulted is owned by the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, and, as there is virtually no information available about this publication, it is not discussed in detail elsewhere in the thesis.

Gebrüder Hug 1903⁷²

The Gebrüder Hug edition of the *Capriccio*, published in 1903, was edited by Heinrich Germer as part of his series of pedagogical editions. Like all installments of this series, the *Capriccio* was published in a standalone volume. The volume is a standard size, measuring 24 x 30 x 0.5 cm,

⁷⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Caprice sur le depart de son frère bien aimé* (Paris: Durand, 1960, reprint, Paris: Durand, 1900).

⁷¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sur le Départ d'un Ami," in *J.S.Bach Clavierstücke (Pièces pour Piano. – Pianoforte Pieces.) Band 2, 2–7* (Brunswick: Henry Litolff's Verlag, 1900).

⁷² Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio. Die Abreise./The Departure," in *Heinrich Germer's Academical Edition of classical Pianoforte Works for Educational Purposes. Upper Grade II*, edited by Heinrich Germer, 2–9 (Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug, 1903).

and uses paper weighing around 150 GSM. The copy consulted, which is owned by the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, has been rebound. The Gebrüder Hug edition is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

One reprint of the Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition has been located, which was published by Ashley Publications in 1985.⁷³ The Ashley 1985 edition of the *Capriccio* is within a collected volume of keyboard compositions by J. S. Bach, George Friedrich Handel, and Domenico Scarlatti which does not cite the sources of their scores. No plate numbers are visible, and the edition has no identifying number. The volume is standard in size, measuring 22 x 30 x 1 cm, and uses paper weighing approximately 150 GSM. A glued paperback binding has been used, and the copy of this edition consulted is owned by the University of Windsor.

Monde Musical 1906⁷⁴

At the top of the first page of this edition of the *Capriccio*, the proceeding score is described as a “supplement to the Monde Musical of February 15th, 1906.”⁷⁵ This seems to imply that the score was accompanying some form of magazine or periodical; however, no information has been found to substantiate this. The edition uses plates numbered M. M. 145, and no editor is listed. As the edition was accessed using a digital copy supplied by the Bibliothèque nationale de France, no information about the physical characteristics of the volume is available. The Bibliothèque nationale de France also has a separate listing for an identical score in which they

⁷³ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio (The Journey) Die Abreise/The Departure,” in *Bach Handel Scarlatti: Their Greatest Solos for Piano*, edited by Alexander Shealy, 30–7 (Milwaukee, Ashley Publications, Inc., 1985, reprint, Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug & Co., 1903).

⁷⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Caprice Sur le départ de Son cher frère* (Paris: Monde musicale, 1906).

⁷⁵ “supplément au Monde Musicale du 15 Février 1906.” Translation my own. Bach, *Caprice* (Paris: Monde Musicale, 1906).

identify the publisher as Dupré.⁷⁶ As no information has been located about these editions, they are not discussed outside of this chapter.

Maurice Senart 1910⁷⁷

Édition Maurice Senart et C^{ie} published the *Capriccio* in 1910. This edition was part of a series of pieces for piano, which was overseen by Vincent d'Indy. The *Capriccio* specifically was edited by Blanche Selva, and published in a standalone volume. 28 is used both as the edition number and the plate number. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the Riemenschneider Bach Institute and has been rebound with a large number of other installments in this series. As a result, the volume measures 24 x 30 x 4 cm. The paper used is very thin and glossy, weighing around 100 GSM. This edition is discussed in detail in chapter 7.

Schott 1916⁷⁸

The *Capriccio* was published by Schott in 1916 in a volume containing several keyboard pieces by J. S. Bach. The volume was edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner. This publication is edition number 11, and uses plates numbered 30274. The volume is slightly oversized, 26 x 33.5 x 0.5 cm, and uses slightly thick paper, weighing around 170 GSM. A stitched paperback binding was employed. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the author, and is discussed in depth in chapter 7.

⁷⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Caprice sur le départ de son cher frère* (Paris: Dupré, 1906).

⁷⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le départ de son frère bien-aimé* [front cover], *Caprice sur le départ de son frère bien aimé* [above score], published under the artistic direction of Vincent d'Indy, edited by Blanche Selva (Paris: Édition Maurice Senart, 1910).

⁷⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B Dur." In *Klavier-Werke Band XI (Capriccio B Dur (Abreise); Toccata und Fuge D Dur; Toccata und Fuge G Moll; Preludio und Fuge A Moll)*, edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner, 7–13 (Mainz: Schott, 1916).

Drei Masken 1920⁷⁹

Drei Masken Verlag published a study edition of the *Capriccio* in 1920, edited by Hermann Roth. No edition or plate numbers are present. Pairing the *Capriccio* with a single Kuhnau *Bible Sonata*, the volume measures 13 x 19 x 0.6 cm. The paper used is relatively thick, weighing around 180 GSM. A sewn hardcover binding is used. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the author, and is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

Universal 1936⁸⁰

The next edition of the *Capriccio* was published by Universal Edition in 1936. This edition was edited by Karl Geiringer, and is a volume of pieces by various members of the Bach family. U. E. 10. 787 serves as both the plate and edition number. The volume is a standard size, measuring 24 x 30 x 0.7 cm, and uses paper weighing 150 GSM. The copy consulted for this study is owned by the Riemenschneider Bach Institute, and has been rebound. This edition is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

Schott 1952⁸¹

Schott published the *Capriccio* for a second time in 1952, in a standalone edition edited by Alfred Kreutz. It is edition number ED 0862, and has no plate numbers. The volume is of a standard size, measuring 23 x 30.5 x 0.2 cm, and uses paper weighing 120 GSM. The copy

⁷⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio in B-dur,” in *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta*, edited by Hermann Roth, 3–15 (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920).

⁸⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo,” in *Die Familie Bach*, edited by Karl Geiringer, 16–23 (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1936).

⁸¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio*, edited by Alfred Kreutz (Mainz, Schott Music, 1952).

consulted is owned by the author, and utilizes a staple-bound paperback binding. This edition is discussed in chapter 8.

Fischer 1957⁸²

J. Fischer & Brother Music Publishers published a standalone edition of the *Capriccio* in 1957. This edition was edited by James Friskin. It is edition number 8304, and uses plates numbered J. F. & B. 8304-12. The volume measures 23 x 31 x 0.3 cm, and uses paper weighing around 150 GSM. The binding used is a staple-bound paperback binding. The copy of this edition of the *Capriccio* consulted is owned by the author and is discussed in chapter 5.

Peters 1965⁸³

The final edition of the *Capriccio* published by the company now known as Edition Peters was published by VEB (Volks Eigener Betrieb or State-Owned Business) C. F. Peters in 1965. This iteration of the Peters company was partially under the control of the East German government.⁸⁴ This edition was edited by Herman Keller, and is part of a volume of various keyboard pieces by J. S. Bach. It is edition number 9043, and uses plates numbered E. P. 12287. The volume is a standard size, measuring 24 x 30 x 0.5 cm, and uses paper weighing 160 GSM. The copy of this edition consulted for this study has been rebound and is owned by the University of Toronto. The Peters 1965 edition is discussed in detail in chapter 4.

⁸² Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother*, edited by James Friskin (Dayton, Ohio: J. Fischer & Brother Music Publishers, 1957).

⁸³ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo (über die Abreise seines geliebten Bruders),” in *Klavierwerke – Supplement Capriccio B dur und E dur, Aria Variata, Fantasien, Fugen, Vorstudien zum Wohltemperierten Klavier u.a.*, edited by Herman Keller, 4–11 (Leipzig: VEB C. F. Peters, 1965).

⁸⁴ Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, “Musical Publishing and Patronage: C. F. Peters: 1800 to the Holocaust” (Kenton, Middlesex, England: Edition Press, 2000), 310.

Budapest 1973⁸⁵

Edition Musica Budapest published the *Capriccio* as part of a volume of miscellaneous keyboard compositions by J. S. Bach in 1973. Máriássy István edited the edition, which uses Z. 7028 as both edition and plate number. The volume measures 28.5 x 31 x 0.7 cm, uses paper weighing 120 GSM, and has a glued paperback binding. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the University of Windsor, and it is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Schirmer 1973⁸⁶

The G. Schirmer edition of the *Capriccio*, published in 1973, was edited by David Goldberger. This standalone volume is edition number 1902, and uses plates numbered 47223. The volume measures 23.3 x 31 x 0.6 cm, and uses paper weighing 120 GSM. The copy of this edition consulted, which is owned by the University of Ottawa, has been rebound. The Schirmer edition of the *Capriccio* is discussed in chapter 8.

Henle 1975⁸⁷

G. Henle Verlag first published their edition of the *Capriccio* in 1975, in a volume of various keyboard pieces by J. S. Bach, edited by Georg von Dadelsen. This edition is available in two formats: a clothbound hardcover with stitched binding, which is edition number 263; and in a paperback with stitched binding, which is edition number 262. Both of these editions were released in 1975, and their contents are identical. Neither have plate numbers. The copy used for

⁸⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio B-dur BWV 992 sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo (szeretett bátyja elutazására) (zur Abreise seines geliebten Bruders Johann Jakob), in *Bach Album I*, edited by Máriássy István, 3-11 (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1973).

⁸⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio for the Piano*, edited by David Goldberger (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973).

⁸⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo,” in *Suiten, Sonaten, Capriccios, Variationen*, edited by Georg von Dadelsen, 106-13 (Munich, G. Henle Verlag, 1975).

this study is hardcover, measuring 24 x 31.5 x 1.5 cm, uses paper weighing around 140 GSM, and is owned by the author.

The *Capriccio* edition published by Henle is still commercially available, and is now also available in a standalone volume.⁸⁸ This version is edition number 1305, and has no plate numbers. It has a staple-bound paperback binding, and measures 23.5 x 32 x 0.3. The same paper is used as in the other two formats. The copy of the standalone edition consulted is also owned by the author, and the Henle edition of the *Capriccio*, in its various formats, is discussed in chapter 4.

*Neue Bach Ausgabe 1976*⁸⁹

The *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (henceforth referred to as NBA) edition of the *Capriccio* was published by Bärenreiter Verlag in 1976, in one volume of their large-scale collected works project. This volume was edited by Hartwig Eichberg, and is edition number BA 5044. No plate number was used. Like all volumes of the NBA, this one is noticeably oversized, measuring 26 x 33 x 1.6 cm. The paper used weighs 180 GSM, and the binding is a stitched hardcover. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the University of Ottawa.

Bärenreiter also publishes the NBA edition of the *Capriccio*, using their own branding; an edition which is still in print.⁹⁰ The Bärenreiter reprint is edition number 5234, and also has no plate numbers. The fact that the musical text contained in the volume is taken from the NBA

⁸⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratro diletissimo*, edited by Georg von Dadelsen (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 2016. Reprint, Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1975).

⁸⁹ Johann Sebastian, “Capriccio B-Dur sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo,” in *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V: Klavier- und Lautenwerke, Band 10*, edited by Hartwig Eichberg, 3-11 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1976).

⁹⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio B-dur sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo,” in *Miscellaneous Works for Piano III*, edited by Hartwig Eichberg, 1-9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 2020. Reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1976).

edition is very clearly stated. Measuring 24.2 x 32 x 0.8 cm, the volume is of a standard size, and uses paper weighing 120 GSM. A glued, paperback binding has been used. The copy of this reprint consulted is owned by the author. Both versions of the NBA edition are still commercially available and are discussed in chapter 4.

Moscow 1978⁹¹

Moscow Music published the *Capriccio* as part of a two-volume set of keyboard pieces by J. S. Bach in 1978. These were edited by N. Koptschewski, and have the plate number 10041.⁹² The volume measures 23.5 x 29 x 0.7 cm, and uses paper weighing 120 GSM. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the University of Toronto, and has been rebound. It is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

Casa Ricordi 1984⁹³

The Casa Ricordi edition of the *Capriccio* was published in 1984, and edited by Gino Tagliapietra. This standalone volume has no edition number, but has the plate number 128406. It measures 22.5 x 30.5 x 0.5 cm, and uses thin paper, weighing 110 GSM. Casa Ricordi is still printing this edition and it is commercially available. A stapled paperback binding is used. The copy of this edition consulted is owned by the author, and it is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

⁹¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo,” in *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]*, edited by N. Koptschewski, 9–16 (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978).

⁹² The Cyrillic of Koptschewski’s name can also be Romanised as Kopchevskii. The decision to use the German spelling Koptschewski was made to reflect the Romanization of the editor’s name presented in the Moscow Music 1978 edition. Assuming the editor was given input into how their last name was Romanised, this is the spelling they chose.

⁹³ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio Sopra la Lontananza del Fratello Diletissimo*, edited by Gino Tagliapietra (Milan: Casa Ricordi, 1984).

Plangere 2011⁹⁴

The final edition of the *Capriccio* published thus far was released in 2011 by Plangere. The *Capriccio* is found in the level X volume of their pedagogical series, which is edited by Brian McDonagh. No edition or plate numbers are used. The volume is of a standard size, measuring 22.5 x 30 x 2.1 cm, and uses paper weighing 130 GSM. The copy of this edition consulted, which is owned by the University of Ottawa, has been rebound. At the time of originally locating this edition, in the fall of 2023, this edition was still commercially available. However, at the time of writing, in March 2025, it is no longer listed on the Plangere website, although the voice piano series has gone unanswered. The Plangere edition of the *Capriccio* is discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Each unique edition of the *Capriccio* has been assigned a colour, as shown in figure 2.1. These colours are used in the published edition stemma, and in the spreadsheet analysis found in appendix 1.

⁹⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo,” in *The Conservatory Series: A Graded Anthology of Keyboard Music, Grade X*,” edited by Brian McDonagh, 1-9 (Toronto: Plangere, 2011).

C. F. Peters 1839		Schott 1916	
C. F. Peters 1851		Drei Masken 1920	
L. Holle 1856		Universal 1936	
La Croix 1866		Schott 1952	
C. F. Peters 1869		J. Fischer 1957	
Breitkopf & Härtel 1888		Edition Peters 1965	
Steingraber 1888		Budapest 1973	
Bach-Gesellschaft 1890		Schirmer 1973	
Durand 1900		G. Henle 1975	
Litolf 1900		Neue Bach Ausgabe 1976	
Gebrüder Hug 1903		Moscow 1978	
Monde Musicale 1906		Ricordi 1984	
Maurice Senart 1910		Plangere 2011	

Figure 2.1: Colour code for published editions of the *Capriccio*

Below is a table including the basic information for all 26 of the *Capriccio*'s unique published editions, which is intended to serve as a reference tool for the reader. In addition to the publisher, date and location of publication, and the editor(s), the chapter number for the detailed discussion of each edition is given. Seeing the editions summarized in this way also casts a light onto the prevalence certain cities play in the publication of musical scores. Leipzig is heavily represented, with eight editions having been published there. Six of these editions were published in the 19th century. Paris is the second most common publication location, with four editions having been published there. No other city is represented more than twice, demonstrating the key role 19th century Leipzig and Paris played in music publishing.

Publisher	Year	Location	Editor(s)	Chapter
Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters	1839	Leipzig	Carl Czerny	4
C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique	1851	Leipzig and Berlin	Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl	6
L. Holle	1856	Wolfenbüttel	Friedrich Chrysander	6
La Croix	1866	Paris	Unknown	N/A
C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique	1869	Leipzig	Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl	6
Breitkopf & Härtel	1888	Leipzig and Brussels	Auguste Dupont	5
Steingräber Verlag	1888	Leipzig	Hans Bischoff	4
<i>Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe</i> , Breitkopf & Härtel	1890	Leipzig	Ernst Naumann	4
Durand	1900	Paris	Isidor Philipp	5

Henry Litolff's Verlag	1900	Brunswick	Unknown	N/A
Gebrüder Hug	1903	Leipzig	Heinrich Germer	5
Monde Musical	1906	Paris	Unknown	N/A
Maurice Senart	1910	Paris	Blanche Selva	7
Schott	1916	Mainz	Max Reger, August Schmid-Lindner	7
Drei Masken Verlag	1920	Munich	Hermann Roth	6
Universal-Edition	1936	Vienna	Karl Geiringer	6
Schott	1952	Mainz	Alfred Kreutz	8
J. Fischer & Brother	1957	Dayton, Ohio	James Friskin	5
VEB C. F. Peters	1965	Leipzig	Herman Keller	4
Editio Musica Budapest	1973	Budapest	Máriássy István	5
G. Schirmer	1973	New York	David Goldberger	8
G. Henle Verlag	1975	Munich	Georg von Dadelsen	4
<i>Neue Bach Ausgabe,</i> Bärenreiter Verlag	1976	Kassel	Hartwig Eichberg	4
Moscow Music	1978	Moscow	N. Koptschewski	6
Casa Ricordi	1984	Milan	Gino Tagliapietra	5
Plangere	2011	Toronto	Brian McDonagh	5

Published Edition Stemmas

The published edition stemmas were created to showcase the relationships between the various published editions of the *Capriccio* as a way of tracking the piece's publication history. Two versions of the stemma will be discussed; these show the piece's publication history with and without the reprint editions. Both stemmas are constructed in the same way and contain the same components, including the timeline across the bottom. Unique editions are represented by squares in the colour of the edition, which contain the publisher's name and the year of publication. Reprint editions utilize the colour of the unique edition they were created from, and are represented by circles.

Different types of relationships are shown using different types of lines in the stemmas. Explicit relationships, that is, instances where an edition clearly identifies another as having been used as a source, are indicated by black, solid lines. Black, dotted lines are used to represent implicit relationships. These relationships have been hypothesized as a result of shared variants found during the spreadsheet analysis.⁹⁵ Reprint relationships are represented using red, solid lines. Figure 2.2 shows the stemma of unique published editions, and figure 2.3 shows the stemma of unique and reprint published editions. As the stemmas have not revealed clear branches or traditions of transmission, the published sources of each published edition will be discussed chronologically. Additionally, key variants, those central to the establishment of relationships between editions, are identified in the discussion of the edition that introduces them.⁹⁶ Reprint relationships, having been discussed as part of the presentation of sources, are not included in the below discussion. Before discussing the relationships between the

⁹⁵ For detailed discussion of implicit and explicit relationships between scores, see the introduction above.

⁹⁶ All key variants are indicated in the spreadsheets in appendix 1 with a red slash across the excel cell.

Capriccio's published editions, it is worth mentioning the scale of variants found between these editions. Between the first movements alone, there are 186 individual variants. The other five movements have a similar level of diversity between sources.

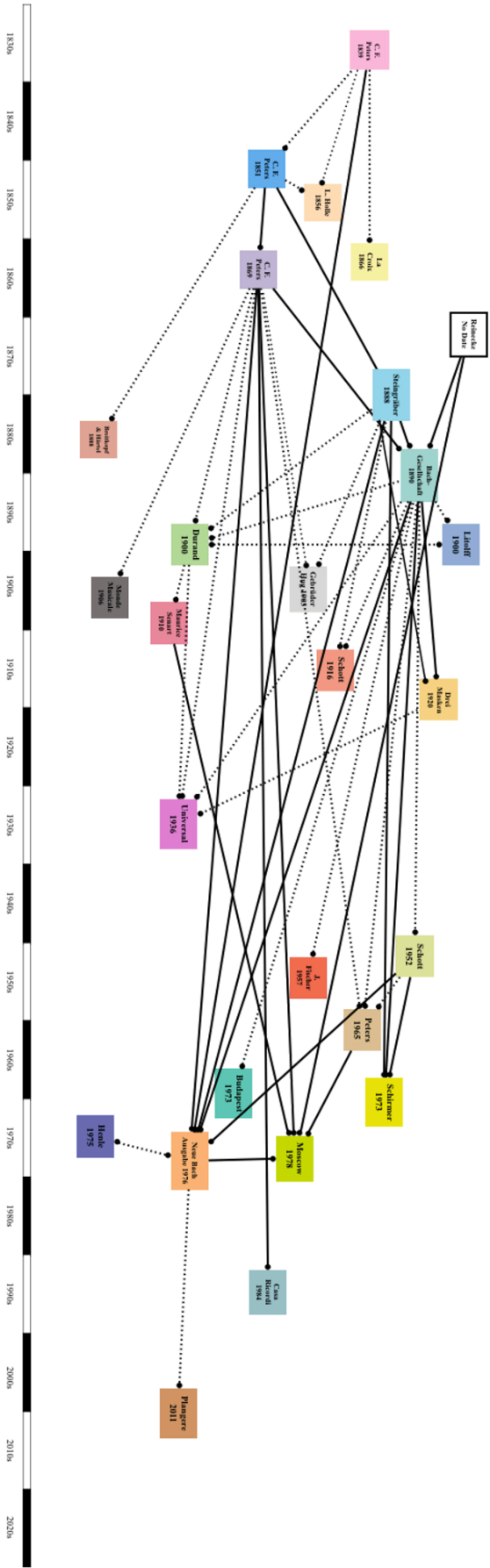


Figure 2.2: Stemma of published editions, without reprints.

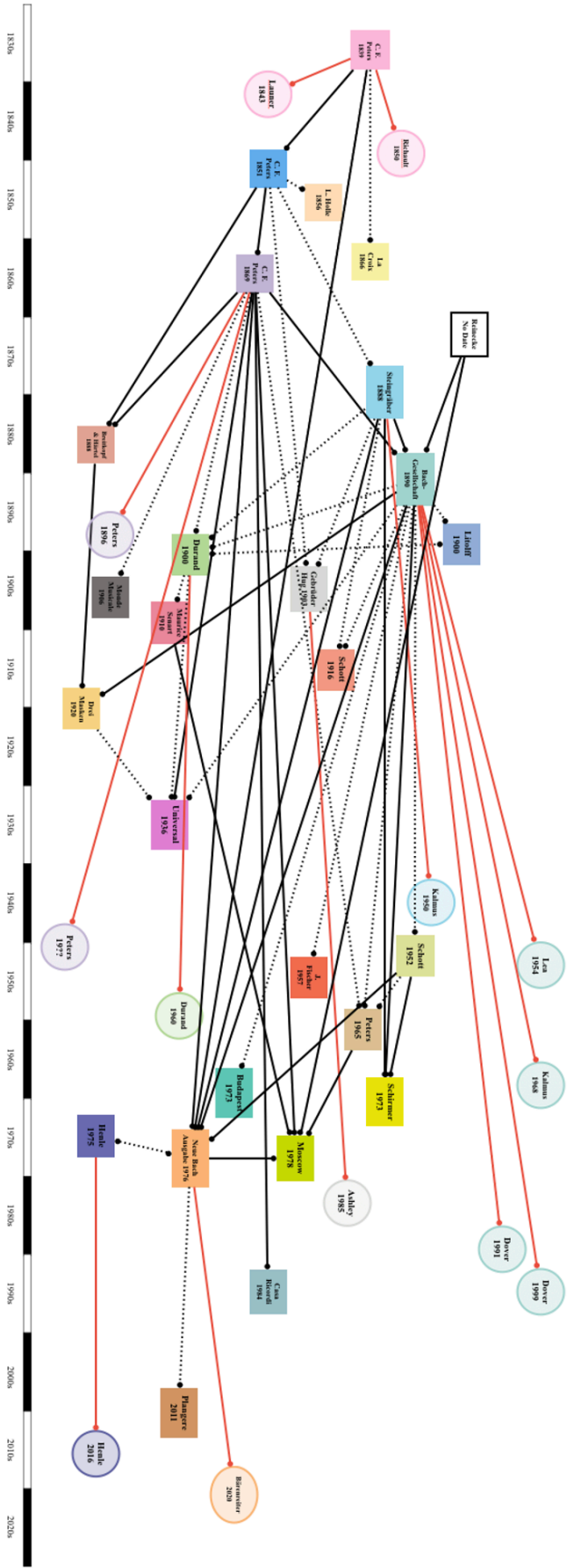


Figure 2.3: Stemma of published editions, with reprints.

Peters 1839:

As the Peters 1839 edition, edited by Carl Czerny, is the first published edition, it does not utilize any published source material.

Peters 1851:

The Peters 1851 edition, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, has something between an explicit and implicit relationship with the Peters 1839 edition. Both editions share the same plate numbers; however, the musical text, while extremely similar, is not identical. The differences between the Peters 1839 and Peters 1851 editions are concentrated in the ornamentation and the use of figured bass symbols in the third movement. The Peters 1839 edition does not use any mordant symbols, only trill and turn symbols. As a result, one of the major changes made in the Peters 1851 edition is swapping 41 of the Peters 1839's trill symbols for mordants in movements I, II and V.

The Peters 1839 edition also does not provide any figured bass symbols in the third movement. Figured bass symbols were added in the Peters 1851 edition. Additionally, the Peters 1839 edition is not mentioned in the introduction to the Peters 1851.

The Peters 1851 edition introduces several key variants. Examples of key variants introduced by the Peters 1851 edition are found in movement III, measure 25, beat 3 where the left hand plays D $\sharp$ -F instead of the Db-F found in the Peters 1839 edition; and in movement VI, measure 13, beat 4 where the tenor plays a G instead of the Eb found in the Peters 1839 edition.

L. Holle 1856:

The L. Holle 1856 edition, edited by Friedrich Chrysander, shares an implicit relationship with both the Peters 1839 and Peters 1856 editions. The introduction to the L. Holle edition mentions Czerny's introduction to the first volume of the series that contains the Peters 1839 edition of the *Capriccio*, but the volume containing the *Capriccio* is never explicitly mentioned.⁹⁷ The musical text of the L. Holle 1856 more closely resembles that of the Peters 1851 edition, which is not mentioned, because of its use of mordant and figured bass symbols.

The L. Holle 1856 edition introduces one key variant, found in movement V, measure 8, beat 4 where the alto plays an F# instead of the F $\natural$ found in the Peters 1839 edition.

La Croix 1866:

The La Croix 1866 edition of the *Capriccio* has an implicit relationship with the Peters 1839 edition as the text in the two editions is functionally identical. The notes and rhythms of the La Croix 1866 edition are identical to those of the Peters 1839 edition with only three exceptions found in the fourth and sixth movements (A-naturals instead of A-flats in the first bar and a C-natural instead of a C-sharp in the tenor voice in bar seven, beat 2.5 in movement IV; and an A in the alto voice in bar 56, beat 3.5 in movement VI).

The only other differences are found in instances where the editor of the La Croix 1866 edition has removed ornaments, mostly in the first and second movements. Like the Peters 1839 edition, the La Croix 1866 edition does not use mordant symbols, making these two of only three

⁹⁷ Friedrich Chrysander, introduction to *Sammlung der Clavier. Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, herausgegeben von Friedrich Chrysander, Band I*, iv, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856).

editions to do so.⁹⁸ Despite being published after the Peters 1851 edition, the La Croix 1866 edition lacks any of the variants that differentiate the first two 19th century Peters editions.

Peters 1869:

The Peters 1869 edition, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, is explicitly related to the Peters 1851 edition. Despite having different plate numbers, the two editions share the same introduction and editor. The Peters 1869 edition introduces a handful of slight variants, but the musical text has clearly been taken from the Peters 1851 edition.

The difference between the Peters 1851 and 1869 editions comes in the form of several small textual variants. These variants are of two varieties: ornamental, and structural. The ornamental variants are found in several instances in movements I, II, and V where the Peters 1869 edition has replaced the ornament symbol used in the Peters 1851 edition with a different one. None of these differences in ornaments impact the notes on which the ornaments are placed, and neither edition shows a predilection towards either trills or mordants. These instances represent only a microscopic number of ornaments found within the *Capriccio*; the vast majority of ornaments are shared between the 1851 and 1869 Peters editions.

There are also two structural differences between the Peters 1851 and Peters 1869 editions: movement III, measure 1, beat 1, where the 1851 edition has the figured bass symbol 5 and the 1869 edition has the figured bass symbol 3 (one of only two editions to have this variant); and movement V, measure 6, where the 1851 edition does not have a repeat sign and the 1869 edition does. The presence of a repeat sign at midpoint of movement V becomes ubiquitous after the Peters 1869 edition. Prior to the Peters 1869 edition, only one other edition

⁹⁸ The third such edition is the Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition, which shows a notable reduction of all ornament symbols when compared to other *Capriccio* editions.

(the L. Holle 1856 edition) had a repeat sign at the midpoint of movement V. After the Peters 1869 edition, every subsequent publication of the *Capriccio* includes this repeat sign. This is shown in figure 2.4.

Aria di Postiglione.

Poco allegro. (♩ = 76.)

2696

Aria di Postiglione.

Poco allegro. (♩ = 76.)

Edition Peters.
8242

Figure 2.4: Comparison of movement V, mm. 1–8 in the Peters 1851 (above) and Peters 1869 (below) editions.

Breitkopf & Härtel 1888:

The Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition, edited by Auguste Dupont, is implicitly related to the Peters 1851 edition. The source material used is not mentioned in Breitkopf & Härtel 1888, but the musical text shares significant material with the Peters 1851 edition. The fourth movement is identical in the Peters 1851 and Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 editions, meaning that all notes, rhythms, and ornaments are the same. These two editions also share very similar second movements, with identical notes and rhythms, but with some variants found in the ornamentation. This is uncommon at this stage of the *Capriccio*'s publication history, especially as it concerns the fourth movement. The majority of variants that differentiate the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition from the Peters 1851 edition are new introductions being made to the *Capriccio*'s text by the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition.

None of the textual variants that differentiate the Peters 1851 and Peters 1869 editions are present in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition, suggesting that the editor, Auguste Dupont, did not consult the Peters 1869 edition, despite it having been published more recently than Peters 1851. As discussed in the philological descriptions of the Peters 1869 edition, the text of the *Capriccio* published by the Peters Edition company changed in small ways across the 19th century. In every instance where the Peters 1869 edition introduces a new variant, the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition follows the Peters 1851 edition. That is to say, none of the markers that differentiate the Peters 1869 edition from the Peters 1851 edition are present in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition.

The Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition introduces one key variant, found in movement I, measure 10, beat 3 where the tenor has a mordant instead of the trill found in the Peters 1839 edition.

Steingräber 1888:

The Steingräber 1888 edition, edited by Hans Bischoff, has an explicit relationship with the Peters 1851 edition, and an implicit relationship with the L. Holle 1856 edition. The Peters 1851 edition is mentioned in a note about the sources that precedes the first page of music.⁹⁹ The Steingräber 1888 edition contributes many new variants to the *Capriccio*'s textual history.

The Steingräber 1888 edition introduces several key variants, including in movement II, measure 5, beat 3.5, where the bass plays an Ab instead of the F found in the Peters 1839 edition; and in movement VI, measure 7, beat 1.5, where the tenor plays an Eb instead of the E $\sharp$ found in the Peters 1839 edition.

Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe 1890:

The Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (BGA) 1890 edition, edited by Ernst Naumann, lists the Peters 1869, Steingräber 1888, and unlocated Reinecke editions in the critical commentary. The musical text of the BGA edition does not suggest any other published sources were consulted. All but five of the variants present in this edition are either inherited from the stated source material or newly introduced by the BGA 1890 edition. These five variants (such as the inclusion of a trill in the soprano voice, movement VI, bar 22, beat 2) all trace to different editions, and none of them have significant weight philologically. As a result, these variants do not suggest that the BGA 1890 edition used source material beyond those identified in the critical commentary.

⁹⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio (B-dur) sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo," in *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, edited by Hans Bischoff, 24 (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888).

The BGA 1890 edition introduces one key variant, found in movement VI, measure 45, beat 4, where the soprano plays C-A-A-C instead of the C-F#-F#-A found in the Peters 1839 edition.

Durand 1900:

The Durand 1900 edition, edited by Isidor Phillip, is implicitly related to the Peters 1851 or 1869, Steingräber 1888, and BGA 1890 editions. Additionally, the Durand 1900 edition appears to be related in some way to the Litolff 1900 edition, as detailed below. One of the Peters editions from the second half of the 19th century seem to have formed the primary textual source for the Durand 1900 edition, although it is impossible to determine which. The vast majority of the variants introduced into the *Capriccio*'s textual history by the Peters 1851 edition are present in the Durand 1900 edition, and while these variants had significant influence on other editions published in the second half of the 19th century, the sheer quantity of them found in the Durand 1900 edition suggests the editor used a Peters edition as a source. The question of which Peters edition, 1851 or 1869, is likely unanswerable. None of the small handful of unique variants introduced by Peters 1869 are found in the Durand 1900, however the Peters 1869 edition was listed in the Edition Peters catalogue in 1900, indicating that it was still commercially available and therefore more accessible.¹⁰⁰

The Durand 1900 takes several important variants from the Steingräber 1888 edition, such as: movement II, measure 12, beat 3, soprano has a mordant on G; movement II, measure 16, beat 3, alto plays a mordant on C; movement VI, measure 8, beat 4, alto on C; and movement VI, measure 46, beat 3, tenor on A. The Durand 1900 and BGA 1890 editions share entire

¹⁰⁰ *Katalog der Edition Peters – 1900*, 17, accessed through IMSLP, https://imslp.org/wiki/Edition_Peters.

passages of textually identical music, such as the entire fifth movement, which is unique to these two editions. These variants can be seen in figure 2.5.

The Durand 1900 edition introduces one key variant, found in movement IV, measure 4, beat 3, where the alto plays D and C as two eighth notes, instead of the quarter note on D found in the Peters 1851 edition or the eighth note on D followed by an eighth rest found in the Peters 1839 edition.

Mov. II, mm. 12.

Mov. II, mm. 16.

grave e sotto

Mov. VI, mm. 8.

Mov. VI, mm. 46.

Figure 2.5: Shared variants between the Steingraber 1888 (above) and Durand 1900 (below) editions.

Litolff 1900:

The Litolff 1900 edition is implicitly related to the BGA 1890 and Durand 1900 editions. The Durand 1900 and Litolff 1900 editions also have an implicit relationship. As they were both published in 1900, and no precise publication date has been found for either, it is unclear which edition served as the source for the other. Nonetheless, they share several uncommon variants: in the first movement, measure 12, beat 1, the soprano has a trill on Bb; and in the fourth movement, measure 4, beat 3, the alto plays eighth notes on D and C.

The BGA 1890 edition lends a significant number of complete measures to the Litolff 1900 edition, including the first and fifth measures of the first movement. While these measures are not unique to these two editions, given the significant impact the BGA 1890 edition had on the *Capriccio*'s publication history, however the high number of shared measures does seem to indicate that the editor of the Litolff 1900 edition consulted the BGA 1890 edition.

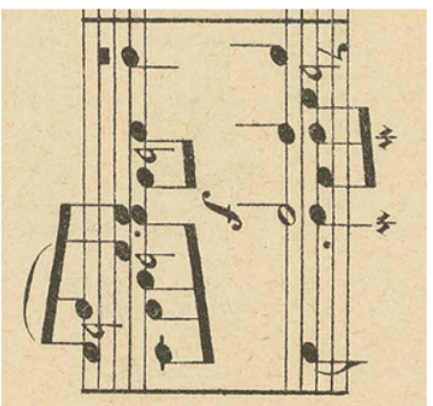
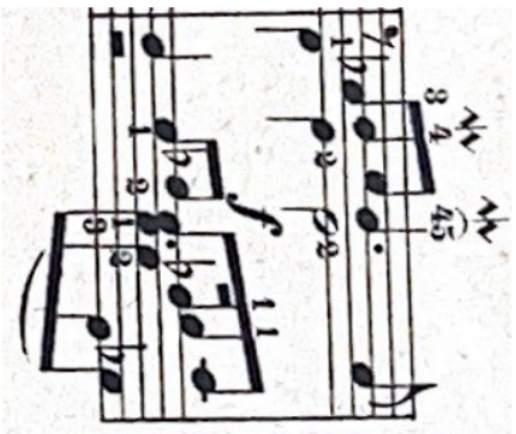
Gebrüder Hug 1903:

The Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition, edited by Heinrich Germer, has implicit relationships with the Peters 1869 and Steingräber 1888 editions. Large numbers of the variants present in the Peters 1869 edition are present in the musical text of the Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition. The Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition also inherits three distinctive variants from the Steingräber 1888 edition, all related to the musical text, and all originated by the Steingräber 1888 edition. The first is found in movement II, measure 5, beat 3.5, where the bass plays an Ab, which is not found in any editions between its introduction in the Steingräber 1888 and the Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition. The second is found in movement VI, measure 8, beat 4, where the alto plays a C. This variant is also found in the BGA 1890 and Durand 1900 editions. The third variant is found in movement

VI, measure 48, beat 3, where the tenor plays an A, which is also found in the Durand 1900 edition. While two of the variants originated by the Steingraber 1888 edition and inherited by the Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition can also be found in the BGA 1890 and Durand 1900 editions, there is no evidence that they served as source material as none of the variants originated by either edition can be found in the Gebrüder Hug 1903 edition.

Monde Musical 1906:

The Monde Musical 1906 edition is implicitly related to the Peters 1869 edition. They share a significant number of variants, especially those related to the ornamentation. Additionally, the Monde Musical 1906 has inherited variants that are found in the Peters 1869 edition, but not in the Peters 1851 edition. These include movement II, measure 14, beat 3, where the soprano has a mordant on Bb; movement IV, measure 4, beat 3, where the alto plays a quarter note on D; and movement V, measure 12, beat 4, where the right hand includes a trill on Bb. These variants may be seen in figure 2.6.



Mov. II, mm. 14.

Mov. IV, mm. 4.

Mov. V, mm. 12.

Figure 2.6: Shared variants between the Peters 1869 (above) and Monde Musical 1906 (below) editions.

Maurice Senart 1910:

The Maurice Senart 1910 edition, edited by Blanche Selva, is implicitly related to the Durand 1900 edition. The first movement provides a useful example, containing seven total variants between the Maurice Senart 1910 and Durand 1900 editions. Of these, six variants are newly introduced by the Maurice Senart 1910 edition.

The remaining variant occurs in measure 5, beat 4, where the soprano voice has a trill in the Durand 1900 edition and a mordant in the Maurice Senart 1910 edition. Additionally, the two editions also share several written-out ornaments, such as movement I, measure 9, beat 4, where a written-out slide can be found in the soprano. These written-out ornaments can be seen in figure 2.7.



Mov. I, mm. 4.



Mov. I, mm. 9.

Figure 2.7: Shared written-out ornaments in the Durand 1900 (above) and Maurice Senart 1910 (below) editions.

Schott 1916:

The Schott 1916 edition, edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner, has implicit relationships with the Steingräber 1888 and BGA 1890 editions. Both the Steingräber 1888 and the BGA 1890 editions have lent the Schott 1916 edition much of its ornamentation. The Schott 1916 edition, in addition to introducing many new variants to the *Capriccio*'s textual history, presents a noticeably reduced number of ornaments. However, all the ornaments present can be traced to the Steingräber 1888 edition and/or the BGA 1890. Most often, the ornaments present come from both of these editions. While these ornaments may not be solely unique to either, the quantity and which these shared ornaments appear strongly suggest that the Steingräber 1888 and BGA 1890 editions served as source material for the Schott 1916 edition.

Additionally, at least one significant and unique variant from both sources can be found in the Schott 1916 edition. From the Steingräber 1888 edition, we can find the Ab in the bass in movement II, measure 5, beat 3.5, which was introduced by the Steingräber 1888 edition, and is only found in one edition – the Durand 1900 – in the meantime. In movement VI, bar 22, beat 1, the Schott 1916 edition has the tenor on C. This variant was also introduced by the Steingräber 1888 edition, and prior to the Schott 1916 edition, was only found in the BGA 1890 edition.

One of the variants originally found in the BGA 1890 edition can also be found in the Schott 1916 edition, the first edition to use this reading of the text after the BGA 1890 edition. This is found in movement VI, measure 45, beat 4, where the soprano voice plays C, A, A, C as four sixteenth notes.

Drei Masken 1920:

The Drei Masken 1920 edition, edited by Herman Roth, is explicitly related to the Steingräber 1888 and BGA 1890 editions, which are both mentioned on page xvii of the volume's introduction.¹⁰¹ These relationships are clearly supported by the text of the Drei Masken 1920 edition. Among other examples, the legacy of the Steingräber 1888 edition can be seen in movement II, bar 5, beat 3.5, where the bass plays an Ab. The Drei Masken 1920 edition is also the first edition to replicate exactly what the BGA 1890 edition did with the final bar of movement II.

Universal 1936:

The Universal 1936 edition, edited by Karl Geiringer, is implicitly related to the Peters 1869, BGA 1890, Durand 1900, and Drei Masken 1920 editions. The Peters 1869 edition lent several telling variants to the Universal 1936 edition, such as the mordants on each subject entry in the second movement, and the movement of the left hand from Db to F in the third movement, measure 25, beat 3. The BGA 1890 and Universal 1936 editions have several important variants in common. These include movement I, measure 12, beat 4, where the tenor has a mordant on Bb; movement II, measure 9, beat 3, where the bass has a mordant on F; and movement VI, measure 11, beat 2 to 2.5, where the soprano has sixteenth notes on A, Bb, and C (this melodic gesture is typically a third lower).

The Durand 1900 and Universal 1936 editions share many of the same written-out ornaments, as well as a number of other important variants, also largely to do with ornamentation. These include movement I, measure 11, beat 3, tenor, mordant on Bb; movement

¹⁰¹ Hermann Roth, introduction to *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Hermann Roth, xvii (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920).

II, measure 12, beat one, alto, mordant on Eb, and movement II, measure 17, beat 3, tenor, mordant on F. The Drei Masken 1920 edition provides a very rare variant to the Universal 1936: movement V, measure 6, beat 3, where the alto plays an eighth note on F# (most editions have a sixteenth note).

Schott 1952:

The Schott 1952 edition, edited by Alfred Kreutz, has an implicit relationship to the BGA 1890 edition. The Schott 1952 edition is nearly textually identical to the BGA 1890 edition, especially in movements I, IV, and VI. The differences between these two editions often have to do with the ornamentation. Often, one edition will have an ornament, while the other does not. All but one of the differences found in the sixth movement are variants newly introduced by the Schott 1952 edition.

J. Fischer 1957:

The J. Fischer 1957 edition, edited by James Friskin, is also implicitly related to the BGA 1890 edition, as they share significant textual similarities. The J. Fischer 1957 edition contributes a number of new variants to the *Capriccio*'s textual history and presents a limited number of ornaments; however, the notes and rhythms closely resemble those in the BGA 1890 edition throughout.

Peters 1965:

The Peters 1965 edition, edited by Hermann Keller, is implicitly related to the Peters 1869, BGA 1890, and Schott 1952 editions. The Peters 1869 and 1965 editions share significant textual

similarities, including unusual variants, such as movement II, measure 14, beat 3, where the soprano has a mordant on Bb. The BGA 1890 has clearly had a significant influence on the Peters 1965 edition as the two contain significant sections of nearly identical text. The same may be said of the Schott 1952 edition. Additionally, the Peters 1965 edition contains variants introduced by the Schott 1952 edition, including ties in the soprano in the sixth movement, measure 26, second and fourth beats.

Budapest 1973:

The Budapest 1973 edition, edited by Máriássy István, has an implicit relationship with the BGA 1890 edition, as the two are nearly textually identical. The primary difference in the first two movements comes from variants being introduced by the Budapest 1973 edition. The third movement is textually identical, but the Budapest 1973 edition has no figured bass symbols. The remaining three movements contain one small textual difference each, for example, movement VI, bar 48, beat 3, where the Budapest 1973 edition has the tenor on an A and the BGA 1890 edition has no tenor voice present.

Schirmer 1973:

The Schirmer 1973 edition, edited by David Goldberger, is explicitly related to the Steingräber 1888, BGA 1890, and Schott 1952 editions, as all three of these editions are mentioned in the preface. The BGA 1890 edition is referred to as the “Bach Gesellschaft Edition,” and the other two are referred to by the name of their editors.¹⁰²

¹⁰² David Goldberger, preface to *Capriccio for the Piano*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by David Goldberger, 1 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973).

Henle 1975:

The Henle 1975 edition has an implicit relationship with the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) 1976 edition, which is detailed below. No relationships, explicit or implicit, to published editions other than the NBA edition are observable.

The Henle 1975 edition introduces several key variants. These include movement I, measure 7, beat 4.5 where the soprano plays an Eb instead of the E♯ found in the Peters 1839 edition; and movement II, measure 11, beat 1, where the alto plays a Db instead of the D♯ found in the Peters 1839 edition.

NBA 1976:

The *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) 1976 edition, edited by Hartwig Eichberg, is explicitly related to the Peters 1839, Peters 1851, Steingräber 1888, BGA 1890, and Schott 1952 editions.

Additionally, the NBA 1976 edition is implicitly related to the Henle 1975 edition. All of these editions are mentioned by name in the critical commentary that accompanies the NBA 1976 edition, which provides a list of important past publications of the *Capriccio* as a way of assessing how the manuscript sources have previously been used.¹⁰³ As the NBA 1976 edition is based on the Möller manuscript, a connection discussed later in this chapter, the influence this list of published editions may or may not have had on the text of the NBA 1976 edition is difficult to ascertain. The only sources to which the NBA 1976 edition bears strong, continual resemblance are the Möller manuscript and the Henle 1975 edition.

¹⁰³ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente*, 28–9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982).

The implicit relationship between the NBA 1976 and Henle 1975 editions is difficult to parse. As in the case of the Durand 1900 and Litolf 1900 editions, the direction of influence in this relationship is unclear due to the other professional activities of the editors involved. This issue is discussed in further detail in chapter 4. Regardless of the direction of the influence, the two scores are nearly identical, containing just four variants that differentiate the two editions. Three of these variants relate to the ornamentation, occurring in movement I, measure 4, beat 4, where the NBA 1976 introduces a new ornament symbol (trill); movement I, measure 5, beat 2.5, where the NBA 1976 introduces a new ornament symbol (mordant); and movement II, measure 11, beat 1, where the Henle 1975 introduces a rolled chord symbol as a new variant and the NBA expands its range. The fourth variant relates is found in movement VI, measure 20, beat 2.5, and relates to the presence of an accidental E $\sharp$, seen for the first time in the NBA 1976.

Moscow 1978:

The Moscow 1978 edition, edited by N. Koptschewskii, is explicitly connected to the Peters 1869, Reinecke, Steingräber 1888, Maurice Senart 1910, Peters 1965, and NBA 1976 editions. Various realizations of the figured bass portion of the *Capriccio*'s third movement are provided in the appendix to this edition, and mentioned in the critical commentary.¹⁰⁴ These realizations were done by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (editor of the Peters 1851 and 1869 editions), Carl Reinecke (who appears to have been the editor of the unlocated Reinecke edition), and Blanche Selva (editor of the Maurice Senart 1910 edition). In the presentation of the *Capriccio*, the editor

¹⁰⁴ N. Koptschewskii, critical commentary to *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by N. Koptschewski, 158 (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978).

uses Hans Bischoff's realization of the third movement, which is identified in a footnote.¹⁰⁵

There is no evidence that these editions otherwise influenced the Moscow 1978 edition.

The Peters 1965 and NBA 1976 editions are mentioned as sources in the introduction to the volume.¹⁰⁶ The majority of the text of the Moscow 1978 edition is identical to that of the NBA 1976 edition. The first, fourth, and sixth movements are identical. The second movement is identical except for measure 1, beat 3, where the soprano plays a trill in the Moscow 1978 edition, instead of the mordant found in the NBA 1976 edition. The fifth movement is identical except for in measure 11, beat 4, where the right hand plays a trill in the Moscow 1978 edition. There is no ornament there in the NBA 1976 edition. The text of the third movement is identical to that of the NBA 1976 edition, however the ornamentation is identical to the Peters 1965 edition. Additionally, the figured bass symbols of the Moscow 1978 edition closely resemble those found in the Peters 1965 edition, except in instances where either edition has introduced a new variant.

Casa Ricordi 1984:

The Casa Ricordi 1984 edition has an explicit relationship with the Peters 1869 edition, as the editor, Gino Tagliapietra, uses Griepenkerl's realization of the third movement. This is specified in a footnote.¹⁰⁷ The text of the *Capriccio* is also nearly identical to that which is presented in the Peters 1869 edition, including some of the variants first introduced by this source. The Casa Ricordi 1984 edition only differs in six places from the Peters 1869 edition, all relating to the

¹⁰⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo," in *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]*, edited by N. Koptschewski, 11 (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978).

¹⁰⁶ Bach, "Capriccio," edited by N. Koptschewski, 8 (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978).

¹⁰⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio Sopra la Lontananza del Fratello Diletissimo*, edited by Gino Tagliapietra, 4 (Milan: Casa Ricordi, 1984).

ornamentation. For example, in movement I, bar 11, beat 1 the soprano has a mordant instead of a trill.

Plangere 2011:

The Plangere 2011 edition, edited by Brian McDonagh, has an implicit relationship with the NBA 1976 edition. The two editions share significant textual similarities, although the Plangere 2011 edition introduces many new variants to the *Capriccio*'s textual history. These include



Figure 2.8: Comparison of mov. V, mm. 8 in the NBA 1976 (above) and the Plangere 2011 (below) editions.

several passages where an entire contrapuntal voice has been removed from the Plangere 2011 edition. An example of this, movement V, measure 8, is shown in figure 2.8.

It is clear that certain editions, namely the three editions published by the Peters company in the 19th century and the Bach Gesellschaft Ausgabe edition of 1890, have been particularly significant to the publication history and textual transmission of the *Capriccio*. This can be observed on the spreadsheets showing the variants between all published editions of the *Capriccio*, found in appendix 1. The colour code is especially useful in noticing the influence these editions have on those that follow, and the tracing the lives of the variants they introduced, even decades after their publication. To aid in illustrating the influence these editions had, figure 2.9 shows the impact of the three 19th century Peters editions, published in 1839, 1851, and 1869 respectively. Because of the close relationship of these three Peters publication, as discussed above, their influences have been shown on a single modified stemma. Figure 2.10 shows the impact of the BGA 1890 edition.

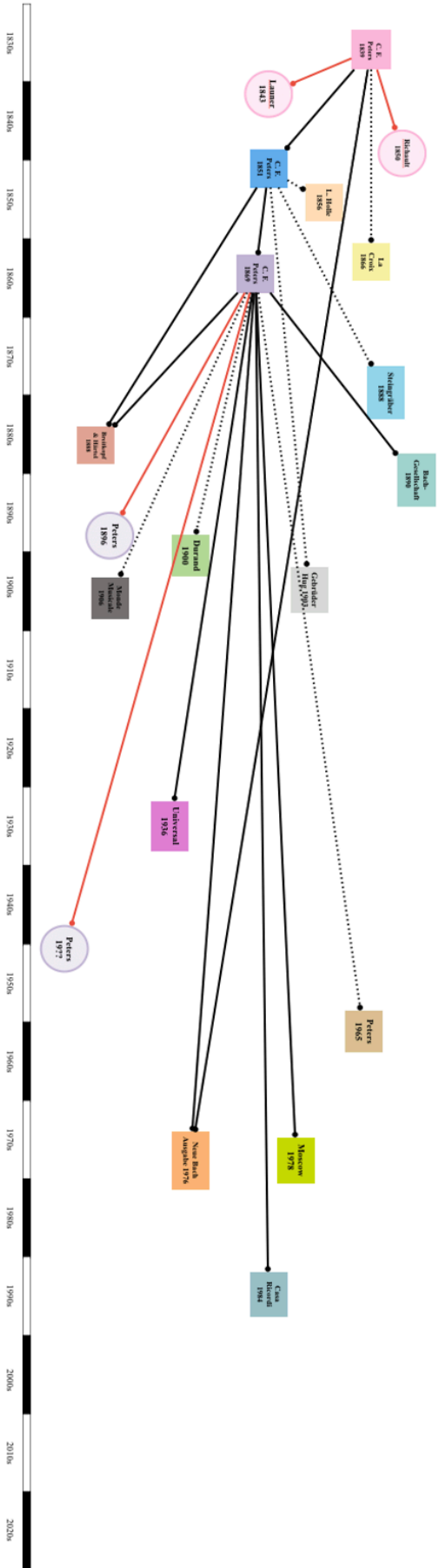


Figure 2.9: Stemma showing impact of 19thC Peters Edition publications.

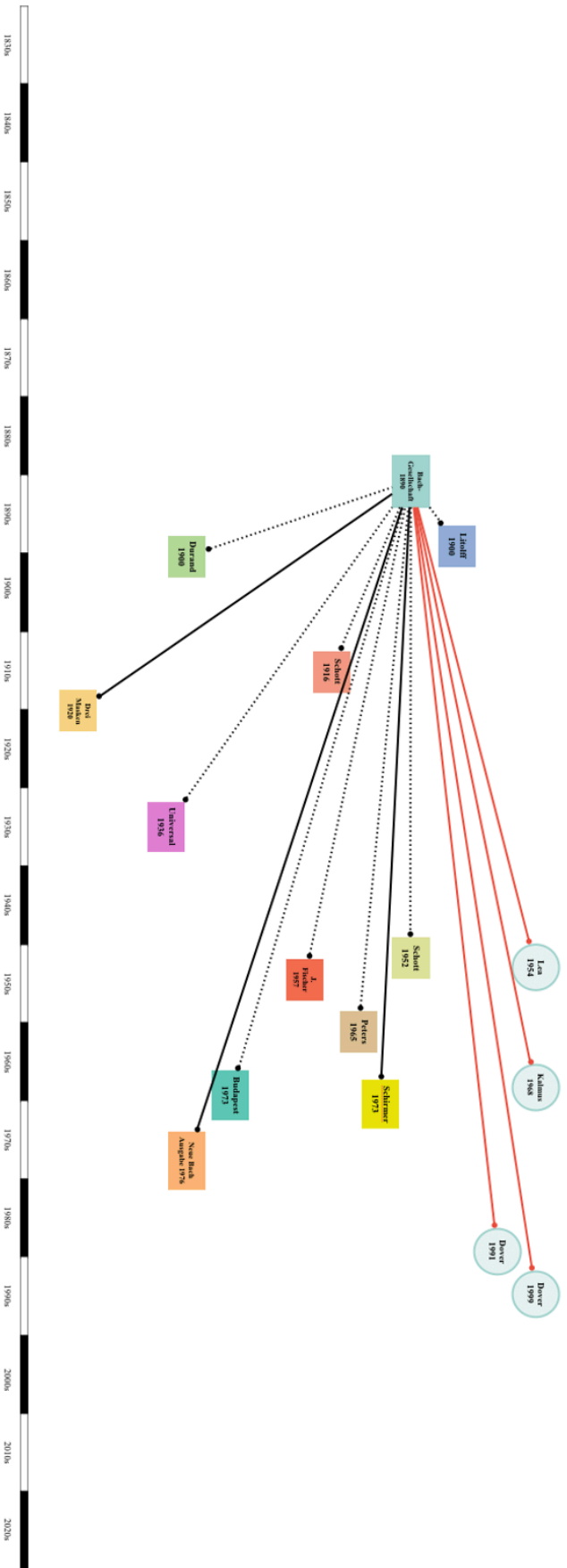


Figure 2.1.10: Stemma showing the impact of the BGA 1890 edition.

Manuscripts

The *Capriccio* exists in eleven extant manuscript sources, which were consulted for this study. These sources were subject to critical scholarship during the creation of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) edition, and are discussed, alongside what is known of the piece's lost manuscript sources, in the NBA's critical commentary.¹⁰⁸ The descriptions of the manuscripts below draws heavily on the information provided by the NBA critical commentary and Bach Digital, an online resource on manuscript sources relating to the Bach family.¹⁰⁹ This information, especially relating to the physical characteristics, is supported by the analysis of the manuscript sources conducted as part of this study. The practice of labelling manuscript sources with alphabetical sigla is inherited from the NBA, and retained for the sake of consistency with the prior research conducted on these manuscripts. Additionally, the NBA's practice of presenting the sigla of lost manuscript sources in square brackets – for example, [X] – and use of the Greek alphabet for hypothesized sources have been retained.

Below, all of the *Capriccio*'s manuscript sources are presented in alphabetical order in accordance with their NBA sigla. This is done for the sake of easy comparison between this study and the critical commentary of the NBA, and because constructing an exact chronology of the manuscript sources is not possible at this time. For the majority of the manuscripts, precise copying dates are not known. The extensive archival research needed to ascertain precise copying dates is far beyond the scope of this study. Information on the sources not consulted during this study, those which are lost or otherwise unavailable, is provided after the details of

¹⁰⁸ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982).

¹⁰⁹ Bach Digital, accessed November 4, 2025, <https://www.bach-digital.de/content/index.xed>.

the sources consulted. Details of the hypothesized sources are also provided at the end of the section.

A – D-B Mus. ms. 40644:

D-B Mus. ms. 40644, or Source A, is commonly referred to as the Möller manuscript, and is housed in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. The manuscript contains the hand of several copyists. The *Capriccio*, specifically, was copied by Johann Christoph Bach (1671–1721, 22 in the Bach family genealogy), the manuscript’s original owner.¹¹⁰ The identities of the copyists of this manuscript, as well as the manuscript’s provenance were proven in the late 20th century by Hans-Joachim Schulze.¹¹¹ Johann Christoph Bach took in his younger brothers Johann Sebastian Bach and Johann Jacob (1682–1722, 23 in the Bach family genealogy) after the death of their mother, Maria Elisabeth Bach née Lämmerhirt, in 1694, and of their father, Johann Ambrosius Bach, in 1695. J.S.¹¹² Bach lived with him for five years before leaving for school in Lüneburg in 1700.

The manuscript dates from the early 18th century (1700–1719), meaning that by the time of the *Capriccio*’s copying in the manuscript, Johann Sebastian Bach was no longer living under his brother’s roof. After Johann Christoph Bach’s death, the manuscript was passed between various members of the Bach family. It was first owned by J.S. Bach until his death in 1750, then it was owned by Johann Christoph Bach’s son, Johann Andreas Bach (1713–1779, number 44 in

¹¹⁰ “Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. 40644 [Möllersche Handschrift],” Bach Digital, accessed November 4, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000724. The role this manuscript has in the history of the *Capriccio* is discussed in detail below.

¹¹¹ Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Ohrdruf »Andreas-Bach-Buch« und »Möllersche Handschrift«,” in *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 29–55.

¹¹² Christoph Wolff, “Bach family, II. List of all family members alphabetical by first name, Johann Christoph Bach (22),” *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 22, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*.

the Bach family genealogy). The manuscript's final owner in the Bach family was Johann Andreas Bach's son, Johann Christoph Georg Bach (1747–1814, number 75 in the Bach family genealogy). It then landed in the possession of Johann Gottfried Möller (1774–1833) in the early 19th century, who gave the manuscript its name. For the remainder of the 19th century, the manuscript was owned by A. Kühnel (before 1806), Fr. Schneider (from 1807), and by an unknown private collector. By 1912, the manuscript's ownership had passed to W. Wolffheim. The Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz has owned the Möller manuscript since either 1920 or 1931. D-B Mus. ms. 40644 is a collective manuscript, containing pieces by a variety of composers. It has 101 leaves and measures 18.5 x 32 cm.

B – D-LEm Becker III.8.19

D-LEm Becker III.8.19, or Source B, is owned by the Musikbibliothek at the Stadtbibliothek Leipzig. The identity of the copyist is unknown; however, the NBA suggests the same copyist responsible for Source B also created Source C.¹¹³ The manuscript was copied in the second half of the 18th century (1760-1789). Source B was owned by Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804–1877), who donated the manuscript, along with his entire library, to the City of Leipzig in 1856.¹¹⁴ The manuscript is formed by a single piece of paper, with a reinforced fold, measuring 35 x 22.5 cm. A City of Leipzig stamp in black ink is visible between the second and third systems of the first

¹¹³ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, "Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992," in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 17.

¹¹⁴ "Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek Leipzig, Musikbibliothek D-LEm Becker III.8.19," Bach Digital, accessed November 4, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003292; Alec Hyatt King, revised by Peter Krause, "Becker, Carl Ferdinand," *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 23, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

movement; the paper is noticeably browned, and there is a large water stain in the lower left corner.

C – D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 909

Source C, D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 909, is housed at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. This source is a composite manuscript containing two copies of the *Capriccio*, respectively labelled C and C'.¹¹⁵ Source C was copied by an unknown copyist in the second half of the 18th century (1760–1789), and arrived in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz under unknown circumstances.¹¹⁶ Source C' was copied from C by Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn (1799–1858), who served as the music librarian from 1842 until his death for what is now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz.¹¹⁷ His copy of the *Capriccio* clearly dates from the first half of the 19th century; however, it is unknown whether it was made before or after acquiring his position as music librarian. Source C is comprised of a folded sheet of paper with a glued-on leaf, measuring 24 x 32 cm. Source C', which ends after measure 48 of the sixth movement, is glued into the fold of Source C and measures 23.5 x 32 cm.

Dehn's reason for creating a copy of the *Capriccio* is not discussed in either the NBA critical commentary and on Bach Digital, and remains unknown. The primary differences

¹¹⁵ "Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 909, Faszikel 1," Bach Digital, accessed November 23, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001924; "Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 909, Faszikel 2, Bach Digital, accessed November 23, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001925.

¹¹⁶ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, "Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992," in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 17.

¹¹⁷ John Warrack, revised by James Deaville, "Dehn, Siegfried (Wilhelm)," *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 23, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

between Source C and C' are the significant reduction of ornament symbols used in Source C', and the change of clef used for the right hand. Source C, as well as all manuscript sources of the *Capriccio* made before 1800, uses soprano clef for the right hand, as was common for keyboard music at the time.¹¹⁸ Source C' uses treble clef for the right hand, suggesting that Dehn's aim in recopying the *Capriccio* was to create a copy of the piece more in keeping with the notational practices of the time. The opening measure of Dehn's copy supports this hypothesis. After writing the treble and bass clefs, key signature, and time signature, Dehn added the necessary beat and a half of rests in both staves, setting himself up to write the opening notes. However, when he did so, primarily while looking intently at source C, he copied the opening melodic gesture in the right hand starting on the fourth line of his treble staff. As a result, this opening gesture was initially copied a third too high, starting on D instead of Bb. Had he been using soprano clef for the right hand, like his source, starting on the fourth line would have been correct. Having already done the labour of lining his paper, Dehn chose to carry on, restarting the melody from the correct line and lining the left hand up below it, causing a large gap between the rests and first notes in the bass clef. The fuzziness of the incorrect notes, and the slightly lighter ink colour suggests he may have tried to blot the error out before it dried.

E – B-Br MS II 4093 Mus (Fétis 2960)

Source E, B-Br MS II 4093 Mus (Fétis 2960), is owned by the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels (KBR). The music found in the manuscript was copied by an unknown copyist and an unknown secondary copyist contributed many of the titles and interpretative suggestions.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ The soprano clef is a C-clef positioned on the bottom line of the staff. The result is that middle C (C4) is represented by notes on the lowest line of the staff.

¹¹⁹ "Bruxelles (Brussels), Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (National Library) B-Br Ms II 4093 Mus (Fétis 2960)," Bach Digital, accessed November 4, 2025, <https://www.bach->

Additionally, some of the piece titles were added by Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal (1756–1825).¹²⁰ The exact date of the manuscript's creation is unknown, with various sources estimating different time frames, however it likely dates to the second half of the 18th century. Source E was owned by Westphal and later Francois-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) before being acquired by the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique.¹²¹ It is a collective manuscript with 92 leaves plus a cover title that measures 31.5 x 20.5 cm.

F – D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 595

D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 595, or Source F, is housed in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and was copied by Johannes Ringk (1717–1778) between 1730 and 1740. It was acquired by what is now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in 1887. Source F comprises two leaves in a composite manuscript and contains only the sixth movement. It measures 32.5 x 20.5 cm.¹²²

G – D-Leb Rara Ib 160

Source G, D-Leb Rara Ib 160, is owned by the Bach-Archiv Leipzig. It was copied by an unknown copyist in the first half of the 18th century (1720–1739). The manuscript has unknown

[digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000272](https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000272). According to François-Joseph Fétis, an early owner of this manuscript, the unknown copyist was Bach himself. This is discussed below, pages 87-9.

¹²⁰ Bach Digital.

¹²¹ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 18.

¹²² “Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 595, Faszikel 10,” Bach Digital, accessed November 7, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001659; Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 18.

origins and limited information is known about its provenance. The manuscript was sold to an unknown buyer by Christie's Auction House in London in 1965, and as a result was not consulted directly during the creation process of the NBA edition. The manuscript was purchased in 1969 by the Göttingen Bach Institute and transferred to the Leipzig Bach Archiv in 2008. Source G comprises the remaining two leaves of a collective manuscript, that likely originally contained more than 37 leaves.¹²³ The manuscript measures 28.5 x 22 cm, and contains only the first three movements of the *Capriccio*.

H – D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 320

Source H, or D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 320, is owned by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. The manuscript was copied in the early 19th century by Johann Nikolaus Gebhardi (1781–1813).¹²⁴ It was acquired by what is now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in 1879.¹²⁵ The manuscript is a collection of pieces by a variety of composers, contains 48 leaves, and measures 25.5 x 41 cm.

J – D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 557

D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 557, or Source J, is owned by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Friedrich August Grasnick (1820–1877) was the copyist of this manuscript, which

¹²³ “Leipzig, Bach-Archiv Leipzig D-Leb Rara II, 160,” Bach Digital, accessed November 7, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003002.

¹²⁴ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 19.

¹²⁵ “Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 320,” Bach Digital, accessed November 10, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001337.

dates from the early 19th century (1820–1839).¹²⁶ Grasnick left the manuscript to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in his will, and it came into the library's possession in 1879.¹²⁷ This collective manuscript contains mostly pieces by Bach, has 32 leaves, and measures 24.5 x 34.5 cm.

K – D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 319

Source K, or D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 319, is housed in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. The manuscript was started by Johann Christian Westphal (1773–1829), but the *Capriccio* was copied by an unknown copyist.¹²⁸ The manuscript was created around the year 1800, and acquired by what is now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in 1851.¹²⁹ It is a collective manuscript, measuring 22.5 x 32.5 cm and containing 47 leaves.

L - PL-Wu RM 5951

Source L, or PL-Wu RM 5951, is housed at the Bibliotheka Uniwersytecka Warszawa. It was copied by an unknown copyist in the early 19th century (1820-1839).¹³⁰ The manuscript was later

¹²⁶ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 19.

¹²⁷ “Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 557,” Bach Digital, accessed November 15, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001612.

¹²⁸ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 19.

¹²⁹ “Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz D-B Mus. ms. Bach 319,” Bach Digital, accessed November 15, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001336.

¹³⁰ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 19.

owned by Johann Theodor Mosewius (1788–1858) who founded the Breslau Singakademie.¹³¹ It is a collective manuscript of organ pieces, containing 25 leaves.

The *Capriccio* appears to have been presented for organ by the creator of this manuscript. This is evidenced by the use of three staves in the second and fourth movements. In the second movement, no additional material has been added, and the bass entries are given on a third stave. In the fourth movement, the bass notes of the opening chords are doubled on a third stave and the bass voice throughout is also presented on the third stave. This suggests that the copyist imagined this material to be played on the pedalboard of an organ. The title of the manuscript – “Vermische[n] Orgelstücke von Joh. Seb. Bach” – supports this theory.

Z – D-Mbs Mus. ms. 18722

D-Mbs. Mus. ms 18722 is not included in the NBA’s critical report or stemma, as it was not known prior to its acquisition by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung in Munich in 1987.¹³² This manuscript has been given the sigla Source Z, in keeping with the NBA’s practice of assigning manuscript sources alphabetical siglum, for the purposes of this study. The letter Z was chosen to clearly differentiate this manuscript from the sources included in the NBA, whose siglum range from A to O. Kaspar Jakob Bischoff (1823–1893) was the copyist of this manuscript, which was copied in the early 19th century (1820-1850). No information is available about the manuscript’s provenance between Bischoff’s death and 1987, when it was purchased

¹³¹ “Warszawa (Warsaw), Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (University Library) PL-Wu RM 5951,” Bach Digital, accessed November 15, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00003951; George Grove, revised by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, “Mosewius, Johann Theodor,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed November 23, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

¹³² “München (Munich), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung D-Mbs Mus. ms. 18722,” Bach Digital, accessed November 15, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00025025.

by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung.¹³³ It is a collective manuscript of pieces by a variety of composers, which contains 18 leaves and measures 25 x 32 cm.

[D]

Source D was previously privately owned by the Schubring family, and is now presumed lost.¹³⁴

It was, however, consulted by the NBA and is included in their stemma.

[M]

Source M was a manuscript originated by Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809), and owned by the publishing company Breitkopf & Härtel. It was destroyed during the bombing of Leipzig in World War II.¹³⁵

[N]

¹³³ “München (Munich), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung D-Mbs Mus. ms. 18722,” Bach Digital, accessed November 15, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00025025.

¹³⁴ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 17–8; “Privately Owned, Unbekannter Privatbesitz, Sammelhandschrift Orgel- u. Klaviermusik [Früher Privatbesitz, Walther Schubring],” Bach Digital, accessed November 23, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00004218.

¹³⁵ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 20; “source destroyed, vernichtet Sammelband Kittel-Hauser,” Bach Digital, accessed November 23, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00004396.

Source N was a manuscript copy of the sixth movement of the *Capriccio* copied by Julian Rietz (1812–1837). It was consulted by the editors of the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (BGA), but has since been lost.¹³⁶

[O]

Source O was a copy of the third movement copied by August Edward Grell (1800–1886). It was consulted for the BGA edition, and has since been lost.¹³⁷

The NBA also hypothesizes the existence of two lost sources: α is the lost autograph manuscript, presumed to have been used to create Source A. β is a hypothesized lost source based on Source A discussed in detail in the NBA critical report, that would have served as the model of Sources E, F, and G.¹³⁸ They hypothesize this intermediary between Source A and Sources E, F, and G, because of several variants shared by sources E, F, and G that are not found in Source A. These include movement I, measure 9, beat 3.5, where the soprano either plays a G and a Bb or an F and a Bb depending on which source was used.

¹³⁶ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 20; “Source lost, Verschollen BWV 992/6, J. Rietz,” Bach Digital, accessed November, 23, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00005154.

¹³⁷ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 20; “Source lost, Verschollen BWV 992/3, E. Grell,” Bach Digital, accessed November 23, 2025, https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00005153.

¹³⁸ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, “Capriccio B-Dur BWV 992,” in *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzeln Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 22–3.

Below are two charts detailing the basic information of the *Capriccio*'s manuscript sources, intended as a reference tool for the reader. The first chart provides details of the extant manuscripts, and the second chart provides details of the lost manuscripts.

Extant Manuscripts

NBA Siglum	Call Number	Location	Copyist	Date
A	D-B Mus. ms. 40644	Berlin	Johann Christoph Bach	1700-1719
B	D-LEm Becker III.8.19	Leipzig	Unknown	1760-1789
C and C'	D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 909	Berlin	Unknown; Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn	1760-1789; 1820-1839
E	B-Br MS II 4093 (Fétis 2960)	Brussels	Unknown	Pre-1800
F	D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 595	Berlin	Johannes Ringk	1730-1740
G	D-Leb Rara Ib 160	Leipzig	Unknown	1720-1739
H	D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 320	Berlin	Johann Nikolaus Gebhardi	1820-1839
J	D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 557	Berlin	Friedrich August Grasnack	1820-1839
K	D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 319	Berlin	Unknown	~1800
L	PI-Wu RM 5951	Warsaw	Unknown	1820-1839
Z	D-Mbs Mus. ms. 18722	Munich	Kaspar Jakob Bischoff	1820-1850

Lost Manuscripts

NBA Siglum	Copyist	Date
[D]	Unknown	Unknown
[M]	Johann Christoph Kittel	1820-1839

[N]	Julian Rietz	19 th century
[O]	August Edward Grell	19 th century

Manuscript Stemma

The spreadsheet analysis conducted as part of this study of the *Capriccio*'s extant manuscript sources affirmed the findings of the NBA's stemma, which is shown in figure 2.11. The NBA stemma groups the manuscript sources of the *Capriccio* into three branches, all originating with Source A. Sources B, C, D, β, and [M] are all believed to have used Source A as a model. Sources E, F, G, and [N] are believed to descend from β. Sources H, J, K, and L are posited to be based on Source [M]. The details of the variants used to make these hypotheses are found in the critical commentary of the NBA.

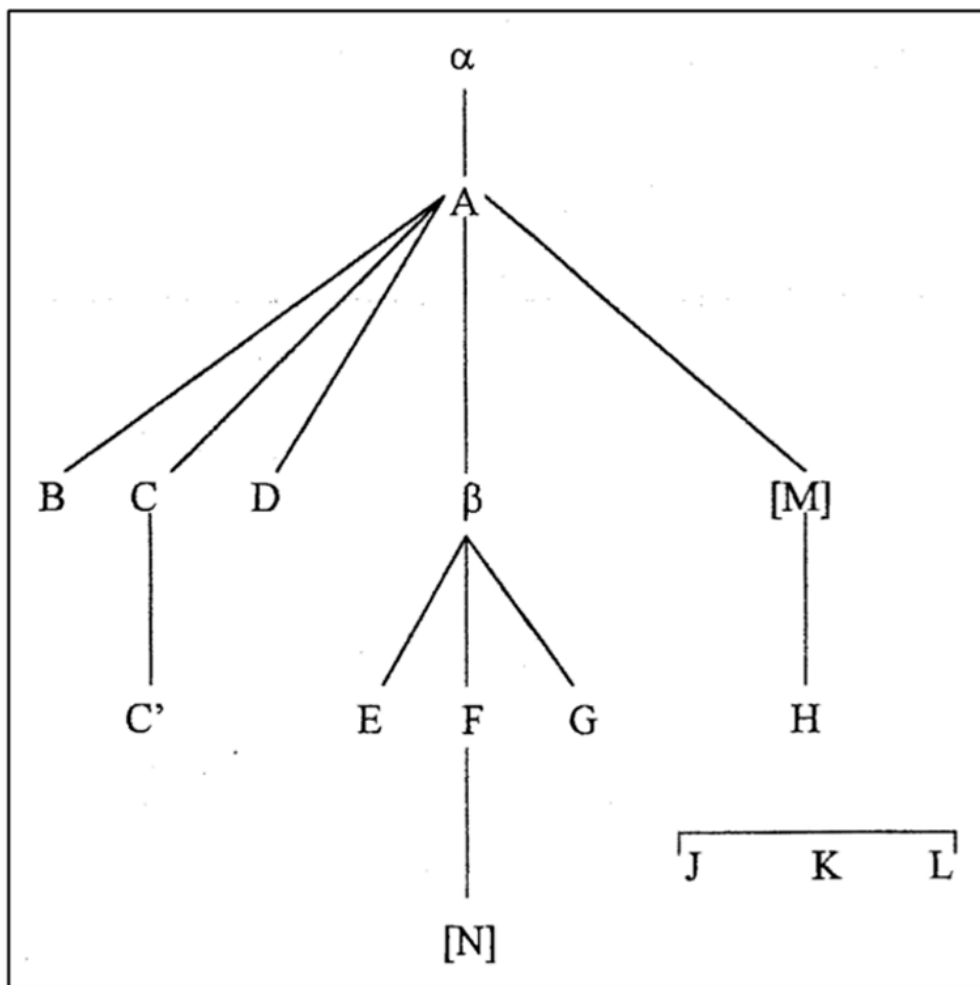


Figure 2.11: Stemma of manuscript sources of the *Capriccio* from the NBA critical commentary.

Source Z was not included in the NBA's investigation as the manuscript's existence was unknown at the time. After analyzing Source Z as part of this study, it appears probable that it belongs in the same branch as Sources H-[M], falling under the same bracket as Sources J, K and L, shown in figure 2.12. This hypothesis has been made because Source Z contains all of the

significant textual variants found in this branch of manuscripts, such as the rhythm in movement I, measure 6, beat 4 (two sixteenth notes followed by an eighth note, as opposed to the opposite), and the notes in movement VI, measure 52.

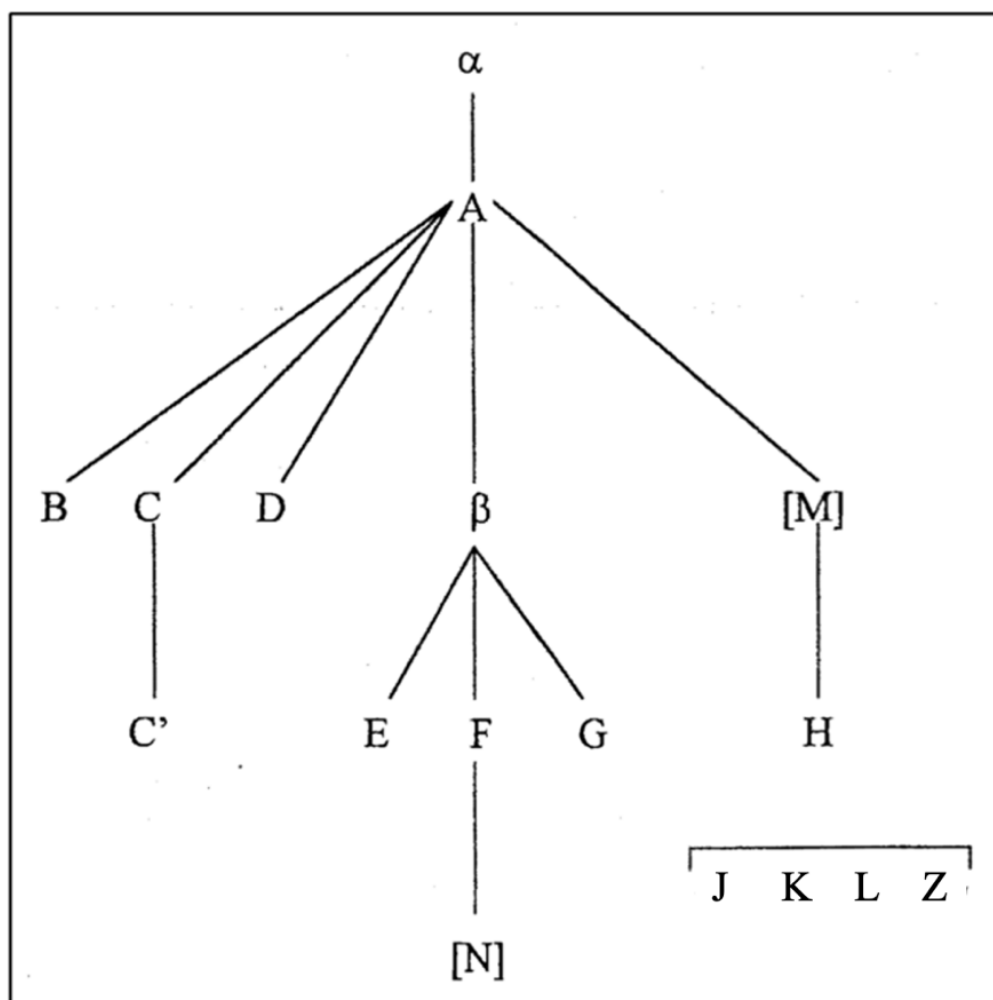


Figure 2.12: Modified version of stemma of manuscript sources of the *Capriccio* from the NBA critical commentary with Source Z included.

Manuscripts as Source Material for Published Editions

Several editors have cited specific manuscripts as source material for their edition of the *Capriccio*:

Peters 1851:

The introduction of the Peters 1851 edition, which was written by its editor Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl, cites the now-lost Kittel manuscript (Source [M] in the NBA) and the Becker manuscript (D-LEm Becker III. 8. 19, Source B in the NBA) as the basis of the edition.¹³⁹ Since Source [M] is lost, it is not possible to comment on the relationship between it and the Peters 1851 edition. In terms of the relationship between Source B and the Peters 1851 edition, it is difficult to evaluate the strength of the connection. As will be discussed in detail below, the manuscript and published traditions of the *Capriccio* have different sets of variants that define transmission, which makes evaluating the interactions of the two traditions extremely challenging.

Steingräber 1888:

According to Hans Bischoff's note above the first page of the *Capriccio*, he consulted D-B. Mus. ms. Bach P 319 (Source K), 320 (Source H), 557 (Source J), and 595 (Source F). In this note Bischoff also identifies the lost Kittel manuscript (Source [M]) as the basis of the Peters 1839 edition, which cannot be verified as Source [M] is lost.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Introduction to *Compositions pour le Clavecin seul par J. Seb. Bach. Oeuvres de Bach, Série I, Cahier 4*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl, IV (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851).

¹⁴⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio (B-dur) sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, edited by Hans Bischoff, 24 (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888).

Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe 1890:

The critical commentary of the BGA edition lists numerous manuscripts as source material. The manuscripts listed are D-B. Mus. ms. Bach P 319 (Source K), 320 (Source H), 557 (Source J), and 595 (Source F); D-LEm Becker III.8.19 (Source B); and the lost Grell and Rietz manuscripts (Sources [N] and [O]).¹⁴¹ Identifying the base manuscript used to create the BGA 1890 edition was not possible due to the way in which the score was created. The BGA 1890 edition integrates variants from all of its sources, and also introduces several new variants.

Henle 1975:

The short critical commentary at the back of the Henle 1975 publication of the *Capriccio* contains an extensive list of manuscript sources: D-B Mus. ms. 40644 (Source A), D-LEm Becker III.8.19 (Source B), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 909 (Sources C and C'), the privately owned Schubring manuscript (Source [D], extant at the time of the Henle 1975 publication, but since lost), B-Br MS II 4093 (Fétis 2960) (Source E), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 595 (Source F), D-Leb Rara Ib 160 (Source G), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 320 (Source H), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 557 (Source J), D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 319 (Source K), and Pl-Wu RM 5951 (Source L). Having listed all these manuscripts, the Henle 1975 edition goes on to identify D-B Mus. ms. 40644 (Source A) as the basis of their publication.¹⁴² This is supported by the text of the edition which follows the text of the Möller manuscript precisely. Due to the close relationship of the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions, their treatment of the Möller manuscript is discussed in tandem below.

¹⁴¹ Critical commentary to *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe Band XXXVI, Clavierwerke Band IV*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Ernst Naumann, LXXXI (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

¹⁴² Comments to *Suiten, Sonaten, Capriccios, Variationen*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Georg von Dadelsen, 138–9 (Munich, G. Henle Verlag, 1975).

Neue Bach Ausgabe 1976:

The NBA critical commentary lists and details all of the known manuscript sources of the *Capriccio*, as has been discussed above.¹⁴³ Like the Henle 1975, the NBA 1976 publication ultimately chooses to follow D-B Mus. ms 40644 (Source A), a choice stated in the critical commentary.

Both the Henle 1975 and the NBA 1976 editions explicitly cite the Möller manuscript, otherwise known as Source A, as the basis of the musical text presented in the editions. Both editions follow the musical text, ornamentation, and figured bass symbols of Source A almost exactly. The places where one or both of the published editions deviate from the manuscript are the same as where the published editions deviate from each other. As discussed above, there are four variants between the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions. The first variant is in movement I, measure 4, beat 4, where the Henle 1975 has the *tr* symbol, and the NBA 1976 edition introduces the trill symbol (resembling a horizontal, squiggly line). Source A aligns with the NBA 1976 edition, presenting a trill symbol. The second variant is in movement I, measure 5, beat 2.5, where the Henle 1975 edition has a trill, and the NBA 1976 edition has a mordant. Once again, Source A aligns with the NBA 1976 edition. The third variant, found in movement II, measure 11, beat 1, breaks this pattern. Both published editions have a rolled chord symbol of some variety, while Source A has none. In the final variant, movement VI, bar 20, beat 2.5, the Henle 1975 edition presents an E flat, while the NBA 1976 edition presents an E natural. Source A has an Eb.

¹⁴³ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente*, 16–20 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982).

The Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 are the first editions to use the Möller manuscript as their source material. The manuscript did not appear in the list of sources for any previous edition. This may be explained by the manuscript's provenance: it was in private ownership until 1920 or 1931, and does not appear to have been known to scholars before its acquisition by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Even at the time of the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions' publication, Johann Christoph Bach had not yet been identified as the manuscript's copyist and original owner. Both editions describe the manuscript as being copied by an unknown scribe, although the NBA does go on to say the scribe was personally acquainted with Bach.¹⁴⁴ Johann Christoph Bach was identified as the scribe of the Möller manuscript by Hans-Joachim Schulze in 1984.¹⁴⁵

Comparing the treatment of manuscript sources between the two major collected works projects – the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe and the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* – reveal the changes to methodology between the 19th and 20th centuries. The BGA 1890 edition of the *Capriccio* demonstrates the 19th century's "best text" method, as popularized by Karl Lachmann.¹⁴⁶ By examining all available manuscript sources and selecting variants from across the manuscript sources, the BGA 1890 edition presents a text that had not previously existed. In contrast, the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 demonstrate a methodology representative of 20th century developments in philology. Both of these editions have selected a single source to reproduce, in this case the Möller manuscript. In the 19th century, much of the editing work relating to

¹⁴⁴ Comments to *Suiten, Sonaten, Capriccios, Variationen*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Georg von Dadelsen, 138–9 (Munich, G. Henle Verlag, 1975); Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente*, 16 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982).

¹⁴⁵ Schulze, "Ohrdruf »Andreas-Bach-Buch« und »Möllersche Handschrift«, in *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert*, (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 29–55.

¹⁴⁶ Karl Lachmann, "Rehenschaft über seine Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments," in *Kleinere Schriften von Karl Lachmann, 2: Kleinere Schriften zur Classischen Philologie von Karl Lachmann*, edited by Johannes Vahlen, 250–72 (Berlin: Reimer, 1876).

manuscripts took place in the selection of variants from a variety of sources. In the 20th century, the work of editing as it relates to manuscript sources is in selecting the manuscript to use as the basis of the edition.

Two published editions also mention the use of manuscripts as source material without citing a specific manuscript. Before each programmatic subtitle in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition, an asterisk leads to a footnote indicating a connection to “the manuscript of J. S. Bach.”¹⁴⁷ Whether these footnotes were intended to signal that just the programmatic subtitle or the program and the musical text were shaped by consulting a manuscript source is unclear. The Maurice Senart 1910 edition does something similar: on the first page of the score, a footnote appearing after the editor’s name indicates that the editing was influenced by “the original manuscript of J. S. Bach.”¹⁴⁸

The wording found in each of these editions seems to imply that the editors believed they consulted an autograph source of the piece as they were editing the *Capriccio*, however, this cannot have been the case as no autograph source for the piece has ever been identified. The question then becomes: what manuscript or manuscripts did these editors consult? Logically, the manuscript that immediately jumps to mind is Source E, or B-Br MS II 4096 Mus (Fétis 2960), hereafter referred to as the Fétis manuscript.

Geographically, the Fétis manuscript makes logical sense as a potential source for both the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 and Maurice Senart 1910 editions. Despite being published in

¹⁴⁷ “Traduit d’après le manuscrit de J. S. Bach,” from Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo,” in *Ecole de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles VIIième Livraison, Cahier I, J. S. Bach, Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo (Caprice sur le départ de son frère très chéri), Suite en mi min. Toccata et Fugue-Allemande-Courante-Air-Sarabande-Gavotte-Gigue*, edited by Auguste Dupont, 2–10 (Leipzig and Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888).

¹⁴⁸ “Révision par Blance Selva [above score] D’après le manuscrit de J. S. Bach [in footnote],” from Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le départ de son frère bien-aimé* [front cover], *Caprice sur le départ de son frère bien aimé* [above score], published under the artistic direction of Vincent d’Indy, edited by Blanche Selva, 2 (Paris: Édition Maurice Senart & C^{ie}, 1910).

Leipzig, the editor of the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition, Auguste Dupont, lived and worked in Brussels as a professor at the conservatory there. The Fétis manuscript has been physically in Brussels since 1836, first in Fétis' private collection, then, after his death in 1871, in the collections of what is now called the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. This means that the Fétis manuscript would have been the most physically accessible of the *Capriccio*'s manuscripts to Dupont as he was preparing his edition. Fétis was appointed director of the Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles in 1833, where Dupont worked starting in 1850, making it possible that the two men knew each other. This possibility is strengthened by Fétis' inclusion of Dupont in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*.¹⁴⁹

For the Maurice Senart 1910 edition, the Fétis manuscript in Brussels would have also been the nearest manuscript source that Blanche Selva, living in France, could have consulted in preparing her edition. Additionally, Brussels, being a French-speaking city, would have made the Fétis manuscript the most accessible choice both geographically and linguistically.¹⁵⁰

The next question that arises is why Auguste Dupont and Blanche Selva said they consulted an autograph manuscript during their research. Was there a manuscript in French-speaking Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that was erroneously believed to have been a Bach autograph? The Fétis manuscript also provides an answer to this question. Written in Fétis' handwriting on the back of the table of contents is the statement: "This original manuscript in the hand of Johann Sebastian Bach cost me sixty thalers (225 francs) at the sale of the large collection of music of Breitkopf and Härtel done in Leipsick [*sic*], in the month of June

¹⁴⁹ Katharine Ellis and Robert Wangermée, "Fétis, François-Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 17, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*; François-Joseph Fétis, "Dupont (Auguste)," in *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, tome 3 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866), 81–2.

¹⁵⁰ The linguistic context of the city of Brussels has changed significantly throughout history, with French emerging as a powerful linguistic force after 1850. For details see Jeanine Treffers-Daller, "The linguistic situation in Brussels since 1830," in *Mixing Two Languages: French-Dutch Contact in a Comparative Perspective* (Berlin, De Gruyter: 1993), 5–28.

1836.”¹⁵¹ Why Fétis believed this manuscript to be an autograph is unknown. Was this a finding of his own extensive musicological research? Was the manuscript advertised by Breitkopf & Härtel as an autograph at their sale in June 1836? If so, did they genuinely believe it to be an autograph or was it a marketing ploy? We may never know. Regardless of what led Fétis to add this short note on a previously empty page at the beginning of the manuscript, he was a widely respected figure in early music at this time and it is extremely unlikely that anyone reading such a statement would doubt it.¹⁵²

All signs, geographically and historically, seem to point to the Fétis manuscript as the source alluded to in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 and Maurice Senart 1910 editions. The musical text, however, disrupts this story. The copy of the *Capriccio* found in the Fétis manuscript includes no ornament symbols, meaning that they cannot be used as a tool of comparison. The programmatic subtitles in the manuscript are in a mixture of German and Italian, as is seen in all manuscript sources of the *Capriccio*, whereas both of the published editions in question translate the program into French. This leaves the musical text itself as the sole means of comparison. Comparing the musical text of the Fétis manuscript with those of the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 and Maurice Senart 1910 editions reveal no noticeable similarities. Neither of the published editions significantly resemble the manuscript source, or one another. Additionally, neither published edition noticeably resembles any other manuscript source. Unless new information

¹⁵¹ “Ce Manuscrit original de la main de Jean-Sebastien Bach, m’a coûté soixante thalers (225 francs) à la vente de la grande collection de musique de Breitkopf et Hartel faite à Leipsick, au mois de Juin 1836.” Translation my own. Brussels, B-Br MS II 4093 Mus (Fétis 2960), consulted digitally through the Royal Library of Belgium online catalogue, accessed December 10, 2025, <https://opac.kbr.be/LIBRARY/doc/SYRACUSE/15352863>.

¹⁵² The extensive archival research that would be needed to try and understand why the Fétis manuscript was believed to be an autograph is significantly beyond the scope of this study, and is, consequently, planned for a future study. However, surface level examinations of the Fétis manuscript and the autograph manuscripts of the young J. S. Bach (as found in the Andreas Bach Book, D-LEm Becker III. 8. 4) show significant discrepancies in handwriting.

comes to light, it is highly unlikely that we will ever definitively know which manuscript Dupont and Selva are referring to.

Below is a stemma showing the use of manuscripts as source material for published editions of the *Capriccio*, figure 2.13. As in the stemmas showing the relationships between published editions, different lines are used to convey different types of relationships. Black solid lines indicate explicit relationships; instances where a published edition directly identifies a manuscript or manuscripts as a source. Red solid lines indicate indirect relationships, where the relationship between a published edition and a manuscript has been identified by a source other than the published edition in question. Black dotted lines indicate implicit relationships, those hypothesized but not explicitly identified.

Figure 2.13: Stemma showing links between published editions and manuscripts.

Where a link has not been explicitly stated, connecting the manuscript and published traditions of the *Capriccio* is extremely challenging. These two traditions of transmission, the manuscript and the printed, have distinct sets of key variants, which have been identified with a red slash in appendices 1 and 2. The textual variants that form the basis of the stemma proposed in this study for the published editions are completely different from the textual variants at the center of the NBA's stemma of manuscript sources. Additionally, even when the same measure contains an important variant in both the manuscripts and printed editions, the ways in which the measure is varied is different. This means that unless an edition either directly states that a certain manuscript was used as source material or aims to replicate the text of a specific manuscript (as is the case with the NBA 1976 edition and Source A), it is nearly impossible to create links between editions and manuscripts.

Below is a list of key variants found in the published editions:

Movement I:

- Measure 3, beat 2.5, tenor on A or B $\flat$
- Measure 4, beat 2, alto, quarter note or eighth note
- Measure 6, beat 4, tenor, two sixteenth notes-eighth note or eighth note-two sixteenth notes
- Measure 7, beat 4.5, soprano on F or E $\natural$
- Measure 10, beat 3, tenor, trill or mordant

Movement II:

- Measure 5, beat 3.5, bass on F or A $\flat$
- Measure 11, beat 1, alto on D $\natural$ or D $\flat$
- Measure 12, beat 1, soprano, trill or turn
- Measure 18, beat 1, alto, quarter note on A $\natural$ or two eighth notes on C and A $\natural$

Movement III:

- Measure 25, beat 3, left hand D $\natural$ -F or D $\flat$ -F

Movement IV:

- Measure 4, beat 3, alto, eighth note on D followed by eighth rest or quarter note on D or two eighth notes on D-C

Movement V:

- Measure 4, beat 2.5, right hand F-F (octave) or F-Eb
- Measure 8, beat 4, alto on F $\natural$ or F $\sharp$

Movement VI:

- Measure 7, beat 1.5, tenor on E $\natural$ or Eb
- Measure 13, beat 4, tenor on Eb or G or E $\natural$
- Measure 45, beat 4, soprano C-F $\sharp$ -F $\sharp$ -A or C-A-A-C
- Measure 52, beat 2, soprano E $\natural$ -G-F-E $\natural$ or Eb-G-F-Eb
- Measure 52, beat 2, tenor C $\sharp$ -E $\natural$ -D-C $\sharp$ (four sixteenth notes) or C $\sharp$ -D-E $\natural$ (eighth note, two sixteenth notes) or C $\natural$ -D-Eb (eighth note, two sixteenth notes)

Below is a list of key variants found in the manuscript sources:

Movement I:

- Measure 4, beat 3, soprano, slide or grace note or no ornament
- Measure 6, beat 4, soprano, eighth note or dotted eighth note
- Measure 7, beat 2.5, alto, F-G (two sixteenth notes) or F (eighth note) or no alto present
- Measure 14, beats 1 to 4, soprano, no ornaments or mordants on each beat

Movement II:

- Measure 4, beat 4, tenor, two eighth notes or dotted eighth note and sixteenth note
- Measure 11, beat 1, alto on Db or D $\natural$
- Measure 18, beat 1.5, three or four voices present

Movement V:

- Measure 8, beat 4, alto on F $\sharp$ or F $\natural$

Movement VI:

- Measure 14, beat 4.5, alto, F-Eb or F-E $\natural$
- Measure 35, beat 3, soprano sixteenth rest-three sixteenth notes or eighth note-two sixteenth notes

There is also the question of the role the manuscript sources have played in the published tradition of the *Capriccio*. Observing the editions that state connections to a manuscript reveal a significant gap: between the BGA 1890 edition's explicit listing of manuscript sources and the list of extant manuscripts in the back of the Henle 1975 edition the only other reference to a manuscript is the vague reference in the Maurice Senart 1910 edition.

This gap has two possible explanations, which are likely related. The first is the place occupied by the BGA's editions in the musical community. With a large-scale, scholarly edition containing a critical report available, editors and publishing houses may not have considered primary source work to be necessary, academically or financially. Secondly, the upheaval of the First and Second World Wars would have made accessing manuscript sources, in a time before digitization, incredibly challenging. The combination of these factors have led to my hypothesis that the majority of the *Capriccio*'s published editions did not use any manuscripts as source material, instead relying on earlier published editions.

Chapter 3:

Categorizing *Capriccio* Editions

To bring to light all that we can learn from the *Capriccio*'s published editions, beyond their philological history and its significance, categorizing them is necessary. Before doing so, it is important to understand the existing frameworks used to categorize scores, and to explore the potential limitations of these methods. As will be shown, using the existing framework would not adequately showcase the tremendous diversity of editorial approaches used throughout the *Capriccio*'s publication history. To discuss the *Capriccio*'s published editions in a way that not only adequately shows this diversity, but explores and celebrates it as a window into the considerations behind the creation of published editions, an alternative approach is necessary. The alternative approach used in this study will be presented, followed by a brief overview of the results of this approach, which form the topics of chapters 4–8.

In the limited existing scholarly literature, a framework with which to categorize published editions of music has been established, namely in the work of Georg Feder and James Grier. Georg Feder devotes a chapter of his book on musical philology to various editorial techniques that may be used when preparing a piece of music for publication.¹⁵³ In this chapter he proposes eight types of editions. The first is the facsimile, which he defines as a photographic reproduction of a specific source. This source is usually a manuscript. The second type is the diplomatic edition, which is a printed reproduction of a specific source that, as Feder describes it, “normalizes its presentation.”¹⁵⁴ Feder links this sort of edition to the late 19th and early 20th

¹⁵³ Georg Feder, “Editorial Technique,” in *Music Philology: An Introduction to Musical Textual Criticism, Hermeneutics, and, Editorial Technique*, translated by Bruce C. MacIntyre, 137–58 (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2011, reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987).

¹⁵⁴ Feder, 140.

century publications of Breitkopf & Härtel, C. F. Peters, and Universal Editions.¹⁵⁵ The third category comprises the edition of corrected text. These editions employ modern notation and correct so-called “obvious errors.” According to Feder, most printed editions based on a single source fall under this category.

The fourth category is the critical edition, which is created via the collation of all available sources. By Feder’s definition, a critical edition should include a foreword presenting the findings of the critical research and the piece’s history, an edition guideline outlining the editorial process, a critical commentary, performance practice directions, the transcribed music in score format (not in parts), marks to clearly differentiate editorial changes and additions, and some form of illustrations, such as a page of a manuscript source. The fifth category is the critical and historical edition. These editions present the history of the text by comparing both manuscript and printed sources, and by displaying multiple versions of the piece – either printed in parallel or sequentially. Variants are clearly marked in these editions, so that the development of the text is traceable, and original notation styles are retained.

The sixth category is the “Scholarly and Practical” edition (Feder’s quotation marks), which presents the text in modern notation with clearly visible interpretative suggestions. The seventh category is the “*Urtext*” edition (Feder’s quotation marks and capitalization), which Feder describes as critical editions or editions of the corrected text presented with a significant reduction of critical commentary. These editions also provide performance help, such as bowings for string instruments, fingerings for keyboard instruments, and suggested figured bass realizations. In Feder’s own words “often this designation ‘*urtext*’ describes more a goal than a reality,” reflecting the fact that the principles underpinning *urtext* editions are only feasible when

¹⁵⁵ Feder, 140.

an error-free, legible autograph source is extant for a given piece.¹⁵⁶ Feder's eighth and final category is comprised of editions based on the history of transmission, for which he does not provide any concrete criteria. Many of Feder's categories, with their stringent requirements and precise delineations, may be seen as possibilities for what music publishing could be, and not necessarily as reflections of scores available. Additionally, many of his categories have significant overlap in their definitions, making them difficult to apply.

James Grier devotes a chapter of his book on music editing to the presentation of the musical text, which includes categories of editions.¹⁵⁷ Grier cites Feder as the basis for his categorization of scores but streamlines the system by merging some of them, ultimately presenting four categories. The first category is the facsimile, which Grier, like Feder before him, defines simply as the photographic reproduction of a specific manuscript source. The second category comprises printed replicas of original notation, which are made almost exclusively of music written before 1600 to enhance legibility. Grier identifies this category as a form of critical edition, and allows for some correction of the text to reflect critical examination of other available sources. The third category is interpretative editions, which allow for information on performance and interpretation to be transmitted. According to Grier, little editorial energy is spent "to ensure that the printed text is faithful to the testimony of the sources" in this type of edition.¹⁵⁸ The fourth and final category is the critical edition which aims to transmit the musical text that best reflects the history of the source material. This category of edition also must contain some form of critical apparatus.

¹⁵⁶ Feder, 155.

¹⁵⁷ James Grier, "The Presentation of the Text," in *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice*, 144–79 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁵⁸ Grier 152.

In the categorizations, both Feder and Grier are very focused on the editorial methodologies employed and the treatment of the source material; two considerations which often overlap in the instances they discuss. There is also tremendous focus placed on early music originally written before modern staff notation was developed or standardized. This focus reflects both the strong link to the manuscript traditions in the performance of Medieval and Renaissance music, and the broader emphasis on early music in both Feder and Grier's books. These two priorities make sense given that both books are devoted to aspects of textual criticism and musical philology.

However, editorial methodology is only one angle from which editions can be examined, and focusing solely on editorial methodology makes the faulty assumption that all editors were prioritizing textual criticism in their work. Regardless of the priorities we hold at the center of music editing today, those priorities cannot be projected onto music editors of the past. While these priorities may be useful in understanding questions of the history of textual criticism in music editing, solely categorizing scores in this way cannot reflect all aspects of scores' creation. Many aspects of a piece's history, and especially a piece's reception history may be missed as a result. In the case of the *Capriccio*, nearly all of its editions would fall under "scholarly and practical" editions or attempts at *urtexts* under Feder's model, or as interpretative editions under Grier's model. Neither of these options adequately reflect the tremendous diversity of *Capriccio* editions analyzed during this study.

Beyond the methodology used in a score's creation, there are many other questions that can be asked when examining a piece's publication history, including but not limited to: How was the composer performed at a certain time? Why was this piece published and for whom? What sort of musician would have used a certain score and why? What did different musicians

need from their scores, and how has this changed over time? These questions, and many more besides, can be used to approach published editions in a way that decentralizes editorial methodology.

Analyzing the published editions of the *Capriccio* revealed not only the need for a new method of categorization, one based on a variety of characteristics beyond simply the treatment of the source material, but also to the establishment of several new categories of editions not found in the frameworks proposed by Feder and Grier. These categories may be used to discuss the piece's history and the history of music editing. In moving away from a method of categorization based solely on the editorial methodologies employed by various editors, the creation of categories was guided by the individual characteristics of editions. Several different types of characteristics observed during the analysis of the published editions were considered. These types of characteristics are the textual variants between editions, the physical presentation of the editions, and the context of each edition's publication.

The first type of edition characteristics taken into consideration are the variants between editions, taken from the spreadsheet analysis conducted to establish the philological history of the *Capriccio* in publication. The variants were examined in two ways. The first involved noting any patterns of variants present between different editions, for example multiple editions utilizing the same ornament symbol in the same place or the choice to resolve to a B-flat major or B-flat minor chord in measure 11 of the second movement. The second involved considering the implications of variants, allowing the spirit of the variant to outweigh the letter of the variant. A major example is the practice of adding additional notes in the first movement of the *Capriccio*. Different editors did so by adding different notes in a variety of rhythms, however the editorial intervention is of the same variety.

The second type of edition characteristic considered is the physical presentation of the score. Beyond ascertaining whether the score is a standalone volume or part of a multi-volume set, a variety of physical characteristics are important, as they can indicate intention. The size of the volume – especially if it is oversized or a study score – can provide insight not only into a score’s intended use, in a practical sense, but also the score’s intended impact as a physical object. For example, the monumentalization of a composer, a concept discussed at length in chapter 4, can be seen through the physical presentation of the volume. The materials used, such as paper weight and binding, also factor into this. It is worth noting, however, that many scores are rebound. In the context of university libraries, this is often done for durability’s sake, especially with paperback scores from the 20th century. In private collections of the 19th and early 20th centuries, scores were also often rebound, sometimes even combining multiple volumes, so that they would look cohesive on the shelf. The presence or absence of accompanying information is also a key factor relating to the characteristics of editions. This includes, but is not limited to, forewords, introductions, and prefaces; critical commentaries; and footnotes, all of which provide insight into the intention of the publication and the editor’s priorities. Where present, the contents of accompanying information was taken into account during the process of developing categories of *Capriccio* editions.

The third category is the context of a score’s creation and publication, both of which can provide valuable information. An edition’s publication date leads to questions about the state of Bach and early music reception at that time. Issues of the reception of early music and performance practice are often linked, making them both important questions to ask about the publication date of a given edition. In addition to researching the time period in which an edition was published, researching the editor is also extremely important. In doing so, a number of

questions can be used to guide the research: What were their other professional activities within the music world? Investigating the career of an editor can allow for insight into the ways in which they interacted with music, whether that be as performers, pedagogues, or any number of other possibilities. What was their professional relationship to Bach and to early music? Were they connected to any important figures in Bach reception history? Exploring these questions can help to establish some understanding of an editor's knowledge of and attitudes towards Bach's music. Researching the publishing house can also be fruitful, especially questions of their target market, and involvement in publishing Bach.

After examining the published editions of the *Capriccio* in this manner, taking into consideration the variants, physical characteristics, and publication contexts of all 26 unique editions, categories became evident along the lines of professional editor identity, publication agenda, or some combination of the two. This framework is better suited to showcasing the sheer variety of ways in which the *Capriccio* has been published, and allows for more nuanced discussion than the methodology-focused framework common in the existing scholarly literature. Professional editor identity is defined as the primary professional activity undertaken by the editor in the music world. Examples of a primary professional activity include teachers or professors, concertizing artists, composers, musicologists, conductors, and, from the mid-20th century, professional editors. That being said, determining an editor's primary professional activity can often be subjective, as musicians often make their living via a portfolio career comprising a wide variety of income sources. In cases of editors engaged in multiple professional activities, every effort has been made to determine which of these activities links the editor to Bach and early music. These cases are explained and justified when they emerge in the following chapters. Publication agenda is defined as the motivation behind a specific edition's

creation and publication. Depending on the edition in question, the publication agenda may have been formulated by the editor, the publishing house, or a combination thereof.

Five such categories became evident as a result of the research of the *Capriccio*'s 26 unique editions. They will be used as the framework to discuss the published editions of the *Capriccio*, as mentioned in the introduction, with each chapter describing the characteristics of a given category.

The first category, discussed in chapter 4, contains collected works projects. This category is an example of one determined by publication agenda, and is defined as editions of the *Capriccio* created as part of a coordinated effort of publish all of Bach's known compositions. The second category, discussed in chapter 5, contains pedagogical editions. These editions were either published explicitly for use within a pedagogical context such as a conservatory or were edited by career pedagogues. Pedagogical editions comprise scores published under both circumstances as they share the same defining characteristics, making this category one defined by both editor identity and publication agenda. The third category, discussed in chapter 6, contains exhibition editions. This category is also determined by publication agenda, and is intended to expose a new audience to a given piece or repertoire. Exhibition editions can be further divided into three subcategories: scores designed to educate musical amateurs, scores intending to provide historical education, and scores that provide regional exposure, bringing the music published to a geographical audience who would not otherwise have access to it. The fourth category, discussed in chapter 7, contains editions edited by musical practitioners, more specifically concertizing artists and composers. This category is an example of one defined solely by professional editor identity. The fifth and final category, discussed in chapter 8, is the

professionalization of music editing. This is the only category with a defined time frame, as music editing only became a standalone profession in the second half of the 20th century.

These five categories are not meant to be an exhaustive system by which all published editions of music can be sorted and understood. As the categories were driven and defined by characteristics present in the published editions of the *Capriccio*, it can be logically assumed that any piece of music whose publication history is subjected to an examination of this sort would generate its own group of categories. Some of those categories may well overlap with those defined by the *Capriccio*, but it is likely that others would also emerge. Some or even all of the categories that emerged after researching the *Capriccio*'s publication history will likely be found in other case studies. New categories are also likely to emerge. This information cannot be ascertained until further studies of this type, investigating the published editions of other pieces of music in this way. While such research is beyond the scope of this thesis, similar studies are planned for a further date.

In these future studies, whether conducted by myself or by other researchers, it will be interesting to see where and how these holistically generated categories intersect with the existing categories as defined by Feder and Grier. *Urtexts* and critical editions are especially likely to be observed, as these sorts of publications could also be seen as being defined by publication agenda, not just by editorial methodology. While no true examples of either category are present in the *Capriccio*'s publication history, they may very well be found in the publication history of another composition.

The five categories with which the *Capriccio*'s publication history can be discussed are intended as a new model of how scores can be examined if editorial methodology is decentered.

Chapter 4:

Portable Monuments: The *Capriccio* in Collected Works Projects

If you take a short walk around downtown Leipzig, your path will inevitably pass monuments celebrating and memorializing the city's rich musical and literary history. Continuing down the Thomaskirchhof, under the discerning eyes of Bach's famous statue, will take you to an older statue of the famous Thomaskantor, ceremonially presented by Mendelssohn in 1843. Further wanderings will bring you to statues of Mendelssohn himself, Wagner, Robert Schumann, and Goethe. It is this sort of imposing statuary that typically comes to mind when the idea of monuments arises, but musical legacies can be preserved and promoted in other ways as well. One such way is through the creation of a collected works project of a composer's compositions.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: to present and discuss the characteristics that define collected works projects as a category, and to argue that these editions were created as a form of musical monument to Bach's legacy.

A collected works project is an organized effort to collect, research, edit, and publish the compositions of a given composer, making this a category defined by publication agenda. The final products of a collected works project can contain either all known compositions of the composer, encompassing all genres and instrumentations, or be devoted to a specific and clearly defined category, such as the composer's entire output within a certain genre or for a specific instrument. J. S. Bach was among the first composers for whom a collected works project was attempted, and the first composer for which one was completed.¹⁵⁹ Hoffmeister & Kühnel (later C. F. Peters) attempted to publish Bach's complete keyboard music as edited by Johann Nikolaus

¹⁵⁹ Breitkopf & Härtel published a series of Mozart editions between 1798 and 1806 under the name of *Œuvres Complètes [sic]*, however this edition was missing large portions of Mozart's output, even within its selected genres. See Cliff Eisen, "The Old and New Mozart Editions," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 513–32.

Forkel (1749–1818) starting in 1801; however, the project was aborted after three years.¹⁶⁰ The first successful collected works project was launched by the Bach-Gesellschaft, which published Bach's complete known compositions in 46 volumes between 1851 and 1900.¹⁶¹

The collected works projects containing the *Capriccio* share several characteristics. The first shared characteristic is the treatment of source material. The collected works projects examined during this study show a close relationship to their source material, focused on citing their sources and discussing variant readings of the musical text. The second characteristic is a tendency towards minimal interpretative suggestions. The third and final characteristic is the physical presentation of the score, creating volumes of music not only tailored for practical considerations but aesthetic ones as well.

As will be discussed, these characteristics suggest that the function of a collected works project is more complex than its simple description. In addition to the obvious aim, of providing a composer's complete compositions to the musical community, these projects may be argued to also be about the creation of a monument to the composer in question. This study is not the first to make such an argument. Several authors have commented on the role monumental editions have played in the creation of the western art music canon, and their value on the mythologization of composers that took place in 19th century German-speaking Europe.

María Cáceres-Piñuel discusses the creation of a monumental edition of Austrian music alongside a Viennese concert series that took place in the 1890s as evidence of early music revival activities.¹⁶² This sort of project, in which the music of a variety of composers from a

¹⁶⁰ Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage, C. F. Peters: 1800 to the Holocaust* (Kenton, England: Edition Press, 2000), 4.

¹⁶¹ Barbara Wiermann, "Bach-Gesellschaft," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 3, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

¹⁶² María Cáceres-Piñuel, "From Historical Concerts to Monumental Editions: The Early Music Revivals at the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Theater (1892)," *Musicologica Austriaca* Special Issue (2021), accessed April 10th, 2024. <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/101>.

given region are brought together, is frequently used by scholars to discuss how music is culturally elevated as part of efforts to create a shared history.¹⁶³ Mark Burford argues that the increased historical awareness we attribute to certain 19th-century Germanic composers (such as Felix Mendelssohn) may be explained by the cultural importance historical consciousness held at the time, and that this awareness, in turn, forms a sort of commemorative practice.¹⁶⁴ He goes on to compare Forkel's short-lived collected works project to the Bach-Gesellschaft, as two important acts of Bach memorialization in the 19th century. Both of these scholars focus their attention on how the composer or composers being published are represented, and on the decisions concerning which pieces should be published. This can be seen as taking a macro view of these projects, their impact, and the context of their creation. Instead, this chapter is interested in the micro views of this sort of publication project; examining what is actually found upon cracking open a volume by investigating the editorial strategies used and the manner in which the *Capriccio* is physically presented.

There is precedence for comparing collected works projects for the same composer to one another. Cliff Eisen conducted a study comparing editions of Mozart published within the old and new Mozart editions, in which the variety and availability of manuscripts used by the editors is discussed.¹⁶⁵ This chapter, and thesis as a whole, expand this approach, taking into account not just the manuscripts used, but the complex landscape of published editions and contextually dependent editorial strategies that shape each edition.

¹⁶³ Anselm Gerhard, "Für den 'Butterladen,' die Gelehrten oder 'das practische Leben'? Denkmalsidee und Gesamtausgaben in der Musikgeschichte vor 1850," *Die Musikforschung* 57 (2004): 363–82; Barbara Boisits, "Music as Monument: The Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich: A Patriotic Activity," in *Musical Culture & Memory*, edited by Tatjana Marković and Vesna Mikić (Belgrade: University of Arts, 2008), 121–8.

¹⁶⁴ Mark Burford, "Nationalism, Liberalism, and Commemorative Practice: A Tale of Two 19th-Century Bach Editions," in *Music's Intellectual History*, edited by Zdravko Blažeković, and Barbara Dobbs Mackenzie, 367–76 (New York: Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale, 2009).

¹⁶⁵ Eisen, "The Old and New Mozart Editions," 513–32.

Editions

The *Capriccio* has been published in several collected works projects, ranging from those devoted solely to his keyboard compositions to those endeavouring to publish his complete compositional output. However, the first collected works project dedicated to Bach did not include the piece. Forkel's edition of Bach's keyboard compositions, published in the earliest years of the 19th century, was missing a number of his pieces, including the *Capriccio*, because Forkel left out any piece he did not consider worthy of Bach's legacy.¹⁶⁶ Forkel's ultimate priority was to elevate Bach's legacy, causing him to go so far as to leave Bach's youngest daughter out of the preface describing the Bach family, saying that "the poverty of this daughter is inappropriate to the great art of her father."¹⁶⁷

The first collected works project to include the *Capriccio* was an edition of Bach's complete instrumental music produced by C. F. Peters between 1837–1842.¹⁶⁸ The volume including the *Capriccio* was published in 1839, and edited by Carl Czerny (1791–1857), who was also the directing editor of the series.¹⁶⁹ This is also the first printed edition of the *Capriccio*, a fact that is clearly stated on the volume's table of contents, showing the editor's awareness of the piece's history. Carl Czerny was an Austrian pianist, composer, and pedagogue, whose legacy is primarily his hundreds of piano études. As a student of Beethoven, Czerny was heavily involved in promoting his former teacher's music.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Burford, "A Tale of Two 19th-Century Bach Editions," 371.

¹⁶⁷ George B. Stauffer, ed., *The Forkel – Hoffmeister & Kühnel Correspondence: A Document of the Early 19th-Century Bach Revival* (New York: C. F. Peters Corp., 1990), 49.

¹⁶⁸ Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage*, 13.

¹⁶⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio Auf die Entfernung eines sehr theuern Bruders," in *Compositions pour le Piano-forte sans et avec accompagnement par Jean Sebastian Bach, Oeuvres complets Liv. 4*, " edited by Carl Czerny (Leipzig: Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters, 1839).

¹⁷⁰ Stephan Lindeman and George Barth, "Czerny, Carl," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 10, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

The second edition in this category is part of an edition of Bach's complete keyboard compositions, edited by Hans Bischoff (1852–1889), and published by Steingräber. The volume containing the *Capriccio* was published in 1888.¹⁷¹ Hans Bischoff was a German pianist, piano teacher, and editor. In addition to his activities as a professor at Neue Akademie der Tonkunst and the Stern Conservatory, he was involved in numerous large-scale critical editions.¹⁷²

The Bach-Gesellschaft published the *Capriccio* in 1890 as part of their effort to publish Bach's complete compositional output, known as the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe.¹⁷³ Breitkopf & Härtel published the project, and Ernst Naumann (1832-1910), a German organist and musicologist, edited the volume containing the *Capriccio*. Naumann also edited five other volumes of keyboard music and cantatas for the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe.¹⁷⁴ This edition will henceforth be referred to as the BGA edition.

Edition Peters published the *Capriccio* in 1965 in Leipzig, in East Germany.¹⁷⁵ The *Capriccio* was included in the supplemental volume to their series of Bach's complete keyboard compositions. This volume contained a variety of miscellaneous pieces that do not fit neatly into the traditional genre designation, like suites or toccatas. Hermann Keller (1885–1967) was the editor of this volume, as well as half of the volumes of the main collection. Keller was a German musicologist, who worked extensively on Bach and other Baroque composers, and keyboardist.

¹⁷¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio (B-dur) sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, edited by Hans Bischoff (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888), 24–9.

¹⁷² Christopher Fifield, "Bischoff, Hans," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 10, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

¹⁷³ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo, B-dur," in *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe Band XXXVI, Clavierwerke Band IV*, edited by Ernst Naumann (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890), 190–6.

¹⁷⁴ Dieter Härtwig, "Naumann, (Karl) Ernst," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 10, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

¹⁷⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo (über die Abreise seines geliebten Bruders)," in *Klavierwerke – Supplement Capriccio B dur und E dur, Aria Variata, Fantasien, Fugen, Vorstudien zum Wohltemperierten Klavier u.a.*, edited by Herman Keller (Leipzig: VEB C. F. Peters, 1965), 4-11.

He studied with Max Reger (1873–1916), whose edition of the *Capriccio* is discussed in chapter 7.

The next edition to be discussed in this chapter was published by Henle in 1975.¹⁷⁶ Henle's editions (the piece is offered in both a standalone volume and in a collected volume) of the *Capriccio* is not, strictly speaking, part of a collected works project, despite the Henle catalogue containing large swaths of Bach's output. However, this edition is included in the collected works projects category because of its close relationship with the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*. The Henle edition was edited by Georg von Dadelsen (1918-2007), and has fingering provided by Hans-Martin Theopold (1904–2000). Dadelsen was a German musicologist, who served as director of the Bach-Institut in Göttingen between 1962 and 1993, and as chief editor of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*.¹⁷⁷ Theopold was a German pianist and professor who provided the fingerings for more than 200 of Henle's editions of piano music.¹⁷⁸

The *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) edition of the *Capriccio* was published by Bärenreiter just one year after the Henle edition.¹⁷⁹ The NBA, published between 1950–2007, was intended to replace and update the BGA edition in the face of developments in editorial practices and new source material.¹⁸⁰ Hartwig Eichberg (b. 1944) edited the *Capriccio* for the NBA. Eichberg is a German American pianist and conductor who holds a PhD in musicology, and edited several

¹⁷⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo," in *Suiten, Sonaten, Capriccios, Variationen*, edited by Georg von Dadelsen (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1975); Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo, BWV 992*, edited by Georg von Dadelsen (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1975).

¹⁷⁷ Konrad Küster, "Dadelsen, Georg von," in *Oxford Composer Companions: J. S. Bach*, edited by Malcolm Boyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 130.

¹⁷⁸ "Hans-Martin Theopold," <https://www.henle.de/en/Hans-Martin-Theopold/>, accessed June 4th, 2025.

¹⁷⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B-Dur sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo," in *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V: Klavier- und Lautenwerke, Band 10*, edited by Hartwig Eichberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1976).

¹⁸⁰ Konrad Küster, "Neue Bach-Ausgabe," in *Oxford Composer Companions: J. S. Bach*, edited by Malcolm Boyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 313–4.

volumes of Bach's early keyboard music for the NBA. The NBA and Henle editions of the *Capriccio* are nearly identical in terms of musical text, with only four minor textual variants between them.¹⁸¹ As Dadelsen, who edited the piece for Henle, was the director of the Bach-Institut in Göttingen and the chief editor of the NBA at the time of both publications, one can assume he had access to the philological research conducted by the NBA about the *Capriccio* before its publication, as well as access to the source material used to conduct said research.

Collected works projects, in general, have much longer lives when compared to other categories of editions as they tend to remain commercially available for extended periods of time. Often times, this commercial longevity comes as a result of reprints by other companies. Their longevity, and the high number of reprints, can also be explained by the fact that these projects often take a long time to be produced, which prolongs their period of relevance. The 1839 Peters edition was reproduced exactly (although different plates appear to have been used) by two French companies shortly after its initial publication in Leipzig. These recreations were published by Launer in 1843, and Richault in 1850.¹⁸² The 1888 Steingräber edition was reprinted (using the same plates) by Kalmus in 1950.¹⁸³ The Kalmus reprint edition provides an English translation of Bischoff's original foreword, but does not specify the original source of the score. The BGA edition, unsurprisingly due to its importance, has been subject to more

¹⁸¹ For a detailed description of the differences between the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions of the *Capriccio*, see chapter 2. For the spreadsheet analysis of both editions, see appendix 1.

¹⁸² Johann Sebastian Bach, "Le Caprice et la Fugue sur Le départ d'un Ami [in table of contents]," "Capriccio Sur le départ de son très cher frère. [above score]," in *Collection Complète Pour Le Piano, Avec et Sans Accompagnement, des Œuvres de J. -S. Bach, Cahier 5*, edited by Charles [Carl] Czerny (Paris: Launer, 1843); Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio et Fugue sur le départ d'un ami en Si bémol," in *Collection complete des Compositions de J. Séb. Bach pour le piano avec ou sans accompagnement*, edited by Carl Czerny (Paris: S. Richault, 1850).

¹⁸³ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio in Bb Major On the Departure to Distant Climes of His Dearly Beloved Brother*, edited by Hans Bischoff (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1950, Reprint, Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888).

reprints than any other edition of the *Capriccio*, including study scores as well as standard editions.¹⁸⁴

What these reprints have in common with one another is that they are produced by different companies, namely Dover and Kalmus, rather than the original publisher of a given edition. This is also what differentiates the commercial lives of especially 19th-century collected works projects. Later collected works projects and editions from other categories, tend to remain in print within the company that originally published them, such as the Durand edition, which was originally published in 1900 and remained in print until at least the 1960s. This is also true of the text of the NBA, which is still in print and sold by Bärenreiter under their own name, and the Henle editions, all of which remain available for purchase at the time of this study's completion (Spring 2026).

The Peters 1965 edition forms the exception to this rule. No reprints of this edition have been located, and it is no longer being published by Edition Peters. As of spring 2026, Edition Peters does not publish any edition of the *Capriccio*.

Editions of the *Capriccio* published as part of collected works projects share a number of characteristics that define this category of editions, support the hypothesis of their secondary purpose as portable monuments. These characteristics also form the bulk of this chapter's discussion. The first characteristic is the focus collected works projects place on their source

¹⁸⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo. B-dur," in *J. S. Bach The Works for Clavier in Nine Volumes – Vol. VII: Twelve Little Preludes; Six Little Preludes; Fantasies; Fughetta; Fugues; Two Capriccios; Aria Variata; Three Minuets* (New York: Lea Pocket Scores, 1954, Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890); Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Various Works for Clavier, Volume II* (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1968, Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890); Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Miscellaneous Keyboard Works: Toccatas, Fugues and other Pieces* (New York: Dover, 1991, Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890), owned by the University of Ottawa; Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio on the Departure of His Most Beloved Brother/Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Bach Masterpieces for Solo Piano*, (New York: Dover, 1999, Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890).

material. Overall, these editions employed the highest quality of source material and scholarship available in the time and place in which the edition was created, although this means different things in different time periods. Secondly, this category of *Capriccio* edition typically has minimal interpretative suggestions. Thirdly, collected works projects are typically beautiful physical objects, with focus having been paid not just to the contents of the editions, but to the aesthetic presentation as well.

Treatment of Source Material

The treatment of source material, with emphasis being placed on using the best available resources, in terms of both sources and scholarship, is a defining characteristic of collected works projects. Typically, these projects have been created by large teams of experts, drawn from musicologists and performers, with different volumes being edited by different people according to their individual area of expertise. Examining how different collected works projects have handled their source material, will allow us to consider changing attitudes towards editing over time.

The 1839 Peters edition of the *Capriccio* is part of the first collected works project to include the piece.¹⁸⁵ The fourth volume of the series, which contains the *Capriccio*, does not provide any information about the sources used or the editorial aims of the series, however it does direct readers to the preface of the first volume. Examining this preface allows great insight into Czerny's intentions in editing the volumes of keyboard music for this project. He states that

¹⁸⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio Auf die Entfernung eines sehr theuern Bruders," in *Compositions pour le Piano-forte sans et avec accompagnement par Jean Sebastien Bach, Oeuvres complets Liv. 4,* edited by Carl Czerny (Leipzig: Bureau de Musique de C. F. Peters, 1839).

his “principal goal was to give to this work the most exact correction with all possible integrity by comparing all previous editions and several ancient manuscripts.”¹⁸⁶

While Czerny discusses comparing previously published editions and manuscript sources of the music he is editing, he does not specify his sources, even within the context of the first volume of the series. Taking this comment alongside the note in the table of contents of the volume containing the *Capriccio*, which identifies it as the piece’s first printed edition, reveals a curious balance between Czerny’s awareness and valuation of the source material available. As a result of this collected works project using one preface for numerous volumes of keyboard music, details tied to individual volumes, such as the source materials used, cannot be easily or effectively communicated. In considering the implications of using a single preface for several volumes of music, two questions must be raised: When he was writing the preface, was Czerny aware that it was going to be referenced in future volumes? Was the decision to reference the preface in multiple volumes, that is, to treat it as a universal rather than specific preface, made by Czerny or by the Peters publishing house?

Reading the preface, it appears that Czerny was unaware it was to be referenced in future volumes at the time of writing, as his comments refer specifically to the edition of the Well-Tempered Clavier in which it appeared. The question concerning who made the decision is unfortunately unanswerable at this juncture, as the Peters company archive, comprising over a million items, remains undigitized and minimally catalogued.¹⁸⁷ Regardless of who was behind this decision, the resulting implications remain the same.

¹⁸⁶ “Hat man vor Allem gestrebt, durch Vergleichung aller frühern Ausgaben so wie einiger ältern Handschriften, die möglichste. Correctheit und Vollständigkeit zu Erlangen. /le but principal a été de donner à cet ouvrage la plus exacte correction avec toute l’intégrité possible par la comparaison de toutes les Editions précédentes et de quelques anciens manuscrits.” Translation my own. Carl Czerny, preface to *Le clavecin bien tempéré, ou, Préluds et fugues dans tous les tons et demi-tons sur les modes majeurs et mineurs, liv. I*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Bureau de Musique C. F. Peters, 1837), 4.

¹⁸⁷ Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage*, 317–8.

Considering the source material used in preparing an edition important enough to mention, but not important enough to specify raises questions about the target audience for the series. Dedicating the majority of the preface to issues of fingering and interpretation seems to orient the publication towards performers and teachers, as opposed to scholars, who would likely be more interested in the details of the source material used. As we will see, this contrasts with later collected works projects, which often prioritize the needs of scholars over practicing musicians. Additionally, the decision not to provide a custom preface for the individual volumes, whether it was made by Czerny or by the publishers, indicates the belief that the edited scores can stand for themselves; that those using the score do not need additional information to navigate the *Capriccio*. This shows that Czerny as editor and Peters as publishing house were envisioning the scores of this series to be purchased and used by those with significant preexisting knowledge of Baroque music.

From his preface, it is clear that Czerny's editorial process was driven by the search for the best possible version of the musical text. Unlike most publications created under this guise, which was very common in the 19th century, Czerny does not explicitly link the idea of the best text with Bach's compositional authority. He does, however, invoke the authority of Beethoven as a guiding force behind his interpretation of the Well-Tempered Clavier. This applies particularly to his choices of interpretative signs, as he says that they were chosen by "remembering the manner, as it is imprinted in my memory, in which I heard the great Beethoven play these fugues."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁸ "nach der wohlbewahrten Erinnerung wie ich eine grosse Anzahl dieser Fugen einst von Beethoven vortragen hörte./ en me souvenant de la manière, bien imprimée dans ma mémoire, don't j'ai entendu jouer ces fugues au grand Beethoven." Translation my own. Carl Czerny, preface to *Le clavecin bien tempéré, ou, Préluds et fugues dans tous les tons et demi-tons sur les modes majeurs et mineurs, liv. 1*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Bureau de Musique C. F. Peters, 1837), 4.

Beethoven, as a symbolic and authoritative figurehead, has been extensively discussed in scholarship relating to the emergence of *werktreue*, with its insistence on the authority of the composer.¹⁸⁹ In addition to Lydia Goehr's use of the "Beethoven Paradigm" in historicizing her argument of the existence of a regulative work concept and Peter Kivy's use of Beethoven in discussing the concept of musical genius, Erica Buurman has discussed the cultural influence Beethoven had on the rise of the work concept and *werktreue* in the early 19th century.¹⁹⁰ Buurman argues that, while Beethoven did not directly contribute to the creation or implementation of these concepts, he was among the first to put forth the idea that there is a specific, correct way of playing a given piece that comes from the composer. With this in mind, Czerny's invocation of Beethoven can be seen as him getting as close to the authority of Bach as he can justifiably get.

The volume of music containing the *Capriccio* published in 1888 by Steingraber, and edited by Hans Bischoff, is the seventh and final installation of an edition of Bach's collected keyboard pieces.¹⁹¹ Bischoff includes more detail than Czerny, and comments on both philological and performance considerations. The volume opens with a page of preliminary remarks clearly aimed at the practicing musicians Bischoff anticipates using this publication. He advises performers to make their own decisions concerning textual variants, according to their own tastes and opinions, and provides a detailed ornament chart. These preliminary remarks are followed by a two-page critical report, focused on the issues of determining which pieces are

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed discussion of *werktreue*, see chapter 1.

¹⁹⁰ Lydia Goehr, "After 1800: The Beethoven Paradigm," in *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music, Revised Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 205–42; Peter Kivy, *The Possessor and the Possessed: Handel, Mozart, Beethoven and the Idea of Musical Genius* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2001); Erica Buurman, "Beethoven and the 'Work-Concept'," *The Beethoven Journal* 26 (2011): 4–9.

¹⁹¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio (B-dur) sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo," in *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, edited by Hans Bischoff (Leipzig: Steingraber Verlag, 1888).

authentic to Bach. Bischoff states that “often, especially in his youth, he was so inspired by the foreign masters that he attempted to imitate their style.”¹⁹² Authenticating pieces is an issue in any such project, as Cliff Eisen has detailed in his article discussing and comparing issues of source material in the *Alte Mozart-Ausgabe* and *Neue Mozart-Ausgabe*.¹⁹³

Like Forkel, Bischoff has chosen to suppress pieces he considers to be not good enough to represent Bach, even if evidence supporting their authenticity exists, such as two preludes and fuguetas that had been published as part of the Edition Peters series edited by Czerny. By doing so, he is prioritizing a constructed legacy over historical evidence, showing that presenting Bach in a certain, flattering light, is considered in this instance to be more important than the supposed aim of the series of editions – to publish Bach’s complete compositions for keyboard. This priority is underlined by a comment made by Bischoff on the first page of the critical report, in which he says that there are “compositions whose authenticity is not worth arguing about, because they are in no place worth preserving.”¹⁹⁴ Bischoff ends the critical report with a list of the archives he consulted in preparing the edition (it is unclear whether this is specific to this volume, or applies to the complete series), and comments that if “I later receive manuscripts that are of interest to this collection, I will, of course, make the results of their comparison publicly available.”¹⁹⁵ The dedication to the comparison of source material shown by this concluding

¹⁹² “Vielfach, namentlich in seiner Jugend, hat er sich von fremden meistern derart anregen lassen, dass er sich in einer nachbildung ihres Stils versuchte.” Translation my own. Hans Bischoff, critical report to *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888), 3.

¹⁹³ Cliff Eisen, “The Old and New Mozart Editions,” *Early Music* 19 (1991): 513–32.

¹⁹⁴ “Existieren auch Kompositionen, über deren Echtheit zu straiten der Mühe nicht lohnt, weil sie doch in keinem Falle der Aufbewahrung wert sind.” Translation my own. Hans Bischoff, critical report to *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888), 3.

¹⁹⁵ “Wenn ich später noch Manuskripte erhalte, die für diese Sammlung von bedeutung sind, werde ich selbstverständlich die Resultate ihrer Verleichung der Öffentlichkeit übergeben. Translation my own. Hans Bischoff, critical report to *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888), 4.

remark, particularly in a way that is publicly available, is consistent with Bischoff's other professional activities, as he edited the first variorum edition of Bach's Well-Tempered Clavier.¹⁹⁶ Bischoff's professional commitment to providing analysis of all available source material exists in curious contrast to his suppression of pieces he did not consider to be up to Bach's standard.

Bischoff has placed a paragraph above the first page of the *Capriccio* in which he provides notes specific to the piece from both a philological and performance perspective. He starts and ends by listing the source material he consulted: "The edition of this piece in the Edition Peters [series] is essentially based on a manuscript from Kittel's collection that I do not know. I have compared three manuscript copies, some of which are quite good, which the Berlin Library catalogue preserves under P. 319, 320, and 557."¹⁹⁷ He goes on to say, at the very end of the paragraph, that "a very old copy of the fugue preserved under P. 595 is almost unusable."¹⁹⁸ Both of these comments relate to the transmission history of the *Capriccio*, and may therefore have been aimed at a scholarly audience. However, he gives no details of the sources beyond value judgements. While he describes the manuscripts he consulted as "quite good," he does not

¹⁹⁶ Christopher Fifield, "Bischoff, Hans," *Grove Music Online*, accessed June 10, 2025, *Oxford Music Online*.

Unfortunately, Hans Bischoff's career has not been the subject of scholarly research, beyond his entry in the *Grove*, and efforts to locate a copy of the variorum edition have been unsuccessful thus far.

¹⁹⁷ "Die Redaktion dieses Stückes in Ed. Peters beruht im wesentlichen auf einer mir unbekannten Hdschr. aus der Kittel'schen Sammlung. Ich habe drei z. T. recht gute Abschriften verglichen, welche die Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin unter P. 319, 320, 557 aufbewahrt." Translation my own. Hans Bischoff, introductory comments to "Capriccio (B-dur) sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Steingräber Verlag, 1888), 24. The manuscript in Kittel's collection that Bischoff identified as the primary source material for the Edition Peters publication of the *Capriccio* was destroyed in 1945, and is referred to in the NBA critical report as Source [M]. The three manuscripts Bischoff consulted are all housed in the music department of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz as D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 319, 320, 557. Their NBA sigla are Source K, Source H, and Source J. For detailed descriptions of these manuscripts, see chapter 2.

¹⁹⁸ "Eine in P. 595 enthaltene sehr alte Abschrift der Fuge ist nahezu unbrauchbar." Translation my own. Hans Bischoff, *Joh. Seb. Bach Klavierwerke Band VII Komplete Ausgabe, Heft 1, Bach*, 24. This manuscript is housed in the music department of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz as D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 595, and is referred to as Source F. For a detailed description of this manuscript, see chapter 2.

qualify this remark with any details of the sources or the variants between them. Nor does he explain why he considers what he calls P. 595 (known in the NBA stemma as Source F) to be unusable. So, while Bischoff presumably examined these manuscript sources in detail, he did not consider it important to convey what he observed with any precision.

The rest of this introductory paragraph, found above the first page of the *Capriccio*, is spent discussing the ornamentation. Bischoff says that, with the high number of variants present between the manuscript sources, it is impossible to tell what came from Bach, and, as a result, he made decisions concerning which ornaments to include according to his own taste. This sort of practical concern of performance practice may have been aimed at those who would be using this score in applied contexts.

This pattern of including commentary concerning both the source material used and practical concerns of performance practice situate this edition as a midway point between the purely performer-oriented scores found in the Peters series of Bach's collected instrumental compositions, and the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe edition that followed shortly thereafter.

The Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe edition of the *Capriccio*, published in 1890 by Breitkopf & Härtel and edited by Ernst Naumann, displays the greatest degree of attention to detail of the collected works projects examined thus far. Each volume of the BGA opens with an extensive critical report, listing the source material used and providing any other necessary information on the pieces. The critical report for the *Capriccio* lists ten sources. These include all of the manuscripts mentioned by Bischoff in the 1888 Steingräber edition (D-B. Mus. ms. Bach P 319 or Source K, 320 or Source H, 557 or Source J, and 559 or Source F, and the now-lost Kittel manuscript or Source [M]), several other manuscripts (D-LEm Becker III. 8. 19, housed, now and then, in the Leipziger Stadtbibliothek, Source B; the now-lost Grell manuscript of the third

movement or Source [O]; and the now-lost Rietz manuscript of the final fugue or Source [N]), and printed editions.¹⁹⁹ The printed editions listed are the Peters editions (both the 1839 edition edited by Czerny, discussed above, and the 1851 edition edited by Griesenkerl, which will be discussed in chapter 6), and the 1888 Steingräber edition edited by Hans Bischoff. Also listed is an edition published by Reinecke; efforts to locate this edition have failed.

The critical report also comments on the complexity of the *Capriccio*'s source landscape: "In fact, there are few pieces in which we have found so many falsehoods and so much doubt in the surviving sources as this Capriccio."²⁰⁰ This comment is followed by two-and-a-half pages of detailed descriptions of textual variants. Identified according to page (within the BGA volume), system, and measure number, variants are listed alongside their sources. Where necessary, descriptions of variants are accompanied by musical illustrations, as shown in figure 4.1. Only instances where sources disagree on issues of notes and rhythms are included in the critical report, not variants relating to ornamentation. The level of detail provided on the sources used, and the focus on textual variants seem to position the BGA as being intended for a scholarly audience.

¹⁹⁹ For details of these manuscript sources, see chapter 2.

²⁰⁰ "Überhaupt haben wir bei wenigen Stücken so viel Falsches und Zweifelhaftes in den überlieferten Abschriften gefunden, wie in diesem Capriccio." Translation my own. Ernst Naumann, critical report to "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo, B-dur," in *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe Band XXXVI, Clavierwerke Band IV*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890), lxxxi.

LXXXII

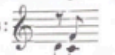
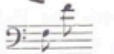
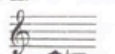
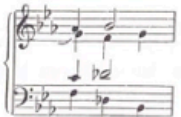
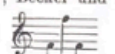
Seite	System	Takt	
190	1	2	r. H. letztes Viertel der Oberstimme könnte melodisch besser:  lauten, doch haben alle Vorlagen als letzte Note <i>f</i> ^o .
—	2	2	r. H. zweites Viertel ältere A. Peters: 
—	3	2	l. H. zweites Viertel ältere A. Peters: 
—	—	—	r. H. letzte Note der Oberstimme Becker: <i>es</i> ^o statt <i>f</i> ^o .
191	2	3	r. H. viertes Achtel der Mittelstimme: <i>es</i> ^o statt <i>e</i> ^o
—	3	4	r. H. drittes Achtel der Mittelstimme: <i>as</i> statt <i>a</i>
—	4	1	r. H. viertes Achtel der Mittelstimme: <i>des</i> ^o statt <i>d</i> ^o
—	5	4	r. H. fünftes Achtel der Mittelstimme: <i>e</i> ^o statt <i>es</i> ^o
—	6	2	l. H. vorletztes Achtel B. B. P. 320: <i>As</i> statt <i>A</i> .
—	6	3	r. H. erstes Viertel der Mittelstimme Becker: 
192	1 u. ff.		In der älteren A. Peters ist dieser Abschnitt « <i>Adagio</i> », in der neueren « <i>Adagio assai</i> » bezeichnet. Die alten Abschriften geben nur den theilweise bezifferten Bass und die Oberstimme; in den gedruckten Ausgaben ist in kleineren Noten eine hier und da verschiedene Harmonicausfüllung beigelegt.
—	1	3	Die überlieferte, in A. Peters und Bischoff bezweifelte Bezifferung des Basses: 9 6 6 dürfte doch richtig sein: 
—	3	6	r. H. zweites Achtel ältere A. Peters: <i>d</i> ^o statt <i>b</i> ^o .
—	4	2	l. H. fünftes Achtel ältere A. Peters: <i>d</i> ^o statt <i>des</i> ^o .
—	—	3	l. H. erstes Achtel Grell: <i>e</i> statt <i>es</i> .
—	—	—	l. H. letztes Achtel B. B. P. 320, 319, 557 und Becker: <i>d</i> statt <i>es</i> .
—	—	4	l. H. erstes Achtel Grell und ältere A. Peters: <i>d</i> statt <i>des</i> .
193	1	1	r. H. bei Grell: <i>g</i> ^o <i>ges</i> ^o statt zweimal <i>ges</i> ^o .
—	3	2	r. H. letztes Achtel fehlt das allerdings auffällige <i>a</i> ^o in der älteren A. Peters.
—	4	1	Die Tempo-Angaben sind verschieden; Becker und neue A. Peters haben « <i>Poco Allegro</i> ».
—	—	4	r. H. zweites Viertel ältere A. Peters: 
—	5	4	r. H. letztes Viertel der Mittelstimme A. Reinecke: <i>fis</i> ^o statt <i>f</i> ^o .
194	1 u. ff.		Die Stimmenvertheilung in dieser vierstimmigen Fuge bleibt an einigen Stellen unklar; die Oberstimme setzt mit dem 16 ^{ten} Takt ein. Die Überschrift ist in B. B. P. 320, 557 und Becker nur « <i>Fuga all' imitazione di Posta</i> ».
—	2	2	r. H. B. B. P. 595 und Rietz abweichend:  , jedenfalls ein Schreibfehler.
—	—	3	l. H. A. Bischoff: <i>es</i> statt <i>e</i> ; letzteres haben jedoch alle Handschriften.
—	—	4	r. H. vorletztes Achtel B. B. P. 320, 557, Becker und A. Peters: <i>es</i> ^o statt <i>e</i> ^o .
—	3	3	r. H. Oberstimme in den meisten Vorlagen:  ; nur B. B. P. 595 und Rietz haben unsere durch den folgenden Takt gerechtfertigte Lesart.
—	—	—	r. H. Mittelstimme zweite Takthälfte B. B. P. 595 und Rietz abweichend: 

Figure 4.1: Example of critical commentary of the Bach-Gesellschaft edition. Published by Breitkopf & Härtel, edited by Ernst Naumann, 1890.

The Peters 1965 edition reveals a relationship to its source material that is in many ways like that of the Steingräber 1888 edition. The volume's introduction is largely concerned with the issue of authenticating pieces. Keller provides a list of 38 pieces he has chosen not to include in this volume (for example, BWV 955–60), because they are “compositions that have either been proven to be spurious, or, having survived only in a single, unsigned manuscript, have been found to have weak attribution.”²⁰¹ However, unlike Bischoff in the Steingräber 1888 edition who left out pieces he considered to be of poor quality even if they had strong attributions, Keller chooses to include several pieces (BWV 919, 922, 945, 947) for which the composer is unclear. As he puts it, “the authenticity of some of the pieces included here... is also not definitively established, but they have been included because of their musical value and their dissemination.”²⁰² Keller provides no explanation of what he's referring to when referencing the dissemination of these pieces, but it is clear that his priorities represent a reversal from those shown in the Steingräber 1888. Instead of leaving pieces out that are likely to be authentic Bach compositions because of their perceived lack of quality, Keller chose to include four pieces that may not be authentic Bach compositions because of the high level of their perceived quality.

The Peters 1965 edition also contains an appendix in which Keller provides specific details about each piece. He gives the history of the *Capriccio*, linking the piece's composition to Johann Jacob Bach's enlistment in the Swedish army in or around 1704, and saying Johann

²⁰¹ “Kompositionen, die entweder inzwischen als unecht nachgewiesen worden sind, oder, da nur in einer einzigen, nicht signierten Handschrift überliefert, sich als schwach beglaubigt erwiesen haben.” Translation my own. Hermann Keller, introduction to *Klavierwerke – Supplement Capriccio B dur und E dur, Aria Variata, Fantasien, Fugen, Vorstudien zum Wohltemperierten Klavier u.a.*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Herman Keller (Leipzig: VEB C. F. Peters, 1965), 3.

²⁰² “Auch bei einigen hier aufgenommenen Stücken (Nr. 4–7) ist die Echtheit nicht sicher verbürgt, doch haben sie ihres musikalischen Werts und ihrer Verbreitung wegen Aufnahme gefunden.” Translation my own. Hermann Keller, introduction to *Klavierwerke – Supplement Capriccio B dur und E dur, Aria Variata, Fantasien, Fugen, Vorstudien zum Wohltemperierten Klavier u.a.*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Herman Keller (Leipzig: VEB C. F. Peters, 1965), 3.

Kuhnau's *Biblical Sonatas* served as the model for the *Capriccio*.²⁰³ Keller goes on to say that the "autograph is lost, and the [manuscript] copies differ from one another, particularly in the number and type of ornamentation."²⁰⁴ Despite commenting on the relationship between the sources, Keller does not specifically name any manuscripts. This is not just the case for the *Capriccio*, but for all but four of the pieces included in this volume. These four pieces, BWV 919, 922, 945, and 947, are the same compositions mentioned in the introduction as having been included despite their unclear authenticity. Keller's reasoning for mentioning manuscripts without explicitly naming them is unclear. Perhaps, as speculated about Czerny's similar decisions, he saw this publication as being primarily for performers who might not want or need the specifics of the source material used. Other editions published outside of a collected works projects in the second half of the 20th century display a similar tendency, as will be discussed in chapter 8. Perhaps like those editors, Keller was trying to invoke the authority that mentioning manuscript sources lends to an edition. While we speculate, it is important to remember that Keller was working in East Germany in the aftermath of World War II, likely limiting his access to source material, and impacting his editorial process in any number of ways.

Henle has published the *Capriccio* in two formats since they initially published the piece in 1975: as part of a collected volume, and as a standalone publication. These publications are otherwise identical, both using the version of the piece edited by Georg von Dadelsen. The collected volume, which places the *Capriccio* alongside Bach's other miscellaneous suites, sonatas, a variation set and the BWV 993 *Capriccio*, contains a general preface, which does not

²⁰³ For further information on Johann Kuhnau's *Bible Sonatas*, see chapter 1, and for detailed discussion of the history of the *Capriccio*'s connection to these pieces, see chapter 6.

²⁰⁴ "Das Autograph ist verschollen, die Abschriften weichen besonders in der Zahl und Art der Verzierungen, von denen hier eine Auswahl getroffen wurde, voneinander ab." Translation my own. Hermann Keller, introduction to *Klavierwerke – Supplement Capriccio B dur und E dur, Aria Variata, Fantasien, Fugen, Vorstudien zum Wohltemperierten Klavier u.a.*, by Johann Sebastian Bach, edited by Herman Keller (Leipzig: VEB C. F. Peters, 1965), 79.

specifically mention the BWV 992 *Capriccio*. Like Bischoff's critical report to the 1888 Steingräber edition, this preface mentions the difficulty of authenticating Bach's early compositions, stating that the "earlier the pieces were composed, the more difficult it is to recognize Bach's artistic character."²⁰⁵ The standalone volume does not contain a preface or any other introductory material. The volumes share a critical report, which is placed at the end of each volume. This report lists the surviving manuscripts of the piece, comments that no autograph has survived, and identifies the Möller manuscript (D-B. Mus. ms. 40644 or Source A in the NBA stemma) as the primary source of the publication.²⁰⁶ As these editions replicate the Möller manuscript nearly exactly, no details of variants between the source material were included.

The critical report also provides some general comments for performers, and includes an ornament chart. In contrast to the performance practice guidance provided in collected works projects from the 19th century, Dadelsen's comments lean heavily on his ideas of what musicians in the Baroque era would have done with the *Capriccio*. For example, concerning adding ties for sustained notes and chords, he comments that "the player was well aware that as long as the sound of the string still carried, he had to tie unchanging notes where the voices were merely filling the harmony – and today's player will also adopt the same procedure."²⁰⁷ He goes on to discuss ornamentation, saying that "enlivening the movement with trills, turns, mordents, slides and acciaccaturas over and above the ornaments given was all part and parcel of the musical performance."²⁰⁸ These comments show a much higher level of specificity and awareness

²⁰⁵ Georg von Dadelsen, preface to *Suiten, Sonaten, Capriccios, Variationen*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1975), iv.

²⁰⁶ For details of this manuscript source, see chapter 2.

²⁰⁷ Georg von Dadelsen, comments to *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratro diletissimo, BWV 992*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1975), 10.

²⁰⁸ Dadelsen, comments to *Capriccio, BWV 992*, by Bach, 10-11.

concerning historical performance practice than shown by equivalent comments made by earlier editors.

Like the BGA edition it sought to replace, the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) edition raises the level of critical commentary to a level previously unseen in collected works projects devoted to Bach.²⁰⁹ Each volume of music in the NBA was published alongside a separate volume of critical commentary, thereby separating the scholarly from the practical.²¹⁰ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase wrote the volume of the critical report which contains the *Capriccio*. Representing an unprecedented level of detail, it provides full descriptions of manuscript sources; their physical characteristics, down to the level of adhesive residue from long-removed bookplates, provenance, and pagination. These descriptions are followed by a stemma proposing a philological history of the *Capriccio*, and ten pages of commentary on variants and previous published editions. Despite the extensive philological work undertaken in preparing the NBA, the published edition of the *Capriccio* faithfully reproduces the musical text and ornamentation of the Möller manuscript, which aligns with the ethos of *urtext* editions.

The priority editors of collected works projects place on their source material reveals how these editions were intended to serve as monuments to Bach's legacy. In turn, examining how different collected works projects have interacted with and presented their source material also reveal two valuable patterns in how monumental editions such as these have changed over time. The first is the increasing attention and fidelity editors pay to their source material. While all the editors discussed include some degree of information about their sources, the type and amount of

²⁰⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B-Dur sopra la lontananza del fratello diletissimo," in *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V: Klavier- und Lautenwerke, Band 10*, edited by Hartwig Eichberg (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1976).

²¹⁰ Hartwig Eichberg and Thomas Kolhase, *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Serie V-Band X, Einzelne Überlieferte Klavierwerke II und Kompositionen für Lauteninstrumente* (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982).

information given increases dramatically over time, with the exception of Keller in the Peters 1965 edition. Czerny, as editor of the earliest collected works project, only feels the need to assure us that he has compared all previous sources of the music in question, without providing any information on what these sources might be. Bischoff, editing fifty years later, identifies his source material but provides no details of what the manuscripts he consulted contain. Naumann, editing for the BGA, not only lists his sources but the textual variants between them as well. Eichberg takes this level of detail several steps further, presenting a stemma of the *Capriccio*'s transmission in manuscript form in addition to physical and provenantial descriptions of the manuscripts. Keller, editing the Peters 1965 edition, breaks this pattern. Much like Czerny, he mentions manuscript sources without specifically identifying them, although this may be more a reflection of the political environment he was working in than his personal editorial standards. The Henle edition, edited by von Dadelsen and published a year before the NBA, appears to have piggybacked off the detailed research conducted in preparation of the NBA.

Secondly, the differing presentations of source material and contents of extra-musical descriptions also reveal the audience the editors anticipated for their editions. Over the 19th century, editors the *Capriccio* in collected works projects appear to move slowly from performer-oriented to scholar-oriented publications, as reflects the acceptance of musicology as a discipline in its own right in the second half of the 19th century.²¹¹ Czerny's prevailing focus on performance concerns such as fingering, ornamentation, and interpretation show an interest in aiding performers. Bischoff balances performance and scholarly concerns by commenting on both source material and interpretation (namely ornamentation), while Naumann's focus in editing the BGA edition is entirely on philological matters. Jumping over Keller, whose editions

²¹¹ Vincent Duckles and Jann Pasler, "Musicology, I. The nature of musicology, 2. Origins: musicology as a science," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 22, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*.

appears to be oriented towards performers, this turn towards detailed, scholarly reports is continued by the NBA edition edited by Eichberg, with the Henle edition representing concerns of the 20th century, historically informed performance-aware interpreter of Bach.

Limited Interpretative Suggestions²¹²

While collected works projects generally offer fewer interpretative suggestions when compared to other editions published in the same time period, the changes in intended audience and general attitudes towards Baroque performance practice over time are also reflected in the quantity of interpretive suggestions included. For the sake of this study, interpretative suggestions are defined as additions to scores which are intended to aid and guide musicians in performing the music, but do not impact the pitches, rhythms, or ornaments. Interpretative suggestions may be subdivided into several categories: dynamic markings (instructions such as piano, mezzo forte, crescendo and diminuendo, whether written out or presented in symbols), articulation (staccatos, slurs, accents, and other such markings typically absent from original source material of Baroque music), character markings (for example, dolce, espressivo, and smorzando), phrase markings, and temporal markings (metronome markings, ritardando, and ritenuto).²¹³

The 1839 Peters' edition of the *Capriccio* has the most interpretative suggestions of any collected work project; however, it contains significantly fewer than editions of the piece published by Peters later in the 19th century, which are discussed in chapter 6. On average, this edition has one interpretative suggestion per bar of music, with a significant number of these

²¹² For detailed information on the interpretative suggestions included in all published editions of the *Capriccio*, see Appendix 3.

²¹³ Tempo markings, such as allegro, have been excluded from discussions of interpretative suggestions in this study. This is because the practice of assigning tempo markings, in the case of the *Capriccio*, is closely linked to transmission traditions of the piece's program, which, in combination with issues of mise-en-page, will be addressed in a future study.

suggestions being dynamic and character markings. Additionally, the edition has nearly continuous phrase markings, and provides suggested metronomic tempos for each movement. The high number of interpretative suggestions in this edition is unsurprising considering the prioritization of performance related information in Czerny's preface.

The 1888 Steingräber edition averages around one interpretative suggestion per line of musical text. Despite having noticeably fewer such markings when compared to the 1839 Peters' edition, Bischoff has provided an extremely varied array of interpretative markings. In addition to dynamic and character markings, he provides suggested articulation for the fugue subject in movement VI. Like Czerny, Bischoff provides metronomic tempo markings, but only gives phrase markings in the fifth movement. Unique among collected works projects, Bischoff's edition frequently aids the performer in distributing the musical text between hands through the use of brackets demarcating places where redistributing notes is beneficial or necessary. Like in the case of introductory and critical materials, Bischoff's editing represents a middle point between Czerny's performer-orient edition in 1839 and the scholar-orient result of the Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe in 1890.

The 1890 Bach-Gesellschaft edition has no interpretative suggestions of any kind. The Peters 1965, Henle 1975, and *Neue Bach Ausgabe* 1976 editions' sole interpretative suggestions are several small, two-note slurs. In the Peters 1965 edition, these slurs are found throughout the *Capriccio*'s third and fifth movements, and in the first eight measures of the sixth movement.²¹⁴ The Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions use two-note slurs even more sparingly, limiting them to the *Capriccio*'s third movement. These slurs, which highlight the lament character of the movement can also be found in the Möller manuscript, upon which these two editions are

²¹⁴ This exact arrangement of slurs is also seen in the Schott 1952, Schirmer 1973, and Plangere 2011 editions.

based.²¹⁵ The profound lack of interpretative suggestions in the BGA, Henle, and NBA collected works projects may be explained by their significant grounding in historical source material, as seen by the critical commentary that accompanies them. As it is unknown which manuscript sources were used in creating the Peters 1965 edition, it is difficult to comment on the basis of Keller's choices.

Overall, interpretative suggestions in collected works projects decline over time, which may be explained by the move away from performance oriented collected works projects that occurred over the course of the 19th century and continued into the 20th century. In the case of the Henle edition, which, strictly speaking, is not officially part of a collected works project and was clearly intended for practical use, the lack of interpretative suggestions may be explained by Bach's position among classical musicians. By 1975, Bach's music was standard, canonic repertoire for pianists, so the potential users of the score needed significantly less guidance than they did when Czerny was editing the *Capriccio's* first published edition in the late 1830s. This phenomenon may also be explained by the idea of authenticity that emerged as part of the historically informed performance (HIP) movement in the mid 20th century.²¹⁶ This gave rise to an attitude Dorottya Fabian describes as the prevailing assumption "that an *Urtext* score reflected the composer's 'definitive version' of the piece."²¹⁷ She goes on to comment that "it was implied that the notation of a definitive version expressed everything the composer wanted in a

²¹⁵ D-B Mus. ms. 40644.

²¹⁶ Laurence Dreyfus, "Early Music Defended Against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 297–322; Nicholas Kenyon, edit., *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995); Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²¹⁷ Dorottya Fabian, "The Meaning of Authenticity and The Early Music Movement: A Historical Review," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 32 (2001): 158.

performance.”²¹⁸ The changing number of interpretative suggestions seen in collected works projects reflect both the changing needs of performers, and changing attitudes towards how to best create, preserve, and promote a composer’s legacy.

Physical Presentation

The ways in which the driving force of a score’s creation – whether that be a certain editorial philosophy, a target audience, or publication agenda – can impact its physical characteristics has been largely ignored in the existing research on musical editions. However, examining elements of physical presentation can enlighten a publication’s unspoken purpose, and allow for discussion of the ways in which scores are used and handled in a practical sense. The collected works projects editions of the *Capriccio* can be shown to display physical characteristics of their intended role as musical monuments and portray how their editors envisioned them being used.

Monuments, in the traditional sense, are typically eye-catching, and command significant visual weight within the space they occupy. It follows, then, that collected works projects, with their unspoken aim to create a monument to a composer’s legacy would display analogous physical qualities. This may largely be related to the physical dimensions and materials of the editions, and the use of Bach-related symbolism.

The Peters edition of the *Capriccio* published in 1839 is of a standard size, measuring 24 x 30 x 4 cm, but uses noticeably smaller plates than other scores published by Peters in the first half of the 19th century. As a result, the mise-en-page has an open feeling, with significant white space around the systems of music. This lends a feeling of distance to the physical presentation of the music. Practically speaking, the large margins provide additional space for musicians to

²¹⁸ Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity,” 158.

write notes. Additionally, the publication used heavy weight paper of a higher quality than many publications from the 1830s, underlining the perceived importance of the project. The volume in which the *Capriccio* was published contains eighteen pieces; the highest number of any Peters publication containing the piece.²¹⁹

The Steingraber edition of the *Capriccio*, published in 1888, is in a somewhat oversized volume, measuring 26.75 x 33 x 0.5 cm. This edition is noticeably larger (the standard is 22-24 x 30 cm, with the thickness of the volume varying based on paperweight and the number of pieces in the volume) than most, once again allowing for increased room for notetaking.

The Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe (BGA) edition of the *Capriccio*, which was published in 1890, is contained in a paving-stone sized volume, measuring 26 x 35 x 4 cm. This is the largest physical volume containing the piece by a significant margin. The volume contains sixty-three pieces and extensive critical commentary, which along with the heavy weight paper used to print the edition, explains its size. The paper weight is especially noteworthy when compared to the thin, brittle, and slightly glossy paper many sheet music publications were printed on in the late 19th century.

The Peters 1965 edition is of a standard size, measuring 24 x 30 x 0.5 cm.

The *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (NBA) edition from 1976 is also in an oversized volume, albeit one slightly shorter and much thinner than the BGA edition (26 x 32 x 1.5 cm). The volume contains solely the scores, as critical commentary was published in separate volumes. The NBA

²¹⁹ The later Peters publications including the *Capriccio*, which are discussed in chapter 6, contain eleven pieces (1851), and four pieces (1869). The company also published the piece in a standalone volume in the mid-20th century. This reduction in volume contents appears to reflect the companies shift towards publishing music for popular, amateur audiences that occurred as the 19th century progressed. See Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage: C. F. Peters from 1800 to the Holocaust* (Kenton, England: Edition Press, 2000); Annika Fabbi, “The Many Pens of Edition Peters: A Story in Three and a Half Bach Editions,” (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society-New York State, St. Lawrence chapter, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, May 9–10 2025).

volume containing the *Capriccio* contains sixteen pieces total. Unlike the BGA, which published all of Bach's miscellaneous keyboard and lute music in a single volume, the NBA split this segment of Bach's compositional output according to genre.

The choice to publish the BGA and NBA editions in oversized volumes has a variety of implications, both abstract and practical. The design, and consequently the visual impact, of a volume of collected works project such as the BGA or the NBA relates not only to how a single volume appears in one's hands, but to how the entire collection will appear when placed together. As a result, the collection appearing impressive on the shelf and occupying significant visual weight were likely the goal when designing each of these collections appearance. Choosing oversized dimensions plays a significant role in this goal. Practically, the oversized format of the BGA and NBA publications mean that they need larger shelves than standard sized volumes of sheet music, which may lead to them needing to be stored apart from the rest of a library or research institute's music collection. The Riemenschneider Bach Institute, at Baldwin Wallace University in Berea, Ohio, stores their copies of the BGA and NBA editions, on a separate set of shelving, physically distanced from their broader sheet music collection. At the University of Ottawa's Morisset Library, the BGA and NBA editions are stored on an entirely separate floor to the rest of the music resources due to their oversized format. The physically oversized nature of these editions, which appears to be characteristic of collected works projects, not only lends them an increased sense of gravitas in keeping with their status as monuments, but also leads to their literal separation from other forms of editions. This further underlines their intended status, and immediately differentiates them from other editions.

Symbolism relating to the composer being memorialized is another visual marker the publishers of collected works projects have used to signal the intended purpose of the editions as

monuments to a certain composer. In the case of the *Capriccio*, Bach-related symbolism has been used in two collected works projects, which bookend this category of the piece's publication history. The title page of the Peters edition, published in 1839, is dominated by a woodcut of Bach (figure 4.2), and the NBA made use of the Bach crest, in gold foiling, on the cover of every volume. Using this imagery requires both extra effort and increased production costs for the publisher, indicating the importance their use held, and, in turn, the importance the editions they were added to were thought to hold.

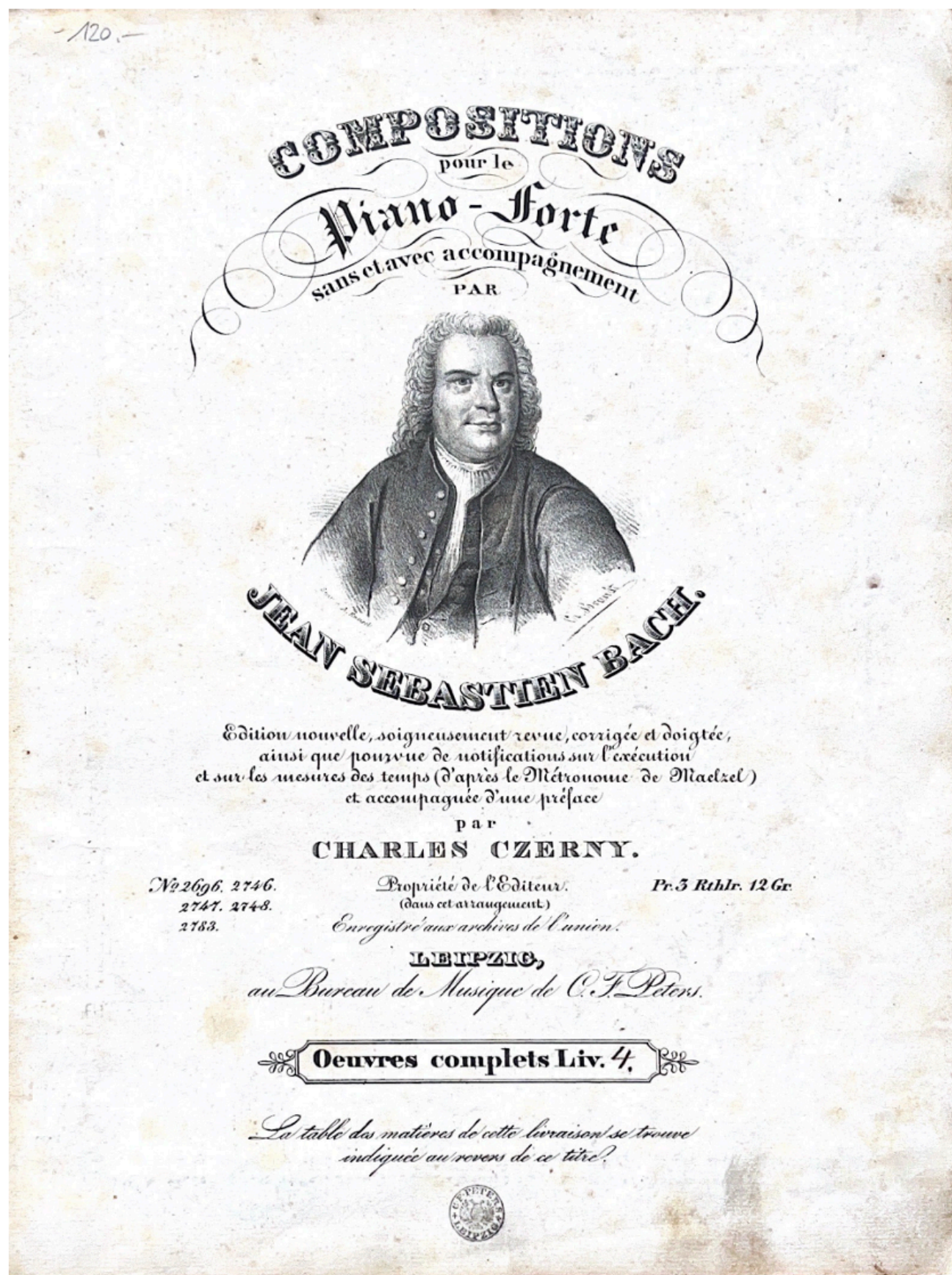


Figure 4.2: Title page of 1839 edition, published by Peters, edited by Carl Czerny.

The physical presentation of a collected works project may also be seen as evidence of the intended audience of the publication. This relates to the BGA and NBA editions of the *Capriccio*, and holds implications for their reprints and related editions. When considering what different user groups require from their editions, issues such as differing editorial philosophies and quantity of interpretative suggestions come to mind. However, the different needs of different users will also impact their needs and preferences relating to the physical characteristics of editions.

With this in mind, the BGA volume containing the *Capriccio* being so noticeably oversized takes on a secondary significance beyond its impressive visual weight as a form of Bach monument. This secondary significance is that the volume is not a practical choice for practicing musicians as it is too large to be easily carried around, barely fits on the music desk of a piano or organ, and would overwhelm the type of music stand used by other instrumentalists and vocalists. This practical reality supports what was suggested by the edition's emphasis on critical commentary: that the BGA was intended for use by scholars and researchers, not practicing musicians. Furthermore, the scholar-oriented nature of the BGA edition is supported by the fact that it is the only edition of the *Capriccio* to be reprinted as a study score; first by Lea Pocket Scores in 1954, and second by Kalmus in 1968.²²⁰

The choice made by the editors and publishers to separate the music and critical commentary into separate volumes can be seen as them separating their two audiences, scholarly

²²⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo. B-dur," in *J. S. Bach The Works for Clavier in Nine Volumes – Vol. VII: Twelve Little Preludes; Six Little Preludes; Fantasies; Fughetta; Fugues; Two Capriccios; Aria Variata; Three Minuets* (New York: Lea Pocket Scores, 1954, Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890); Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Various Works for Clavier, Volume II* (New York: Edwin F. Kalmus, 1968. Reprint, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1890). The only other study edition of the *Capriccio* was published by Drei Masken in 1920, and was intended as a discussion of programmatic keyboard music in the Baroque era. This edition is discussed in detail in chapter 6.

and performance, not just theoretically but literally. Returning to the idea of the design of collected works projects intentionally being created to prioritize their visual impact when the volumes are stored all together, the contrast in physical presentations of the music and commentary volumes is striking. The music volumes are 32cm tall, bound in dark green canvas with leather spines. The commentary volumes, by comparison, are tiny, measuring just 17 cm tall, and are bound in various undulating shades of pale brown and tan. As a result of these contrasts, the two halves of the NBA seem to have been designed to be stored separately. If one intersperses them, placing each volume of critical commentary next to the scores it is connected to, the aesthetic effect of the publication is disrupted.

Beyond the aesthetic and visual effect of the splitting of music and critical commentary, the divide has practical consequences for those using the score. For scholars, likely accessing the NBA editions through their institution's library, the separation, in combination with the significant size discrepancy, means that a score and its related commentary can be more easily examined alongside one another. A music volume of the NBA is theoretically small enough for a practicing musician to carry around with them; however, the prohibitive cost of these volumes, with each costing hundreds of euros, means that this must be a rare occurrence.

The vast majority of practicing musicians accessed, and continue to access, the scholarship of the NBA through Bärenreiter reprints, which are textually identical but lack the visual flair and monumentalizing trappings of the NBA proper. The discussion of commercial sale of the NBA edition of the *Capriccio* must also include the 1975 Henle edition, which is also nearly identical to the Möller manuscript, and appears to have benefitted from NBA scholarship.²²¹ The separation of performance and scholarship inherent to the NBA is thrown

²²¹ See chapter 2 for in-depth discussion of the relationship between the NBA and Henle editions.

into even sharper focus upon considering these commercially accessible publications, as they either completely remove or significantly reduce the critical commentary. When the NBA is published by Bärenreiter with their own branding, no critical commentary is included. The Henle edition constitutes a significant reduction when compared with what is available in the NBA, and relegates what little commentary it provides to the back of the volume, perhaps calling to mind the old adage “out of sight, out of mind.”

What does this say about what the average practicing musician is assumed to need from their scores? The implication of these two avenues for musicians to access the NBA in a financially accessible manner, seems to be that performers only need the musical text. Speculating as to the reasons why starts much the same way as the reasoning behind the lack of interpretative suggestions in the editions of the *Capriccio* published in the 1970s: by this point in time, Bach is standard repertoire for pianists, so they do not need much guidance to tackle his music. But removing or significantly curtailing critical commentary also assumes that the potential performer does not wish to be engaged with the source material or any form of philological issues pertaining to their repertoire. Additionally, these two editions were both originally published at the height of the Historically Informed performance (HIP) movement.²²² The focus this movement placed on historical authenticity and purity, created significant suspicion of music editing, with any editorial intervention or input being seen as inherently spurious.²²³ Financial factors may very well have also factored into the decision to limit the inclusion of critical materials. Fewer pages needing to be printed means lower costs for the publishing house, and, in turn, lower costs for the consumer.

²²² For a detailed discussion of the Historically Informed Performance (HIP) movement and its impacts on music editing, see chapter 8.

²²³ Walter Emery, *Editions and Musicians: A Survey of the Duties of Practical Musicians & Editors Towards the Classics* (London: Novello, 1958), 9.

Conclusion

Various characteristics of collected works projects point to their secondary purpose as musical monuments. These are the emphasis placed on source material, the limitation of interpretative suggestions when compared to other editions published in the same time period, and a tendency towards grandiose physical presentation.

Examining the changing relationship these editors had with their source material, the degree to which they communicate their editorial process to the users of their scores, and the choices made concerning the physical presentation of the publications also shows an evolution away from performer-oriented publications and towards editions meant to serve a scholarly audience. This can be explained by several factors. As the 19th and 20th centuries progressed, knowledge about manuscript sources of Bach's music increased, and editorial processes evolved significantly to keep pace with the developments to the field of musicology. Additionally, the number of publications of Bach's music, including the *Capriccio*, increased exponentially. When Czerny was editing the piece's first printed edition in the lead up to its publication in 1839, he was aware that it was the first time the *Capriccio* was being made available to a general audience. By the time the BGA edition was published in 1890, seven unique editions of the piece were in circulation, not to mention the various reprints available. As a result, the editors of the BGA did not feel the need to present their research in a manner tailored to practicing musicians, but they did see a need for an edition made after critical examination of all available source material. Performing musicians were well looked after by the existing editions, but scholars were in need. This turn away from practical, usable editions can be seen not only in the emphasis placed on critical commentary, but in the physical bulk of the edition. The BGA is not an edition

to be carried around, propped on a music desk, or scribbled on in rehearsal; it is an edition to be studied in the controlled environment of a library or a scholar's office.

The twin editions of Henle and the NBA find a place of balance between the opposing poles (performance and scholarship) chosen by the editors. At this point in time, both performers and scholars needed something from this new collected works project, and the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* did its best to cater to the needs of both camps. Both the source landscape and editorial standards had grown and changed significantly since the BGA. Scholars needed an edition that reflected the newly discovered source material and a shift in attitude towards the existing source material. Performers increasingly relied on *urtext* scores, and needed such a reputable edition for Bach. The changing target audiences of collected works projects over the 19th and 20th centuries adds a layer of nuance to existing discussions of these publications as examples of musical monuments.

Chapter 5:

Pedagogical Editions of the *Capriccio*: Teaching in Writing

The new Édition d'Œuvres classiques that I have the honour of presenting to my colleagues and to the artistic public has, as its title indicates, a pedagogical goal and it will be, in its entirety, a sort of summary of the principles I have constantly applied during my long career in teaching piano.
 Auguste Dupont ²²⁴

One very important aspect of a teacher's role is to explain complicated concepts to students in ways they can understand. By relating unfamiliar aspects of music to a student's preexisting knowledge, teachers are able to effectively convey concepts relating to such topics as music theory and performance practice that their students need to successfully navigate repertoire. Through these explanations, many aspects of performance practice are passed down, in a chain of students and teachers, almost entirely orally. The ability to pass down this information is developed with experience and is shaped by the time and place in which a teacher is active, in addition to the teachers they had and the students they work with.

Pedagogy, and specifically the need to explain unfamiliar or idiomatic information about music, has touched several published editions of the *Capriccio*. These editions have either been created explicitly for use in pedagogical contexts, such as conservatories, or have been edited by career pedagogues, those whose primary professional experience with music came from teaching. Together, they form a single category shaped by the pedagogical experience, and bound by a shared characteristic relating to the transmission of performance practice related information. This shared characteristic is the editorial impulse to explain elements of the musical

²²⁴ “La nouvelle Édition d'Œuvres classiques que j'ai l'honneur de soumettre à mes confrères et au public artistique a, comme son titre l'indique, un but pédagogique et elle sera, dans son ensemble, une sorte de résumé des principes que j'ai constamment appliqués pendant ma longue carrière dans l'enseignement du Piano.”
 Translation my own. Auguste Dupont, introduction to *Ecole [sic] de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, 1re Livraison: Clavecinistes Anglais, Œuvres de William Byrd, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons*, edited by Auguste Dupont (Leipzig & Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884), 3.

text that may be unfamiliar to the edition's users, as if the editor were teaching a piano lesson.

This manifests itself in a variety of ways, relating to several facets of the *Capriccio*.

Ornamentation is the most common area in which the pedagogical impulse shows itself in the form of editorial interventions. As we will see, editors of pedagogical editions of the *Capriccio* employ several different strategies to convey information about the realization of ornamentation. Analysis is the second area in which this pedagogical impulse appears, and meter and syntax is the third.

By examining the various pedagogical editions of the *Capriccio*, the argument is made that the pedagogical impulse – to clarify elements of a piece for which students are likely to need guidance – these editors have developed in another area of their professional lives, transfer over into their editorial work. Examining the editorial decisions made in editions of the *Capriccio* that were created for educational contexts or were edited by career pedagogues allows for increased insight into how Bach's music was taught in different contexts. Much of this insight is gained by considering what these editors and editions felt was necessary to explain to the prospective users of their scores.

Existing discussions of the score as a tool within pedagogical contexts are limited. Much of the pedagogical research conceding scores focuses on score study as a means of preparing to teach, often within the context of upper elementary and high school concert bands. While the existing research emphasizes the importance of a deep awareness of the score, little attention is paid to the contents of the score itself or the context of its creation.²²⁵ Partially addressing this gap is a study investigating piano students' conception of scores.²²⁶ Examination of the

²²⁵ Jeremy S. Lane, "Undergraduate Instrumental Music Education Majors' Approaches to Score Study in Various Musical Contexts," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 54 (2006): 215–30.

²²⁶ Alfredo Bautista et al., "Piano Students' Conceptions of Musical Scores as External Representations: A Cross-Sectional Study," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 57 (2009): 181–202.

importance of critically and intentionally selecting a score is not considered within this article. Literature regarding pedagogical editions often focus on songbooks and other volumes created for didactic purposes.²²⁷ These publications are typically focused on music written expressively for teaching purposes and for use in schools, instead of editions of existing, canonic classical music edited for pedagogical reasons, such as those discussed. Additionally, much focus is given to the contents and layouts of method books, frequently comparing historical and modern examples.²²⁸ The historicization of music pedagogy is typically focused on the contributions or activities of a specific teacher, school, or periodical.²²⁹ In contrast, the discussion below focuses on how an existing piece of music is presented and edited for use in pedagogical contexts and by those whose primary musical vocation is teaching. This allows for insight into how Bach was taught, and the transmission of elements of performance practice.

Editions

A variety of editions, published over a period of 120 years, fall into the category of pedagogical editions. The earliest edition pedagogical edition was published in 1888 by Breitkopf & Härtel for the École de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, a 40 volume series of pedagogical

²²⁷ Sandra Wieland Howe, "Swiss-German Music Books in the Mason-McConathy Collection: Accounts from Europe to the United States," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 48 (2000): 26–38; Terese M. Volk, "Little Red Songbooks: Songs for the Labor Force of America," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 49 (2001): 33–48.

²²⁸ Cynthia M. Colwell and George N. Heller, "Lowell Mason's The Song Garden (1864–66): Its Background, Content, and Comparison to a Twentieth-Century Series," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 51 (2003): 231–44.

²²⁹ Julia Eklund Koza, "Music Instruction in the Nineteenth Century: Views from Godey's Lady's Book, 1830–77," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 38 (1990): 245–57; Bonny Miller, "Education, Entertainment, Embellishment: Music Publication in the Lady's Magazine," in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, edited by Linda Phyllis Austern, Amanda Eubanks Winkler, and Candace Bailey (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017), 238–56.

editions of keyboard compositions ranging from Byrd to Chopin.²³⁰ The Hofmeister Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht describes the edition as an “edition of classical masterworks composed by historic and modern masters, edited using the original texts, with fingerings added with the aim of developing rational technique and published with the collaboration of Mr. Gustave Sandré and Auguste Dupont.”²³¹

Gustave Sandré (1843–1916) was a French composer who taught harmony at a variety of conservatories, including the Royal Brussels Conservatory. He was extensively involved with the publication of pedagogical materials, most of which related to music theory and harmony, and often worked with Breitkopf & Härtel. He also translated Ernst Friedrich Richter’s harmony treatise for use at the Leipzig Conservatory.²³² From Sandré’s other activities relating to music publishing, and the fact that he is not listed as an editor on the cover of volumes in the series, we can assume that his involvement in the *École de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles* was largely in a business capacity, perhaps acting as liaison between Auguste Dupont, the editor, and Breitkopf & Härtel. Auguste Dupont (1827–1890) was a Belgian pianist and composer who served as piano professor at the Royal Brussels Conservatory for the majority of his career.²³³

²³⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo,” in *Ecole de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles VIIième Livraison, Cahier I, J. S. Bach Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo (Caprice sur le départ de son frère très chéri), Suite en mi min. Toccata et Fugue-Allemande-Courante-Air-Sarabande-Gavotte-Gigue* (Leipzig & Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888); William Byrd, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, *Ecole de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, Ire Livraison: Clavecinistes Anglais, Œuvres de William Byrd, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons*, edited by Auguste Dupont (Leipzig and Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884)..

²³¹ “Edition des Chefts d’Oeuvre classiques des grands Maitres anciens et modernes, corrigée d’après les textes originaux, doigté2 au point de vue du developpement rationnel du mécanisme et publiée avec la collaboration de M. Gustave Sandré p. Ausguste Dupont.” Translation my own. Hofmeister Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht, 1888, 308, accessed via the Hofmeister XIX online archive, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, May 1, 2025.

²³² Richter, Ernst Friedrich, *Traité d’harmonie théorique et pratique*, trans. Gustave Sandré (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886), accessed May 16, 2025, Google Books. Unfortunately, no scholarly research has been conducted on Gustave Sandré.

²³³ François-Joseph Fétis, “Dupont (Auguste),” in *Biographie universelle des musiciens, tome 3* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866), 81–2.

The next edition was published in 1900 by Durand, and edited by Isidor Philipp.²³⁴ This edition was not created explicitly for pedagogical purposes or to be used in pedagogical contexts; however, Philipp was best known as a pedagogue. Isidor Philipp (1863–1958) was a French composer, pianist and pedagogue who taught primarily at the Paris Conservatory. Later in life, he also taught in New York City and at the Montreal Music Conservatory.²³⁵ His impact as a piano teacher was significant, with some going so far as to credit the tremendous increase in the standards of piano technique that occurred in the first half of the 20th century to his teaching.²³⁶ Philipp was also active as a music editor in the early 20th century, playing a major role in Durand’s *Édition Classique*, a series of French editions of classical music intended to replace editions by German publishers during and after the First World War.²³⁷

In 1903, Gebrüder Hug published an edition of the *Capriccio* edited by Heinrich Germer.²³⁸ This edition was part of a 120-volume series of graded pedagogical scores called *Heinrich Germer’s Academical Edition of Classical Pianoforte Works for Education Purposes*. The series is divided into four grades, in which each piece gets its own volume. The repertoire includes many of what are now considered the standard canonic piano repertoire and include composers from Bach and Scarlatti up to Chopin. Heinrich Germer (1837–1913) edited and

²³⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le depart de son frère bien-aimé*, edited by Isidor Philipp (Paris: Durand & Cie, 1900). Isidor Philipp’s first name is also frequently seen spelled “Isidore.” I have chosen to use “Isidor” as that is how his name is typically spelled in writings by those who knew him, such as Henry Bellamann.

²³⁵ Maurice Hinson, “Philipp, Isidore,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 15, 2024, *Oxford Music Online*. Unfortunately, no other scholarly research has been done on Isidor Philipp. The only other writing about him takes the form of commemorative retrospectives of his career, such as the one cited below.

²³⁶ Henry Bellamann, “Isidor Philipp,” *The Music Quarterly* 29 (1943): 417–25.

²³⁷ Graham Sadler, “Repackaging the Old Masters: The Place of Early Keyboard Music in the *Édition Classique*,” in *Accenting the Classics: Editing European Music in France, 1915–1925*, by Deborah Mawer, Barbara L. Kelly, Rachel Moore, and Graham Sadler, 189–218 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2023).

²³⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio. Die Abreise./The Departure,” in *Heinrich Germer’s Academical Edition of classical Pianoforte Works for Educational Purposes. Upper Grade II*, edited by Heinrich Germer (Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug & Co., 1903).

compiled many volumes of pedagogical materials for piano; his volume of selected Czerny études is still widely used.²³⁹

The next edition was published in 1957 by J. Fischer, and edited by James Friskin.²⁴⁰ James Friskin (1886–1967) was one of the founding teachers of what would become the Juilliard School, and gave the first performance of the Goldberg Variations on American soil in 1925.²⁴¹

Editio Musica Budapest published the *Capriccio* in 1973 in an edition edited by Máriássy István (1963–2009).²⁴² Despite being a professional music editor, Máriássy István's editing style has, as we will see, common characteristics with that of pedagogues.

The 1984, Casa Ricordi, edition of the *Capriccio*, edited by Gino Tagliapietra, is likely a reprint of an earlier edition as the editor died in 1954; however, the original has not been located.²⁴³ This edition was not created explicitly for pedagogical purposes; however, Tagliapietra (1887–1954) taught at the *Liceo Musicale* in Venice from 1906 to 1940, the majority of his career.²⁴⁴

The final edition discussed in was published in 2011 by Plangere, and edited by Brian McDonagh.²⁴⁵ This is also the most recent edition of the *Capriccio* to be published in any

²³⁹ No scholarly research has been done on Heinrich Germer. Carl Czerny, *Selected Piano Studies: Arranged in Systematic Order by Heinrich Germer, Vol I: 50 Small Studies for the Upper Elementary Grade*, edited by H. W. Nicholl (Boston, Massachusetts: The Boston Music Company, 1944).

²⁴⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother*, edited by James Friskin (Dayton, Ohio: J. Fischer & Brother Music Publishers, 1957).

²⁴¹ John G. Doyle, "Friskin, James," *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 15, 2024, *Oxford Music Online*. Unfortunately, no other scholarly research has been done on James Friskin.

²⁴² Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B-dur BWV 992 sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo (szeretett bátyja elutazására) (zur Abreise seines geliebten Bruders Johann Jakob), in *Bach Album I*, edited by Máriássy István (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1973).

²⁴³ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio Sopra la Lontananza del Fratello Diletteissimo*, edited by Gino Tagliapietra (Milan: Casa Ricordi, 1984).

²⁴⁴ John C. G. Waterhouse, "Tagliapietra, Gino," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 25, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*.

²⁴⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello diletteissimo," in *The Conservatory Series: A Graded Anthology of Keyboard Music, Grade X*, edited by Brian McDonagh (Toronto: Plangere, 2011).

category of edition. The volume containing the *Capriccio* is part of Plangere's *Conservatory Series*, which includes volumes for piano and voice, graded from 1 to 10. The series was intended to provide access to underrepresented repertoire from the Royal Conservatory of Music, Conservatory Canada, and the British Columbia Conservatory – what they identify as the three largest conservatory systems in Canada – and are intended to be *urtext* editions.²⁴⁶ The editor, Brian McDonagh, has been associate professor of piano at the University of Toronto since 1996, and is both founder and editor-in-chief of Plangere.²⁴⁷

The pedagogical impulse manifests in multiple ways of the editorial decisions made in this category of *Capriccio* editions. Ornamentation is the area most frequently impacted, with editors often feeling the need to clarify the realization of the ornamentation for the users of their scores. Additionally, explanations of the piece's form and modifications of its meter have been made.

Ornamentation

Examining how editors have chosen to clarify the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation is a crucial part of understanding how the pedagogical impulse is reflected in the decisions made in this group of editions. Forming a cornerstone of Baroque performance practice, ornamentation styles and symbols varied significantly between regions, and is a significant focus of research on

²⁴⁶ “The Conservatory Series – Piano,” Plangere Editions, accessed May 17, 2025, <https://store.plangere.com/product-category/conservatory-series/the-conservatory-series-piano/>. Their list of Canadian conservatories ignores le Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique du Québec, which has 7 post-secondary institutions as well as an extensive pre-collegiate system. See their website: <https://www.conservatoire.gouv.qc.ca/fr/conservatoires/musiquequebec/programmes/>.

²⁴⁷ “Brian McDonagh,” University of Toronto, accessed May 17, 2025, <https://music.utoronto.ca/person/brian-mcdonagh>. No scholarly work has been conducted on Brian McDonagh.

performance practice.²⁴⁸ Ornamentation serves a crucial role in the first two movements of the *Capriccio* as they are both heavily ornamented. The density of this ornamentation means that any changes made to the ornament symbols constitute major modifications to the melody.

Given the significance of ornamentation in the *Capriccio* and in the performance practice of the Baroque era, it follows that editions published in the 19th century and beyond impacted in their editorial styles by the pedagogical impulse will approach this facet of the piece differently than other categories of editions, as ornamentation no longer holds the importance it once it. Likely as a result of the experience of explaining Baroque ornamentation to their students, and anticipating the guidance the users of their scores will need to navigate this aspect of the *Capriccio*, editors set out to explain the ornaments in a variety of ways. The strategies used by these editors are the addition of extra staves, the integration of written out ornaments into the musical text, and the use of explanatory footnotes.

Additional Staves

The use of additional staves to provide a written-out realization of ornamentation is the most visually intrusive and prescriptive strategy employed to explain or clarify the ornament symbols used in pedagogical scores. Because the information presented on additional staves is presented in parallel to the main text of the piece, referred to here as the primary text, they take on a visual role akin to subtitles in visual media such as film. As they are constantly visually present, they are less likely to be skimmed over or ignored when compared to strategies such as

²⁴⁸ Paul Badura-Skoda, *Interpreting Bach at the Keyboard* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Erwin Bodky, "Ornamentation," in *The Interpretation of Bach's Keyboard Works* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960), 146–82; John Butt, "Ornamentation," in *Oxford Composer Companion: J. S. Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 350–4; Jerome Carrington, *Trills in the Bach Cello Suites* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009).

footnotes, which occupy significantly less visual real estate. Two editions of the *Capriccio* utilize additional staves to provide realizations of the piece's ornamentation: the Breitkopf & Härtel edition from 1888 and the Edition Musica Budapest edition from 1973.²⁴⁹

The Breitkopf & Härtel edition, published in collaboration with the Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles in 1888, uses additional staves in both hands across five of the *Capriccio*'s six movements (all but movement IV, which does not contain any ornament symbols in any source of the piece). For the first two movements, the additional staff used to clarify the right hand's ornaments is continuous, with a second additional staff added as needed for the left hand. Additional staves are added as needed for both hands in movements III, V, and VI. The additional staves are used to explain all forms of ornaments, including grace notes, with a clear preference being shown for placing them on the beat. In movements III, V, and VI, all the ornament symbols in the primary text are written out in added staves.²⁵⁰ The ornaments are handled differently in movement I and II, as not all the ornament symbols present in the primary text are realized on the additional staves.

In the primary text of the *Capriccio*'s first two movements, some instances of ornament symbols are given priority over others. These are presented in a larger font size. Ornaments that Dupont appears to have considered less important are given in a smaller font and/or in brackets.

²⁴⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo," in *Ecole de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles VIIième Livraison, Cahier I, J. S. Bach Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo (Caprice sur le départ de son frère très chéri), Suite en mi min. Toccata et Fugue-Allemande-Courante-Air-Sarabande-Gavotte-Gigue* (Leipzig & Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888); Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B-dur BWV 992 sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo (szeretett bátyja elutazására) (zur Abreise seines geliebten Bruders Johann Jakob), in *Bach Album I*, edited by Máriássy István (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1973).

²⁵⁰ For the duration of this discussion of additional staves added to provide written out realizations as a means of clarifying ornamentation, the term "primary text" is used to refer to the musical text provided on the grand staff (as opposed to the text on the added staves, referred to as the "additional text"). The editors of the Breitkopf & Härtel edition use the term "original text" to refer to the text presented on the grand staff, however, in my view, this term may cause confusion. It is easy to read the term "original text" as some form of statement about the *Capriccio*'s textual history, which does not appear to be how the editors intended it.

Dupont, the editor, has included at the bottom of the first page a comment that provides some explanation of his attitude towards the ornamentation:

Of all the ornaments with which this piece is overloaded, ornaments that, for the most part, were motivated by nothing more than the low intensity of the harpsichord's vibrations, only those which seemed necessary to the work's archaic character were retained. Although these ornaments are indicated in real note values, they must nevertheless be played with great liberty and delicacy, the performer never losing sight of the simple sentiment and expressiveness of the melodic phrase.²⁵¹

While this comment illuminates several of Dupont's beliefs about the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation – namely that the ornaments were a strategy to navigate the harpsichord's acoustical character, and in turn his decision to place some ornaments in brackets – it does not explain his decisions concerning which ornaments to realize in the additional staves. There is no correlation between how the ornament is presented in the primary text and whether it is realized on the additional staves.

Upon comparing the primary and additional texts, one can find innumerable instances of bracketed ornaments being realized. The places where this occurs in the first movement are highlighted in figure 5.1. Curiously, the first ornament of the piece, which occurs on the first note of the soprano voice in movement I, is not realized. This ornament is present in 73% of the *Capriccio*'s sources (including both manuscripts and published editions) and serves as an early indicator of the so-called “archaic character” of the piece. There are also a handful of instances where ornaments that are unbracketed in the primary text being absent from the additional text. This includes the slide in measure 4, beat 3 of the first movement, despite the slide being an

²⁵¹ “De tous les ornements don't de morceau est surcharge, ornements qui, pour la plupart, n'étaient motivés que par le peu d'intensité des vibrations du Clavecin, il n'a été conservé que ceux qui ont paru nécessaires au caractère archaïque de l'oeuvre. Quoique ces ornements soient indiqués en valeurs réelles, ils doivent cependant se jouer avec beaucoup de liberté et de délicatesse, l'exécutant ne devant jamais perdre de vue le sentiment simple et expressif de la phrase mélodique.” Translation my own. Bach, “Capriccio,” in *Ecole de Piano*, edited by Auguste Dupont (Leipzig & Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888), 2.

The second movement includes two instances where an additional staff was added to the left hand without providing the realization of an ornament (see figure 5.2). On beat three of measures 8 and 13, the left hand has an entry of the fugal subject in the tenor voice. In the primary text, these entries are punctuated by mordants in brackets; however, the additional text presents the subject entry unornamented. While these are far from the only instances in which a bracketed ornament in the primary text has been excluded from the additional text, these are the only two instances where additional staves have been added to explicitly exclude ornaments.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Movement II, measures 5-10. Each system consists of three staves: a top staff (treble clef), a middle staff (treble clef), and a bottom staff (bass clef). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and ornaments. The first system includes dynamic markings like *p* (piano), *mf* (mezzo-forte), and *cresc.* (crescendo). The second system includes *p con espress.* (piano con espressione) and *con espress.* (con espressione). The score is edited by Auguste Dupont, as indicated in the caption.

Figure 5.2: Movement II, mm. 5–10. Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition, edited by Auguste Dupont.

It is easy to assume that the discrepancies between how ornaments are treated in the primary and additional texts may be the result of Dupont's adherence to his source material. Perhaps presenting the *Capriccio* on two sets of staves served a more complicated purpose than is immediately obvious, with the primary text representing the source material used and the additional text serving as Dupont's personal interpretation of the piece in addition to its function as a pedagogical tool to teach Baroque ornamentation to students. However, this theory is quickly dismissed when the early sources of the piece are examined. Neither text presented in the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition of the *Capriccio* exactly recreates any of the (surviving) manuscript sources or earlier printed editions.

Furthermore, the doubled presentation of the *Capriccio*'s text in this edition also concerns the prioritization of information. The primary text of the *Capriccio* is given priority in this edition. It is placed on the main grand staff, and given interpretative suggestions, both of which mean that the eye will be primarily drawn to the primary text. In comparison, the additional text is placed on added staves, in a smaller font, and without interpretative suggestions, meaning that it will be seen as supplementary guidance. This is especially true for the left hand of the first two movements and in the *Capriccio*'s later movements due to the fragmented nature of these additional staves.

Yet elsewhere in the *Ecole de Piano* series, the relationship between primary and additional texts is reversed. The first volume of the *École de Piano* is dedicated to the English virginal masters and contains a piece by John Bull (1563–1628).²⁵² Like the *Capriccio*, Bull's *St. Thomas' Wake* is heavily ornamented, and Dupont felt the need, as editor, to clarify the

²⁵² John Bull, "St. Thomas' Wake," in *Ecole de Piano du Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles, 1re Livraison: Clavecinistes Anglais, Œuvres de William Byrd, John Bull, Orlando Gibbons*, edited by Auguste Dupont (Leipzig & Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884), 8–11.

ornamentation for the future users of the score. In this score, seen in figure 5.3, the so-called original text (written using modern clefs) is given in continuous, additional staves and the version of the text augmented with written out realizations for the ornamentation is given on the grand staff. This means that the eye will be drawn primarily to the edited version of the musical text.

8

ST THOMAS' WAKE

Pavane pour la Virginal

par JOHN BULL,
Organiste de Jacques I^{er}
(né en 1563, mort en 1628)

De tous les ornements dont cette pièce est surchargée dans l'édition originale, il n'a été conservé que ceux qui ont paru indispensables au caractère du morceau; quoiqu'ils soient peu variés et qu'ils ne consistent qu'en pincés ou mordants au dessus et au dessous de la note réelle et en trilles ou cadences, il a été nécessaire de les noter, à cause des différents doigts qu'ils exigent.

Cette Pavane, d'une exécution difficile, même pour les plus habiles pianistes de nos jours, offre un intéressant sujet d'étude des mordants simples et doubles.

Texte original.

Texte avec la Notation des ornements.

Quasi Andante. $\text{♩} = 72$.

p *sostenuto*

poco cresc.

dim.

16650

Figure 5.3: The first page of St. Thomas' Wake by John Bull, Breitkopf & Härtel edition, edited by Auguste Dupont, 1884.

The varying strategies used in the *École de Piano* to aid students through interpreting music with dense ornamentation bring up questions about what information is considered necessary to explain in different time periods and to different publics. The system ornament symbols used by Bull would have been far removed from the awareness of the vast majority of musicians by the 1880s, while the most common symbols used by Bach (the mordant and the trill) remained in use in Western Europe, albeit less frequently. The differing levels of assumed familiarity with ornament symbols can also be seen in the placement of explanatory notes in relation to the musical text. Dupont's explanation of the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation, discussed earlier, is placed at the bottom of the first page of music, potentially making it seem like optional information. In contrast, the explanatory note given for the *St. Thomas' Wake*, which also focuses on how the ornaments use form part of the piece's character, is placed above the first page of the piece, thus highlighting its importance. These variations in mise-en-page between the *Capriccio* and the *St. Thomas' Wake* clearly demonstrate the variation in the assistance Dupont perceives to be needed on the part of the students who may end up playing these pieces.

Editio Musica Budapest's edition of the *Capriccio* also uses additional staves to clarify ornamentation for the score's users.²⁵³ These additional staves can be found in movements I, II and VI, and are a significantly smaller font size compared to the grand staff. All of the ornaments in the primary text of the first movement are realized in a continuous additional staff for the right hand, and in as-needed additional staves for the left hand. The second movement is shown in figure 5.4. In the second movement, additional staves have been added as needed; however, they are only used for the right hand and do not clarify the interpretation of all of the ornaments.

²⁵³ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B-dur BWV 992 sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo (szeretett bátyja elutazására) (zur Abreise seines geliebten Bruders Johann Jakob), in *Bach Album I*, edited by Máriássy István (Budapest: Editio Musica Budapest, 1973). This edition is henceforth referred to as the "Budapest" edition.

There are no obvious patterns regulating which ornaments in movement II get written-out realizations and which do not. The placement of the as-needed additional staves for the left hand differs between the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition and the Budapest 1973 edition. In the Breitkopf & Härtel 1888 edition, the additional staves for the left hand are placed below the primary text, with the two additional staves straddling the main grand staff. In the Budapest 1973 edition, both additional staves, for the right and left hands, are positioned together above the grand staff.

Ez különféle esetek elképzelése, amelyek idegenben megtörténhetnek vele
 Ist eine Vorstellung unterschiedlicher Casuum, die ihm in der Fremde könnten vorkommen

Andante

Figure 5.4: Mov. II, mm. 1–15,
 Budapest 1973 edition, edited by
 Máriássy István.

Integrated Realizations

Integrated realizations are defined, for the purpose of our analyses, as instances in which an ornament symbol has been replaced in the musical text with a written-out realization. In all instances of integrated realizations that occur in editions of the *Capriccio*, the ornament symbol being replaced is not specified; however, by examining the integrated realization one can typically decipher which ornament symbol would have been used in its place. Considered within the context of a complete page of music, integrated realizations are less visually intrusive than the use of additional staves, but the use of this strategy limits the learning opportunities presented. When additional staves or footnotes (discussed below) are used to clarify the ornamentation of a piece, the musician has the opportunity to compare the realization of the ornament to its symbol, thus creating transferrable knowledge. Whereas, when integrated realizations are used, this opportunity is lost, particularly if every instance of a given ornament is realized. Additionally, this strategy gives the impression that the original text; however, we choose to define it, did not use an ornament symbol. This blurs the distinction between an editorial intervention made in the name of pedagogy and an amendment made to the *Capriccio*'s text, giving insight into the attitudes of different editors towards the musical text.

There are two editions of the *Capriccio* that utilize integrated realizations: the Durand edition, published in 1900 and edited by Isidor Philipp, and the J. Fischer edition, published in 1957 and edited by James Friskin.²⁵⁴ While neither of these editions was created expressly for pedagogical purposes, both editors taught piano at the post-secondary level for the duration of their careers.

²⁵⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le depart de son frère bien-aimé*, edited by Isidor Philipp (Paris: Durand & C^{ie}, 1900); Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother*, edited by James Friskin (Dayton, Ohio: J. Fischer & Brother Music Publishers, 1957).

The Durand edition uses integrated realizations in the first two movements of the *Capriccio*. In the first movement, he has clarified both instances where a slide is used. These instances, occurring in measure 4, beat 3, and measure 9, beat 4, are pictured in figure 5.5 alongside the NBA as control. In the second movement, the ornament symbol to be clarified is the turn. In this case, Philipp realizes the first two instances of the ornament's use (measure 12, beat 1, and measure 13, beat 3, shown in figure 5.6), but not the third. This decision was presumably made under the assumption that students would apply the model of the first two turns to the third, and with the understanding that the turn is a more common ornament than the slide – having been used in Mozart sonatas, among other standard repertoire.²⁵⁵ Philipp appears to have done so to clarify ornament symbols he considered less likely to be familiar to the perspective users of the edition. Given that the majority of Philipp's teaching activities took place in French-speaking conservatories (Paris and Montréal), he may have considered certain ornament symbols foreign to French speaking music students.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁵ Examples of turns in Mozart piano sonatas can be found in the third movement of K. 279, the third movement of K. 284, and the second movement of K. 310. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Neue Mozart Ausgabe, Serie IX, Werkgruppe 25, Klaviersonaten, Band 1*, edited by Wolfgang Plath and Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1986), 10, 78, 129.

²⁵⁶ Hinson, "Philipp, Isidore," *Grove Music Online*.



Mov. I, mm. 4



Mov. I, mm. 9.

Figure 5.5: Comparison of ornament treatment between the Durand 1900 (above) and NBA 1976 (below) editions.

Musical score for Movement II, measures 12. The top staff has a melodic line with ornaments. The bottom staff has a bass line. The marking "grave e sotto voce" is written above the bottom staff. The marking "Allarg." (ritardando) is written above the top staff. The marking "pp" (pianissimo) is written below the bottom staff. The publisher's code "D. & F. 11,106" is at the bottom.

Figure 5.6: Mov. II, mm. 12. Durand 1900 edition, edited by Isidor Philipp.

Friskin, when editing the J. Fischer edition of the *Capriccio* published in 1957, uses integrate realizations in the first, third, and fifth movements. Like Philipp, he applies this strategy to clarify the slides in the first movement; however, he also uses integrated realizations to clarify other facets of how ornaments should be performed. In these instances, Friskin realizes common ornaments – the mordant and the trill – that are presented in their symbolic form throughout the piece. Three instances of mordants are realized by Friskin, to specify that the ornament should be played on the beat, so as not to interfere with other elements of the musical texture. These occur in movement I, measure 4, beat 4, and movement V, measure 4, beat 4, and measure 11, beat 4, as seen in figure 5.7. Friskin also uses integrated realizations to clarify the starting notes of trills that occur as part of stepwise melodic motion, as seen in movement I, measure 6, beat 4, and movement III, measure 16, beat 2, as shown in figure 5.8.

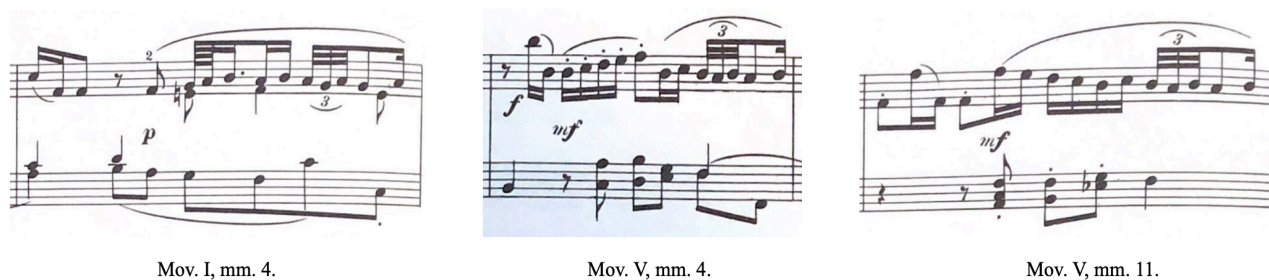


Figure 5.7: Examples of mordant realizations. J. Fischer 1957 edition, edited by James Friskin.



Figure 5.8: Examples of trill realizations. J. Fischer 1957 edition, edited by James Friskin.

Footnotes

Footnotes were used sparingly to provide realizations of ornaments in editions of the *Capriccio*. It is also the least visually intrusive option. Only one pedagogical edition of the *Capriccio* makes use of footnotes. This is the Casa Ricordi edition published in 1984 and edited by Gino Tagliapietra.²⁵⁷ Tagliapietra uses footnotes to provide realizations of blocks of the first movement, showing the future users of the score not only how individual ornaments are to be performed, but how they fit into the broader context of the movement. Two editions of the *Capriccio* with professional editors (discussed in chapter 8) also used sparing footnotes to explain ornaments. These editions are the 1952 Schott edition, edited by Alfred Kreutz, and the 1973 Schirmer, edited by David Goldberger.²⁵⁸ Kreutz uses footnotes in the first movement to clarify the realization of a slide and to specify the number of repercussions in a trill. Goldberger uses footnotes in much the same way, and states in the introduction that he used Kreutz's edition as a source for his own.²⁵⁹ In addition to clarifying slides, he provides options for the number of repercussions in a trill (the same trill that Kreutz realizes), and to demonstrate a turn in the second movement.

The editions discussed have shown how different editors have approached explaining the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation to the future users of their score – their *de facto* students. The three strategies employed, the use of additional staves, integrated realizations and footnotes, reveal a throughline across almost a century of editions: editors routinely felt the need to provide guidance on how to navigate more obscure ornament symbols, namely the slide and the turn.

²⁵⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio Sopra la Lontananza del Fratello Dilettissimo*, edited by Gino Tagliapietra (Milan: Casa Ricordi, 1984).

²⁵⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio*, edited by Alfred Kreutz (Mainz, Schott Music, 1952); Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio for the Piano*, edited by David Goldberger (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973).

²⁵⁹ Bach, *Capriccio for the Piano*, Goldberger, 1.

Interestingly, the choice of strategy does not seem to be linked to a specific time period.

Regardless of the choice made, these strategies all function as replacements for the inclusion of an ornament chart in the introduction of an edition. Just four of the *Capriccio*'s 40 published editions (this number is including reprints) include ornament charts. These editions fall into the categories of collected works projects (Steingraber 1888 and Henle 1975 editions, discussed in chapter 4), exhibition editions (L. Holle 1856 edition, discussed in chapter 6) and one edition with performers as editors (Schott 1916 edition, discussed in chapter 7), but not in the pedagogical score category.

From the alternative strategies pedagogical editions do utilize, we can see that this group of editors felt the need to provide more nuanced and detailed explanations of the piece's ornamentation. Instead of the general guidance provided by an ornament chart, these editors provided explanations of specific ornaments. Instead of the abstract guidance of a chart, they chose to present their guidance within the overall musical context of the piece. By choosing these contextualized approaches to providing guidance in navigating the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation, they have also chosen strategies that are readily available while actively practicing the piece. By choosing of the three options discussed above, they are providing the necessary help in the same physical and visual space as the problem, instead of requiring students to flip through the volume to find it.

Analysis

Analysis, both formal and motivic, is another area in which an editor of a pedagogical edition felt compelled to provide extra assistance and information to the users of his score. In addition to using footnotes to provide clarification of ornamentation, Tagliapietra, whose edition of the

Capriccio was published in 1984 by Casa Ricordi, used them to provide various forms of analytical information to the students who may use his score.²⁶⁰ Almost every movement of the piece (all but movement V) has footnotes serving a variety of pedagogical purposes. These footnotes, along with the *Capriccio*'s programmatic subtitles, are all provided in four languages (Italian, French, Spanish, and English), suggesting the anticipation of an international audience for the publication.

The footnotes in the first movement have already been discussed above, as they relate to the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation. The second movement has a footnote concerned with the formal structure of the movement. Tagliapietra specifies that the movement consists of “a 4 part fughistic exposition repeated three times respectively in *G* min., *F* min., *E♭* maj.”²⁶¹ He then goes on to relate the formal structure of the movement to the programmatic subtitle. Since the movement is intended to represent the various dangers “our beloved brother” may face abroad, Tagliapietra suggests that it would be “better give a different aspect to the expositions, whether at the entrance of the voices which alternate or in the treatment of the contrapuntals.”²⁶² In this footnote, the editor is not only helping the musician understand the theoretical side of the piece's construction but also providing a model of how this formal knowledge can be used to guide one's interpretative decisions.

The *Capriccio*'s third movement also has a footnote explaining elements of its formal structure. Tagliapietra writes that “Bach only marked the bass (continuo) and the melodic line of this fragment (Passacaglia).”²⁶³ By using layperson language and providing the technical terms

²⁶⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio Sopra la Lontananza del Fratello Dilettissimo*, edited by Gino Tagliapietra (Milan: Casa Ricordi, 1984).

²⁶¹ Bach, *Capriccio*, Tagliapietra, 3.

²⁶² Bach, *Capriccio*, Tagliapietra, 3.

²⁶³ Bach, *Capriccio*, Tagliapietra, 4.

in brackets, he appears to be assuming a relatively low level of preexisting knowledge of Baroque forms and idioms. For the fourth movement, Tagliapietra's advice is centered on how to redistribute the musical text in measure 8 so that it can be played by someone with small hands without having to arpeggiate the rolled chords, implying that the editor believes rolling the large chords would be disruptive to the unfolding of the melody. All of the chords in question are in the middle of phrases. By taking the bottom note of the three chords in the left hand, musicians with small hands will not have to disrupt their interpretation by being forced to roll these chords. The fifth movement is the only for which the editor has not provided any additional information or guidance.

In the footnotes of the sixth and final movement, Tagliapietra provides the basics of fugal analysis. Entries of the fugue subject are marked with a capital "T" in a bolded font, as shown in figure 5.9. At the point of the second entry, in the dominant, he has added a footnote specifying that the fugue has tonal replies. He also marks the first use of the countersubject, in measure 5, and directs students towards its source in movement V, where it represented the horn fanfare. For measures 10 and 11, Tagliapietra provides an alternate fingering that is better suited to musicians with small hands. Like in the third movement, it seems that he is anticipating that future users of this score will be working with a relatively low level of previous experience with Baroque music so has designed his footnotes to give the basic information needed to navigate the piece.

7

FUGA ALL'IMITAZIONE DELLA CORNETTA DI POSTIGLIONE
Allegro

f Risposta tonale.
f Réponse tonale.

g) Il contrasoggetto è preso dallo squillo della cornetta nell'aria precedente.

g) Le contre-sujet est pris du son du corne de l'Air précé. dent.

f) Respuesta tonal.
f) Tonal reply.

g) El contrasujeto está tomado del toque de la corneta en el Aria precedente.

g) The counter-subject is taken from the blast of the horn in the preceding air.

h) Oppure: | Oppure: |
Ou bien: | Or: |

ecc.
etc.

128406

Figure 5.9: Mov. VI, with fugal analysis highlighted. Ricordi 1984 edition, edited by Gino Tagliapietra.

On the whole, the advice given in Tagliapietra's footnotes seem to be intended for someone encountering this sort of music for the first time, as they concern relatively basic elements of the piece's formal construction and use of Baroque idioms such as basso continuo and fugal writing. This may be explained by Tagliapietra's career. The rest of the editors discussed in this chapter whose primary professional activity was as pedagogues worked (or in the case of Brian McDonagh, whose *Capriccio* edition is discussed at the end of this chapter, work) as post-secondary piano professors at universities or conservatories. Dupont was a piano professor at the Royal Brussels Conservatory, Isidor Philipp was a piano professor at the Paris Conservatory, and James Friskin was a founding professor at what became the Julliard School. Brian McDonagh is associate professor of piano at the University of Toronto.

In contrast, Gino Tagliapietra taught at a *liceo* in Venice. *Liceos* are a form of Italian secondary school, intended to prepare students aged 14–19 for university. So, while the other editors discussed in this chapter were accustomed to teaching more experienced students, many of whom would have been in their early twenties, Tagliapietra worked with younger and less experienced students. As a result, he may well have been the one to introduce many of them to various Baroque idioms, to teach them how to analysis fugues. These are the experiences which appear to manifest themselves in the information he chose to include in the footnotes of the *Capriccio*.

Meter and Syntax

Meter and syntax form the final area that pedagogical editors felt the need to clarify for the potential users of their editions. The need to clarify meter affected all of the *Capriccio*'s movements other than the third, while issues of musical syntax relate to the piece's first measure.

Gebrüder Hug's 1903 edition of the *Capriccio*, edited by Heinrich Germer, is the primary example for issues of meter and syntax.²⁶⁴ Germer has chosen to change the time signatures for five of the *Capriccio*'s six movements: in movements I, II, and V, common time is replaced with 4|8, and in movement VI, common time is replaced with 2|4. By doing so, he effectively doubles the metrical pulse of the music. This will have various effects on a musician's interpretation, including the flow and shaping of melodic figures and the choice of tempos.

This impact is furthered by how Germer executes his modifications to the meter. This is done by adding an extra bar line, effectively splitting each preexisting measure in half, much like if one doubled the line breaks in a poem. Additionally, these extra bar lines create visual clutter, and potentially confusion. Original bar lines traverse the grand staff, as was standard in printed music notation by this time. To differentiate between them, the extra bar lines, are confined to the treble and bass staves with a break in the middle, making it difficult at first glance to separate bar lines from note stems. The extra bar lines may be seen in figure 5.10, which compares the *Capriccio*'s second movement in the Gebrüder Hug edition to the NBA.

Besides the addition of extra bar lines, figure 5.10 also shows the difference in how eighth notes are grouped according to hierarchy of beats in a measure. In the NBA edition, the eighth notes are typically beamed in groups of four. This emphasizes the rhythmic pillars of common time or 4|4 (the metrical hierarchy of these time signatures are typically described as strong-weak-medium-weak), on the first and third beats. In the Gebrüder Hug edition, the eighth notes are beamed in pairs, which also emphasizes the rhythmic pillars, just in the modified time signature of 4|8. As a result, when comparing the same phrase between the two editions, the

²⁶⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio. Die Abreise /The Departure," in *Heinrich Germer's Academical Edition of classical Pianoforte Works for Educational Purposes. Upper Grade II*, edited by Heinrich Germer (Leipzig: Gebrüder Hug & Co., 1903).

Gebrüder Hug will have twice as many metrical accents, significantly changing the understanding of a phrase, from both a musician's and a listener's perspective.

2. Man schildert die Gefahren der Fremde. | 2. They describe the dangers in foreign lands.

Allerretto, (♩, 112)

Q. 92

2. Ist eine Vorstellung unheimlichster Casus, die ihn in der Fremde können vorfallen. ⁹⁾

⁹⁾ Zu den wahrscheinlich ausstraglich ergänzten Verzerrungen vgl. den Kritischen Bericht.

Movement II, Gebrüder Hug, 1903, edited by Heinrich Gerner.

Movement II, NBA published by Bärenreiter, 1976, edited by Ernst Naumann.

Figure 5.10: Comparison of movement II of the *Capriccio*, BWV 992, by J. S. Bach. Annotated to show meter change and added bar lines.

The decision to modify the meter of a piece of music appears to be a common trait of Heinrich Germer's editorial style. In the introduction to his edition of selected Czerny piano études, Germer writes that "inaccurate meter-signs, such as 2|4 instead of 4|8, or 12|8 instead of two measures of 6|8, and common time instead of cut time, have been corrected."²⁶⁵ In contrast to the *Capriccio*, in which the original time signatures are given in small text and bracketed between the staves and the original bar lines have been conserved, in his edition of Czerny études, Germer has silently corrected the time signatures. As a result, the only way to identify his editorial interventions is by comparing this collection of Czerny to a less-heavily edited edition, something few are likely to do. Regardless of how changes in time signature are presented on the page, Germer's propensity for modifying them raises questions about his attitude towards composers, particularly the amount of authority he grants them. This is also obvious in his use of the word "corrected" – which implies an error – in the preface to the volume of Czerny studies.

The issue of musical syntax arises when examining the first measure of the *Capriccio*'s first movement. Bach begins the piece in anticipation of the third beat, after a beat and a half of rests. This is an unusual choice, which may leave one to question why he didn't choose to start the piece with a more commonplace anacrusis; however, one can also read this decision as reflecting the unbalance and emotional intensity of the movement; the programmatic subtitle accompanying the first movement describes a group of family and friends gathering to beg their loved one not to leave. Musically, this decision can be read as a form of temporal suspension. The rests are the start of the piece, not the notes, creating a space in which the piece has begun but the melody is still to come.

²⁶⁵ Heinrich Germer, preface to *Selected Piano Studies Arranged in Systematic order by Heinrich Germer, Vol. 1: 50 Small Studies for the Upper Elementary Grade*, by Carl Czerny, edited by H. W. Nicholl (Boston: The Boston Music Company, 1944), iv.

Most editors and copyists of the *Capriccio* have not felt the need to alter the first measure; however, two early 20th century editions have modified it. The first edition is Heinrich Germer's edition, published by Gebrüder Hug in 1903, wherein the editor's decisions surrounding the piece's time signatures and his treatment of the first bar create a chicken-and-egg question. The second edition was published by Schott in 1916 and was edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner, both of whom were primarily active as performers.²⁶⁶ The 1916 Schott edition is discussed in detail below, in chapter 6. The editors of both of these editions felt the need to stabilise the rhythmic instability they perceived in this first measure, whether for pedagogical or performance reasons.

For Heinrich Germer, modifying the first measure forms part of his broader changes to the *Capriccio*'s meter and syntax, which appears to have been done as a way of making the timing of piece more visually accessible. He removes the opening rests altogether, making the first melodic gesture an explicit anacrusis to the third beat of the first measure. This means that that third beat appears to be and functions as a downbeat, which in turn shifts the musical pulse for the rest of the movement. By doing so, Germer has divorced the hierarchy of beats within a common time measure from the contours of the melodic line. This will also disrupt the movement's hypermeter. It is impossible to decipher whether changing the *Capriccio*'s time signatures led to the decision to remove the opening rests or vice versa.

Reger and Schmid-Lindner take a less radical approach to stabilizing the first movement. They chose to fill in the opening rests with a B $\flat$ major chord, which serves the dual purpose of grounding the piece's tonality and normalizing its opening. The addition of this chord changes

²⁶⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B Dur," in *Klavier-Werke Band XI (Capriccio B Dur (Abreise); Toccata und Fuge D Dur; Toccata und Fuge G Moll; Preludio und Fuge A Moll)*, edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner (Mainz: Schott, 1916), 7–13.

the emotional effect of the movement's opening; however, the impact is localized as it does not change the metrical pulse in any way. Reger and Schmid-Lindner's decision can be seen as symptomatic of their broader tendency to use modern instrumental idioms when editing the *Capriccio*, as will be discussed in chapter 6. Figure 5.11 compares the opening measures of the 1903 Gebrüder Hug and 1916 Schott editions of the *Capriccio* to the NBA.

Mov. I, mm. 1. Gebrüder Hug 1903, edition, edited by Heinrich Germer.

Mov. I, mm. 1. Schott 1916 edition, edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner.

Mov. I, mm. 1. NBA 1976 edition, edited by Ernst Naumann.

Figure 5.11: Comparison of opening measure of mov. I.

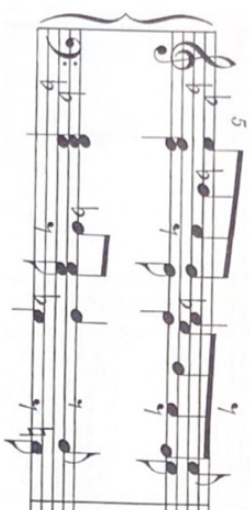
Plangere

The 2011 Plangere edition, edited by Brian McDonagh, is the most recent edition of the *Capriccio* and forms an outlier amongst pedagogical editions and editions as a whole. This is due to the presence of 26 unique textual variants, spread across all movements, and passages in movements IV, V, and VI where entire voices have been removed from the musical text, as shown in figure 5.12. These instances in which the musical text deviates significantly from all preexisting source material – both manuscript and published – raise unfortunately unanswerable questions about the source material used by Brian McDonagh, particularly as the Plangere website states that “the editorial approach adopted for The Conservatory Series is consistent with

the current practices associated with the URTEXT edition.”²⁶⁷ Additionally, the Plangere edition is missing the programmatic subtitle for the first movement of the piece, which is also a singular occurrence in the piece’s publication history. Regardless of how heavily the program has been modified, all other published editions of the *Capriccio* either provide some version of the programmatic subtitle for all six movements or remove it entirely.²⁶⁸ Representing an anomaly among the pedagogical editions, none of the editorial decisions showcased in the Plangere 2011 edition can be easily explained by the pedagogical impulse. The decision to remove a contrapuntal voice in certain passages does not seem to be motivated by the desire to make the piece easier. Large sections of the *Capriccio*, such as the final page of movement VI among others, pose larger technical and musical challenges than the phrases where a voice has been removed. Removing the programmatic subtitle for the first movement makes the piece’s overall story significantly more difficult to understand, inhibiting the ability of the score’s user to interpret the *Capriccio*.

²⁶⁷ “The Conservatory Series – Piano,” Plangere Editions, accessed May 17, 2025, <https://store.plangere.com/product-category/conservatory-series/the-conservatory-series-piano/>. Capitalization for emphasis original to website.

²⁶⁸ An in-depth study of the history of the treatment of the *Capriccio*’s programmatic elements across its publication history, linking the many versions of the program to issues of mise-en-page and the piece’s written reception in 19th and early 20th century Bach biographies is planned for a future study.



Mov. IV, mm. 5.



Mov. V, mm. 8.



Mov. VI, mm. 32-33.

Figure 5.12: Comparison of Plangere 2011 (above) and NBA 1976 (below) editions.

Conclusion

Pedagogically minded editors have explained various aspects of the *Capriccio*'s text in several ways. These aspects include ornamentation, analysis, and meter and syntax. In the case of ornamentation, three strategies have been employed – written-out realizations on added staves, integrated realizations, and footnotes. Editors using all three of these strategies have frequently employed them specifically to realize more unusual ornament signs such as the slide and the turn, in addition to in a range of other, more individual scenarios. Footnotes have also been used more generally to provide analytical information about the *Capriccio*, and to guide students through potentially unfamiliar Baroque idioms, such as figured bass. The modification of meter and syntax manifests in the changing of time signatures, and two divergent attempts to normalize the piece's first measure.

On the whole, the editorial decisions made by this category of editor are concerned with explaining or clarifying facets of the *Capriccio* as a piece of programmatic music employing many aspects characteristic of the early 18th century. The decision of what elements to clarify seem to have been made along the lines of what these editors considered to be unusual or unfamiliar to their target audiences, based on the ways in which the *Capriccio* diverges from the usual performance practices of the context in which they are editing. This can be seen as the written manifestation of the pedagogical impulse and instinct these editors developed throughout their careers as pedagogues. Examining what each editor imagined the perspective users (who are functioning in this case almost as their students) would need help navigating allows us to gain some insight into what was considered common knowledge for piano students in different time periods, in different locations, and even at different levels of education.

Chapter 6:

Exhibition Editions: The *Capriccio* for the General Public

At first thought, the intent of a musical edition seems self-evident. Publishers and editors create scores as a commercial product that efficiently communicates and shares pieces of music; editions of sheet music are what the vast majority of musicians operating in Western classical music use to learn new repertoire. Thus far, we have examined editions of the *Capriccio* created for a specialist audience. Collected works projects are used by music researchers and performers, as discussed in chapter 4. Especially in the of the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* and the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*, the complete form of these projects are primarily owned by institutions, with most practicing musicians accessing the scholarship they represent through commercially accessible reprints. Pedagogical editions, discussed in chapter 5, were either explicitly designed to be used in conservatory contexts, or were edited by post-secondary level music professors. As a result, the pre-professional level of music student the editors were accustomed to informed the level and complexity of information contained in these editions.

But what about the general public? What editions were created for non-experts, those outside of academia, outside of the conservatory system, outside of the sphere of professional music making? Editions created for use by the general public are in many ways akin to museum exhibits. They intentionally deliver public-facing education and cultural enrichment outside of standard pedagogical contexts by providing information that may not be otherwise available or easily accessible to the public. Because of their similarities to museum exhibits, this category of edition has been named exhibition editions. As previously discussed, the existing literature on music editing is extremely limited and no prior studies examining scores of this variety or in this way have been located.

Exhibition editions can be further divided into three subcategories, each seeking to provide a different type of information to a general audience. The first subcategory is historical education. These editions provide information relating to music history alongside the *Capriccio*. The second category is Baroque introduction and induction, which provide guidance aimed at musical amateurs in the mid-19th century looking to interpret Bach or Baroque music for the first time, without the guidance or structure of a conservatory. The final subcategory is regional exposure, which explores the process of knowingly bringing a given repertoire to a specific geographic region for the first time. Other forms of exhibition edition are absolutely possible. This trio are simply the types of exhibition edition present within the *Capriccio*'s publication history.

Editions

Several editions from the *Capriccio*'s publication history are exhibition editions. The first is the L. Holle 1856 edition, published in Wolfenbüttel, Germany.²⁶⁹ This edition was edited by Friedrich Chrysander (1820–1901). Chrysander was a German music critic and music historian, who, in 1885 alongside Guido Adler (1855–1941) and Philipp Spitta (1841–1894), founded the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, the first musicology journal.²⁷⁰

The next two editions have a linked history. The company now called Edition Peters has published the *Capriccio* several times and in several iterations. This chapter discusses their 1851

²⁶⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio Sopra la lontananza del suo fratello Dilettissimo,” in *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, herausgegeben von Friedrich Chrysander, Band I*, edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856).

²⁷⁰ Anthony Hicks, “Chrysander, (Karl Franz) Friedrich,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 5, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*; Guido Adler and Erica Mugglestone, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology’ (1885): An English Translation with An Historico-Analytical Commentary,” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1–21.

and 1869 editions, published in Leipzig.²⁷¹ Both editions were edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (1782–1849), a German music scholar and student of Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749–1818), Bach’s first biographer.²⁷² Griepenkerl was a significant promoter of Bach and an important figure in the early 19th century Bach revival movement. In addition to his performance of Bach’s major choral compositions, he prepared a critical edition of Bach’s organ music for Edition Peters.²⁷³

The Peters 1869 edition is a near identical reproduction of the Peters 1851 edition. Despite having been made with different plates, the pagination, type setting, and interpretative suggestions are all identical. Griepenkerl is listed as editor in both scores, and his introduction is also in both editions; in German and French in the Peters 1851 edition, and only in German in the Peters 1869 edition. The specifics of the variants between the Peters 1851 and 1869 editions are examined and explained in chapter 2.

The next edition discussed in this chapter is the Drei Masken 1920 edition, published in Munich.²⁷⁴ This study score was edited by Herman Roth (1882–1938), a music critic, conservatory professor, music editor, and friend and colleague of Heinrich Schenker (1868–1935).²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo,” in *Compositions pour le Clavecin seul par J. Seb. Bach. Oeuvres de Bach, Série I, Cahier 4*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851), 62–7; Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletissimo,” in *Französische Ouvertüre, Fantasia con Fugue, Capriccio, Vier Duette*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1869, reprint, Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851), 30–5.

²⁷² Mark Hoffman, “Griepenkerl, Friedrich (Conrad),” *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 11, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*.

²⁷³ Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, “Music Publishing and Patronage: C. F. Peters: 1800 to the Holocaust” (Kenton, England: Edition Press, 2000), 13–4.

²⁷⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio in B-dur,” in *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta*, edited by Hermann Roth (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920), 3–15.

²⁷⁵ Martin Ebyl and Evelyn Fink-Mennel, editors, “Herman Max Johannes Roth,” in *Schenker-Traditionen: Eine Wiener Schule der Musiktheorie und ihre internationale Verbreitung* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2006), 245.

Universal published the *Capriccio* in 1936 in a volume edited by Karl Geiringer.²⁷⁶ Karl Geiringer (1899–1989) was an Austro-American musicologist. In addition to being president of the American Musicological Society, he taught at a variety of universities including the Royal College of Music in London, Boston University, and the University of California at Santa Barbara.²⁷⁷

The final exhibition edition was published by Moscow Music in 1978.²⁷⁸ It was edited by N. Koptschewski, about whom no information can be located. A record of Koptschewski publishing an article in *Musik und Gesellschaft*, a music periodical in the DDR, on 20th century Soviet piano music in 1982 has been found, but the article itself could not be accessed.²⁷⁹ The fact of this article's publication raises currently unanswerable questions about this editor's career. Were they perhaps a musicologist? A pianist? At this point in time, we cannot know. The presence of a professional connection to the DDR could explain why the cover page of the Moscow Music 1978 edition is in both German and Russian, although all other text of the volume is solely in Russian.

Historical Education

Examining the exhibition editions, two scores show evidence as having been intended to provide historical education beyond what is typically expected of them. It is not uncommon, especially in

²⁷⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Die Familie Bach*, edited by Karl Geiringer (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1936), 16–23.

²⁷⁷ Cecil Hill, revised by Paula Morgan, "Geiringer, Karl (Johannes)," *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 15, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*.

²⁷⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello dilettissimo," in *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]*, edited by N. Koptschewski (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978), 9–16.

²⁷⁹ N. Koptschewski, "Sowietische Klaviermusik der zwanziger Jahre," *Musik und Gesellschaft* 32 (1982): 662–6. As this journal has not been digitized, Koptschewski's article could not be accessed.

collected works projects and in editions published after the mid-20th century, for the introduction of an edition to include information relating to historical performance practice. However, these editions significantly expand the scope of this information, providing information that is either extra-performance or even extra-musical in nature.

The first such edition is the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition, a miniature or study score measuring just 13 x 19 x 0.6 cm.²⁸⁰ It is highly unlikely that this edition was intended to be played from; the small size of the volume would mean frequent page turns, the small font size would be extremely challenging to read at a distance, and the glued hardback binding is very stiff, making the volume nearly impossible to prop open on a music desk without causing damage. Instead, the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition was probably intended for analysis purposes, or to follow along with while listening to a performance, whether live or recorded. This edition pairs the *Capriccio* with *Der todtracken und wieder gesunde Hiskias* (*Hiskia, sick unto Death and Restored to Health*) by Johann Kuhnau (1660-1722). This piece is the fourth of Kuhnau's *Musicalische Vorstellung einiger biblischer Historien* (henceforth referred to as the *Biblical Sonatas*), a set of programmatic keyboard sonatas which were published in 1700.²⁸¹ Crediting Kuhnau and his *Biblical Sonatas* as Bach's inspiration for the *Capriccio* has a long history, tracing back to Philipp Spitta's 1873 Bach biography and upheld in numerous biographies and monographs since.²⁸² Despite the significant presence of this connection in the scholarly

²⁸⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta*, edited by Hermann Roth (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920).

²⁸¹ George J. Buelow, "Kuhnau [Kuhn, Cuno], Johann," *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 26, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*; Willi Apel, "Kuhnau," in *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1972), 667–73. For further details of the Kuhnau *Biblical Sonatas* see chapter 1.

²⁸² Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750, volume 1*, translated by Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland (New York: Dover, 1951, originally published in German, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873), 236–46. For examples of the linking of Kuhnau and Bach, see: André Pirro, *The Aesthetic of Johann Sebastian Bach*, translated by Joe Armstrong (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014, originally published in French, Paris: Fischbacher, 1907), 360–8; Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, translated by Ernest Newman (New York: Dover, 1966, reprint of Leipzig:

literature, the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition is the only instance of a volume of sheet music where they are paired together.

Aside from its diminutive size, the defining characteristic of this edition is its extensive introduction. Spanning fifteen pages, the introduction contains none of the performance practice information and only a small quantity of the source material information that typically occupy introductions. The introduction starts by defining program music, before position the *Capriccio* as being unique within Bach's compositional output, before establishing the commonality of programmatic music within 17th-century keyboard repertoire. Roth then establishes the link between Kuhnau, as a composer of program music, and Bach, citing the former's fame as historical proof that the *Biblical Sonatas* served as the model for Bach's *Capriccio*.²⁸³ The composers' reasons for writing program music are then explored, with Johann Jacob Bach's military service credited as Bach's rationale for composing the *Capriccio*. It is at this point that the direct comparison between the composers and compositions considered in this volume begins. Roth provides a formal analysis of the Kuhnau *Biblical Sonata*, considering the structural and tonal elements of the piece, and linking them to the program. He then does the same for the *Capriccio*. It is worth noting that the analysis of the Kuhnau piece occupies approximately one and half pages of the introduction, whereas the analysis of Bach's piece spans five pages. The introduction ends with information on the source material used for both pieces.

The introduction's focus on historical and analytical information signals, once again, that the editor and publisher envisioned this edition as a tool for historical exploration and theoretical study instead of one for playing from. The contents of the introduction are focused on answering

Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 39–40; Hermann Keller, "Capriccio B-dur (BG XXXVI, S. 190)," in *Die Klavierwerke Bachs* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1950), 60–2; David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 65–7.

²⁸³ Roth, intro to *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta*, VI.

questions and providing information for the score's users. This sets the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition apart from the scholar-oriented collected works projects, which were also intended as tools for analysis and study. The information included in the critical reports of collected works projects is designed to provide background information for musical experts, such as descriptions of source materials and lists of variants gives researchers insight into the source landscape of the piece in question, providing information for their research. This was of particular value before easy digitization of source material when consulting manuscript sources often necessitated expensive travel.

The questions explored in the introduction of the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition align with our modern understanding of music theory: how does the musical text of these compositions reflect their programs? How do these two composers, both composing in the early 18th century, go about writing program music? The tone and depth of the analysis suggest an amateur audience. The questions are explored primarily from the perspective of teaching the reader about something new. The introduction moves from general to specific, from defining program music generally to the details of the pieces contained in the volume. Despite tackling a question related to music theory, the introduction contains limited technical language, with definitions woven through the prose. For example, Roth describes the *Capriccio*'s third movement as a “fully-fledged chaconne,” before clarifying in the next sentence that this is a “variation form.”²⁸⁴ The limitation of technical language and the careful defining of the technical language that is used mean that the reader requires minimal musical knowledge to understand this introductory essay.

The collected works projects and the source material information they contained were designed to be a tool for musicological study conducted by experts in an academic context.

²⁸⁴ Roth, intro to *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta*, XIV.

Whereas the information in the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition represents a form of cultural enrichment aimed at interested members of the general public. It does not appear to have been intended to give information to those conducting their own music centered research.

The differing attitudes with which Roth wrote about the two composers is also worth examining. Throughout the introduction, Kuhnau's compositional style is described using harsh, and dismissive language, with words such as "childish" and "powerless" appearing frequently.²⁸⁵ In contrast, Bach's writing is described in very favourable ways, with his weaknesses being given the benefit of the doubt. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Roth's description of the fugue that serves as the *Capriccio*'s final movement. He acknowledges that the fugue's material could have been expanded further, but quickly brushes that thought away due to Bach's age, saying that "one cannot expect a youthful work to have already achieved a mature form."²⁸⁶ Roth then follows this comment with effusive praise of the fugue: "Certainly, the fugue is the movement that most clearly shows its youthful origins. Nevertheless, what vivacity, what freshness and energy, especially towards the end!"²⁸⁷

The one instance in which Roth draws a direct comparison between Bach and Kuhnau's respective abilities underlines this difference: "When we compare Kuhnau's achievement with the *Capriccio* of the but nineteen-year-old Bach, we are confronted with the image that a comparison between predecessor and master always evokes: before truly productive talent, all

²⁸⁵ Roth, intro, VII and XII.

²⁸⁶ "Möglichkeit einer Expansion, wie sie das kodale Ausklingen erfordert, stand bei dem damaligen Arsenal von Formschemen in ihr am ehesten frei. Man kann nicht erwarten, daß ein Jugendwerk bereits zu reifem Gebilde durchdringe." Translation my own. Roth, intro to *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920), XVI.

²⁸⁷ "Gweiß ist die Fuge der Satz, dem man die frühe Entstehung am deutlichsten anmerkt. Trotzdem – welche Lebhaftigkeit, welche Frische und Energie vor allem Gegen das Ende hin!" Translation my own. Roth, intro to *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920), XVI.

respectability fades.”²⁸⁸ This quote, alongside the general tone with which Kuhnau is discussed, clearly shows the hierarchy Roth is creating in this introduction. Kuhnau is positioned as Bach’s inspiration, with his collection of *Biblical Sonatas* serving as an early version of a genre the teenaged Bach is here said to have mastered in a single attempt. This bolstering of Bach’s status reveals a secondary agenda of this publication, to support and promote Bach’s status as musical genius, even if that means denigrating the work and abilities of another composer.

The score of the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition is almost blank, with next to no ornaments and no interpretative suggestions. This stands out in comparison to other editions from the first half of the 20th century, which tend to show significant editorial freedom and heavy interpretative suggestions.²⁸⁹ This underscores the idea that the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition was intended as a tool for study and analysis, not necessarily to be played from.

The second exhibition edition relating to historical education is the *Universal* 1936 edition, edited by Karl Geiringer.²⁹⁰ This volume contains fourteen pieces, each composed by a different member of the Bach family, spanning from Johann Bach (1604–1673), J. S. Bach’s great-uncle and the earliest member of the Bach family for whom we have surviving compositions, to Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach (1759–1845), J. S. Bach’s last direct male relative.²⁹¹ The introduction to the volume discusses the history of the Bach family and their musical activity in the Thuringia region of Germany. This discussion is followed by single-

²⁸⁸ Nichtsdestoweniger erscheint, wenn wir der leistung Kuhnaus das Capriccio des eben neunzehnjährigen bach entgegenhalten, jenes Bild, das ein Vergleich zwischen Vorläufer und meister stets heraufruft: vor der wahrhaft produktiven begabung verblaßt alle Achtbarkeit.” Translation my own. Roth, intro to *Joh. Seb. Bach Capriccio B-dur und Joh. Kuhnau Suonata quarta* (Munich: Drei Masken Verlag, 1920), VIII.

²⁸⁹ See Appendix 3.

²⁹⁰ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo,” in *Die Familie Bach*, edited by Karl Geiringer (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1936), 16–23.

²⁹¹ Karl Geiringer, intro to *Die Familie Bach* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1936), 4.

sentence biographies of each composer featured in the volume. No information about the music itself is provided.

This was not the only time Karl Geiringer, the editor of the Universal 1936 edition, published something relating to the Bach family. He followed up this volume of scores with a monograph tracing the history of the Bach family, published in 1954.²⁹² While the two publications are not officially linked – having been published eighteen years apart, and in different countries by different publishers – the publication of an academic monograph taking up the topic launched by the musical edition strongly suggests that Geiringer’s focus in the Universal 1936 edition was historical. This idea is supported by the final paragraph of the introduction’s Bach family history, in Geiringer writes that “an attempt is made to show the musical creation of the Bach family from its first beginnings on record to its last representatives in characteristic works. In this way, not only the development of this unique family of artists, but also the progress of music within two centuries is revealed.”²⁹³ The target audiences of the two publications must also be considered. While the monograph is academic in nature, the score appears to have been intended for a non-professional public, as demonstrated by the variety of composers included and the lack of information about the music included.

Flipping forward in the Universal 1936 edition reveals a score heavy with interpretative suggestions and editorial additions. Aside from two passages containing octave doublings (movement I, measures 14–15 and movement III, measures 38–45, seen in figure 6.1), no indication is given in the score of what aspects of the musical text have been inherited from previous published editions and manuscript sources versus what is editorial, and therefore linked to this publication. This includes the figured bass realization in movement III, the first page of

²⁹² Karl Geiringer, *The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1954).

²⁹³ Geiringer, intro to *Die Familie Bach* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1936), 3.

which is seen in figure 6.2. Comparing the stated and implied intent of this publication with the editorial decisions made concerning the score itself reveals an interesting juxtaposition between historical enquiry and the aesthetics of interwar Bach performance. The biographical details of the composers included in the volume and its stated intent represent an interest into the history of the Bach family. In contrast, the extensive editorial interventions made in the score itself, the majority of which are not identified as editorial, represent a musical culture in which significant edits to the musical text can be made silently.

U. E. 10787

Mov. I, mm. 12–17

Mov. III, mm. 34–49

Figure 6.1: Examples of octave doubling in Universal 1936 edition, edited by Karl Geiringer.

18

Adagissimo Ist ein allgemeines Lamento der Freunde

U. E. 10787

Figure 6.2: Mov. III, mm. 1–33. Universal 1936 edition, edited by Karl Geiringer.

These two editions, both published in the interwar period, demonstrate two differing ways in which a musical score can be used to deliver historical information above and beyond their expected purpose. The varying strategies shown by the *Drei Masken* 1920 and Universal 1936 editions can be seen as different balances between study(ing) and play(ing). As has been established, the *Drei Masken* 120 edition is oriented towards study and analysis due to its study score format and the extensive historical and theoretical information provided by the introduction. The Universal 1936 edition provides a significant contrast to the study-aligned presentation of the *Drei Masken* 1920 edition. The survey of different composers, the relatively short introduction providing limited biographical information, and the “of its time” editing style all point to Geiringer envisioning practicing musicians as the users of this score. Furthermore, we must ask whether Geiringer intended the format of this edition, with this sampling of composers, as a way in which to pique musicians’ interest in Baroque composers other than J. S. Bach. Was this edition his way of creating a pathway into the music of the 17th and 18th centuries?

Baroque Introduction and Induction

As Bach re-entered the broader musical community’s awareness over the course of the 19th century, different groups of musicians became involved in playing and performing his compositions. This included increased amateur involvement with Baroque music.²⁹⁴ Each different type of musician, including musical amateurs, required different things from their sheet music. This section discusses musical scores that appear to have been created by editors and publishing houses to meet the unique requirements of amateur musicians learning and playing

²⁹⁴ María Cáceres-Piñuel, “From Historical Concerts to Monumental Editions: The Early Music Revivals at the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Theater (1892)” *Musicologica Austriaca* Special Issue (2021), accessed April 10th, 2024. <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/101>.

Baroque music for the first time. While pedagogical editions were edited for use in conservatory contexts or for use by pre-professional level students in structured academic contrasts, the editions created with amateur students in mind were intended for use in the home, and potentially for self-study. The editions that I argue were created for this purpose are the Peters 1851 and 1869 editions, and the L. Holle 1856 edition.²⁹⁵

The Peters 1851 and 1869 editions will be discussed in tandem because of the significant links between them. These two editions have a significant number of interpretative suggestions, practically one for every beat of music (see figure 6.3). It is easy to take the extensive number of interpretative suggestions as a reflection of what musical amateurs needed from their scores in the mid-19th century, when it actually tells us more about how experts saw them: as needing hand-holding, with every musical decision being taken care of by the editor's interpretative suggestions.

²⁹⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Compositions pour le Clavecin seul par J. Seb. Bach. Oeuvres de Bach, Série I, Cahier 4*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851), 62–7; Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo," in *Französische Ouvertüre, Fantasia con Fugue, Capriccio, Vier Duette*, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1869, reprint, Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851), 30–5; Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio Sopra la lontananza del suo fratello Dilettissimo," in *Sammlung der Clavier. Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, herausgegeben von Friedrich Chrysander, Band I*, edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856).

Nº 3. Capriccio

sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo.

Ist eine Schmeichelung der Freunde, um denselben von seiner Reise abzuhalten.

Arioso. Adagio. (♩ = 88.)

p e con dolcezza

dolce

poco cresc.

dim.

p cresc.

pp

smorz.

Ist eine Vorstellung unterschiedlicher Casuum, die ihm in der Fremde könnten vorkommen.

(Andante. ♩ = 58.)

mf

cresc.

dim.

cresc.

f

mf

cresc.

f

Figure 6.3: First page of the Peters 1869 edition, edited by Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl.

The Peters 1851 and 1869 editions present the same introduction, although it is given in both French and German in the 1851 edition, and only in German in the 1869 edition. This brief introductory paragraph provides some source material (linking these Peters editions to the Kittel and Becker manuscripts, see chapter 2 for further details), but no historical or performance practice information. The only mention of the editorial process comes in the form of a comment about the third movement: “In regards to the third movement, we have added only complementary additions of which the original has no trace, which are, in aim of being better distinguished from the text, printed in small notes.”²⁹⁶ The Peters 1869 edition specifically formed part of the Edition Peters series, a collection of sheet music launched in 1867 with the intention of providing high quality sheet music at an affordable price.²⁹⁷

The L. Holle 1856 edition was edited by Friedrich Chrysander, who was heavily implicated in the creation of musicology as an academic discipline.²⁹⁸ L. Holle, as a publishing house, primarily produced piano repertoire, and arrangements of the popular orchestral and operatic repertoire of the day for piano two- and four-hand.²⁹⁹ These types of publications were intended for the general public, and especially for domestic use. The L. Holle 1856 edition has no interpretative suggestions in its score. Instead, the piece is accompanied by an extensive

²⁹⁶ “In Betreff des dritten Satzes sei noch bemerkt, dass die zur Ausfüllung nöthigen Zusätze, welche im Original nicht stehen, der Unterscheidung halber mit kleineren Noten angegeben sind. / Par rapport à la troisième phrase nous ajouterons que les additions complémentaires don’t l’originale n’a aucune trace, ont été, afin d’être mieux distinguées du texte, imprimées en petites notes.” Translation my own. Griepenkerl, intro to *Compositions pour le Clavecin seul par J. Seb. Bach. Oeuvres de Bach, Série I, Cahier 4* (Leipzig and Berlin: C. F. Peters, Bureau de Musique, 1851), IV.

²⁹⁷ Irene Lawford-Hinrichsen, *Music Publishing and Patronage: C. F. Peters: 1800 to the Holocaust* (Kenton, England: Edition Press, 2000), 19–20.

²⁹⁸ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio Sopra la lontananza del suo fratello Dilettissimo,” in *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, herausgegeben von Friedrich Chrysander, Band I*, edited by Friedrich Chrysander (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856).

²⁹⁹ Theodor Wohnhaas, “Kallmeyer,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed February 10, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*; “Holle,” International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP)/Petrucci Music Library, accessed February 10, 2026, <https://imslp.org/wiki/Holle>. Little to no information about this publishing company is available in the existing scholarly literature. While in-depth archival research may uncover more information, such research is beyond the scope of this study.

introduction used by Chrysander to provide the information he deemed necessary for someone to successfully navigate Baroque repertoire.

Chrysander opens the introduction by defining his purpose: “The present new collection aims to promote knowledge and appreciation of Bach, even in circles that have previously been less familiar with his art.”³⁰⁰ Given the type of information that follows in this introduction, it appears likely that when Chrysander mentions circles unfamiliar with Bach, he is referring to musical amateurs, who did not have the benefit of encountering his music as part of professional training. He then goes on to say that his editorial aim of presenting the text “as much as possible as Bach wrote it down” necessitates explaining the aspects of Baroque music that are no longer common knowledge.³⁰¹ The first such area is ornamentation. Chrysander provides a brief description of how ornament symbols were used, followed by an extensive ornament chart detailing no fewer than twenty-six different ornaments (shown in figure 6.4). This is followed by his advice on how to use ornaments, namely that “it is no misfortune to omit a mannerism [ornament] now and then; however, this should happen rarely in pieces that suffer no loss as a result, and not merely because one is incapable of performing them with the necessary ease.”³⁰²

³⁰⁰ “Gegenwärtige neue Sammlung hat den Zweck, die Kenntniss und Würdigung Bach’s auch in den Kreisen anzubahnen, welche seiner Kunst bisher ferner standen.” Translation my own. Friedrich Chrysander, intro to *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, herausgegeben von Friedrich Chrysander, Band I* (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856), I.

³⁰¹ “Aus dem Bestreben, so viel als möglich den Text so zu geben, wie Bach ihn aufgezeichnet hat, erwächst mir die Aufgabe, das uns wirklich Fremdgewordene zu erläutern.” Translation my own. Chrysander, intro to *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen* (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856), I.

³⁰² “Es ist kein Unglück, wenn man hin und wieder eine Manier fortlässt; jedoch geschehe es selten, beim Stücken, die keine Einbusse dadurch erleiden und nicht bloss desshalb, weil man unfähig ist sie mit der erforderlichen Leichtigkeit vorzutragen.” Translation my own. Chrysander, intro to *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen* (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856), II.

Figure 6.4: Ornament chart from the introduction of the L. Holle 1856 edition, edited by Friedrich Chrysander.

Chrysander follows his section on ornaments with a section on the different, Baroque specific, genres in which Bach wrote. This entails an alphabetical list of twenty-one dance types and other genres, each with a short explanation of their origin and character. The final section of the introduction is about general interpretation advice. Chrysander opens the section by writing that anyone who “strives to recognize the character and style of performance of the various pieces will be sure of success in studying Bach, more sure than those who adhere to prescribed

tempo, prescribed expression signs and prescribed fingerings” – a clear encouragement for musicians to think critically about the music they are playing as they make interpretative decisions.³⁰³ In this same vein, his advice on tempo emphasizes critically listening to one’s playing: “if, during performance, one hears that the counterpoint is obscured and the vocal texture is indistinctly intertwined, then the tempo should be slowed; but if continuous dissonant tones become too noticeable as harshness, then one must play faster.”³⁰⁴ Chrysander also mentions that the scores are inexpensively priced, and therefore easily accessible. These three comments, especially when considered alongside the extensive information provided by the introduction, indicate Chrysander’s mission to give his audience as much of the information they need to navigate Bach’s music for the first time. A Baroque induction in four tightly packed pages.

Both the Peters 1851 (and 1869) and L. Holle 1856 editions have a focus on conveying interpretative guidance and performance practice advice to the musicians using their scores, and appear to have aimed that advice at those encountering this style of music for the first time. However, the way in which this information is conveyed differs between publications. Griepenkerl chose in the Peters 1851 and 1869 editions to place the interpretation and performance practice information on the score itself, guiding the musician through interpreting the *Capriccio* in real time as they read the score. This guidance goes beyond the aspects of musical interpretation typically found under the umbrella of performance practice (for example,

³⁰³ “Wer nach vorstehender Anleitung den Charakter und die Vortragsweise der verschiedenen Tonstücke zu erkennen bemüht ist, der wird im Studium Bach’s ziemlich sicher gehen, sicherer als die, welche sich an ein vorgeschriebenes Tempo an vorgeschriebene Ausdruckszeichen und an vorgeschriebenen Fingersatz binden.” Translation my own. Chrysander, intro to *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen* (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856), IV.

³⁰⁴ “hört man beim Vortrage, dass der Contrapunkt verdunkelt und das Stimmgewebe unklar in einander verschlungen wird, so nehme man das Tempo langsamer; machen sich aber durchgehende dissonirende Töne als Härten allzuvernehmlich, so muss man Schneller spielen.” Translation my own. Chrysander, intro to *Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen* (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, 1856), IV.

ornamentation and articulation), but also details the ebbing and flowing of the musical lines as shown by the many dynamic and (de)crescendo markings.

In contrast, the L. Holle 1856 edition conveys all the necessary information in the introduction before the score. This approach requires musicians to apply the information learned from the introduction to the music using their own intuition and pre-existing knowledge base. It also indicates trust that the introduction will be read. The decision to choose one strategy over the other is not necessarily a solely pedagogically or musically minded one. Placing the interpretative information on the score, as done by the Peters 1851 and 1869 editions, uses fewer pages, which lowers printing costs for the publishing house, and in turn means that the score can be sold at a lower price.

It is important to differentiate the exhibition editions whose intent is to help amateur musicians interpret Baroque music for the first time from the pedagogical editions that were discussed in chapter 5, as both types of scores were created with the general aim of helping someone play Bach's music. The difference between these scores comes down to two things: who edits them, and the information they provide. Pedagogical scores are either edited by career pedagogues or are explicitly created for use in a conservatory context, whereas the exhibition editions intended for amateur use were both edited by musicologists.

The information conveyed also differs between these two categories of editions. Exhibition editions are more concerned with the basics of interpreting this type of music, so they give information such as dynamic nuances, the musical structure of phrases, articulation, and genre-specific character. They provide the type of basic information needed by someone without extensive musical exposure or training. Pedagogical editions take these aspects of musical interpretation for granted, assuming that their users will be able to do much of this interpretation

on their own. Instead, they provide higher-level information, such as the realization of specific and unfamiliar ornament symbols, fugal analysis, and figured bass realizations.

Regional Exposure

The third subcategory of exhibition editions is regional exposure; editions designed to introduce a piece or repertoire to a geographic region in which it was previously inaccessible or unavailable. One such edition of the *Capriccio* was located during this study, the Moscow Music 1978 edition.³⁰⁵ The introduction of the Moscow Music 1978 edition clearly indicates that “many of the works included in this collection have never been published in our country.”³⁰⁶ Koptschewski, the editor of this edition, is also very clear in stating the publication’s goal: “The goal of this publication is to present the clavier work of the great German composer, to show with the greatest completeness the works that were not included in popular collections (The Well-Tempered Clavier, French, [and] English suites, Partitas, Inventions), and are therefore less known and in some cases completely unknown.”³⁰⁷ These statements leave no doubt that this publication was intended to provide Soviet musicians with access to new repertoire.

The contents of the Moscow Music 1978 edition show evidence of extensive research. In the introduction, Koptschewski lists the editions they consulted in editing this edition. The *Neue*

³⁰⁵ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio sopra la lontananza del fratello dilettissimo,” in *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]*, edited by N. Koptschewski (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978), 9–16.

³⁰⁶ “Многие из включенных в сборник сочинений никогда в нашей стране не публиковались.” Translation by Samuel Futhey. N. Koptschewski, intro to *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]* (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978), 5.

³⁰⁷ “Цель настоящего издания -- представить клавирное творчество великого немецкого композитора, с наибольшей полнотой показать сочинения, не вошедшие в популярные сборники (Хорошо темперированный клавир, французские, английские, сюиты, партиты, инвенции), и поэтому менее известные а в некоторых случаях и совсем неизвестные.” Translation by Samuel Futhey. N. Koptschewski, intro to *Избранные Произведения Для Клавира [Selected Works for Klavier]* (Moscow: Moscow Music, 1978), 5.

Bach Ausgabe (NBA) and the series of Bach editions published in the GDR by Edition Peters in the 1960s are credited as the primary sources, with the Bach-Gesellschaft edition having also been consulted.³⁰⁸ This pattern of displaying the source materials used continues in the accompanying commentary and appendix, in which Koptschewski discusses the figured bass realization for the third movement. They identified the realization included in the main score as Hans Bischoff's (editor of the Steingräber 1888 edition), and the additional realizations provided in the appendix as having been written by F. C. Griepenkerl (editor of Peters 1851 and 1869 editions), C. Reinecke (presumably the editor of the unidentified Reinecke edition cited here and by the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* in 1890), and Blanche Selva (editor of the Maurice Senart 1910 edition). The use of material from such a broad variety of editions raises unanswerable questions about how the editor was able to access these materials, especially in the case of the Maurice Senart edition, which had been published in Paris almost 70 years prior.

Koptschewski also uses footnotes to provide variant readings at several moments throughout the *Capriccio*. Four of the six footnotes show instances where a particular reading has been standard, if not universal, prior to the publication of the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions.³⁰⁹ Examples of these footnotes are shown in figure 6.5. The remaining two footnotes provide variants with less prominent historical grounding. The footnote shown in shows a variant first introduced by the Steingräber 1888, and used in just over half of the pre-1970s *Capriccio* editions. The footnote shown in figure 6.7 provides a variant not found in any other published edition or in any of the manuscripts.

³⁰⁸ All three of these publication projects, and their involvement with the *Capriccio*, are discussed in chapter 4.

³⁰⁹ For details of the relationship between the Henle 1975 and NBA 1976 editions of the *Capriccio*, see chapter 4. The philological relationship between the Moscow 1978 edition and its sources is discussed in detail in chapter 2.

CAPRICCIO
sopra la lontananza
del fratello diletto
ARIOSO
Ist eine Schmeichelei der Freunde, um denselben von seiner Reise abzuhalten.
Лестъ друзей, чтобы удержать его от путешествия.

BWV 992
1

КАПРИЧЧИО
на отъезд
возлюбленного брата
АРИОЗО

9

Adagio

Вариант: 10041

Figure 6.5: Mov. I. Moscow Music 1978 edition, edited by N. Koptschewski, with footnotes highlighted.



Figure 6.6: Mov. VI, mm. 1–8. Moscow Music 1978 edition, edited by N. Koptschewski, with footnote highlighted.

FUGA
ALL' IMITATIONE DI POSTA

6

ФУГА В ПОДРАЖАНИЕ
ПОЧТОВОМУ РОЖКУ

Вариант: (4) 5

10041

Figure 6.7: Mov. VI, mm. 45–58. Moscow Music 1978 edition, edited by N. Koptschewski, with footnote highlighted.

From the stated purpose of this edition, it is clear that Koptschewski knew that this was likely to be the only edition of these pieces their audience would have access to. With this in mind, the editor's care in providing standard variant readings, clearly stating source material, and including multiple figured bass realizations in the appendix take on new significance. Did Koptschewski make these choices not only because they are good scholarly practice, but because they wanted to provide their audience a glimpse of the other editions out there?

Conclusion

Exhibition editions comprise a category banded together by intent. Despite their differences, each of the three subcategories within exhibition editions have been shaped by the intention to share information of a new kind or to a new group of people. For exhibition editions devoted to historical education, this involves using musical scores to convey historical information about the music or composers. For editions focused on Baroque introduction and induction, the editors focused on conveying the performance practice and interpretative information someone new to Baroque music would need to successfully navigate the *Capriccio*. The Peters 1851 and 1869, and the L. Holle 1856 editions went about this in contrasting ways, with the Peters editions placing this information on the score itself, and the L. Holle 1856 edition employing a detailed introduction. The Moscow Music 1978 edition demonstrated how an editor's decisions could be shaped by the knowledge that their publication was going to be the only edition available to their audience. These intentions are made explicitly in the introductions to the scores. The direct statement of intention, along with the fact that they are aimed at the general public, differentiate these editions from other categories. For the other categories of *Capriccio* editions, intention can

be hypothesized as a result of the analysis of their characteristics. For exhibition editions, the intentions are generally directly stated.

Chapter 7:

Performing, Editing, Interpreting: Concert Artists Edit the *Capriccio*

The process of preparing a piece of music for performance is a deeply personal one, shaped by the individual knowledge, preferences, and experiences of each musician. After the obvious work of learning the notes and rhythms is done, the involved exercise of fully integrating the piece into one's psyche can begin, so that eventually the piece can be not only played out but lived. No two musicians will go about this in the same way, nor will they arrive at the same result. But what happens when concert artists, those whose primary interaction with music is the interpretative process needed to perform, serve as music editors?

Much as with pedagogues, where examining the patterns in editorial decision making reveals traces of their professional activities, analyzing the editions edited by concertizing artists allow us insight into their individual musical practices.³¹⁰ This chapter demonstrates how these editions can provide information about Bach interpretation in the early 20th century.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the number of amateur and semi-professional musicians interested in early music revival grew dramatically.³¹¹ While there were still touring concert artists who dedicated some or all of their career to performing early music, it became increasingly common for non-professionals to learn and play pieces by Baroque composers such as J. S. Bach. As suggested by the *Capriccio*'s publication history, publishers in the second half of the 19th century produced editions that provided interpretative support to musical amateurs interpreting Bach for the first time.³¹² By the early 20th century, with Bach firmly entrenched in

³¹⁰ For discussion of pedagogues as editors, see chapter 5.

³¹¹ María Cáceres-Piñuel, "From Historical Concerts to Monumental Editions: The Early Music Revivals at the Viennese International Exhibition of Music and Theater (1892)," *Musicologica Austriaca* Special Issue (2021), <https://www.musau.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/101>.

³¹² See chapter 6.

the standard repertoire, scores aimed at amateur musicians changed form, with concertizing artists being hired as editors. For these performers-turned-editors, editing volumes of music formed one branch of their usually well-rounded portfolio careers as professional musicians. These editions often, intentionally or otherwise, serve as written records of the interpretative choices of a famous musician, allowing their style to be communicated.³¹³ For the publishers, having a famous name on the cover of a score may have served as an additional layer of advertising.

The power of publishing to legitimize a piece or repertory is not confined to early music, nor is the alluring fame of concertizing artists the only strategy that has been used. María Cáceres-Piñuel has shown how music festivals and concerts were used in the late 19th century to both legitimize early music and market scores.³¹⁴ Further exploring the possibility of published editions as a means of legitimization, Mark Clague discusses the “Music of the United States of America” series of musical editions as an example of how publication can be used to legitimize composition – in this case an attempt to raise American composers, including women and people of colour, to the status of European composers.³¹⁵ Both articles approach the topic of legitimization on a large scale – discussing respectively a broad period of music history and the compositional output of an entire country. However, the principles may also be applied to the editions discussed below, with a small number of famous names editing, and therefore approving, a single piece.

³¹³ James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996): 151.

³¹⁴ María Cáceres-Piñuel, “From Historical Concerts to Monumental Editions,” [1].

³¹⁵ Mark Clague, “Portraits in Beams and Barlines: Critical Music Editing and the Art of Notation,” *American Music* 23 (2005): 39–68.

While these publications establish the roles musical scores can reflect the context of their creation, they do not address the impact external factors may have on the process of editing itself, specifically the impact an editor's identity can have on their editorial output. Deborah Mawer addresses this topic in her book chapter "Accenting Bach: An Editorial Trajectory from Fauré to Roger-Ducasse."³¹⁶ Situated within an edited volume dedicated to Jacques Durand's *Édition Classique*, a series of musical scores published during and after the First World War to provide an alternative to German publications, the chapter endeavours to determine the degree of "French accent" present in French editions of J. S. Bach's keyboard music. Unlike this study, which prioritizes changes made to the musical text, Mawer focuses primarily on the prefaces of editions as evidence of the editor's personal mark. Additionally, the aspect of the editors' identity examined is a national one, their status as French citizens, not a personal or a professional one, such as their experiences as composers or performers.

Editions

Two of the *Capriccio*'s 26 unique editions were edited by concert artists, both in the early 20th century. They were, respectively, published by Maurice Senart in 1910, and Schott in 1916. The Maurice Senart edition is number 28 of a larger publication project, entitled the "Nouvelle édition Française de musique classique," which was supervised by Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931).³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Deborah Mawer, "Accenting Bach: An Editorial Trajectory from Fauré to Roger-Ducasse," in *Accenting the Classics: Editing European Music in France, 1915-1925*, edited by Deborah Mawer, Barbara L. Kelly, Rachel Moore and Graham Sadler, 151–88 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2023).

³¹⁷ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le départ de son frère bien-aimé* [front cover], *Caprice sur le depart de son frère bien aimé* [above score], published under the artistic direction of Vincent d'Indy, edited by Blanche Selva (Paris: Édition Maurice Senart & C^{ie}, 1910).

Blanche Selva (1884–1942), a former composition student of d’Indy, served as editor for the *Capriccio*. While Selva’s later career was focused on piano pedagogy, her relationship with Bach was that of a performer. In 1904, at the age of twenty, she performed all of Bach’s keyboard compositions in a series of seventeen recitals in Paris.³¹⁸

Schott’s edition of the *Capriccio*, published in 1916, is presented in a collected volume alongside toccatas and fugues in D major and g minor, and a prelude and fugue in a minor.³¹⁹ This volume was edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner. Max Reger (1873–1916) was a German composer, pianist, and organist. Known as a virtuoso organist in the early part of his career, he is now primarily remembered for his organ compositions, many of which combine Romantic-era chromatic harmonies with Baroque musical forms.³²⁰ August Schmid-Lindner (1870–1959) was active throughout his career as both a pianist and an organist, and frequently collaborated with Reger in editing editions of Bach’s music.³²¹

When compared with editors of other musical identities, concert artists took greater liberties with the musical text when editing the *Capriccio*. These liberties fall into two categories: the modification of musical language and the insertion of modern instrumental idioms. In both categories, the other musical experiences and activities of these performers-turned-editors are reflected in their editorial decision making.

³¹⁸ Charles Timbrell, “Selva, Blanche,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 17, 2024, *Oxford Music Online*. Jean-Marc Warszawski, and Diane Andersen, editors, *Blanche Selva: Naissance d’une piano moderne* (Lyon: Symétrie, 2010). The majority of the scholarly literature on Blanche Selva focuses on her contributions to piano pedagogy. This study is the first to discuss her work as a musical editor.

³¹⁹ Johann Sebastian Bach, “Capriccio B Dur,” in *Klavier-Werke Band XI (Capriccio B Dur (Abreise); Toccata und Fuge D Dur; Toccata und Fuge G Moll; Preludio und Fuge A Moll)*, edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner (Mainz: Schott, 1916), 7–13.

³²⁰ John Williamson, “Reger, (John Baptist Joseph) Max(imillian),” *Grove Music Online*, accessed February 1, 2024, *Oxford Music Online*; Helmut Brauss, *Max Reger’s Music for Solo Piano* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1994). The existing scholarly research focuses on Reger’s compositional activities.

³²¹ Gertraud Schmid-Lindner, “August Schmid-Lindner. Gedanken und Anmerkungen zu seinem Leben und zu seinem Werk,” *Musik in Bayern* 35 (1987): 91.

Musical Language

The first liberty taken by these editors concerns musical language. Several editors, including Selva, Reger, and Schmid-Lindner felt the need to add notes to the *Capriccio*. This is particularly observable at the ends of phrases. One phrase in the first movement of the *Capriccio* was particularly popular with editors who added notes. This phrase, spanning from the second beat of measure eight to the first beat of measure twelve, occurs halfway through the movement, right before the buildup to the emotional nadir.

Shown in figure 7.1, is Blanche Selva's treatment of this phrase from the Maurice Senart 1910 edition of the *Capriccio*.³²² Selva's editorial intervention in this phrase are relatively subtle. Her strategy largely revolves around doubling already present chord tones to reinforce Bach's implied harmonies. For example, the E $\flat$ added at the end of measure nine, which reinforces the E $\flat$ heard in the upper voice at the beginning of the beat. This reinforcement solidifies the chord heard by someone trained to interpret music harmonically as a dominant seventh. The added E $\flat$ resolves downward to a D also added by Selva; this motion, of the seventh in the dominant to the third of the tonic, fulfills the cadential expectations of tonal harmony, underlining the *Capriccio*'s portrayal as a harmonic piece of music.

³²² Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio sur le départ de son frère bien-aimé* [front cover], *Caprice sur le depart de son frère bien aimé* [above score], published under the artistic direction of Vincent d'Indy, edited by Blanche Selva (Paris: Édition Maurice Senart & C^{ie}, 1910).

The image displays a comparison of musical notation for movement I, measures 8-12, between two editions: NBA 1976 (top) and Maurice Senart 1910 (bottom). The score is written for piano in G major, 2/4 time. The top system shows measures 8-11 of the NBA 1976 edition, with measure 12 beginning in the second system. The bottom system shows measures 8-11 of the Maurice Senart 1910 edition, with measure 12 beginning in the second system. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The NBA 1976 edition includes dynamic markings (f), (p), and (f) in measures 9, 10, and 11. The Maurice Senart 1910 edition includes dynamic markings (f), (p), and (f) in measures 9, 10, and 11. Added notes are highlighted in blue in the Maurice Senart 1910 edition.

Figure 7.1: Comparison of mov. I, mm. 8–12 in NBA 1976 (above) and Maurice Senart 1910 (below) editions. Added notes highlighted.

Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner's edition of the *Capriccio*, published in 1916, is shown in figure 7.2.³²³ In comparison with Selva's editorial additions to the text of the *Capriccio*, Reger and Schmid-Lindner's editorial interventions are much more prominent. In measure nine, they have added a tie from the third to the fourth beat, creating a dissonance as the B $\flat$ is sustained for an extra half-beat, before resolving to an A (added by Reger and Schmid-Lindner). In the cadence spanning measures eleven and twelve, the notes added by the editors are quite pronounced. While Selva's attempts to harmonicize the *Capriccio's* cadences are usually confined to the longer notes in the left hand, Reger and Schmid-Lindner add notes to the right hand, following the rhythm of the upper voice. This shifts the right hand's material in this cadence from being heard as a melodic line to being heard as a chord progression. This harmonic technique may also be observed in Reger's original piano compositions, described by Helmut Brauss as the "chordalization of the smallest steps."³²⁴

³²³ Johann Sebastian Bach, "Capriccio B Dur," in *Klavier-Werke Band XI (Capriccio B Dur (Abreise); Toccata und Fuge D Dur; Toccata und Fuge G Moll; Preludio und Fuge A Moll)*, edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner (Mainz: Schott, 1916), 7–13.

³²⁴ Helmut Brauss, *Max Reger's Music for Solo Piano* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1994), 21–41 (26).

The figure displays two musical staves for comparison. The top staff (NBA 1976) shows measures 8-12 with a treble and bass clef. The bottom staff (Schott 1916) shows measures 8-12 with a treble and bass clef. The Schott 1916 edition includes dynamic markings (p, mf, p, mf, p, mf, p, mf, p, mf, p, mf) and fingering numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, 5). Added notes are highlighted in blue.

Figure 7.2: Comparison of mov. I, mm. 8–12 in NBA 1976 (above) and Schott 1916 (below) editions. Added notes highlighted.

Selva, Reger and Schmid-Lindner are not the only early 20th century editors who felt driven to harmonize this phrase in the *Capriccio*'s first movement. Heinrich Germer, whose 1903 pedagogical edition of the piece is discussed at length in chapter 5, also filled in the texture

Numerous editors sought to update the musical language of the *Capriccio* in editions of the piece published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and used a variety of strategies to do so. However, the efforts made by Selva, Reger and Schmid-Lindner, and Germer in their respective editions to harmonize this phrase of the first movement are of particular interest because their editorial interventions have broader implications for musicians seeking to interpret the piece. The *Capriccio* was likely originally composed to be played on the harpsichord. Unlike on the modern piano, where changing the speed and force at which the keys are depressed relate directly to the volume of sound produced, the harpsichord's volume cannot be controlled by the musician. Harpsichord strings are plucked by the internal mechanism of the instrument, rather like the strings of a guitar, and, as a result, the way in which the keys are depressed have no impact on the volume. To compensate for this, composers writing for harpsichord used the density of musical texture to create dynamic contrast throughout a piece or movement, because the amount of sound produced correlated, essentially directly, with the number of notes heard simultaneously. Varying the quantity of sound in this way could be done in a variety of ways, such as building tension and anticipation, highlighting shifts of colour, and to help aurally define musical structure.

The first half of the *Capriccio*'s first movement is largely in three voices. As a result, the phrase starting in measure eight, which sees the musical texture thin to two voices in measure ten, immediately stands out. I believe this choice was intentional on Bach's part; that making the musical text noticeably sparser was intended as a purposeful withdrawal before the movement's emotional nadir. The repetitive rhythmic material during this sparsening also foreshadows the nadir's use of five repetitions of the same melodic figure supported by a bassline descending by step.

After this withdrawal Bach adds voices back in, ending the movement in four voices. Whether musicians playing the *Capriccio* on the modern piano are consciously aware of this feature of the musical texture, the change in number of voices supports the melodic structure of the movement, reflecting the tension and release of other elements of the music. The changing number of voices throughout the first movement of the *Capriccio*, may be seen in figure 7.4, in which this movement is annotated to show at a glance the presence and absence of the voices.

1. Arioso
Adagio. Ist eine Schmeichelung der Freunde, um denselben von seiner Reise abzuhalten.

The figure displays a musical score for the first movement of the Capriccio, annotated to show the changing number of voices. The score is in G major, 3/4 time, and consists of six systems of music. The first system shows the beginning of the movement. The second system shows a change in texture. The third system shows a change in texture. The fourth system shows a change in texture. The fifth system shows a change in texture. The sixth system shows the end of the movement. The annotations use colored lines (green, blue, purple, red) to indicate the presence and absence of voices throughout the movement.

Figure 7.4: Mov. I, NBA 1976 edition, annotated to show changing number of voices.

As a result, the editorial interventions made by Selva, Germer, and Reger and Schmid-Lindner impact not only the musical language of the *Capriccio*'s first movement, but its melodic and emotional unfolding as well. By adding extra voices to the phrase starting in measure eight, the editors are covering up Bach's structural clues, making the movement more difficult to understand. While modern musicians may not know to relate the number of voices present to dynamic level in Baroque keyboard music, many of them would instinctively reduce the dynamic level in a sparser passage. By erasing the sparseness of the phrase, the editors are also impacting the expressive, and consequently emotional, unfolding of the movement.

The impulse to add extra voices to Bach's compositions is not only felt by those editing his compositions in the early 20th century. Robert Schumann composed piano accompaniments to Bach's Sonatas and partitas for solo violin. Joel Lester analyzed these piano accompaniments in an effort to understand what they have to tell us about how Bach was understood by Schumann in the 19th century.³²⁶ Much like how adding additional notes to the *Capriccio* obscures the narrative arc of the first movement, Lester observes how Schumann's accompaniment overwrites Bach's multi-layered metric hierarchy in favour of emphasizing each downbeat.³²⁷ As the *Capriccio* was composed in the earliest days of the 18th century, it was conceived of contrapuntally.

A possible explanation for why so many editors and composers felt the need to add Bach's musical text comes from the changing understanding of musical language across the 18th and 19th centuries. The *Capriccio*, composed at the very beginning of the 18th century, was conceived of contrapuntally. By the time the Maurice Senart 1910 and Schott 1916 editions were

³²⁶ Joel Lester, "Reading and Misreading: Schumann's Accompaniments to Bach's Sonatas and Partitas for Solo Violin," *Current Musicology* 56 (2018): 24–53.

³²⁷ Lester, "Reading and Misreading," 29.

published, counterpoint was no longer the primary way of understanding musical text. As the concert artists editing the *Capriccio* around the turn of the 20th century were trained to think primarily about music in a harmonic way, they may have found it necessary to adjust the musical language. They did so by adding supplementary notes to the *Capriccio* to make the piece sound more harmonic, and therefore allow it to be more easily understood by their audience.

Modern Idioms

The second way in which performers-turned-editors take greater liberties with the musical text of the *Capriccio* is by inserting modern piano and organ idioms. As previously stated, the *Capriccio* was likely composed for the harpsichord. In addition to the lack of dynamic control, the harpsichord differs from the modern piano in a number of ways, which means that idiomatic writing for the piano differ significantly from that for the harpsichord.

Reger and Schmid-Lindner have made several types of major editorial changes to this movement, as shown in figure 7.5. The first major editorial change they made was doubling passages in octaves, which are highlighted in blue in figure 7.5. On a harpsichord, doublings of this kind would be extremely disruptive to voicing and balance of a passage as they would result in one voice being artificially highlighted in relation to the others. To a lesser extent this is also true of the piano, especially since it is the bass voice that is always doubled and the lower register of the piano carries more easily than the upper registers. However, the capacity of the piano for varied dynamics makes all the difference here, as the number of notes played has no direct relationship with the volume of sound produced. On the piano, any voice, anywhere on the piano can be voiced to be louder than the others. Much 19th century piano music relies on this

aspect of the instrument, as the ratio of accompaniment to melody notes tends to be high.³²⁸ This means that the musicians can choose whether or not to intentionally voice the part doubled in octaves. On the harpsichord where the number of notes played is directly proportional to the amount of sound produced, the voice doubled in octaves will always draw the listeners attention.

Doubling a voice in octaves would also forcibly vary the articulation, as, unlike the modern piano, the harpsichord has no mechanism to sustain notes once a key has been released. Certain instances of the doublings in this movement also make the suggested ornamentation impossible. In measures four, nine, fourteen, and eighteen, the editors have instructed musicians to play mordants (circled in pink in figure 7.5) which is physically impossible with the hand outstretched to cover an octave for the vast majority of musicians.

Throughout the movement, Reger and Schmid-Lindner have added rolled chord symbols, highlighted in purple in figure 7.5. Most of these rolled chord symbols are necessitated by the octave doublings discussed above. With the left hand fully occupied with playing octaves, the right hand needs to play the upper three voices of the four-voice texture. As the range of notes to be played by the right hand has been expanded from a sixth (without the octave doublings) to a tenth (with the octave doublings), many musicians will not be able to play the three upper voices blocked. In keeping with 19th and 20th century notational conventions, where rolled chords are explicitly notated by the composer, Reger and Schmid-Lindner have added rolled chord symbols to grant the users of their score permission to arpeggiate these chords.

³²⁸ Consider the piano music of composers such as Chopin and Brahms, where rippling, arpeggiated left hand accompaniments, containing many notes per beat (when played by a skilled musician) do not overpower melodies delivered one note at a time.

2. In eine Vorstellung unterschiedlicher Caenum, die ihm in der Ferne könnten vorfallen. ⁸⁾

Andante $\frac{4}{4}$ quasi scherzando (♩ = 76)

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Additionally, the movement's final cadence (highlighted in green in figure 7.5) has been revoiced, adding notes to the left hand to use as much of the keyboard as possible. The range of these notes far exceeds the compass of most harpsichord keyboards, implying that this choice was made with the piano in mind. Playing this cadence in such a way that it is heard as chords, not as arpeggios, is also not possible without the help of the modern piano's sustain pedal. Although these editorial interventions would, from a Baroque perspective, be associated with idiomatic organ music, the introduction of this edition of the *Capriccio* encourages musicians to "make no scruples to fully utilize the tonal gradation of the modern grand piano, so as to infuse life and spirit into each changing mood."³²⁹ This quote can be further contextualized by observations made about Reger's compositional style. Density of texture, the doubling of voices, and "bigger equals better" are all readily observable in his piano music.³³⁰

All of these editorial changes can be linked to the other musical practices of Reger and Schmid-Lindner. The evidence for this is two-fold. It is clear from both the editorial additions made to the musical text, and the contents of the introduction that Reger and Schmid-Lindner envisioned their score to be used by pianists. The decisions they made concerning the musical text align with the acoustical properties of the modern piano. In turn, the nature of the additions made to the musical text can be seen as reflecting not only early 20th century piano music in general, but the specific musical style found within in Reger's compositions.

Helmut Brauss, in describing Reger's piano music writes that "it is widely accepted that Reger's concentrated polyphonic style, his often irrational metric proportions, his asymmetrical phrase structures, his massive sound spectra, and his expansive harmonic concepts are his most

³²⁹ Bach, "Capriccio B Dur," edited by Max Reger and August Schmid-Lindner (Mainz: Schott, 1916), 5.

³³⁰ Brauss, *Max Reger's Music for Solo Piano*, 21–41 (26–8).

characteristic compositional stylistic elements.”³³¹ Reger’s “concentrated polyphonic style” and “irrational metric proportions” are not evidenced in his editing of the *Capriccio*, as they would require changes so large that they would tip the scale into the territory of a transcription to be made to the musical text. However, the other compositional characteristics Brauss observes can all be seen in the Schott 1916 edition of the *Capriccio*. “Asymmetrical phrase structure” is shown by the use of rolled chord symbols. While these rolled chord symbols are used out of necessity as a result of octave doubling in the left hand, their placement within the phrases (the second beat of the fifth bar of a five bar phrase) places emphasis on a moment within each phrase that is not typically emphasized. “Massive sound spectra” is very easily observed. In addition to the octave doublings Reger and Schmid-Lindner have added throughout the piece, *forzando* markings (*fz*) are liberally used, as is the instruction to play fortissimo. Reger and Schmid-Lindner’s instructions to play fortissimo often coincide with instances where chords have been reharmonized to utilize huge quantities of the piano’s range. This occurs not only in the second movement, but in the fourth movement as well (see figure 7.6).

³³¹ Brauss, *Max Reger’s Music for Solo Piano*, 22.

Allhier kommen die Freunde, weil sie doch sehen, | Ici les amis, ayant reconnu l'impossibilité de re- | At this point his friends appear, seeing no other
 daß es anders nicht sein kann, und nehmen Abschied. | tenir le voyageur viennement prendre congé de lui. | alternative, and take leave.

Andante sostenuto (♩ = 66) *mf* *ff* *marc.* *dim. molto e rit.* *p*

Figure 7.6: Mov. IV, Schott 1916 edition.

Musical Updating

Both modifying the musical language, and the insertion of modern instrumental idioms can be seen as instances of music editors seeking to update the *Capriccio* to make it resemble more closely the music they were used to. Musical language was not the only thing that had evolved since Bach composed the *Capriccio* in 1704; musical instruments, and their acoustical properties, had too. David Breitman, in his book *Piano-Playing Revisited*, provides insight into the challenges of playing 18th century music on a modern piano.³³² Harpsichords and other period

³³² David Breitman, *Piano-Playing Revisited: What Modern Players Can Learn from Period Instruments* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2021), 8–23 (20). Breitman is speaking about historical fortepianos, as that is his specialty, however this point also applies to harpsichords, particularly as the harpsichord's lack of capacity for dynamic variation brings the difference between registers into even sharper focus.

keyboard instruments, which are significantly smaller and more delicate than modern grand pianos, vary significantly in sound between registers. As a result, the independent melodic lines on which early 18th century music is built will inherently take on distinctive characters. In contrast, the modern piano has a relatively consistent sound across the instrument's full compass. Composers writing for the modern piano offset this lack of distinction between registers in a variety of ways, including the use of blocked chords with many notes sounding simultaneously, arpeggios covering wide swathes of the keyboard, and octave doublings, all of which add resonance.³³³ These characteristics can all be found in the early 20th century editions of the *Capriccio* edited by concertizing artists, demonstrating that editors, alongside composers were concerned with how to handle the acoustical properties of the modern piano.

Conclusion

Closely examining the editorial decisions made allows for potential insight into an editor's other professional activities within music. In the case of performers-turned-editors, this examination can grant some idea of how these musicians would have approached performing Bach. Within the context of the early 20th century, these editors found it necessary to update the *Capriccio* to more closely resemble the music familiar to themselves and their audiences. Selva, Reger and Schmid-Lindner, and did so by filling in the musical texture to reshape the musical language as harmonic. Reger and Schmid-Lindner also augmented previous understandings of the *Capriccio*'s musical text with modern piano and organ idioms to compensate for the changes to instrument acoustics.

³³³ Breitman, *Piano-Playing Revisited*, 20.

Chapter 8:

The Professionalization of Music Editing

For much of the history of printed music, those who edited these publications did so alongside other professional activities. Their portfolio careers were as individual as they were complex. Much as we do now, musicians taught, performed, arranged, accompanied, coached, conducted, and composed. They were critics, and scholars, and theorists. They were employed by townships and churches, universities and conservatories, and often, by themselves. Some of them also edited, typically being hired by a publishing house for a specific project relating to other components of their variegated careers. This image changes in the mid-20th century, with the professionalization of music editing. For the first time, editing emerges as a standalone career. For these editors, editing music is their primary professional occupation. They are often employed long-term by a specific publishing house, and over the course of their careers produce dozens of volumes of music for that company.

As we have seen, the editions produced by editors of specific professional identities, such as pedagogues, performers, and composers, share characteristics drawn from the editor's experiences in their primary professional activity. Career pedagogues bring their impulse to explain elements of the music with them into their editing. Concertizing artists input facets of their musical practice as performers into their editing. Elements of the compositional style of composers can be seen in the music they edit. But what happens when an editor's primary professional activity within the music world is editing? What are these editors influenced by, if not their practice of teaching, performing or composing? Do professional music editors share editorial traits in the same way other categories defined by professional identity do? This chapter

seeks to answer these questions by arguing that professional music editors are shaped by the musical culture surrounding them, instead of by their individual professional practices.

Editions

Two editions of the *Capriccio* were edited by professional music editors. The first is the Schott 1952 edition, edited by Alfred Kreutz.³³⁴ Alfred Kreutz (1898–1960) was a German music editor. On the Schott website, he is listed as the editor of 40 volumes of music, 36 of which are J. S. Bach.³³⁵ He may have edited additional volumes of music, but these 40 are still in print and commercially available through Schott and other sheet music retailers. The second edition of the *Capriccio* edited by a professional music editor is the Schirmer 1973 edition, edited by David Goldberger.³³⁶ Goldberger (1925–2016) was an American pianist who studied with Artur Schnabel. In addition to teaching piano, he was a music editor responsible for more than 50 volumes of music, according to his obituary.³³⁷ Both of these editions are standalone volumes.

The two editions of the *Capriccio* edited by professional music editors share several interrelated characteristics. These are the treatment of source material, a focus on reducing clutter, and the limiting of interpretative suggestions.

³³⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio*, edited by Alfred Kreutz (Mainz, Schott Music, 1952).

³³⁵ “Alfred Kreutz,” Schott Music, accessed February 25, 2026, https://www.schott-music.com/en/person/alfred-kreutz/?product_list_limit=100#search-result.

³³⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Capriccio for the Piano*, edited by David Goldberger (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973).

³³⁷ “David Goldberger, Jul 25 1925–May 27 2016, Obituary,” legacy.com, accessed February 25, 2026, <https://www.legacy.com/funeral-homes/obituaries/name/david-goldberger-obituary?pid=180130888&v=batesville&view=guestbook&page=2>.

Shared Characteristics

Because the defining characteristics of the editions that represent the professionalization of music editing are highly interrelated, it makes the most sense to discuss them in a single subsection of this chapter, so as to highlight their relation to one another. Accompanying both the Schott 1952 and the Schirmer 1973 editions of the *Capriccio* are short introductions that follow the same broad blueprint. They open on a historical note, linking the *Capriccio* to Johann Jacob Bach's enlistment and subsequent departure for military service. Then, general comments about the source material followed by general interpretative suggestions relating to performance practice. The way in which both editors discuss their source material, and the general source landscape of the piece, is of particular interest.

Kreutz's description of the sources in the Schott 1952 edition is as follows: "A few rather unreliable copies are the only contemporary evidence we have of the *Capriccio*."³³⁸ Goldberger makes a similar comment, saying that "since there is no autograph manuscript of the *Capriccio* still in existence, all editions are based on Eighteenth Century [*sic*]copies."³³⁹ However, neither editor specifies which later manuscripts they consulted, raising the obvious question of why they mention manuscript sources at all, if they are not going to specifically identify them. The Schott 1952 edition does not give any information about the sources consulted, whether manuscript or printed edition. The Schirmer 1973 edition does not identify any manuscript sources, but does cite the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* 1890 edition, the Steingräber 1888 edition, and the Schott 1952 edition, accompanied by a comment about the text being as "accurate as modern scholarship can provide."³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Alfred Kreutz, intro to *Capriccio*, by Johann Sebastian Bach (Mainz, Schott Music: 1952), 4.

³³⁹ David Goldberger, intro to *Capriccio for the Piano* by Johann Sebastian Bach (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973), 1.

³⁴⁰ Goldberger, intro to *Capriccio*, 1.

The primary editorial challenge described by the editors concerns the *Capriccio*'s ornamentation, especially in the first two movements. Both editors link this issue to the unidentified 18th-century manuscript sources. Kreutz, in the introduction to the Schott 1952 edition describes the manuscripts as showing “the first two movements full of contradictory ornaments, out of which we had to make a selection without needlessly cluttering up the score.”³⁴¹ Goldberger, once again, says something similar in the introduction to the Schirmer 1973 edition. He describes the manuscripts as being “quite satisfactory as a source of the text, although there are a few points of disagreement among them. There is a problem, however, in the ornamentation, particularly in the first two movements.”³⁴² The editorial decision in both editions is to present the ornaments in different sizes according to their perceived importance. Kreutz chooses to present the ornaments he considers essential in the standard font size used throughout the Schott 1952 edition, while giving supplemental ornaments in a smaller font. Goldberger chose a more scientific strategy, indicating “in large type those ornaments on which the manuscripts agree; the ones in smaller type are found in one manuscript or another but not in all.”³⁴³

It is also worth noting that in both introductions, the editor has made a comment about avoiding clutter. Kreutz, in the Schott 1952, links this idea to the ornaments, saying that he had to make “a selection without needlessly cluttering up the score.”³⁴⁴ Goldberger makes a similar comment, but about interpretative suggestions, saying that they are “virtually nonexistent in the manuscripts,” but that he has “tried to fill the void to some extent without loading the text with

³⁴¹ Kreutz, intro to *Capriccio*, 4.

³⁴² Goldberger, intro to *Capriccio*, 1.

³⁴³ Goldberger, intro to *Capriccio*, 1.

³⁴⁴ Kreutz, intro to *Capriccio*, 4.

quantities of highly subjective suggestions.”³⁴⁵ These comments indicate not only an editorial and scholarly interest, but an aesthetic one as well. The prioritization of visual simplicity and cleanliness can easily be ascribed to the comments made in the introduction, especially when the pagination of these editions is considered as well. Both editions show a marked simplicity in their presentation, concerning pagination, page layout, and interpretative suggestions. The Schott 1952 edition has wide margins, and places the different translations of the program into neat columns. The Schirmer 1973 edition takes this even further, consistently limiting each page to four systems, as opposed to the standard five or six found in other editions. Additionally, this edition appears to have made a point of ensuring no two movements share a page. As a result, the shorter movements of the *Capriccio*, most notably the fourth and fifth movements, which often share a page, are each given a full page, increasing the spacious visual impression this edition gives. An example of the open pagination in the Schirmer 1973 edition is found in figure 8.1.

³⁴⁵ Goldberger, intro to *Capriccio*, 1.

8

Allhier kommen die Freunde, weil sie doch sehen, daß es anders nicht sein kann, und nehmen Abschied.

In which his friends, better seeing that they cannot otherwise be, and take their leave.

Andante con moto

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8

Allhier kommen die Freunde, weil sie doch sehen, daß es anders nicht sein kann, und nehmen Abschied.

Vi tous ses amis se rassemblent et, voyant l'impossibilité de le retenir, prennent congé de lui.

In which his friends approach, seeing that they cannot sway the course of destiny, and take their leave.

Adagio poco

Aria di Postiglione

Chœur 6/15

Figure 8.1: Comparison of pagination between Schirmer 1973 edition (Left) and Schott 1952 edition (Right).

Both editions have extremely limited interpretative suggestions, primarily consisting of articulation markings. In the third movement, both editors have chosen to include short, often two-note, slurs and occasional staccatos. Two-note slurs are also utilized in the fifth movement and the first seven measures of the sixth movement on the octave jumps. The Schott 1952 edition has no other interpretative suggestions. The Schirmer 1973 edition has several expression markings, (de)crescendos, and tempo markings, all of which are in an italicized font.

The relationship that these two editions have with their source material, as well as the drive their editors felt towards an aesthetic of simplicity and cleanliness in the way the music is presented can be argued to be the results of musical culture in the second half of the 20th century. Namely, the rise of *urtext* editions and the Historically Informed Performance movement (HIP).

The Idea of the *Urtext* and the Historically Informed Performance (HIP) Movement

The culture of interacting with early music, whether as a performer, a researcher, or as this section will argue, an editor, was shaped in the second half of the 20th century was irrevocably shaped by two phenomena. These were the increasing presence and popularity of *urtext* editions, and the Historically Informed Performance movement, henceforth referred to as HIP.

Urtext editions, German for “original text,” aim to deliver the musical text to the musician(s) as it was written by the composer, without the interjection or influence of any intermediary copyists or editors. Georg Feder describes these editions as attempts at error free diplomatic translations presented in modern notation.³⁴⁶ The spirit of these editions is best communicated by G. Henle Verlag, the publishing house founded in 1948 for the express

³⁴⁶ Georg Feder, *Music Philology*, translated by Bruce C. MacIntyre (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2011), 154–5.

purpose of publishing *urtexts*, in the “What is ‘urtext’?” section of their website. They say that, in *urtext* editions, “the musician is offered a musical text which solely reflects the composer’s intentions.”³⁴⁷

Philip Brett defines *urtext* in a different way, positioning them as scores that have had the trappings of their performance histories stripped away, saying that “editions so advertised always seemed less interested in reaching an ‘original text’ than in stripping an accepted one of accretions.”³⁴⁸ This alternative view of the *urtext* underlines a potential view of music editing accredited to the second half of the 20th century. As Walter Emery has pointed out, music editing is often viewed with suspicion among practicing musicians, due to the mistaken belief that all editorial marks or interventions are inherently wrong or unnecessary.³⁴⁹

While the motivation behind *urtext* editions is easily understandable – what musician does not want to know what Bach would have to say about his music? – the reality often leaves much to be desired. The *Grove Music Online* article on the *urtext* says that their value is debatable, and Feder describes *urtexts* as “more often goal than reality.”³⁵⁰ These comments stem from the many complications that can arise when trying to produce an *urtext* edition. If the piece in question has an autograph manuscript, and there is no evidence that the composer endorsed or created other versions of the musical text (such as in a later manuscript or first published edition), the task is relatively straightforward. However, pieces with a history this simple are few and far between. What happens if there is no extant autograph, such as in the case of the *Capriccio*? What should be done if there are multiple, contradictory manuscript copies made in

³⁴⁷ “What is Urtext?,” G. Henle Verlag, accessed March 16, 2026, <https://www.henle.de/en/What-is-Urtext/>.

³⁴⁸ Philip Brett, “Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor,” in *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium*, edited by Nicholas Kenyon, 83–114 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 90.

³⁴⁹ Walter Emery, *Editions and Musicians: A Survey of the Duties of Practical Musicians & Editors Towards the Classics* (London: Novello, 1958), 9.

³⁵⁰ Stanley Boorman, “Urtext,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 15, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*; Georg Feder, *Music Philology*, translated by Bruce C. MacIntyre (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2011), 154–5.

close contact with the composer, such as in the case of the Bach cello suites?³⁵¹ What do you print if the composer revised a piece (once or more) over the course of their lifetime? What about if the composer approved a first published edition that differs from their autograph? The questions, complications, and ultimately, the need for editorial decision-making pile up quickly. James Grier paraphrased Günter Henle, G. Henle Verlag's multifaceted founder, about this issue: "Günter Henle himself notes that sometimes the autograph and the first edition differ, in which case the editor must decide what to print."³⁵² Grier goes on to point out that Henle not only does not explain how these decisions should be made, but "also neglects to point out that such a text is no longer the *Urtext*, the composer's own written text, but the editor's interpretation of it."³⁵³

The other challenge to the philosophy behind *urtext* editions comes not from questions of their efficacy and possibility, but from questions of their historical legitimacy. If composers prior to the late 18th century did not consider the written text of their music as the sole viable option, as argued by scholars such as Lydia Goehr and Richard Taruskin, then other versions of a piece represent equally valid readings of the musical text.³⁵⁴

Musical performance in the 20th century was also shaped and informed by the Historically Informed Performance movement, referred to henceforth as HIP. Like the *urtext*, HIP is based on an idea that starts very simple and quickly becomes very complicated. The idea behind HIP is that we should endeavour to play the music of the past the way it would have been performed when it was originally written. This can be interpreted in different ways. We can

³⁵¹ For discussion of the source landscape of Bach's cello suites see Zoltán Szabó, "Precarious Presumptions and the 'Minority Report': Revisiting the Primary Sources of the Bach Cello Suites, *Bach* 45 (2014): 1–33; Zoltán Szabó, "Problematic Sources, Problematic Transmission: An Outline of the Edition History of the Solo Cello Suites" (PhD diss., Sydney Conservatorium, University of Sydney, 2016).

³⁵² James Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 11; Günter Henle, "Über die Herausgabe von Urtexten," *Musica* 8 (1954), 379.

³⁵³ Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music*, 11.

³⁵⁴ For detailed discussion of the musical work concept, see the Introduction above. Stanley Boorman, "Urtext," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 15, 2026, *Oxford Music Online*.

endeavour to play the music as it would have been played, using period instruments and tuning systems. We can try to play the music according to the composer's intentions, embarking on the challenging and highly subjective task of extrapolating, from the distance of often several centuries, what someone like Bach would have asked of the musicians performing their music. We cannot know what a composer would have wanted in an ideal scenario, where their wildest hopes and desires for their music could dictate their compositions and performances. But we can, in examining such details as the performing forces available to them, make hypotheses of what a composer would have wanted in a situation bordered by practical considerations and constraints.³⁵⁵

Where HIP becomes even more complicated is in the idea of authenticity, a defining characteristic of the movement, which also forms the basis of most criticisms of the approach. The idea of being authentic in the way in which we perform, especially, early music is heavily tied to the idea of the composer's intention, and often has a moralistic undertone. As Laurence Dreyfus observed "authentic renditions, it appears, are ethically superior to inauthentic ones."³⁵⁶ As we can never truly or fully know how music sounded in the past or what a composer's intent was for any given piece of music, a performance intending to be historically accurate or authentic can be said to reveal more about whoever is making the artistic decisions (whether that be the musician(s), the conductor, or both) thoughts on the past, than it does about past itself. The drive to try and perform music in a way that is historically informed has been described as a

³⁵⁵ This paragraph is heavily indebted to the work of Peter Kivy, namely *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995).

³⁵⁶ Laurence Dreyfus, "Early Music Defended Against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 298.

symptom of modernism, something that could have only arisen in the cultural context of the second half of the 20th century.³⁵⁷

If we consider *urtext* editions and HIP to ultimately be more aesthetic phenomena than actual reproductions of historical source material and practices, than the characteristics of the *Capriccio* editions produced by professional editors become representative of music culture in the second half of the 20th century. The editors' references to unspecified and unnamed manuscript sources are their way of invoking the authority of the past, functioning much the same way as the focus on the composer's intentions do in *urtext* editions and in HIP. Additionally, editions' visual presentation, alongside the editorial comments about avoiding clutter can be seen as the written equivalent of HIP's concern with purity.

³⁵⁷ Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Laurence Dreyfus, "Early Music Defended Against its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983): 298.

Chapter 9:

Conclusion

This thesis has addressed the issue of music editing with the aim of understanding how scores reflect the context of their creation. This was done by conducting extensive research into the publication history of J. S. Bach's *Capriccio*, BWV 992. The first stage of this research took the form of a spreadsheet analysis to collect and catalogue the variants found in the *Capriccio*'s 26 unique published editions, with the aim of understanding the textual transmission of the piece. This process was then repeated for all extant manuscript sources, so as to gain the greatest possible understanding of the *Capriccio*'s history. The next stage was the qualitative analysis of each published edition, focused not only on the physical characteristics of each edition, but the context of their creation as well. Significant focus was placed on researching the career and education of each editor.

Through the process of gathering as much information as possible about the *Capriccio*'s published editions, it became apparent that the existing method of categorizing scores would not adequately reflect the incredible diversity of editions. To address this issue, a new system of categorization was created; one that takes into account numerous characteristics of the published editions, instead of being based simply on their editorial methodology.

The first finding of this study is represented by the stemma of the *Capriccio*'s publication history, established in chapter 2. The patterns revealed by the stemma, alongside the qualitative investigation into the *Capriccio* editions, showed that characteristics of editions were based on the other professional activities of the editor and/or the publication agenda. This finding led to the establishment of edition categories based on professional editor identity and publication agenda to replace the traditional categories based on editorial methodology.

The first such category is editions that formed part of collected works projects, detailed in chapter 4. Collected works projects are efforts, successful and otherwise, to publish all compositions by a given composer. They are characterized by the prioritization of source material, the use of limited interpretative suggestions, and a grandiose physical presentation. These characteristics can suggest a secondary function of these editions as monuments to the composer to which they are dedicated.

The second category, discussed in chapter 5, is pedagogical editions, which are either edited by career pedagogues or explicitly created for use in conservatories and other formal education environments. Pedagogical editions are characterized by explanations of ornamentation, analytical information being provided, and the modification of syntax and meter. All of these characteristics suggest that the pedagogical impulse to explain complicated concepts and pass on performance practice information to their students also plays out in written form when they edited the *Capriccio*.

The third category is exhibition editions, which are discussed in chapter 6. These editions, intended for the general population, function as tools for home education and cultural enrichment by providing information that may not be otherwise available. Three subcategories of exhibition editions each meet the different needs of different groups. These subcategories are historical education, Baroque introduction and induction, and regional exposure.

The fourth category, discussed in chapter 7, is editions for which concert artists served as editors. This category comprises editions edited by concertizing artists, and is characterized by modifications to the musical language, and the addition of modern instrumental idioms, both of which lead to discussions of how the musical practices of the concert artists appear in their editorial decision making.

The fifth and final category is editions that reflect the professionalization of music editing, as discussed in chapter 8. These editions were edited by professional music editors, which only emerged as a standalone profession in the second half of the 20th century. Characterized by the treatment of source material, the reduction of so-called “clutter,” and limited interpretative suggestions, these editions show the cultural influence of the *urtext* and the Historically Informed Performance movement.

The findings of this study reveal the effect the context of a score’s creation has on the finished product. The other professional activities of the editors and the reason for the score’s creation have the largest impact of the editorial decision making, overriding era-specific trends in performance practice and early music reception. In turn, the implication of these findings is the importance in carefully and intentionally choosing an edition for a musical project of any kind. The choice of score is ultimately a personal decision, driven by the needs and wants of different people and different projects; however, an awareness of the interpretative nature of music editing and of the any ways in which scores can reflect the context of their creation can aid in making an informed choice of score.

Many avenues for further research have presented themselves over the course of this study. Several elements of the *Capriccio* were not included in the scope of this study, but could easily result in fascinating research findings if subjected to their own research. These are the figured bass realizations of the third movement, issues of mise-en-page, and the treatment of the title and programmatic text. Additionally, a critical edition of the *Capriccio* is planned as none has been created this far. A web-based project showing the variants of the *Capriccio*’s text, such

as the Chopin Online project, would create a public facing version of this research and valuable resources for those wanting to play or study Bach's early keyboard compositions.³⁵⁸

There are also many possibilities for research about music editing that are not directly related to the *Capriccio*. Very little work has been done on the history of publishing houses and music editors. This lack of existing scholarship has been a major challenge in completing this thesis, and is an area of scholarship I hope to contribute to in the future. Additionally, applying the method of score categorization developed as part of this study to other pieces is necessary to examine its transferability and to discover new categories.

³⁵⁸ See Chopin Online website: <https://chopinonline.ac.uk/>.

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Appendix 1:

Spreadsheet Analysis of Published Editions

Appendix 1 contains the six spreadsheets containing the variant analysis of the 26 unique published editions of the *Capriccio*. Each movement has its own spreadsheet.

The rows of the column are labeled by measure and beat. For the first and second movements of the *Capriccio*, beats are divided into half beats due to the intricacy of the musical text and the frequency of variants. For example: 1/1 is the first half of beat one in measure one; and 1/1.5 is the second half of beat one in measure one. For movements three to six, this level of division is not needed as the musical text is less complex and the number of variants reduces drastically. As such, the rows are labeled by measure and beat only, with, for example, 1/2 being the entire second beat of measure one. For ease of reading, each measure in each column is outlined with a thick black line, with divisions between beats (or half beats, in movements I and II) being shown with thin black lines.

The columns represent editions, arranged in chronological order, with each having been assigned a unique colour. When a new variant is introduced, its cell is filled in with the colour of the edition in which it first appeared. Every subsequent appearance of this variant will be colour coded that same colour to allow trends in transmission to be easily observed. This portion of the methodology builds off of that used by Yo Tomita in his research of the manuscript sources of the second book of J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, while making use of improvements in available technology by utilizing colour.³⁵⁹ The colour code is shown below:

³⁵⁹ Yo Tomita, J. S. Bach's '*Das Wohltemperierte Clavier II*' *A Critical Commentary*, 2 vols.: *Autograph Manuscripts* and *All the Extant Manuscripts* (Leeds: Household World Publisher, 1993-1995).

C. F. Peters 1839		Schott 1916	
C. F. Peters 1851		Drei Masken 1920	
L. Holle 1856		Universal 1936	
La Croix 1866		Schott 1952	
C. F. Peters 1869		J. Fischer 1957	
Breitkopf & Härtel 1888		Edition Peters 1965	
Steingräber 1888		Budapest 1973	
Bach-Gesellschaft 1890		Schirmer 1973	
Durand 1900		G. Henle 1975	
Litolff 1900		Neue Bach Ausgabe 1976	
Gebrüder Hug 1903		Moscow 1978	
Monde Musicale 1906		Ricordi 1984	
Maurice Senart 1910		Plangere 2011	

Additionally, key variants have been indicated with a red stripe passing from the lower left corner to the upper right corner. The information provided in each cell is presented in the same order: voice or hand, ornament (if applicable), rhythm (if applicable), pitch. The SATB (soprano, alto, tenor, bass) voice categorization typically applied to contrapuntal keyboard music is used here to specify the voice in which the variant is found. In instances where more than one voice is being discussed, they are ordered from highest to lowest within the cell. When the texture cannot be easily described in terms of SATB, LH is used to refer to the left hand and RH is used to refer to the right hand. Next, if applicable, is the ornament. The only point relating to the ornaments that needs clarifying is the use of trill vs trillo. Trill is used to mean to symbol that takes the form of a zigzagging, horizontal line. Trillo is used to mean the *tr* symbol. This is followed by the rhythm, if applicable. Typically instances where there are variants relating to the ornamentation and the rhythm do not coincide. Finally, the pitch is given, including accidentals as necessary. Alphabetical note names (A-G) are used, as is standard in North American English. In instances where the octave in which the note is found is not implicated in the variant, the octave is not specified. Where the octave in which the note is found is part of the variant, scientific pitch notation is used. This system combines alphabetical note names with octave numbers. The lowest C on the modern piano is designated C1, and middle C is designated C4. Each movement has its own spreadsheet, which are presented in order.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
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1024	1023	1022	1021	1020	1019	1018	1017	1016	1015	1014	1013	1012	1011	1010	1009	1008	1007	1006	1005	1004	1003	1002	1001	1000	999	998	997	996	995	994	993	992	991	990	989	988	987	986	985	984	983	982	981	980	979	978	977	976	975	974	973	972	971	970	969	968	967	966	965	964	963	962	961	960	959	958	957	956	955	954	953	952	951	950	949	948	947	946	945	944	943	942	941	940	939	938	937	936	935	934	933	932	931	930	929	928	927	926	925	924	923	922	921	920	919	918	917	916	915	914	913	912	911	910	909	908	907	906	905	904	903	902	901	900	899	898	897	896	895	894	893	892	891	890	889	888	887	886	885	884	883	882	881	880	879	878	877	876	875	874	873	872	871	870	869	868	867	866	865	864	863	862	861	860	859	858	857	856	855	854	853	852	851	850	849	848	847	846	845	844	843	842	841	840	839	838	837	836	835	834	833	832	831	830	829	828	827	826	825	824	823	822	821	820	819	818	817	816	815	814	813	812	811	810	809	808	807	806	805	804	803	802	801	800	799	798	797	796	795	794	793	792	791	790	789	788	787	786	785	784	783	782	781	780	779	778	777	776	775	774	773	772	771	770	769	768	767	766	765	764	763	762	761	760	759	758	757	756	755	754	753	752	751	750	749	748	747	746	745	744	743	742	741	740	739	738	737	736	735	734	733	732	731	730	729	728	727	726	725	724	723	722	721	720	719	718	717	716	715	714	713	712	711	710	709	708	707	706	705	704	703	702	701	700	699	698	697	696	695	694	693	692	691	690	689	688	687	686	685	684	683	682	681	680	679	678	677	676	675	674	673	672	671	670	669	668	667	666	665	664	663	662	661	660	659	658	657	656	655	654	653	652	651	650	649	648	647	646	645	644	643	642	641	640	639	638	637	636	635	634	633	632	631	630	629	628	627	626	625	624	623	622	621	620	619	618	617	616	615	614	613	612	611	610	609	608	607	606	6
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Appendix 2:

Spreadsheet Analysis of Manuscript Sources

Appendix 2 contains the six spreadsheets containing the variant analysis of the 12 extant manuscript sources of the *Capriccio*. Each movement has its own spreadsheet.

The rows of the column are labeled by measure and beat. For the first and second movements of the *Capriccio*, beats are divided into half beats due to the intricacy of the musical text and the frequency of variants. For example: 1/1 is the first half of beat one in measure one; and 1/1.5 is the second half of beat one in measure one. For movements three to six, this level of division is not needed as the musical text is less complex and the number of variants reduces drastically. As such, the rows are labeled by measure and beat only, with, for example, 1/2 being the entire second beat of measure one. For ease of reading, each measure in each column is outlined with a thick black line, with divisions between beats (or half beats, in movements I and II) being shown with thin black lines.

The columns represent manuscripts, arranged as close to chronological order as is possible given the lack of specific copying dates for the majority of the manuscripts. Key variants have been indicated with a red stripe passing from the lower left corner to the upper right corner.

The information provided in each cell is presented in the same order: voice or hand, ornament (if applicable), rhythm (if applicable), pitch. The SATB (soprano, alto, tenor, bass) voice categorization typically applied to contrapuntal keyboard music is used here to specify the voice in which the variant is found. In instances where more than one voice is being discussed, they are ordered from highest to lowest within the cell. When the texture cannot be easily described in terms of SATB, LH is used to refer to the left hand and RH is used to refer to the

right hand. Next, if applicable, is the ornament. The only point relating to the ornaments that needs clarifying is the use of trill vs trillo. Trill is used to mean to symbol that takes the form of a zigzagging, horizontal line. Trillo is used to mean the *tr* symbol. This is followed by the rhythm, if applicable. Typically instances where there are variants relating to the ornamentation and the rhythm do not coincide. Finally, the pitch is given, including accidentals as necessary.

Alphabetical note names (A-G) are used, as is standard in North American English. In instances where the octave in which the note is found is not implicated in the variant, the octave is not specified. Where the octave in which the note is found is part of the variant, scientific pitch notation is used. This system combines alphabetical note names with octave numbers. The lowest C on the modern piano is designated C1, and middle C is designated C4. Each movement has its own spreadsheet, which are presented in order.

Appendix 3

Interpretative Guidance in Published Editions

Appendix 3 contains an overview of the interpretative guidance included in the 26 unique published editions of the *Capriccio*. The types of interpretative guidance examined were metronome markings, fingering markings, pedal markings, phrase markings, slurs, non-slur articulation signs, dynamics, crescendo and decrescendos (both symbols and written instructions), expression markings (such as *espressivo* or *dolce*). All of these are given a yes or a no based on their presence or absence from each edition. The presence or absence of figured bass realizations is also included. For editions that provide a figured bass realization, the differentiation is made between those presented in a smaller font (differentiating the realization from the rest of the musical text) and those presented in a larger text (no differentiation made). An overall rating of the amount of interpretative suggestions is made for each edition on the scale of “None” to “Very Heavy.” Very heavy is defined as including at least one interpretative suggestion per measure of music. There is also a comments section for any other observations about each edition.

