

Bach à 32 mains: Joseph Proksch and his Role in Bohemian Bach Reception*

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Although the public concert is today regarded as very much a staple of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in reality, orchestral and operatic performances at the time were still a luxury for most music lovers. On the other hand, the piano, that emblem of bourgeois status, was increasingly making its way into even the most modest of middle-class households. Consequently, before the invention of the phonograph and radio, nineteenth-century musicians found piano transcriptions and arrangements a convenient vehicle for the dissemination and iteration of the symphonic, chamber and choral repertoire. Already by 1822, the popularity of piano transcriptions and arrangements had become so great, and their number so staggering, that a critic for the *Quarterly Musical Magazine* felt that ‘the passion for arrangement is, we think, a little run mad’.¹

The sources housed in the archive of the Prague Conservatoire include curious transcriptions of works by Bach, Handel, Beethoven and others, arranged for multiple pianos involving up to sixteen players. Of particular interest to this study is an arrangement of the Prelude and Fugue in B-flat major on the name of BACH (BWV 898), for eight pianos, each for four hands—thirty-two hands in total. What would have been the purpose of such an arrangement? Why was it written for what seems to be an extraordinarily impractical number of performers and instruments? Who was the arranger? Was it ever performed? If so, who were the performers and where did all the pianos come from? And why was this particular work chosen? These are just some of the enigmas posed by this peculiar find, which will be addressed in the following discussion. But the principal question this article seeks to answer is whether this particular source gives an additional, and previously unheeded, dimension to Bohemian Bach reception, and to Bach reception in general.

The Prelude and Fugue on the name BACH (BWV 898)

The earliest mention of a manuscript copy of the work is found in the 1790 catalogue of the Hamburg music seller and impresario Johann Christoph Westphal (1727–99), where it is advertised as ‘Bach, J. S. Fuga mit den Namen

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¹ Anon., ‘New Arrangements’, *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, 4/14 (1822), p. 229.

B. A. C. H.'² Westphal's sales catalogues, published between 1770 and 1796, contain a rich repertory of keyboard works, and it is likely that the copies of J. S. Bach's works listed in them originated from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, with whom Westphal was on friendly terms.³

The oldest existing manuscript, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 291, 1 an, came from the estate of the organist Johann Christian Westphal (1773–1828), the music seller's son, who inherited but did not carry on his father's business. The manuscript bears the title 'Praeludium | und | Fuga | über den Nahmen | BACH. | von | Joh: Sebast. Bach', and, although its title is different to that listed in the elder Westphal's catalogue, it is believed to have been one of his sales copies.⁴ According to *NBA KB* this manuscript served as the principal source (Source A) for the first edition of the work published in c. 1819 by Breitkopf & Härtel, which it identifies as the second-oldest source (Source B).⁵ This edition is indeed an important source, as many nineteenth-century manuscript copies (only four of which are listed in *NBA KB*) appear to have originated directly or indirectly from it.⁶

It is likely, however, that the exposure of the work through Westphal's sales catalogue does not stop there. A copy from his shop may have served as a model for BWV 898/2 included in the edition entitled *A Sett of Twelve Fugues, Composed for the Organ by Sebastian Bach, Arranged as Quartettos* (see Table 1),⁷ by Charles Frederick (Karl Friedrich) Horn (1762–1830). The pieces in this edition are arranged for two violins, tenor and bass, with basso continuo. Only the fugues, some of which have been transposed to make them playable on strings, have been included, without their preludes. Nevertheless, this is the first known edition of BWV 898, predating the Breitkopf & Härtel edition by some twelve years.⁸ The remainder of the edition comprises the Dorian Fugue (BWV 538/2) and ten fugues from *The Well-tempered Clavier*.⁹

² It is listed under 'Geschriebene Musikalien'... 'Clavier-Sachen' in *Neue Eingekommene Musikalien, bey J. C. Westphal & Comp. in Hamburg* (Hamburg, April 1790), p. 8. See also *BDok III/789*, p. 274.

³ Martin Zenck, *Die Bach-Rezeption des späten Beethoven. Zum Verhältnis von Musikhistoriographie und Rezeptionsgeschichtsschreibung der 'Klassik'* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986), p. 27.

⁴ See *NBA KB IV/5+6*, pp. 65–6 and *NBA KB V/12*, p. 223.

⁵ See *NBA KB V/12*, p. 225.

⁶ *Ibid.* Contrary, however, to the claim of the *NBA KB* that the work has not appeared in any twentieth-century editions, at least six are reported to have been published. See *Bach Bibliography*, <http://www.music.qub.ac.uk/tomita/bachbib> (accessed 12 November 2012).

⁷ A copy is held at the British Library, Music Collections, shelfmark h.2684.a.

⁸ For a discussion of this edition and its editor, see Yo Tomita, 'The Dawn of the English Bach Awakening Manifested in the Sources of the "48"' in Michael Kassler (ed.), *The English Bach Awakening. Knowledge of J. S. Bach's Music in England in 1750–1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 96–104.

⁹ These are, in the order in which they appear in the collection, Fugues No. 5 in D major (BWV 874/2), No. 7 in E-flat major (BWV 876/2), No. 8 in D-sharp minor (BWV 877/2), No. 9 in E major (BWV 878/2), No. 16 in G major (BWV 885/2), No. 17 in A-flat major (BWV 886/2), No. 22 in B-flat minor (BWV 891/2), No. 23 in B major (BWV 892/2) from *The Well-tempered Clavier II*, and No. 4 in C-sharp minor (BWV 849/2) and No. 1 in C major (BWV 846/2) from *The Well-tempered Clavier I*.

Horn was a German-born organist, composer, theorist and teacher, who came to England in 1782. Between 1789 and 1812, he served as music master to Queen Charlotte Sophia, the wife of King George III. The queen took a lively interest in music and the arts, and championed German artists and composers. Horn's connection with the royal family continued in his last years in the service of George IV, who in 1824 appointed him organist of St George's Chapel, Windsor, where he died and was buried.¹⁰ In the preface to his edition, Horn states that its contents were originally 'arranged for a private party', possibly one performed for or with the queen, who is known to have engaged in such musical gatherings.

While it has been suggested that the arrangements of the fugues from *The Well-tempered Clavier* in Horn's edition were modelled on his own manuscript copy of the work, which belonged to a branch that originated from an early state of Bach's autograph, it is possible that Horn had availed himself of the manuscripts from the queen's collection to arrange the other two fugues. As some of the queen's manuscripts, such as her copy of *The Well-tempered Clavier* and presumably the manuscript of the Clavierübung III bound with it, are believed to have originated from the Hamburg seller,¹¹ it is possible that Horn's models for the Dorian Fugue, also among the works advertised by Westphal,¹² and BWV 898 may have had the same origin.

Today the choice of a work from which scholars and performers have distanced themselves, probably because of doubts about its authorship first voiced by Bach's biographer, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, in 1810,¹³ may seem somewhat peculiar, but a number of surviving sources, especially editions (see Tables 1 and 2), indicate that the work enjoyed relatively wide transmission in the nineteenth century. Two of the most influential music periodicals of the day, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, reported on a number of performances of the work, including organ performances by Viktor Klauß in 1831 in Vienna,¹⁴ Carl Ferdinand Becker in 1838 and 1841 in Leipzig,¹⁵

¹⁰ See Michael Kassler, 'Horn, Charles Frederick [Karl Friedrich]' in *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 14 November 2012).

¹¹ For a compelling argument in favour of this theory, see Tomita, 'The Dawn of the English Bach Awakening', pp. 97-111.

¹² In *Verzeichniz [sic] einiger neuen Werke, so in der musikalischen Niederlage bey Johann Christoph Westphal & Comp. in Hamburg zu haben sind* (Hamburg, July 1785), it is listed as 'Toccatà per l'Organo a 2 Clav. 2 Pedale colla Fuga'.

¹³ See *NBA KB V/12*, pp. 225-6.

¹⁴ For a review of the concert, see Anon., 'Wien. Musikalische Chronik des 2ten Quartals. (Beschluss.)', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 33/38 (21 September 1831), cols. 625-6. Viktor Klauß (1805-1881) was the musical director and organist of the Castle Church of St Giles (*Schlosskirche St. Aegidien*) in Bernburg. See *BDok VI, D 139*, pp. 663-4.

¹⁵ For reviews, see Anon., 'Nachrichten. Leipzig', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 40/23 (6 June 1838), col. 373 and Anon., 'Vermischtes', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 15/11 (6 August 1841), p. 44. Carl Ferdinand Becker (1804-77), a Leipzig organist, music collector and writer, probably inherited his enthusiasm for Bach's music from his teacher Johann Andreas Dröbs (1784-1825), who studied with Bach's student Johann Christian Kittel. See Peter Krause, 'Carl Ferdinand Beckers Wirken für das Werk Johann Sebastian Bachs' in *Beiträge zur Bachforschung*, I (Leipzig: Forschungs- u. Gedenkstätten, 1982), p. 90.

Table 1: Manuscript sources of the Prelude and Fugue in B-flat major on the name of BACH (BWV 898)

Extant sources^a

Library	Shelfmark	Title ^b	Date	Reference ^c	Notes
A-Wn	S.m. 5701	[heading:] Praeludium v. J. S. Bach	1843	NBA (F)	
CZ-Pk	98	Fuge über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H, von Bach; für das Piano Forte zu vier Händen arrangirt von F. H. Gleichauf.	1869	SHK	
CZ-Pk	99	Fuge. über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H. von Bach. für das Piano=Forte. zu 4 Händen arrangirt. von F. H. Gleichauf.	1869	SHK	
CZ-Pk	101	Fuge über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H; von Bach, für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen von F. H. Gleichauf.	1869	SHK	
CZ-Pk	102	a) Praeludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach von J. S. Bach arrangirt für 8 Pianoforte zu 4 Händen. I Ripien Partie.	1857	SHK	Parts
		b) Praeludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach von J. S. Bach arrangirt für 8 Pianoforte zu 4 Händen. II Ripien Partie.		SHK	
CZ-Pk	103	Fuge über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H von Bach, für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen von F. H. Gleichauf.	19c.	SHK	Erroneously dated [1830]
CZ-Pk	104	Fuge. über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H. von Bach. für das Piano=Forte. zu 4 Händen arrangirt. von F. H. Gleichauf.		SHK	
CZ-Pk	3 C 188	Fuge über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H, von Bach, für das Pianoforte zu vier Händen arrangirt von F. H. Gleichauf.		SHK	
CZ-SO	Schlesinger 748	Praeludium und Fuge über den Nahmen: Bach, von Seb: Bach.	1843	SHK	
D-B	Mus.ms.Bach P 291, 1 an	Praeludium und Fuga über den Nahmen BACH. von Joh: Sebast. Bach.	18c, 2 nd half	NBA (A)	
D-B	Mus.ms.Bach P 546	[table of contents, added later:] c) Fuge über BACH angebl. von J. S. Bach Pet I,4 A Anhang	19c, 1 st half	NBA (C)	The title page is missing.
D-Leb	Go. S. 26	[heading:] No 13. Praeludium u. Fuge über BACH S. Bach	8/3/1843	NBA (E)	
D-LEm	Poel.mus.Ms.22	Fuga et Praeludium von J. Sebastian Bach in B dur	1817	NBA (D)	
D-Mb	Mus.Hs. 246	[heading:] Praeludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach v. Joh. Seb. Bach	1840	RISM	
D-MT	Mus.ms. 699 a	[heading:] Praeludium con Fuga über den Nahmen [!]: B. A. C. H. di Joh. Seb. Bach.		RISM	
D-MT	Mus.ms. 1814	[heading:] IV. Praeludium nebst Fuge von Sebastian Bach.	1849	RISM	
D-WRha	Mus.ms. B 32	Praeludium et Fuge über den Namen: "Bach", von Sebastian Bach.	1840	RISM	

SI-Lng	480/1979	1. Präludium und Fuge über den Namen BACH. für das Piano Forte oder die Orgel von Joh. Seb. Bach. 2. Fuge von J. S. Bach. Preis 30 fr. A. M. Förster. ^d	c. 1854	Kovačević	Originated in Bohemia
US-NH	Ma21.Y11.B12 (LM 4717a)	Præludium und Fuge über den Namen BACH für das Pianoforte oder für die Orgel von Joh: Seb: Bach Chez Breitkopf et Härtel à Leipsic Pr 8 Gr.	19c, 1 st half	RISM	

Lost sources

Descriptor	Description	Date	Reference	Notes
Westphal	[Cat Westphal 1790, p. 8:] Bach, J. S. Fuga mit den Namen B. A. C. H.	18c?	<i>BDok III</i>	
J. C. Kittel	[Cat Kittel 1809, p. 20, No. 403:] Präludium und Fuge über den Namen BACH, geschr.	18c?	<i>NBA (G)</i>	
Hoffmeister & Kühnel	[J. N. Forkel's 1810 letter to the publisher:] Fuge über Bachs Namen	18c?	<i>NBA (H)</i>	
Prosch 8-pn arrangement	Unknown	1857	-	Remaining parts to CZ-Pk 102

^a Sources discussed in detail in this article are marked in bold.

^b Where the work appears in a collection, the heading is given.

^c Where the source is not listed in one of the main contemporary reference works on BWV 898 (*NBA*, *RISM*), the title in which the source was first mentioned is given.

^d The title page is quoted instead of the heading as the work was originally copied as a single piece. The second piece was a later addition in the unused pages of the manuscript.

Table 2: Nineteenth-century editions of the Prelude and Fugue in B-flat major on the name of BACH (BWV 898)

Date	Editor/Arranger	Title	Place	Publisher	Additional information
1807	Charles Frederick Horn (arr.)	<i>A Sett of Twelve Fugues, Composed for the Organ BY SEBASTIAN BACH, Arranged as Quartettos, FOR Two Violins[,] Tenor & Bass, with the Addition of A Piano Forte part, or Thorough-Bass. DEDICATED WITH PERMISSION to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge by C. F. HORN. (Music Master to the Royal Family)</i>	[London]	C. F. Horn	Score and parts to BWV 898/2, 538/2, 874/2, 876/2, 877/2, 878/2, 885/2, 886/2, 891/2, 892/2, 849/2, 846/2. Watermark: '1806'.
[1819]	[Heinrich Wilhelm Stolze] (ed.)	<i>PRAELUDIUM und FUGE über den Namen BACH für das Pianoforte oder die Orgel von JOH. SEB. BACH</i>	Leipzig	Breitkopf & Härtel	PI No: 3539.
1828		<i>Präludium und Fuge über den Namen BACH für das Pianoforte oder die Orgel von JOH. SEB. BACH</i>	Leipzig	Breitkopf & Härtel	Reprint of [1819]? as listed in <i>Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur</i> by Whistling, 1829.
1839	Carl Czerny (ed.)	<i>COMPOSITIONS pour le Piano-Forte sans et avec accompagnement PAR JEAN SEBASTIEN BACH (=Oeuvres complets, 4)</i>	Leipzig	Peters	BWV 903, 944/2, 914/3, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 830. PI No: 2696.
[c.1841]	Carl Czerny (ed.)	<i>COLLECTION Complète des Compositions de J. SÉB. BACH pour le PIANO avec ou sans accompagnement. Nouvelle Edition (IV)</i>	Paris	S. Richault	BWV 903, 944/2, 914/3, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 830. PI No: 9365.
[c.1842]	Anon.	<i>Präludium und Fuge über 'Bach' / Joh. Seb. Bach</i> (= Anthologie classique, 33)	Berlin	Schlesinger	PI No: 2662 (A 9).
[1843]	Henry John Gauntlett (ed.)	<i>PRELUDE and FUGUE in Bb. / [J. S. Bach (spurious)]</i> (= Choral and instrumental fugues of John Sebastian Bach ... by Henry John Gauntlett, 8/44 a 45)	London	C. Lonsdale	pp. 206–211. PI No: J. S. Bach's Works, No. 44 & 45. [Left] 224. [Centre]
[c.1843/44]	Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl (ed.)	<i>COMPOSITIONS pour le Piano-Forte sans et avec accompagnement PAR JEAN SEBASTIEN BACH</i> (= Oeuvres complets, 4); rev. ed.	Leipzig	Peters	BWV 903, 944, 914, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 802–805. PI No: 2696.
[1846]	Franz Xaver Gleichauf (arr.)	<i>Fuge über die Buchstaben B, A, C, H. [von J. S. Bach], Arr. v. F. X. Gleichauf. Für Klavier vierhändig</i> (= Fugen von Bach, Mozart etc, 1)	Leipzig	Siegel & Stoll	

[c.1846]	Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (ed.)	<i>COMPOSITIONS pour le Piano-Forte sans et avec accompagnement</i> PAR JEAN SEBASTIEN BACH (= Oeuvres complets, 4); 2 nd rev. ed.	Leipzig	Peters	BWV 903, 944, 914, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 802–805. Pl No: 2696.
[c.1846]	Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl (ed.)	<i>Preludio con Fuga sopra il nome BACH</i> (= Oeuvres complets, 4Pièces Détachées de la 4 ^{me} Livraison des Compositions pour le Pianoforte par Jean Sébastien Bach, 4/12)	Leipzig	Peters	pp. 22–25. Pl No: 2696.
[c.1846]	Carl Czerny (ed.)	<i>J. S. Bach's Works for the Piano Forte, revised by John Bishop of Cheltenham ... This edition has been ... fingered, supplied with ... marks of expression, and an indication of the degrees of movement according to Maelzel's Metronome, by Charles Czerny</i> [book 3]	London	Robert Cocks	BWV 903, 944/2, 914/4, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 830
[c.1850]	Carl Czerny (ed.)	<i>THE Unpublished and rarely known Works of JOHN SEBASTIAN BACH, for the Clavier or Piano Forte. A Collection of TOCCATAS, FUGUES, FANTASIAS, &c &c ... Calculated to lead the Student Into the highest departments of clear & expressive execution. The fingering by Carl Czerny, Adapted to English use</i> [No. 4 indicated by hand]	London	Sacred Music Warehouse. J. Alfred Novello	Pl.-Nr.: 1194.
[1851]	Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl (ed.)	<i>COMPOSITIONS pour le Piano-Forte sans et avec accompagnement</i> PAR JEAN SEBASTIEN BACH (= Oeuvres complets, 4); 3 rd rev. ed.	Leipzig	Peters	BWV 903, 944, 914, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 802–805. Pl No: 2696.
[1851]	Gotthilf Wilhelm Körner and Friedrich Kühmstedt (eds.)	<i>PRAELUDIUM UND FUGE [in B-dur] über den Namen: Bach von JOH. SEB. BACH</i> (= Sämmtliche Orgel-Compositionen / von Joh. Sebastian Bach, 31)	Erfurt and Leipzig	Körner	Pl No: 71.
[1857]	Friedrich Chrysander (ed.)	<i>Präludium und Fuge über den Namen BACH von einem unbekanntem</i> (= Sammlung der Clavier-Compositionen von Johann Sebastian Bach, 4/11)	Wolfenbuettel	L. Holle	Pl No: 366.
[1865]	G. Ad. Thomas (arr.)	<i>Präludium und Fuge über den Namen BACH / comp. von Johann Sebastian Bach. Für Orgel übertr. u. mit Pedal-Applicatur vers</i>	Leipzig	Rieter-Biedermann	
[1866]	Carl Czerny, Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl and Friedrich August Roitzsch (eds.)	<i>Compositions pour le Clavecin seul par J. Seb. Bach</i> (= Oeuvres de Bach Série I Cah. 4 / Tous les Numéros se vendent aussi séparément)	Leipzig	Peters	Presumably BWV 903, 944, 914, 898, 910, 911, 904, 907, 908, 992, 913, 802–805. Pl No: 2696. No copy known.

[1869]	Anon. (ed.)	<i>Preludio con fuga sopra il nome BACH</i> (= Compositionen für das Pianoforte, 2/41)	Brunswick	Litolff	PI No: 2575.
[c.1873]	William Thomas Best (arr.)	<i>Prelude and Fugue on the name of 'Bach.'</i> From the <i>Pianoforte Works.</i> / J. London S. Bach (= Arrangements from the scores of the great masters for the organ by W.T. Best, [Vol.5], No. 100)		Novello, Ewer & Co.	pp. 1326–1331. PI No: 4659
[1874]	Anon. (ed.)	<i>Präludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach B dur für Pianoforte</i> / J. S. Bach.	Offenbach	André	No copy known.
[1880]	B. Sulze (ed.)	<i>Praeludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach ... für Orgel oder Pedalflügel</i> (= Kompositionen und Bearbeitungen für die Orgel, No. 6)	Mainz	Schott	
[c. 1880]	Hans von Bülow (ed.)	<i>Präludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach</i> (= Collection des Oeuvres classiques. Joh. Seb. Bach. Oeuvres choisies pour le piano publiées par van Boom, H. de Bülow, H. Kriegar etc, 13)	Berlin		Bote & Bock Pl. No: B&B 3441.
[1882]	Alexander W. Gottschalg (arr.)	<i>Präludium und Fuge über Bach für die Orgel: zum Studium und Konzertgebrauch</i> / Johann Sebastian Bach	Langensalza	Beyer & Söhne	
1888	Bischoff, Hans (ed.)	<i>Vermischte Werke</i> / Joh. Seb. Bach. <i>Kritische Ausgabe mit Fingersatz und Vortragbezeichnungen</i> (= Joh. Seb. Bach's Klavierwerke, 7; Edition Steingräber, 117)	Leipzig	Steingräber	BWV 924–999, 933–938, 841–843, 992, 993, 919, 917, 922, 989, 968, 996, 820, 823, 824, 961, 952, 953, Anh. 180, 948, 945, 947, 949, 950, 951a, 923, 951, 899, 900, Anh. 177, 895, 894, 998, 906, 898 (p.154). PI No: 327.
[1897]	Franz Behr (ed.)	<i>Präludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach [für Pianoforte]</i> / Johann Sebastian Bach <i>Revid. u. mit Fingersatz versehen von Franz Behr</i>	Köln	P. J. Tonger	

and Carl Kloß in 1843 in Leipzig and Danzig.¹⁶ In 1837, Karl Heinrich Sämman arranged the work for organ and brass for a performance at the East-Prussian Music Festival in Königsberg,¹⁷ while Mendelssohn is thought to have performed it at his last concert in London in 1847.¹⁸ Although the programmes of these concerts advertised the piece as J. S. Bach's, a number of reviews in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, probably written by Robert Schumann, its editor, expressed renewed reservations regarding its authenticity. Incidentally, annotations in Schumann's copy of the work suggest that he had studied it,¹⁹ although it is not known whether he ever performed it publically. In 1843 a fictitious debate between an artist, a critic and a professor of aesthetics, written by Eduard Krüger (1807–85) and entitled 'Ächt und unächt' ('Genuine and fake'), was published in the same newspaper. Here the parties concerned address the possibility of attributing the BACH-fugue to J. S. Bach on artistic, critical and aesthetic grounds, concluding that, in the absence of the autograph and other documentary evidence, the work may be considered genuine until proved otherwise.²⁰

Indeed, these refutations, as suggested by the work's transmission in the nineteenth century outlined above, did not hinder its popularity; they may even have helped it. The public either shared Krüger's view or had grown so fond of the work that it chose to savour it despite its qualms. The latter explanation was offered by Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl in the preface to the fourth volume of his revised edition of Bach's *Oeuvres complètes* as a reason for its inclusion, when 'neither external, nor internal grounds' spoke in favour of J. S. Bach as its author.²¹

It is reasonable to believe that the exposure of BWV 898 in numerous editions, and the accompanying stir created by the press, would have had a ripple effect on its popularity in Bohemia, where many institutions and individuals subscribed to German newspapers. This article explores the unique aspects of the reception of

¹⁶ Reviews of the two concerts can be found in Anon., 'Feuillon.', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 18/34 (27 April 1843), p. 138 and F[riedrich] W[ilhelm] M[arkull], 'Aus Danzig. Ende November', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 19/45 (4 December 1843), p. 179. Carl Johann Christian Kloß (1792–1853) worked as organist and composer in Leipzig, Königsberg, Elbing, Danzig, Dresden and Kronstadt. See *BDok* VI, D 202, p. 708.

¹⁷ The performance was reviewed in M. Hahnbüch, 'Aus Königsberg', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 7/17 (29 August 1837), p. 66. Karl Heinrich Sämman (1790–1860), held the position of royal musical director and composer in Königsberg.

¹⁸ The concert took place on 5 May 1847 and was reviewed in Anon., 'Concerts. Ancient concerts', *The Musical World*, 22/21 (22 May 1847), pp. 334–5.

¹⁹ Schumann's copy of BWV 898 contains red pencil corrections in his own hand. For a list of Bach's works in Schumann's possession, see Bodo Bischoff, 'Das Bach-Bild Robert Schumanns' in Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (eds.), *Bach und die Nachwelt*, I: 1750–1850 (Laaber: Laaber, 1997), pp. 482–3 and note 325 on pp. 498–9.

²⁰ Eduard Krüger, 'Ächt und unächt. Gespräch', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 19/45 (4 December 1843), pp. 177–8 and 'Ächt und unächt. Schluß', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 19/46 (7 December 1843), pp. 181–4. See also Ingrid Fuchs, 'Bach-Aufführungen im Spiegel der Berichterstattung der "Neuen Zeitschrift für Musik" unter der Redaktion R. Schumanns 1834 bis 1844' in Ingrid Fuchs (ed.), *Festschrift Otto Biba zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 2006), pp. 222–3.

²¹ Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl (ed.), *Compositions pour le Piano-Forte sans et avec accompagnement par Jean Sebastien Bach, Oeuvres complètes, IV* [rev. edn] (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [1843/44]), p. iv. Cited from *NBA KB* V/12, p. 226.

this work in Bohemian lands, through the manuscript sources housed at the Prague Conservatoire (Table 2), focusing primarily on CZ-Pk 102a and CZ-Pk 102b (marked in bold in Table 2) and examining their relationship with the remaining Prague sources.

Multi-piano arrangements in the nineteenth century

A survey of the various guides to piano literature published from the nineteenth century onwards shows that, as would be expected, four-hand transcriptions (i.e. piano duets) were by far the most numerous: as they only required one piano, they would have been commercially the most viable.²² Six-handed piano arrangements were also popular, as they could be performed within family circles.²³ Arrangers often favoured four-hand transcriptions for two pianos, which posed fewer registral constraints, but as not many households boasted two pianos side by side, their commercial value was limited.²⁴

What then of arrangements for three or more pianos? Their number is rather modest compared with that of piano duets or two-piano arrangements. Among the most prolific subscribers to the genre was Carl Czerny. Inundated with commissions from publishers, Czerny produced these 'mere trifles' (*seulement quelques bagatelles*), as he himself described them,²⁵ at a speed and in a manner that earned him the unflattering reputation of a 'one-man transcription factory'.²⁶ John Field reminisced about Czerny's large cupboard with 'samples of cadenzas and passage work of all kinds', which his assistants were to fit into his latest compositions.²⁷ The scornful undertone of Chopin's remark: 'Czerny has again arranged some overture for eight pianos and sixteen people and is quite happy

²² Consulted for this purpose were Louis Köhler (ed.), *Führer durch den Clavierunterricht. Ein Repertorium der Clavierliteratur etc.* (Leipzig, Hamburg and New York: J. Schuberth & Co., 1859 and later editions), Adolf Ruthardt, *Wegweiser durch die Klavier-Litteratur*, 10th rev. edn (Leipzig: Hug, 1925); A. M. Henderson, 'Duets for Two Pianos (Four Hands) (Original Works.)', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 52 (1925–26), pp. 1–11; Maurice Hinson *Music for More Than One Piano: An Annotated Guide* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983); Glen Blaine Carruthers, 'Bach and the Piano: Editions, Arrangements and Transcriptions from Czerny to Rachmaninov', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Victoria (1986); Grant L. Maxwell, *Music for Three or More Pianists: A Historical Survey and Catalogue* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1993).

²³ Ruthardt, *Wegweiser*, p. 299.

²⁴ See Thomas Christensen, 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, lii/2 (Summer, 1999), pp. 255–98.

²⁵ Princess (later Queen) Victoria wrote of her encounter with Czerny in her journal of 1837, following his visit to Kensington Palace. Quoted from Iain Quinn (ed.), *Carl Czerny: Preludes and Fugues for Organ* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2011), p.vi.

²⁶ See Christensen, 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription', p. 269, note 50. See also Adrian Daub, 'Zwillingshafte Gebärden': zur kulturellen Wahrnehmung des vierhändigen Klavierspiels im 19. Jahrhundert (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2009), p. 70.

²⁷ See Patrick Piggott, *The Life and Music of John Field, 1782–1837, Creator of the Nocturne* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 93–4; see also Wolfgang Schlüter, *John Field und die Himmels-Electricität: Skizzen* (Berlin: Eichborn, 1998), p. 128.

about it' cannot be missed,²⁸ especially when read in conjunction with his later reference to Czerny as 'that Viennese specialist in the manufacture of all sorts of musical sweetmeats'.²⁹

Performances of multi-piano works present a similar picture. Possibly the earliest of the handful of records relates to a concert held in Vienna on 4 April 1830, in aid of the Danube flood victims.³⁰ Again, Czerny was the helmsman, the works performed his arrangement of Rossini's overture to *Semiramide* for eight pianos and sixteen performers (without opus number), and his *Quatuor concertant*, Op. 230, for four pianos with four players and orchestral accompaniment.³¹

In England two impresarios seem to have developed a taste for Czerny's overture to *Semiramide*: its first performance in Clifton in 1834, organised by Nicolas Mori (1796/7–1839), was followed by three further performances in London in 1835, staged by Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789–1856).³² In both cities the original performing forces for the piece, numbering sixteen pianists, were aided by an ensemble of harps (four and twelve harps respectively), with the collective number of performers for one evening programme allegedly exceeding 250. Newspapers lured audiences by advertising each event as a 'grand musical attraction', 'novel entertainment', or similar.³³ However, despite these inflated announcements, the few existing reviews of the London concerts took no notice of Czerny's celebrated *Concert-Stück*, as it was referred to by the advertisers. As a matter of fact, one review states that several pieces had to be omitted from the programme,³⁴ and it is therefore not certain whether these performances ever

²⁸ 'Znów na 8 fortepianów a 16 ludzi przełożył jakąś uwerturę i kontent.' From a letter Chopin wrote to his family in Warsaw, dated 1 December 1830, as quoted in Bronisław Edward Sydow (ed.), *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina*, I: 1816–1839 (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1955), (ebook p. 154). All translations in this article are my own, unless otherwise noted.

²⁹ '... owa wiedeńska wyrocznia w fabrykowaniu wszelkich muzykalnych przysmaków ...', written by Chopin to his family on 28 May 1831, as quoted in Sydow (ed.), *Korespondencja Fryderyka Chopina*, p. 172.

³⁰ See review of the performance in 'Notizen', *Allgemeiner musikalischer Anzeiger*, 2/19 (8 May 1830), p. 76 and 'Nachricht. Wien. Musikalische Chronik des 2ten Quartals. (Fortsetzung)', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 32/37 (15 September 1830), cols. 602–7 (actual concert report at col. 605 f).

³¹ Both works were published later that year by Diabelli, as reported in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 32/Intelligenzblatt 12 (September 1830), cols. 34–5. In addition to the four-piano version of the *Quatuor concertant*, Czerny also produced a version for a single player as well as a four-hand version. The parts to the orchestral or string-quartet accompaniment were sold separately and could be used with any of the piano arrangements.

³² See advertisements in 'Novel Entertainment', *The Morning Post*, 20128 (12 June 1835), p. [1]; 'Theatre Royal. Drury-Lane', *The Morning Post*, 20141 (27 June 1835), p. [1], repeated in *The Morning Post*, 20144 (1 July 1835), p. [1]; 'Colloiseum', *The Morning Post*, 20220 (28 September 1835), p. [2], repeated in *The Morning Post*, 20220 (28 September 1835), p. [2].

³³ One of the advertisements reads: 'Unprecedented Attraction for One Night Only, at Theatrical Prices ... The arrangements will be on the most extensive and superb scale. Upwards of two hundred and fifty Performers, including sixteen eminent Pianists and twelve Harpists, have been engaged.' See 'Theatre Royal. Drury-Lane', *The Morning Post*, 20141 (27 June 1835), p. [1].

³⁴ Anon., 'Bocha's Concert', *The Court Journal*, 7/308 (30 March 1835), p. 346.

materialised. Understandably, for practical as well as commercial reasons, the more musicians and instruments an arrangement called for, the more challenging it would have been to perform it.

A detailed examination of periodicals would probably yield a few more records of performances of works composed for three or more pianos. Nevertheless, such performances were essentially more of a novelty than a common feature of the nineteenth-century concert repertoire. In principle, the notion of 'fashionable arrangements' mainly concerns piano duets and, to a certain extent, two-piano arrangements for up to eight hands, but is less applicable to works written for a larger number of pianos. Hence it is necessary to look for their *raison d'être* elsewhere.

The Prague arrangement

Unfortunately, only two of the eight piano parts indicated in the title of the aforementioned eight-piano arrangement of BWV 898 housed in the Prague Conservatoire have survived. These have no box or folder of their own, but are simply kept together in a wrapper bearing the current shelfmark 102. Exposed to the elements, the outer pages of both parts have deteriorated to varying degrees from dampness and general wear and tear. Certain shared physical features, such as the size of the paper (measuring 26 x 33 cm), its thickness and colour, the identical spacing of the staves and lines, the handwriting, layout of the text and wording of the title pages, together with some of the additional markings, make it evident that the two parts belonged to the same set (for the facsimiles of the two title pages, see Figures 1 and 2).

The first piano part comprises a single gathering of ten-stave machine-ruled paper in landscape orientation, forming a ternio. The string with which it was bound has for the most part disintegrated. Its title reads: 'Præludium | und Fuge | über den Namen Bach | von J. S. Bach | arrangirt | für 8 Pianoforte | zu 4 Händen. | I Ripien Partie'. The bottom right-hand corner of the title page contains the inscription 'Jelinek und | Schubert.' in the same hand. The handwriting of the title page matches that of the musical content, which occupies all the inner pages of the manuscript; the copyist, however, remains unidentified. The remnants of brown paper, once pasted along the spine of the manuscript to secure the binding, could be original. Later-date additions to the title page include the shelfmark '102' in pencil in the top left-hand corner, another in ink, also in the top left-hand corner, accompanied by the stamp of the Prague Conservatoire, an older stamp to the right of the top part of the title, which reads 'MUSIK BILDUNGS ANSTALT DES THD. PROKSCH', and the number '2988', probably an old shelfmark, in pencil in the bottom left-hand corner. A rectangular area of slightly lighter, less worn paper in the same corner implies it was once covered by what was most likely a label. The number '2988' is again found in the bottom right-hand corner on the back of the manuscript, printed on a blue rectangular label. Another Conservatoire stamp and the manuscript's current shelfmark in ink are placed towards the middle of the back page. A large fold, which runs vertically across the page, has started to tear from the bottom up. The inner part of the manuscript, which has been better protected from the elements than the

outside, is lighter in colour and the ink closer to its original darker shade. The musical text has undergone numerous corrections, the first layer of which are in ink, indicating that they were carried out at the time the part was prepared, while the second layer of corrections has been entered in pencil. The bar numbers for both the primo and secondo parts are entered from the Fugue onwards.

The second piano part also consists of a bound ternio but exhibits two basic differences: it is in portrait rather than landscape format, and ruled with fourteen staves. Its title is identical to that of the first, apart from the difference in its designation as 'II Ripien Partie', and a minor variation in the layout of the second line, which is here split across two lines ('und | Fuge' as opposed to 'und Fuge'). In the bottom right-hand corner, the original inscription 'Jelinek und | Schubert' (also found on the title page of the part of Piano I) has been crossed out and replaced underneath with 'Domania und Rudel'. Here too, the pencilled shelfmark occupies the top left-hand corner, and the pencilled number '2988' is found in the bottom left-hand corner, while the Conservatoire stamp has been placed opposite it, in the bottom right-hand corner, and the stamp of Proksch's Music Institute above the title. Traces of the paper spine reinforcement found on the second part are absent from this part. It also contains fewer corrections than that of the first piano. The handwriting is slightly more condensed and generally neater in appearance, which, together with the fact that it has been ruled with a greater number of staves, has resulted in three unused pages at the back of the manuscript. The end page is free from any additional markings. Bar numbers, although occasionally omitted, are supplied from the opening of the Prelude to bar 97 of the Fugue; the final ten bars have been left unnumbered.

The older stamp found on the title pages of both extant parts of the eight-piano arrangement of BWV 898 links the source to the Proksch Music Institute, a Prague school for pianists and music teachers founded in 1831 by Joseph Proksch. Although the initials 'Thd' on the stamp belong to Theodor, Joseph's son, who took over as the school's director on his father's death in 1864, the source belongs to an earlier group which Theodor came into possession of at the same time as the school. The father's stamp can be found on many of the Proksch sources alongside Theodor's. Together with documentary evidence, discussed below, the shared physical properties (paper, ink and handwriting) between these and CZ-Pk 102 lead to the conclusion that the arrangement of BWV 898 originated from the time of Joseph Proksch. The stamp of Marie Proksch, Theodor's sister who succeeded him as the school's director in 1872, may also be found on a number of the older sources.



Figure 1: BWV 898: 'I Ripien Partie' (landscape), Library of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 102

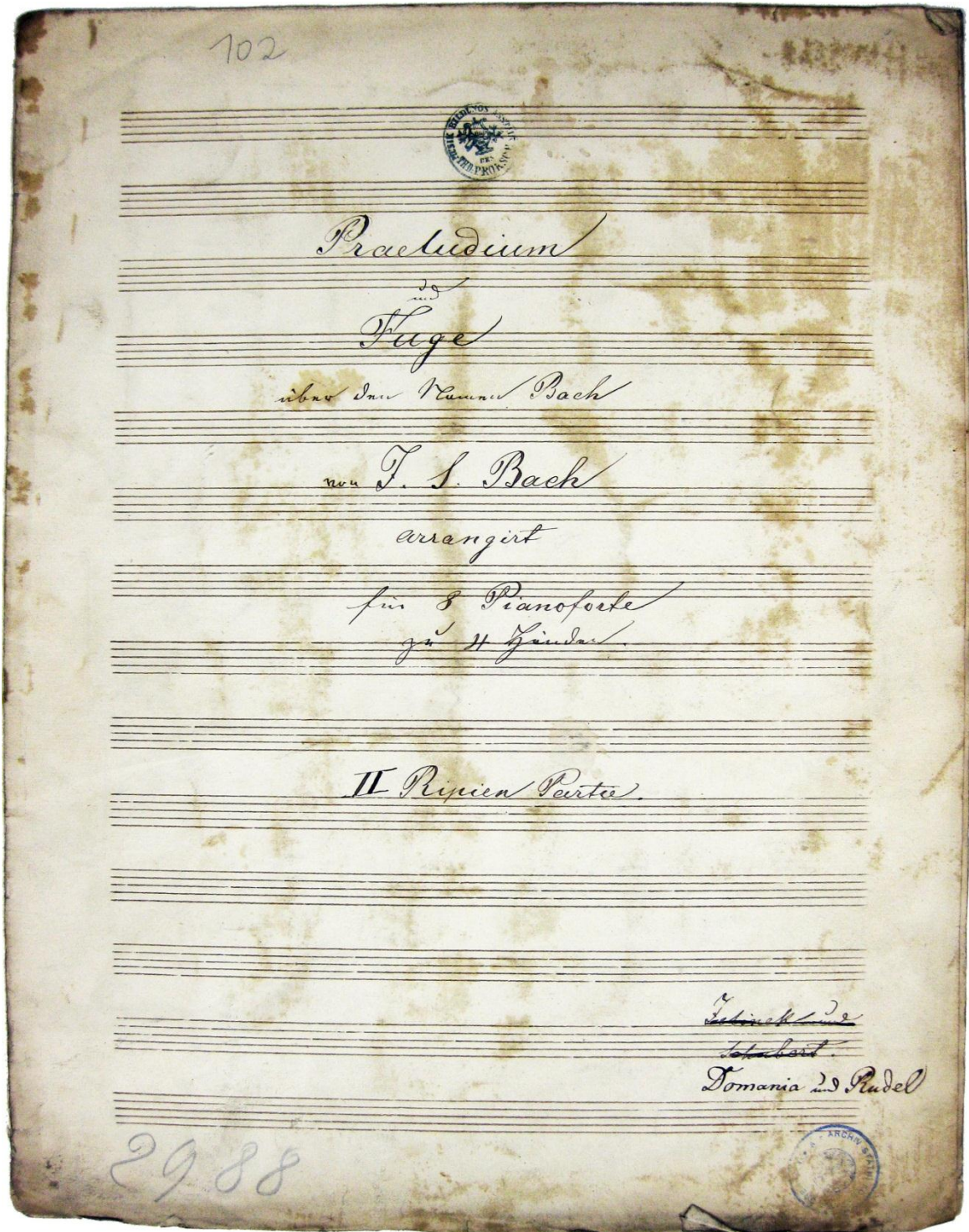


Figure 2: BWV 898: 'I Ripien Partie' (portrait), Library of the Prague Conservatoire, shelfmark 102

Joseph Proksch and his music institute

Born in Reichenberg (today Liberec, Czech Republic) in 1794, of German descent, Joseph Proksch was first taught music by his father, a weaver whose secondary occupation was *kapellmeister* of a small town orchestra. He studied the violin, piano and several wind instruments with the local choirmaster. At the age of eight, following a bout of smallpox, Joseph lost the sight of one eye and by the age of seventeen he had lost his sight altogether. He continued his education, which included lessons in piano and clarinet, at the Prague Institute for the Blind, where he remained until 1816. The following year he embarked on a career as virtuoso clarinetist and toured some of Europe's major music centres.

During his travels, Proksch observed a lack of formal musical education, which increasingly began to trouble him. In a letter to his friend Isidor Schönberger, he remarked:

For as much as I was able to pore over the music business – my own activities included – empty and purposeless music-making, rather than edification and cultivation, manifested itself everywhere, carried out in a manner similar to playing cards in order to kill boredom, but mostly to cause anguish to society.³⁵

Proksch recognised that, in order to be properly appreciated, music needed 'the blessing of a good education to begin with'³⁶ – and in his view, the system of music teaching at the time could not deliver this without thorough, long-overdue reform. He resolved to commit all his energies to this noble but arduous undertaking, acknowledging, however, that the first step he needed to take towards fulfilling his mission was to reform and educate himself.³⁷

Having returned to Reichenberg, he engaged in an in-depth study of pedagogy and a vast array of musical literature, both old and new. Attesting to the enthusiasm and erudition with which he applied himself to the task at hand, and which remained with him for the rest of his life, is a manuscript entitled *Recensionen über Clavierschulen*, kept in the archive of the Prague Conservatoire (shelfmark JP 25). A compilation of close to sixty reviews of piano tutors and evaluations of music institutions published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* between 1798 and 1847, it also includes some of the topical, often rampant pedagogical debates that filled the press of the period.

³⁵ 'Denn soweit ich den Musikbetrieb zu übersehen vermochte – mein eigenes Treiben mit eingerechnet – zeigte sich mir allenthalben ein plan- und zielloses Musikmachen, das, anstatt zur Bildung und Veredlung, bloß etwa wie das Kartenspielen zum Tödten der Langenweile, meist aber zur Pein für die Mitmenschen betrieben wurde.'; cited from Rudolph Müller, *Joseph Proksch. Biographisches Denkmal* (Reichenberg: Rudolph Müller, 1874), p. 13.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

The Logier method

In 1825 Proksch learnt of a new method of piano teaching, devised by Johann Bernard Logier (1777–1846).³⁸ Logier was a German musician with French roots, who received his first musical training from his father, a violinist in the electoral orchestra in Kassel. Orphaned at an early age, Logier was taken in by a visiting Englishman who brought him to London and provided him with solid training in flute playing. In 1794 he became a military musician and was posted to Northern Ireland. A few years later he became organist at Westport, eventually settling in Dublin in 1809.

While teaching his daughter to play the piano, Logier developed a mechanical device, which he called the ‘chiroplast’ or ‘hand-director’. This consisted of a laterally sliding frame for the hands, fitted above the keyboard, onto which two brass frames with slots for the fingers and thumb were mounted. Its purpose was to aid the pupil in attaining the correct hand-position by controlling the position of the wrists and movement of the fingers. An aid to teaching note names – the ‘gamut board’ – was placed above the keyboard, with each note written above its corresponding key. Having observed remarkable progress in his daughter’s playing, Logier devoted himself entirely to piano teaching using his new device, which he patented in 1814. His popularity among military musicians brought him such large numbers of students that he found it impossible to teach them individually and so decided to teach them together, in groups.

In order to deepen his students’ understanding of music, he also incorporated into his teaching the study of harmony and figured bass. This became the teaching model he later began to promote across Britain and Ireland. Within a short period, Logier academies sprang up throughout Europe. Over thirty were established in Germany, where the popularity of the Logier method was sparked off by an enthusiastic report on its advantages, originating from the influential quill of Louis Spohr, in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1820.³⁹ The method subsequently spread to other parts of the world, including the USA and India.⁴⁰

However, the system seems to have attracted just as many opponents as followers. One of Logier’s most vocal adversaries was Augustus Frederic Christopher Kollmann (1756–1829), known in Bach scholarship as a fervent

³⁸ For biographical information on Johann Bernard Logier, the following selection of sources may be consulted: Anon., ‘Biographische Notizen über Johann Bernhard Logier. (aus einem englischen Tonkünstlerlexikon von 1825.)’, *Berliner Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 2/9 (2 March 1825), p. 72; 2/10 (9 March 1825); 2/11 (16 March 1825), pp. 87–8; ‘Logier’ in F. S. Gaßner, *Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst. Neue Handausgabe in einem Bande* (Stuttgart: F. Köhler, 1849), pp. 561–3; ‘Logier’, in Eduard Bernsdorf (ed.), *Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, II (Dresden: Robert Schaefer, 1857), pp. 810–13; Heinz Becker, ‘System Logier. Ein Wegbereiter moderner Musikpädagogik’, *Musica*, 11 (1957), pp. 616–20; Georg Pügner, ‘Logier, Johann Bernhard’ in *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1121–4; David Charlton and Michael Musgrave, ‘Logier, Johann Bernhard’, in *Grove Music Online* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (accessed 14 November 2012); Nuala McAllister-Hart, ‘Logier, Johann Bernhard’, in *MGG2* (Personenteil), vol. XI, cols. 404–6.

³⁹ Georg Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung in Deutschland (1800–1843)*, Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19 Jahrhunderts, XXXIII (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1973), p. 151.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

advocate of Bach's music in England. In a series of fierce, almost venomous attacks published in both English and German, he denounced Logier as a charlatan and condemned his system as 'a piece of impudent quackery'.⁴¹ The chiroplast, undeniably a flawed contrivance, was the object of much derision. So too was the practice of teaching groups of twelve, sixteen and twenty-four students in a large room with up to ten pianos – for the pianos could never be in tune with each other, and their 'discordant uproar', struck simultaneously, would 'not only fail of correcting a defective ear, but ruin a good one'.⁴² Complaints were voiced against Logier's production-line approach, which could not cater for the students' varying levels of competence and their individual needs, let alone nurture the virtuosos so coveted by the musical establishment of the period. The theoretical element of the method, the error-ridden examples in Logier's accompanying piano tutor, the fees he demanded of both his students and teachers wishing to learn the 'secrets' of his system, his ambition to institute the system globally, viewed as an endeavour to monopolise piano teaching – nothing seems to have escaped the wrath of the critics. It must also be said that, although not unfounded, a large part of the criticism was spurred by an underlying fear that teachers, who until then had taught students individually, would suddenly find themselves deprived of their livelihood.

The Proksch method

Notwithstanding the long list of objections against its every conceivable element, Logier's system won over numerous followers. Proksch, having travelled to Berlin in 1825 to study the system with Logier himself after reading Spohr's commendatory testimonial, became one of them. In the same year he opened a piano school in Reichenberg, where he applied the newly adopted method. Six years later he set out to do the same in Prague. For his own teaching, Proksch expanded and adapted Logier's piano tutor and published it under the title *Neues Unterrichts-System im Pianoforte-Spiel mit Anwendung des Chiroplasten von J. B. Logier*.⁴³

It ought to be mentioned that, at the time of Proksch's arrival, Prague numbered some 3,500 households and had, according to contemporary accounts, no shortage of pianists and piano enthusiasts: 'among three Prague residents, one is certain to find two musicians. One can be even more certain that three of the four musicians are pianists.'⁴⁴ However, while orchestral instrumentalists and

⁴¹ See William Gardiner, *Music and Friends; or, Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante* (London: Longman), vol. II, p. 649. Gardiner is probably alluding to a description of Logier's system as a 'New System of Musical Quackery' in Henry De Monti, *Strictures on Mr. Logier's System of Musical Education* (Glasgow: William Turnbull, 1817), p. 3.

⁴² Cited from the review of Kollmann's *Remarks on what Mr. J. B. Logier calls his New System of Musical Education* (London, 1824) in *Philomathic Journal and Literary Review*, 2/2 (April 1825), p. 438.

⁴³ Self-published in Prague in 1831.

⁴⁴ La Stranière, 'Correspondenz. Aus Prag. (Fortsetz.)', *Zeitung für die elegante Welt*, 34/241 (9 December 1834), p. 964: 'Ich habe bereits in einem früheren Berichte geäußert, daß man unter drei Pragern gewiß zwei Musiker findet. Unter vier Musikern kann man aber noch sicherer auf drei Pianisten rechnen...'. A similar account can be read in I. Myself, 'Correspondenz. Prag,

singers were catered for by the Prague Conservatoire,⁴⁵ and organists had their newly established Organ School, piano was—with the exception of one or two noteworthy private teachers, the most distinguished of whom was Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850)⁴⁶—by and large taught by students and amateurs, who ‘handled and readily exploited music as though it were ... “a cow in milk”,’⁴⁷ but who themselves were ‘not capable of defining the meaning of the word “teaching” to begin with, let alone teach’.⁴⁸

Although such circumstances would have been favourable to Proksch’s cause, he had to overcome much resistance and repudiation from the city’s musical aficionados, who sardonically nicknamed him ‘the usurper’ (*Usurpator*), ‘the foreigner’ (*Fremdling*), and ‘the village schoolmaster’ (*Landschulmeister*),⁴⁹ and who probably feared for their livelihoods as did Logier’s opponents. Prague newspapers, which regularly published reviews of concerts and public examinations of the Organ School and the Conservatoire, among others, remained silent after public performances of the Proksch Institute for the seven years following his arrival.⁵⁰ However, in 1837 Proksch jubilantly reported to his brother Anton:

Anfang September 1834. (Die Logier’sche Lehr-Anstalt von Procksch[sic].), *Neue Leipziger Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1/57 (16 October 1834), p. 227.

- ⁴⁵ Ratibor Budiš, ‘Die Prager Jahre des Josef Proksch’, *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity: Rada hudebněvědná H*, 22/8 (1973), p. 76
- ⁴⁶ Václav Jan Tomášek (1774–1850), the so-called pope of Prague’s musical life (*hudební papež*), taught many prominent Czech musical figures, among whom Jan Václav Hugo Voříšek, Alexander Dreyschock, Julius Schulhoff and Eduard Hanslick. In his memoirs, Tomášek recounts Forkel’s visit to Prague in 1801. On hearing Forkel play Bach’s *Well-tempered Clavier*, Tomášek incorporated the work into his piano teaching as a compulsory element. See Zdeněk Němec (ed.), *Vlastní životopis Václava Jana Tomáška* (Prague: Topičova edice, 1941). (The expression ‘hudební papež’ is used in Jan Branberger, ‘Bedřich Smetana a Josef Proksch’, *Květy*, 30/2 (July–December 1908), p. 521).
- ⁴⁷ F. N., ‘Die Musikbildungs-Anstalt im Pianofortespiel des Herrn Joseph Proksch in Prag’, *Zeitschrift für Deutschlands Musik-Vereine und Dilettanten*, iii (1844), p. 90: ‘... da der Unterricht im Klavierspiel hauptsächlich, (sehr wenige ausgenommen) nur von musikalischen Dilettanten, Studenten u.s.w., welche selbst kaum im Stande waren, mit klaren Worten zu sagen, was es eigentlich sei, was man mit dem Alltagsnamen Musik bezeichnet, gehandhabt und als Broderwerb nach Schiller’s treffenden Worten “wie eine milchgebende Kuh” treulich betrieben wurde’.
- ⁴⁸ Myself, ‘Correspondenz’, p. 227: ‘...denn diese sogenannten Musik-maitres wissen nicht einmal das Wort Unterricht zu definieren, um wie viel weniger zu unterrichten’.
- ⁴⁹ Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 31.
- ⁵⁰ The handful of references to Proksch’s examinations that one comes across in *Bohemia* in the years preceding 1837 are merely announcements of forthcoming events. See Anon., ‘Prager Novitäten und Antiquitäten’, *Bohemia*, 6/55 (7 May 1833), p. [1]; Anon., ‘Anzeige’, *Bohemia*, 7/93 (5 August 1834), p. [4]; [A.] M[üller]., ‘Telegraph von Prag’, *Bohemia*, 8/38 (29 March 1835), p. [4]; A. Müller, ‘Telegraph von Prag’, *Bohemia*, 8/96 (11 August 1835), p. [4]; A. M[üller], ‘Telegraph von Prag’, *Bohemia*, 9/28 (4 March 1836), p. [4]; A. M[üller], ‘Telegraph von Prag’, *Bohemia*, 9/50 (24 April 1836), p. [4].

Although unexpectedly and by many unwished for, I have finally become the talk of the town, in the newspapers that is, after the academy I held with my students in benefit of the poorhouse on 31 May ...⁵¹

Over time the success of the institution, surpassed that of any other that implemented the Logier system.⁵² In fact, as the hubbub around Logier abated, his system in its original form having fallen almost entirely out of use by 1850s,⁵³ Proksch's method, as it came to be known,⁵⁴ and his piano tutor were adopted as the basis for teaching in many similar institutions both inside and outside the borders of Bohemia.⁵⁵ Proksch's school was visited and frequently praised by eminent musicians, including Hector Berlioz in 1846, and Anton Rubinstein, Franz Liszt, Ignaz Moscheles, Louis Spohr and Ludwig Köhler in 1858, followed by Hans von Bülow and Clara Schumann in 1859.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Cited from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 55: 'Vielen unerwartet wie unerwünscht, bin ich endlich an die große Glocke gekommen, nämlich in die Zeitungen, durch die am 31. Mai mit meinen Zöglingen zum Besten des Armenhauses gegebene Akademie...'. The extensive and very appreciative review Proksch felt so exhilarated about was A. M[üller], 'Die Akademie zum Besten des Skt. Bartholomäi-Armenhauses', *Bohemia*, 10/59 (16 May 1837), p. [4].

⁵² Sowa, *Anfänge institutioneller Musikerziehung*, p. 164.

⁵³ 'Logier', in Bernsdorf (ed.), *Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst*, pp. 812-3.

⁵⁴ See Myself 'Correspondenz', p. 227; Franz Neumann, *Proksch und seine Musikbildungs-Anstalt. Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigem Jubiläum derselben* (Prague: Musikbildungs-Anstalt Proksch, 1880), p. 14; 17. [unidentified author], 'Aus Prag. Oktober 1854. [Prager musikalische Zustände. Öffentlicher und private Lehrmittel. Das Conservatorium. Die Orgelschule. Die Sophienacademie. Das Piano. Proksch und seine Nachfolger. Gesangsunterricht.]', *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler*, 5/43 (28 October 1854), p. 340; Rudolph Müller, 'Proksch: Joseph', in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1888), vol. XXVI, p. 652.

⁵⁵ For instance, by Bedřich Smetana, Franz Frömmter, Joseph Jiránek, Franz Neumann in Prague; Fräulein Anna Kunze and Julie Wollmann in Reichenberg František Valenta in Písek; Bernhard Pelz in Leitmeritz, Ignaz Stanzel and Franz Sachers in Preßburg, Heinrich Gottwalt in Breslau; Eduard Köhler and Julius Rösler in Vienna; Jan Bůva in Graz; Theodor Kullak in Berlin; Mortier de Fontaine in Munich; W. Irgang in Görlitz; Baroness von Fröhnau in Zangberg, Bavaria; Karl Maria Pelz in Leipzig; Alois Saga in Linz; Baron Milota in Milan; Steiner in Philadelphia, etc. See Joseph Proksch, *Jahresbericht über die Musikbildungs-Anstalt des Joseph Proksch in Prag* (Prague: Friedrich Ehrlich, 1849), p. 5; O., 'Aus Prag. Am 26ten August 1854.', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 41/11 (8 September 1854), pp. 117-18; Anon., 'Vermischtes', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 57/14 (3 October 1862), p. 126; L., 'Correspondenz. Wien (Schluß)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 62/11 (9 March 1866), pp. 92-3; L., 'Correspondenz. Wien. II. Virtuosenkonzerte (Schluß)', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 63/40 (27 September 1867), p. 350; Alexis Hollaender, 'Correspondenz. Berlin', *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 66/14 (1 April 1870), p. 137; Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, pp. 49, 119-20, 172, 187, 198, 217, 226; Müller, 'Proksch: Joseph', pp. 650, 652-3, 655-6 and 660; Budiš, 'Die Prager Jahre des Josef Proksch', p. 79.

⁵⁶ The memorial book (*Denk-Buch*) of Proksch's Music Institute housed in the City of Plzeň Archive (CZ-PLA, shelfmark 2322) contains signatures of the visitors to the institution between the years 1836 and 1871, with the names of important visitors prior to this period added at the end of the list. For a detailed description including an abridged list of visitors see Antonín Špelda, 'Prokschova pozůstalost a Pamětní kniha v Plzni', *Sborník pedagogické fakulty v Plzni*, 10 (Umění, 1974), pp. 69-95. Another condensed list of visitors, different from Špelda's, was published as 'Appendix IV. Verzeichniss hoher Gäste und Besuche, verschiedener, sich für die Anstalt interessierenden musikalischen Persönlichkeiten' in Neumann, *Proksch und seine Musikbildungs-Anstalt*, p. 21.

The modified method owed much of its success to Proksch's ability to understand the core principles of its prototype in relation to one another and within their context, as well as to recognise and continually strive to overcome its shortcomings, both theoretical and practical.⁵⁷ In 1833 Proksch related to his brother Anton his relentless probing and reviewing of Logier's groundwork, correlating it with other textbooks and treatises on the subject, in order to use all that had withstood the test of time for the system's as well as his own improvement.⁵⁸ In another letter Proksch concluded:

Logier has undoubtedly done many an important service for teaching; however, upon repeated scrutiny, it has now become clear to me that he had more often done too much, and yet again too little, thus compelling one to labour on.⁵⁹

By 1841 Proksch had implemented his own unique system of group teaching, which he laid out in his *Versuch einer rationellen Lehrmethode im Pianofortespiel mit Anwendung des Handleiters*.⁶⁰ Logier's chiroplast was replaced with a simpler and more easily handled device recommended by Kalkbrenner.⁶¹ According to a fairly detailed article from 1844, within twelve years Proksch's Institute had undergone such substantial changes that of the entire Logier method only the ensemble-playing aspect remained.⁶²

Like many piano teachers of his day, Logier placed great emphasis on the mechanical aspect of learning, i.e. the mechanical drills, or 'dressage', which in Proksch's view 'turned the means into an end in itself, relegated the art from the hearts into the fingers'.⁶³ While Logier's aim was to create 'sound music connoisseurs and good amateurs',⁶⁴ at the centre of Proksch's musical and pedagogical activity was the belief that the sole purpose of music was to 'warm

⁵⁷ F. N., 'Die Musikbildungs-Anstalt im Pianofortespiel des Herrn Joseph Proksch in Prag', p. 92.

⁵⁸ Cited from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 33: 'Unablässig an der weiteren Durchforschung und Prüfung der Logier'schen Grundlagen, bringe ich nun alle vorhandenen Lehrbücher, Methoden wie die verschiedenen fachlichen Abhandlungen in Vergleich zu diesen, und will so im Festhalten an der erprobten Basis, doch zugleich für den Ausbau in meinem Sinne, alles mitbenützen, was sich als widerstandsfähig gegen den Zahn der Zeit bewährte'.

⁵⁹ Cited from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 52: 'Logier hat unzweifelhaft ein Bedeutendes für den Unterricht gethan; wie mir jedoch jetzt, nach wieder und wieder erneuter Prüfung erkennbar wurde, that er öfter zu viel, und auch wieder zu wenig, so daß er dadurch selber zum Weiterarbeiten zwingt'.

⁶⁰ Its full title reads *Versuch einer rationellen Lehrmethode im Pianofortespiel mit Anwendung des Handleiters. Nach pädagogischen Grundsätzen in progressiver Reihenfolge nach den besten Mustern, zunächst für den Gebrauch seiner Schüler verfasst und geordnet von Joseph Proksch*. The work consists of fifty issues (*Hefte*), divided into six parts (*Abtheilungen*), and was published from 1841 to 1864. At the time of writing only the second edition, designated as 'Original edition' (*Original-Ausgabe*) and published by Marie Proksch around 1894, was available for consultation.

⁶¹ F. N., 'Die Musikbildungs-Anstalt im Pianofortespiel', p. 94.

⁶² F. N., 'Die Musikbildungs-Anstalt im Pianofortespiel', p. 92; see also Proksch, *Jahresbericht*, p. 6.

⁶³ Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 43

⁶⁴ Becker, 'System Logier', p. 618.

the soul', refine one's inclinations and ennoble one's inner being.⁶⁵ The key to achieving this was an all-encompassing musical education that would provide the student with the tools to understand, appreciate and engage with a work of music completely.⁶⁶ In other words, Proksch wished to rear 'competent and well-versed musicians'.⁶⁷ He felt that this holistic perspective was largely missing from the piano teaching of his time. In his *Jahresbericht* of 1849 he lamented:

while such an astonishing emphasis is placed upon exercising the fingers, one searches in vain for recommendations on training the eye, hearing, the feeling of rhythm, as well as memory and fine taste.⁶⁸

One of Proksch's numerous attempts to fill that void was a booklet entitled *Musikalisches Vademecum*, which he dedicated and distributed to his students at their annual examination in 1852, and in which he summarised the key ideas of his teaching in fifty paragraphs. Two are of particular interest to this study, as they reveal that the historical and aesthetic dimensions of education were in his mind inseparable:

§ 23. Fashionable music is transient; the truly beautiful and classical never wanes. ... § 29. Gradually acquaint yourself with the most excellent works of musical literature, from the distant past, to those more recent, as well as the modern; this will safeguard you from one-sidedness.⁶⁹

Proksch prescribed works by the old masters such as Haydn, Clementi, Dussek, Mozart, Hummel, J. S. Bach, Händel and Scarlatti, alongside newer pieces by Weber, Moscheles, Mendelssohn, Beethoven, Schumann, Chopin and others.⁷⁰ To give his students and teachers the opportunity to study the vast array of musical literature, he worked tirelessly on enriching the materials that were used both in teaching and for student performances.

⁶⁵ Neumann, *Proksch und seine Musikbildungs-Anstalt*, p. 10.

⁶⁶ F. N., 'Die Musikbildungs-Anstalt im Pianofortespiel', p. 95.

⁶⁷ Proksch, *Jahresbericht*, p. 12: 'Die Tendenz der Anstalt geht im Allgemeinen dahin die Zöglinge zu tüchtigen und allseitig bewanderten Musikern auszubilden ...'.

⁶⁸ Proksch, *Jahresbericht*, p. 8: '... denn so erstaunlich viel für die Erziehung der Finger gesorgt ist, sucht man vergebens nach der Anweisung zur Erziehung der Augen, des Gehörs, des Taktgefühls als auch des Gedächtnisses, und des feinen Geschmacks'.

⁶⁹ Quoted from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 467: '§ 23. Die Modemusik gehört der Zeit an; das wahrhaft Schöne und Classische veraltet aber nie. § 29. Lerne nach und nach die vorzüglichsten Werke der Musikliteratur kennen, sowohl der älteren, mittleren als auch der neueren Zeit; das bewahrt dich vor Einseitigkeit'.

⁷⁰ See Proksch, *Jahresbericht*, p. 10.

The library

Upon the inception of his school, Proksch found himself short of teaching and study materials, as a letter he wrote in 1833 to his brother reveals:

Besides, I am missing a library into which I could reach as I please. I have to arduously dig around for what I need, or settle on purchasing it. Much has already been acquired in this costly way. But the majority is yet to be ordered.⁷¹

In an early manuscript catalogue of Proksch's library, containing predominantly printed music, a sizeable section is occupied by the works of J. S. Bach, which are recorded on pages 3–5, and continue from page 33 (for facsimiles see Figures 3–5).⁷² Among the works listed is a series of his *Oeuvres complètes* published by Peters from 1837 with Carl Czerny as editor, to which Proksch had subscribed.⁷³ The volumes recorded on pages 3–5 (volumes 1–10) appear to be first editions, published between 1837 and 1841, except for volume 3, which appears to be the revised edition of 1839 or later. Of particular interest to this study is volume 4, containing BWV 898 also a first edition. Proksch is most likely to have acquired the first ten volumes after his visit to Leipzig and Dresden in August 1840, when he met the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel, Peters and Hofmeister, among other people of note. In his 'musical diary', Proksch marvels at the 'painstaking and careful' editing work that went into such a grand-scale endeavour.⁷⁴

The items recorded on pages 33–37 were, for the most part, published after 1844. Page 33 lists the first seven volumes of *Johann Sebastian Bach's Compositionen für die Orgel*,⁷⁵ published by Peters between 1844 and 1847 (volumes 8 and 9 were issued much later, in 1852 and 1881 respectively). Page 34 of the catalogue contains the remaining volumes of Peters' *Oeuvres complètes* issued after 1851, and on page 36 we find the Bach-Gesellschaft editions, also published after 1851. The order of the entries suggests the items were recorded as they were acquired, with many publications purchased shortly after they were published. The opening section suggests that the catalogue had been in use from the 1830s onwards, making it possibly the earliest catalogue of Proksch's library.

⁷¹ Cited from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 33: 'Außerdem fehlt mir eine Bibliothek, in die ich beliebig hineingreifen könnte. Mühselig muß ich noch herumsuchen nach dem, was ich brauche, oder aber mich zum Anschaffen bequemen. Vieles ist zwar auf solch kostspieligem Wege schon zugekommen; doch bleibt das Mehr dessen noch zu bestellen'.

⁷² The catalogue, entitled *Catalog der Musikalien Sammlung des Joseph Proksch*, is kept in the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire (without shelfmark). The inscription on the spine reads 'Werke Classischer Meister'.

⁷³ See Jiří Sehnal, 'Pobělohorská doba (1620–1740)' in Jaromír Černý et al., *Hudba v českých dějinách. Od středověku do nové doby* (Prague: Supraphon, 1989), p. 154.

⁷⁴ See Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, pp. 365–8.

⁷⁵ Friedrich Konrad Griepenkerl and Ferdinand August Roitzsch (eds.), *Johann Sebastian Bach's Compositionen für die Orgel. Kritisch-korrekte Ausgabe* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1844–47).

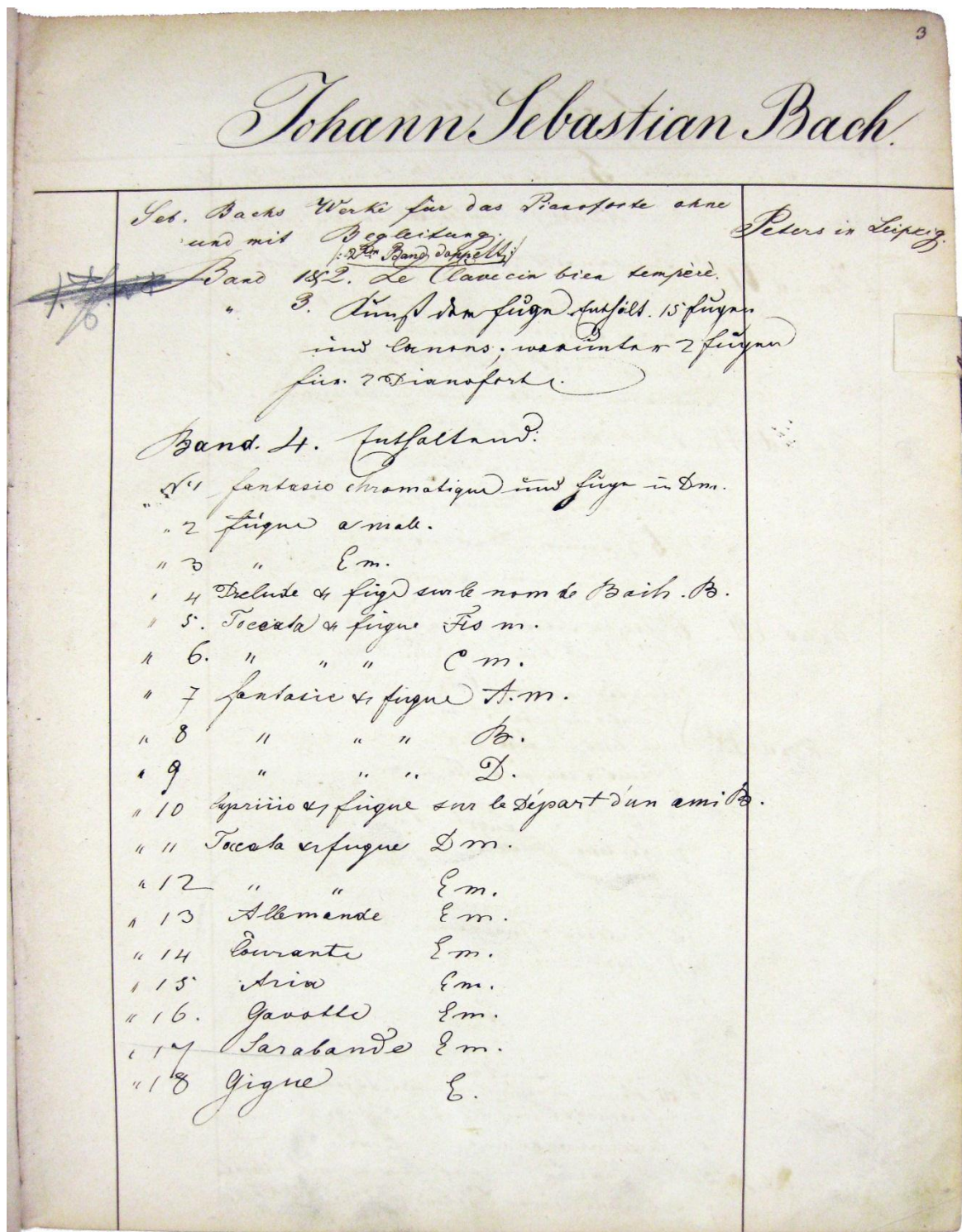


Figure 3: Catalog der Musikalien Sammlung des Joseph Proksch, Archive of the Prague Conservatoire (without shelfmark), p. 3

4

J. J. Bach.

Band I. Insekt: Suiten in B, C. m, A. m., D, G,
1 Duos für ein Clavier Em; F, G, A. m.

Band VI 1) Ein Concerto in italienischer Styl A.
2) Ouverture auf französischer Mod, nach
einem grossen Suitte, A. m. l.
3) Thema mit dreizig Variationen
für ein Clavier mit 2 Manualen. C. Dur.

Band VII. 1) Ein Klavier Präludium.
2) Klavier 2stimmig fingirt in C. m. l.
3) 15 2stimmig fingirt
4) 15 3stimmig fingirt
5) 6 Klavier Suiten genau als die französische

H. d. Band VIII. 6 Grosser Suiten genau als die englischen.
A, A. m., Em, F, Em. C. m. l.

Band IX 1) Tocata in fuga Em.
2) Preludio in fuga A. m.
3) Fantasia in fuga D. d.
4) Preludio con fugetta Em.
5) " " " Em.
6) " " fuga A. m.
7) Fantasia C. m. l.
8) fuga " " C. Dur.
9) " " " " Em.
10) fantasia o Inventione Em.
11) fuga in Em.
12) " " " Em.
13) " " " Em.
14) " " " Em.
15) " " " A. m.
16) 11 Klavier Präludium für Klavier.
17. Fragment d'une Suite. A. m.
18) fuga non abess. Em.

Band X Sechs Sonaten für das Clavier mit Pleier
Begleitung einer Violine, Em. A. d. C. d.
C. m. F. m. G. d.

Figure 4: Cathalog der Musikalien Sammlung des Joseph Proksch, Archive of the Prague Conservatoire (without shelfmark), p. 4

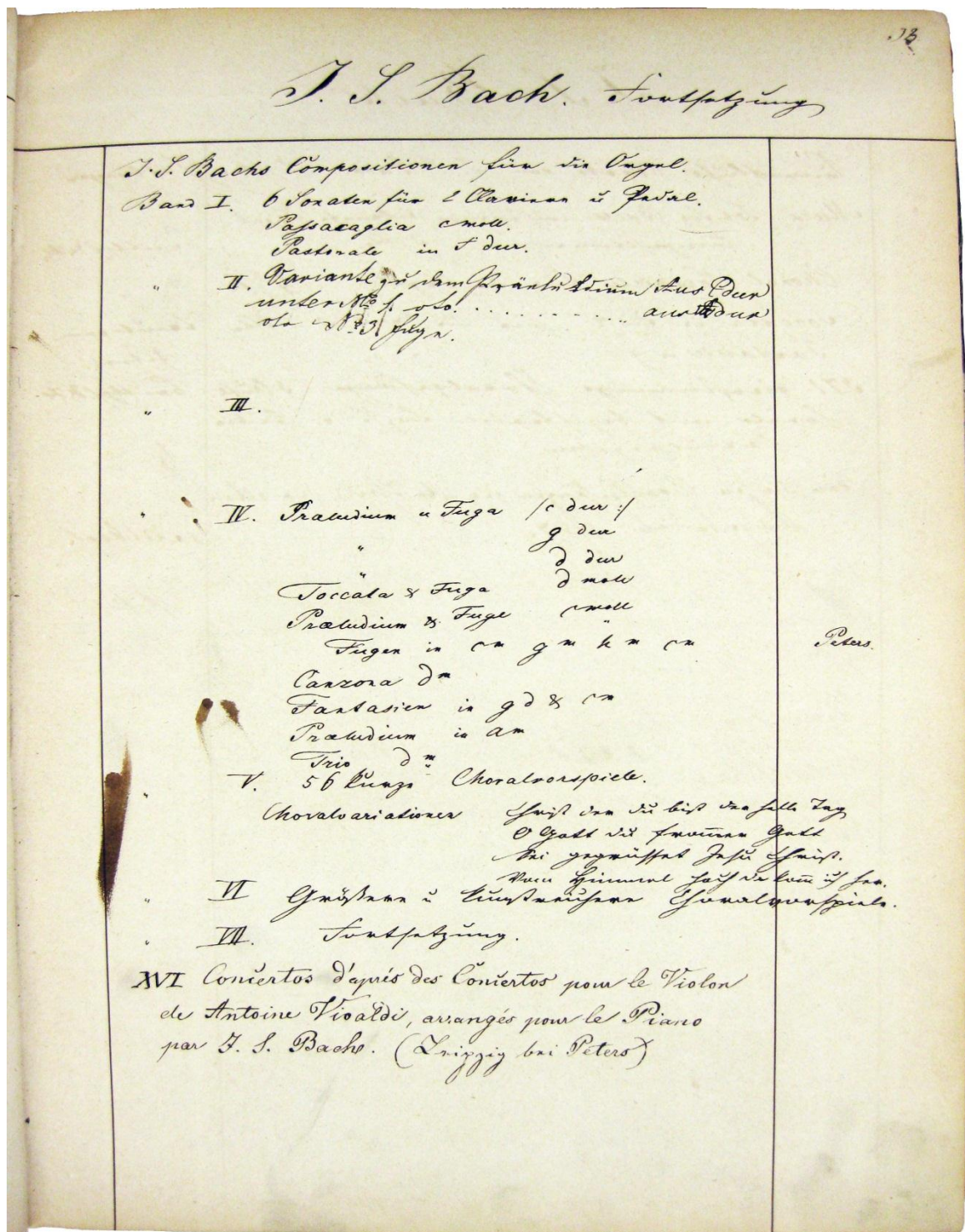


Figure 5: Cathalog der Musikalien Sammlung des Joseph Proksch, Archive of the Prague Conservatoire (without shelfmark), p. 33

The older publications in the later section of the catalogue, such as those recorded at the top of page 34,⁷⁶ may have been acquired through various auctions. Proksch is known to have frequented these, as years later he reminisced:

I used my limited savings or disposable income mostly on books and music, my library in short, to which I was often tempted by the prices, in the earlier times even more discounted, of antiquarians and auctions. – I would often sit for hours in book auctions until something at once opportune and cheap would come up; I also obtained a lot through orders from foreign book and music auctions. As regards works that I deemed necessary or indispensable, however, those I would have bought from new here, and the costs often amounted to several hundred Gulden—over which, of course, my highly frugal wife would, whenever she had learnt of it, always intone a great lament, and could not resist pointing out to me that for all the money spent on books and music, ‘we could already have had a lovely house!’⁷⁷

Located towards the end of catalogue, and probably inserted at a later stage, is a section headed ‘Schulbibliothek. Literatur der Ensemble Stücke für Pianoforte. Arrangirte Werke für 8 Pianos’ (‘School library. Literature of ensemble pieces for the pianoforte. Works arranged for 8 pianos’). The pieces listed here were arranged either by Proksch himself, Franz Neumann (1820–?), auxiliary teacher from 1836 to 1853, or Jan Bůva (Johann Buwa) (1828–1907), who joined the Institute as auxiliary teacher in September 1846 and remained there until 1855.⁷⁸ The latter two arrangers are represented with six and one arrangements respectively. The list also includes two arrangements by Czerny. The majority of these arrangements would have been manuscripts. Curiously, the section appears to have been added by the same hand as that which copied the two surviving parts of the eight-piano arrangement of BWV 898 (CZ-Pk 102a and 102b); however, the work itself is not listed among the arrangements.

⁷⁶ They include Anon. (ed.), *Sämmtliche Orgel-Werke von Joh. Seb. Bach* (Vienna: Tobias Haslinger, 1831); Anon. (ed.), *Tocatta in Fis-moll für Orgel oder Pianoforte von Joh. Seb. Bach* (Berlin: J. Trautwein, [1837]); Adolph Bernhard Marx (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach's noch wenig bekannte Orgelcompositionen (auch am Pianoforte von einem oder zwei Spielern ausführbar.)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1833); [Carl Ferdinand Becker] (ed.), *371 vierstimmige Choralgesänge von Johann Sebastian Bach. Dritte Auflage* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1832); [Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Johann Philipp Kirnberger] (eds.), *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge. Vierter Theil* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1787).

⁷⁷ Quoted from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, pp. 164–5: ‘Meine wenige Sparpfennige oder Ueberschüsse des täglichen Einkommens verwendete ich meistentheils auf Bücher und Musikalien, kurz auf meine Bibliothek, wozu mich nicht selten die in früherer Zeit noch billigeren Preise der Antiquar-Buchhandlungen und Auctionen verlockten.—Ich saß oft stundenlang in Bücherlicitationen, bis mir etwas Passendes und zugleich Billiges vorkam; auch bezog ich Vieles durch Bestellung von ausländischen Bücher- und Musikalien-Auctionen. Galt es jedoch Werken, die mir nöthig oder gar unentbehrlich schienen, so nahm ich sie frisch weg von hier, und es betrogen die Rechnungen hiefür jährlich meist einige hundert Gulden—worüber freilich meine äußerst sparsame Frau, wenn sie dahinter kam, stets großes Lamento anstimmte, und sich nicht erwehren konnte, mir zu bedenken zu geben, daß für alles das schon auf Bücher und Musikalien verwendete Geld, ‘wir bereits ein hübsches Haus haben könnten!’.

⁷⁸ See Špelda, ‘Prokschova pozůstalost a Pamětní kniha v Plzni’, p. 79.

The library, nowadays described as one of the largest private libraries of its time in Prague, gradually grew to number some 3,500 items, including the most important music periodicals of the day, such as the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, *Cäcilia*, the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* and others, 132 textbooks, 125 musical treatises (*musikalische Schriften*), 40 biographies, 40 treatises on piano playing, 130 piano tutors and numerous scores.⁷⁹ Proksch had hoped that his valuable library would attract a serious buyer after his death, and had contemplated its potential new owners:

By the way, in all seriousness, this library of mine would be a substantial asset to the local imperial [library], which has been left seriously wanting in matters musical; however, it would be a most fitting resource for the Conservatoire, which has to this day remained no less wanting.⁸⁰

Sadly, the greater part of the library – the majority of the prints, including many a valuable first and early edition – was auctioned off by the Viennese antique dealer Hans P. Kraus in 1934, following the death of Robert Franz Proksch (1872–1933), the grandson of Joseph Proksch's brother Anton and the last director of the Proksch Institute.⁸¹

Teaching Bach

An often-quoted passage from a letter Proksch wrote to his circle of friends in 1835 perfectly sums up his stance towards the music of the old masters, which also underpinned his teaching.

You tell me that you do not understand a lot of what I do and of which I write to you. So amongst else, my love of the old masters, which you consider mere church composers, and you fear that in this way I wish to lock you into orthodoxy. Fear not! With the right kind of orthodoxy it is not so bad as you perhaps fear. Do as I do: Try everything and keep that which is good. Think furthermore that one can always learn from the opposition. So, for that matter, consider the old, orthodox masters your opponents, but – learn from them!⁸²

⁷⁹ See Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 164. See also Zdeňka Böhmová-Zahradníčková, *Slavní čeští klavíristé a klavírní pedagogové z 18. a 19. století* (Prague: Supraphon, 1986), p. 75.

⁸⁰ Cited from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 164: 'Uebrigens meine ich immerhin allen Ernstes, es dürfte diese meine Bibliothek eine wesentliche Bereicherung der hiesigen kaiserlichen abgeben, die in Sache der Musik wahrhaft arm gelassen blieb; vollends aber wäre sie ein guter Fund für das Conservatorium, das bis jetzt nicht minder bibliothekarm dasteht'.

⁸¹ For a catalogue of the auction, see Hans P. Kraus, *Musikbibliothek Joseph Proksch Prag. Musikliteratur – Frühdrucke. Instrumental- und Vokalmusik. Erstausgaben*, Antiquariatskatalog, II (Vienna: Hans. P. Kraus, 1934).

⁸² Cited from Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 42: 'Ihr macht mir bemerklich, vieles, was ich thue und Euch schreibe, nicht recht verstehen zu können. So unter Anderem nicht meine Vorliebe für die alten Meister, die ihr für lauter Kirchencomponisten haltet, und darum fürchtet, ich wolle Euch damit in die Orthodoxie hineinlocken. Beruhigt Euch! Es ist mit der rechten Orthodoxie nicht so schlimm als Ihr vielleicht fürchtet. Macht es damit wie ich: Prüfet Alles und das Gute behaltet. Denkt nebenbei daran, daß vom Gegner stets zu lernen ist. Betrachtet also meinewegen die alten, orthodoxen Meister als Euere Gegner, aber – lernt von Ihnen!'

Perhaps the best-known testimony to the steady presence of J. S. Bach in Proksch's teaching comes from the biography of Bedřich Smetana, who studied with Proksch from 1843 to 1847, albeit not as a full-time student of piano, but as one of his few private students in theory and composition. Having completed the initial stages of his studies focusing on matters of harmony, Smetana embarked on the study of counterpoint and fugue, which incorporated the analysis of fugues from *The Well-tempered Clavier*.⁸³ A handwritten school journal of Proksch's Music Institute from the years 1845–48, containing student registers, attendance records, monthly progress reports, assessment protocols and programme outlines for a number of performances, as well as a list of books and scores students borrowed from Proksch's library, reveals that Smetana also studied Bach's motets.⁸⁴

More important for this study, however, is the syllabus Proksch developed over the course of his teaching, subsequently published by his daughter under the title *Lehrplan*.⁸⁵ The parts of this that relate to the study of classical masters, counterpoint and specifically Bach are highlighted below.

⁸³ Among the relevant literature Smetana's studies with Proksch are Zdeněk Nejedlý, 'Smetanovo hudební žákovství', *Dalibor*, 31-Památník Smetanův/29–36 (30 April 1909), pp. 37–9; Mirko Očadlík, 'Klavírní skladby Bedřicha Smetany z období studijního', in *Klavírní dílo Bedřicha Smetany*, III: Studijní skladby a sonáta z r. 1846 (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1957), p. ix; Ratibor Budiš, *Smetanův učitel Josef Proksch* (Liberec: Severočeské nakladatelství, 1969); Vladimír Helfert, *Tvořící rozvoj Bedřicha Smetanovy* (Prague: Jos. R. Vilímeck, [1924]); Eva Slavická-Háchová, 'Ke Smetanovým studiím u Josefa Proksche', *Hudební věda*, 11 (1974), p. 147; Milan Slavický, 'Polyfonie ve Smetanově počátečním období', *Hudební věda*, 11 (1974), pp. 136–47; Jiří Vysloužil, 'Johann Sebastian Bach und Bedřich Smetana. Zur Genesis und Semantik von Smetanas polyphonem Denken und zu seinen polyphonen Formen', in Werner Felix, Winfried Hoffmann and Armin Schneiderheinze (eds.), *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum III. Internationalen Bach-Fest der DDR Leipzig, 18./19. September 1975* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1977), pp. 293–305; the Czech version of the article appeared as 'Johann Sebastian Bach a Bedřich Smetana. Ke genezi a sémantice Smetanova polyfonního myšlení a forem', *Hudební rozhledy*, 29/9 (1976), pp. 414–8.

⁸⁴ The book, without shelfmark, is kept with the Proksch materials in the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire. Unfortunately, its title cannot be discerned from the label on its cover due to excessive wear. The library's borrowing record, with the heading 'Verzeichniss der den Zöglingen vorgeliehenen Musikalien und Bücher', is found towards the back of the volume. The remaining titles in Smetana's borrowing record are Thibaut's *Über Reinheit der Tonkunst*, Nägeli's *Verfahrungen in der Musik*, W. Chr. Müller's *Aesthetisch-historische Einleitungen in die Wissenschaft der Tonkunst*, Hiller's *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*, Johann Jakob Wagner's *Die Dichterschule von St. Gallen*, Rochlitz's *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, Glucks's *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Handel's *Messiah* and Graun's *Der Tod Jesu*.

⁸⁵ Joseph Proksch, *Lehrplan. Wegweiser im Gebiete des Clavierunterrichtes oder methodischer Leitfaden für den Clavierunterricht mit einem musikalischen Lehr- und Stundenplane* (Prague: Marie Proksch, 1884). At least two earlier handwritten copies of the *Lehrplan* exist in the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire. One, titled 'Lehr und Unterrichts- | Plan | für die Methode | des einfachen Klavierunterrichts. | von | Josef Proksch.' bears the shelfmark JP 29 and was copied by F. Köhler, around 1862–3 (based on other documents he signed and dated). Another, possibly earlier, copy, entitled 'Melodischer Leitfaden | nebst einem Lehr- und Unterrichtsplane | im | Pianofortespiel | mit | Verbindung der musikalischen Theorie | nach der Methode des | gemeinschaftlichen Unterrichts | Bearbeitet für die Lehrer und Schüler seiner | Musikbildungs-Anstalt | von | Jos. Proksch.' is included in an unsorted bundle without a shelfmark.

During their six-year course, the young pianists' first experience of counterpoint was practical. In their third year they were introduced to Bach's Two-part Inventions (BWV 772–786), the Six little preludes (BWV 933–938), and Fughetta in C minor (BWV 961), together with some simple pieces by Christian Heinrich Rinck. The fourth year was a continuation of the practical study of counterpoint through Rinck's *Vorschule für angehende Organisten*, Op. 82,⁸⁶ and pieces from Volume 7 of Bach's collected keyboard works.⁸⁷

The fifth year was regarded as the beginning of the 'higher technique of piano playing' (*höhere Technik des Clavierspieles*). A selection of representative works by the earliest to the most recent composers was introduced in chronological order. For the study of Bach, students could choose any piece from his collected works. At this stage students also embarked on a theoretical study of counterpoint, canon and fugue, as well as the analysis of classical compositions. The recommended textbooks were Weinling and the relevant sections from A. B. Marx's *Compositionslehre*, as well as tutors by Albrechtsberger, André, Dehn, Fux (*Gradus ad Parnassum*), Lobe and Marpurg. It is also interesting to see Camille Saint-Saën's transcriptions of Bach's works included in the list of recommended piano literature.⁸⁸

The final year was designed to hone the full range of specialist skills required of a professional pianist, from solo performance, accompaniment (including recitative accompaniment), playing from orchestral reductions as well as scores, to playing with an orchestra. Final-year students also undertook composition, which included fugue composition, the history of music with an emphasis on the history of the piano and piano music, aesthetics and acoustics. The list of recommended literature is preceded by the following illuminating commentary:

Among the numerous composers for the piano, four in particular offer an almost insurmountable wealth material for perfecting technique; the works of the old master Bach, the greatest contrapuntist of all time; the genial Beethoven with his limitless sonorities; the inventive Chopin, the unique New Romanticist; and Liszt, the greatest technician. It may indeed be stated that he who has studied, practiced and grasped, and can perform these four masters, will be able to play all other keyboard music of the early, middle

⁸⁶ The full title of the work, published in Bonn by Simrock (1830), is *Vorschule für angehende Organisten und alle, welche sich im gebundenen Style üben wollen*.

⁸⁷ Carl Czerny [and Moritz Hauptmann] (eds.), *Compositions pour le Piano-Forte sans et avec accompagnement par Jean Sebastien Bach, Oeuvres complets, VII* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1840). This volume contains all the works covered by the third-year curriculum, followed by the Three-part Inventions (BWV 787–801) and French Suites (BWV 812–817), which are generally considered a logical step forward in a student's advancement.

⁸⁸ The title itself is not listed in Kraus's auction catalogue (see note 81), but its wording in the *Lehrplan* (p. 20), 'Saint-Saëns, Cam. – Bach, J. S., Transcriptionen.', and the fact that Proksch's library contained a number of French editions, among which some old and rare items, suggests that this was probably the first edition of the work, which appeared as *Transcriptions pour piano par Camille Saint-Saëns [d'après J. S. Bach]* (Paris: G. Flaxland, [1862]), rather than the German edition titled *Sechs Fragmente aus den Kirchen-Cantaten und Violin-Sonaten von Joh. Seb. Bach für Pianoforte übertragen von Camille Saint-Saëns* (Leipzig and Winterthur: Rieter-Biedermann, [1863]).

and modern schools. When the student reaches this level, he no longer requires specific guidance in his further independent development.⁸⁹

Performing Bach

Examinations

As was customary at the majority of Prague's teaching establishments of the period and indeed across Europe, the end of each school year was marked by an annual public examination. The examinations of the Proksch Music Institute, similarly to those of the Prague Organ School,⁹⁰ extended over several days. The first part was allocated for theoretical and practical assessment, and the culmination was a showcase examination concert (*Prüfungsproduktion*) featuring solo and ensemble performances, in which the more advanced students took part. In 1856, possibly to maintain the interest of the public in the face of stiffening competition, Proksch introduced a programme with optional numbers, from which the public themselves would choose the pieces they wished to hear on the occasion.⁹¹ Another of his innovations that year was a piano competition.⁹²

The surviving printed programmes, published announcements and reviews of Proksch's examinations show that Bach's works regularly featured in both the theoretical and practical parts, as well as the showcase concert. One of Proksch's obituaries describes his institute as 'virtually the only sanctuary of classical music' which had, for a long time, been 'the place where for the first time one could again hear the great clavier concertos of J. S. Bach, Palestrina's motets and many other works'.⁹³ An anonymous contemporary of Proksch, reminiscing on Prague's musical life in the years 1840–50, echoes this sentiment:

⁸⁹ Proksch, *Lehrplan*, p. 21: 'Unter den zahlreichen Componisten für das Clavier sind es besonders vier, welche zur Vollendung der Technik einen fast unüberwindlichen Stoff liefern; es sind dies der Altmeister Bach, der Polyphonist für alle Zeiten; der geniale Beethoven in seinen unerschöpflichen Tongebilden; der originelle Chopin, der eigenthümliche Neuromantiker; und Liszt, der grösste Techniker. Man kann wohl behaupten, dass der, welcher diese vier Meister studirt, geübt und erfasst hat und vortragen kann, wohl alle andere Claviermusik der älteren, mittleren und neueren Schule spielen wird. Ist der Schüler einmal auf dieser Stufe angelangt, so bedarf er wohl keiner besonderen Anleitung mehr zu seiner ferneren selbstthätigen Fortbildung'.

⁹⁰ For a detailed discussion on its role in Bohemian Bach reception, see my article 'Bach Reception in Prague: an 1845 Performance of the Second Kyrie from the B minor Mass' in *Understanding Bach*, 5 (2010), pp. 24f.

⁹¹ V. [=Franz Ulm], 'Musik', *Bohemia*, 29 Supplement/184 (5 August 1856), p. 186. For the identification of the reviewer, see Jitka Ludvová et al. (eds.), *Hudební divadlo v českých zemích. Osobnosti 19. století*, Česká divadelní encyklopedie (Prague: Academia, 2006), pp. 591–2 and Bonnie Lomnäs, Erling Lomnäs and Dietmar Strauss, *Auf der Suche nach der poetischen Zeit. Der Prager Davidsbund, i: Erläuterungen, Nachlassregesten, Konzertdokumente* (Saarbrücken: PFAU, 1999), pp. 42 and 152–65.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Anon., 'Nekrolog', *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik*, 1/4 (28 January 1865), p. 54: 'Zu einer Zeit, wo der Virtuosenflitter, die fast ausschließliche Pflege einer inhaltsleeren Technik zur Allein-Herrschaft gelangt war, war sein Institut der fast einzige Zufluchtsort für klassische Musik. Dort wurden seit langer Zeit zum ersten Male wieder die großen Klavier-Konzerte von J. S. Bach, die Motteten Palestrina's und vieles Andere gehört ...'.

... before a breath of fresh air was freely and openly allowed through, with the exception of some occasional, yet still sporadic instances, the orthodox Prague experienced in Proksch's productions the works of Bach, Handel, Scarlatti, etc.⁹⁴

Musical soirées and matinées

To give his students an opportunity to get used to playing in public and further their knowledge of musical literature, as well as to popularise his institution and fend off slandering tongues, in 1834 Proksch introduced musical soirées (*musikalische Abendunterhaltungen*). These musical evenings, described as 'modest entertainment for friends of piano music and the Institute, as well as those who have entrusted their children to the Institute',⁹⁵ took place over a number of successive Sundays during Lent each year. Their programmes, similarly to those of the annual examinations, incorporated solo performances, duets and pieces for up to eight pianos, in a variety of styles extending from the baroque era through to the most recent times. The school journal of Proksch's Music Institute from the years 1845–48 includes a record of the performance of BWV 898 in the programme of the musical soirée held on 15 March 1846, the third evening of the series.⁹⁶ Among the performers was Proksch's son Theodor. This performance was also mentioned in a review published in *Bohemia* in the wake of the event, which reported:

The third musical soirée by Mr Jos. Proksch surpassed the previous in variety of choice, as well as brilliance of execution. Throughout the series ensemble numbers were represented by arrangements for four pianos and eight players. This time the evening featured two, Seb. Bach's Fugue on his name (b, a, c, h are the first notes of the subject) and Bethoven's [sic] Pastoral Symphony. The first of the monumental works, being one of the most delightful works of the strict style, was performed by eight male students, and Beethoven's universally known graceful symphony by eight female students of the Institute. In their precision of group playing, balance of execution and the befitting character of the interpretation, these ensemble numbers left nothing to be desired.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Anon., 'Prager Musikleben (1840–1850). Aus dem Gedächtniß-Album eines alten Musikanten, I. Proksch. Triebensee', *Bohemia*, 47/36-Supplement (6 February 1874), p. [1]: 'So erlebte das orthodoxe Prag, noch ehe eine frische Luftströmung offenen und freien Zutritt finden konnte, mit Ausnahme einiger hie und da vorkommenden, gleichsam nur sporadischen Fälle, daß in den Productionen Proksch die Werke Bachs, Händls, Scarlattis u. s. w. zu Gehör gebracht ...'.

⁹⁵ Anon., 'Die erste Abendunterhaltung des Herrn Proksch', *Bohemia*, 19/28 (6 March 1846), p. [4]: '... schlichte Unterhaltungen für Freunde der Claviermusik und der Anstalt, wie für solche, die Angehörige der Anstalt anvertraut haben ...'.

⁹⁶ See note 84.

⁹⁷ P., 'Musik', *Bohemia*, xix/34 (20 March 1846), pp. [3–4]: 'Die dritte musikalische Abendunterhaltung des Herrn Jos. Proksch war, sowohl was die Umsicht und Mannichfaltigkeit der Wahl, als Glanz der Ausführung betrifft, den vorhergehenden noch überlegen. Die Stelle des Ensemble-nummern vertreten hier immer Arrangements für vier

Some years later Proksch compounded the series with a number of matinées (to alternate with the soirées), in which the more advanced students of the Institute were joined by string players from outside to perform a chamber music repertoire.

St Cecilia celebrations (Cäcilienfeste)

The venture that earned Proksch what later commentators regarded as a pivotal role in the revival of the pre-classical repertoire in Prague was born out of an idea he communicated in a letter to his brother Anton in 1837:

Today's date (22 November) is marked on the calendar as the feast day of St Cecilia, the patron saint of music. However, no song or sound was to be heard to honour her. Why the beautiful, old custom of celebrating this sacred patronage is completely eschewed here, in the so-called 'musical capital', cannot in any way be adequately explained; granted, such a celebration has a 'somewhat catholic' flavour, which the currently prevalent taste no longer tolerates, but one still ought to ask, what sense does it make for this reason to destroy all that is beautiful that has come to us from the past?⁹⁸

Two years later Proksch inaugurated his yearly celebration in honour of St Cecilia (*Cäcilienfest*), which comprised a church service in the morning and a *concert spirituel* in the afternoon. The musical part of the celebration was conceived as a synopsis of the gradual development of music from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, with a selection of representative pieces performed in chronological order. The following year Proksch complemented the items on the programme with a brief biographical commentary on each of their authors, which the reviewer for the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* described as 'an idea never explored in this way'.⁹⁹

Piano's und acht Spieler. Diesmal brachte der Abend deren zwei, Seb. Bach's Fuge über seinen Namen (b, a, c, h sind die ersten Töne des Themas) und Bethoven's [sic] Pastoralsymphonie. Das erstere gewaltige Werk, eines der herrlichsten Werke des strengen Styles, spielten acht mannliche, die allbekannte anmuthreiche Beethoven'sche Symphonie acht weibliche Zöglinge der Anstalt. An Genauigkeit des Zusammenspieles, Ausgeglichenheit des Vortrages und charaktergemäßer Durchführung entsprechen diese Ensemblenummern auch dem mächtigsten Wunsche vollkommen'.

⁹⁸ Cited after Müller, *Joseph Proksch*, p. 64: 'Im Kalender verzeichnet ist heute (22. Nov.) der Festtag der hl. Cäcilia, der Patronin der Musik. Nirgend aber war ihr zu Ehren Sang oder Klang zu hören. Wieso man hier, in der sogenannten "musikalischen Hauptstadt" gänzlich abließ vom schönen, alten Brauche, dieses Standes-Patrocinium zu feiern, läßt sich keiner Richtung nach genügend erklären; zugegeben, es hätte eine solche Feier einen "etwas katholischen" Beigeschmack, der sich mit dem jetzt herrschend gewordenen Zeitgeschmacke nicht mehr recht vertragen würde, bliebe doch wohl zu fragen, welchen Sinn es hätte, deßhalb schon alles, was als Schönes aus der Vorzeit auf uns gekommen—zu zerstrümmern'.

⁹⁹ —l., 'Cäcilienfeier', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 42/51 (16 December 1840), cols. 1054–6: '...auf diese Art noch nicht gefasste Gedanke...'

Table 3: Bach's works in the examinations and performances Proksch Institute from its inception to 1864

Date	BWV	Citation ^a	Event	Reference
9–10 Aug 1838	855/2	<i>von mehreren [Schülern] eine zweistimmig gesetzte Fuge von S. Bach abwechselnd ausgeführt</i>	examination	<i>Bohemia</i> 11/97
[10] Mar 1839	913a	<i>Toccatà von J. S. Bach</i>	soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 12/32
22 Nov 1839	1052	<i>Concert für Piano und Accompagnement von J. S. Bach</i>	St Cecilia	Müller, p. 89; <i>Bohemia</i> 12/142
22 Nov 1840	1063	<i>Joh. Seb. Bach's D moll-Konzert für 3 Piano's</i>	St Cecilia	AMZ 42/51; <i>Bohemia</i> 13/141; <i>JbdN Verein</i> 3/1
[10] Jan 1841	?	<i>Piecen von Corelli, Scarlatti, Dussek, Bach, Glück und Händl u.s.w.</i>	soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 14/6
[14] Mar 1841	?	<i>eine schöne und instruktive Reihe: J. S. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven...</i>	1 st soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 14/33
3–4 Aug 1841	?	<i>in Ausführung polyphoner Kompositionen im strengen Style Seb. Bach, Rink, Klengel</i>	examination	AMZ 43/37
5 Aug 1841	1063	<i>Seb. Bach's D moll-konzert für Klavier mit Orchester</i>	end-of-year concert	AMZ 43/37
[27] Feb 1842	?	<i>Stücke von Händel, Sebastian Bach, Clementi, Mozart und Beethoven ... theils auf vier, theils auf zwei und einem Claviere ... aufgeführt</i>	2 nd soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 15/26
6 Aug 1842	from 846–893	<i>Fugen von J. S. Bach aus dessen "wohltemperirtem Klavier" zur beliebigen Auswahl</i>	end-of-year concert	AMZ 44/35; <i>Bohemia</i> 15/98
Mar 1843	?	<i>Tonstücke im Ensemble, theils Original, theils Arrangement für drei oder zwei Claviere von Beethoven, Mozart, Clementi, Bach, Kuhlau, Proksch, etc.</i>	soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 16/44
3–4 Aug 1843	?	<i>In der Practik: Präludien von J. S. Bach, Rink</i>	examination	AMZ 45/38
5 Aug 1843	?	<i>"classische Musik," worunter solch gewichtige Namen wie Gluck, Bach, Scarlatti, Clementi, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn</i>	end-of-year concert	AMZ 45/38
1–2 Aug 1844	?	<i>die Hauptarten der polyphonen Form: die Figuration, Fuge und der Canon, erläutert durch praktische Beispiele an einem Chorale von J. S. Bach, einer Fuge von J. S. Bach, einem Canon von M. Clementi</i>	examination	AMZ 46/36; <i>Bohemia</i> 17/97
2 Aug 1845	1064	<i>Concert (C-dur) für 3 Claviere von J. S. Bach</i>	end-of-year concert	<i>Bohemia</i> 18/94
15 Mar 1846	898	<i>Präludium und Fuge über b a c h v. Seb. Bach für 4 Pianos</i>	3 rd soirée	ProkschJrn 1845–48; <i>Bohemia</i> 19/34

29–30 Jul 1846	850/2 or 874/2	<i>eine Bach'sche Fuge aus dem wohltemperirten Clavier, Nro. 5 in D-dur</i>	examination	Müller, p. 111
1 Aug 1846	815	<i>Suite in Es-dur von J. S. Bach</i>	end-of-year concert	<i>Bohemia</i> 19/121
14 Mar 1847	1061	<i>Concert C dur für 2 Claviere v. J. Seb. Bach</i>	3 rd soirée	Proksch 1845–48; <i>Kwety</i> 14/37
25 Feb 1849	1064	<i>ein noch ungedrucktes Concert in C-dur, für 3 Claviere von J. S. Bach</i>	1 st soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 22/43
9 Mar 1851	1065	<i>A. Vivaldi – J. S. Bach: Konzert pro 4 Pfte</i> [Concerto for 4 pianos]	soirée	TP 1
7 Aug 1851	1063	<i>J. S. Bach: Concert in d moll für 3 Claviere und Streichquartet</i>	end-of-year concert	TP 9a
4 Mar 1855	?	<i>J. S. Bach: Suite (solo a ensemble 5 žáků)</i> [solo and ensemble of 5 students]	1 st soirée	TP 10; review in <i>Bohemia</i> 28/56 does not mention Bach
4 Aug 1855	1063 or 1064	<i>dem Bach'schen Concerte für 3 Claviere</i>	end-of-year concert	<i>Bohemia</i> 28/184
24 Feb 1856	one of 1014–1019	<i>J. Bachs Sonate</i>	2 nd matinée	<i>Bohemia</i> 29/52
22 Nov 1856	?	<i>mehrere Compositionen von Seb. Bach</i>	St Cecilia	<i>NZsfM</i> 44/1
5 Apr 1857	1064	<i>J. S. Bach: Concert in C dur für 3 Pianos</i>	1 st soirée	TP 14
30 Jul 1857^b	898	<i>J. S. Bach: Präludium und Fuge über den Namen Bach</i>	end-of-year concert	TP 896
19 Feb 1858	1062	<i>J. S. Bach's Concert in C-moll für 2 Claviere</i>	1 st soirée	<i>Bohemia</i> 31/51; TP 15
23 Oct 1858 ^c	from 846–893	<i>J. S. Bach: Několik fug z dobře temperovaného klavíru (Pfte)</i> [several fugues from The Well-tempered Clavier]	end-of-year concert	TP 19
4 Aug 1859	?	<i>J. S. Bach: Fuga in G-moll</i>	end-of-year concert	TP 28
31 Jul 1860	772–786	<i>Analysirung 2stimmiger Inventionen v. J. S. Bach</i>	examination	ProkschPrg 1860
4 Aug 1860	903	<i>J. S. Bach: Chromatische Fantasie und Fuge in D-moll</i>	end-of-year concert	TP 48
31 Jul 1861	787–801	<i>Analysirung 3stimmiger Inventionen v. J. S. Bach</i>	examination	ProkschPrg 1861
1 Aug 1861	?	<i>Praeludien und Fugen von Bach und Händel nach beliebiger Auswahl, abwechselnd vorgetragen von 4 Zöglingen</i>	end-of-year concert	ProkschPrg 1861; TP 47
6 Apr 1862	?	<i>J. S. Bach: Präludium und Fuge</i>	5 th soirée	TP 58
1–2 Aug 1862	?	<i>die verschiedensten Werke älterer und neuer Tonsetzer</i>	end-of-year concert	<i>NZsfM</i> 57/9
31 Jul 1863	791, 795, 797	<i>3stimmige Inventionen (Nr. 5, 9, 11) von J. S. Bach</i>	end-of-year concert	ProkschPrg 1863, TP 77

1 Aug 1864	244/1	<i>Einleitung der Mathäus-Passion. Doppelchor: "Kommt, Ihr Töchter! helft mir klagen" von J. S. Bach, ausgeführt v. 4 weiblichen und 4 männlichen Zöglingen</i>	end-of-year concert	ProkschPrg 1864; NZsfM 60/34; TP 95
2 Aug 1862	772-786, 787-801, 933-938	<i>Theoretisch. ... Analysirung 2- und 3stimmiger Inventionen v. J. S. Bach / Praktisch. Präludien, 2- und 3stimmige Inventionen von J. S. Bach</i>	examination	ProkschPrg 1864
2 Aug 1864	849/1 (or 873/1), 866/1 (or 890/1), 814	<i>Zwei Preludien aus dem Wohltemperirten Clavier von S. Bach (Cis-moll und B-dur), mit einem hinzukomponierten konzertierenden zweiten Clavier von J. Moscheles / III. französische Suite von S. Bach (Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Menuet, Gavotte et Gigue)</i>	end-of-year concert	ProkschPrg 1864; NZsfM 60/34; TP 98

- a The citation is taken from the first reference listed in the column 'Reference'. Translation is provided where the citation is in Czech.
- b The date of the examination, cited by the reference as 30 June, is erroneous.
- c The unusually late date of the end-of-year examination and concert was possibly due to the relocation of the Institute in September that year. It was reported in *Bohemia*, 31/250 (22 September 1858), p. 621. Proksch had been seeking new premises since March that year, as the advertisement in *Bohemia*, 31/86 (27 March 1858), p. 640, reveals.

Abbreviations

AMZ	<i>Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung</i>
JbdN Verein	<i>Jahrbücher des deutschen National-Vereins für Musik und ihre Wissenschaft</i>
Müller	Rudolf Müller, <i>Joseph Proksch. Biographisches Denkmal</i> (Reichenberg: Rudolph Müller, 1874)
NZsfM	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Musik</i>
ProkschJrn 1845-48	School journal of Proksch's Music Institute from the years 1845-48, manuscript (CZ-Pk, without shelfmark)
ProkschPrg 1860	'Einladung zur öffentlichen ganzjährigen Prüfung, ... am 31. Juli 1., 2., 3. und 4. August 1860' (CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H-VI E 83/1)
ProkschPrg 1861	'Einladung zur öffentlichen ganzjährigen Prüfung, ... am 29., 30., 31. Juli und 1. August 1861' (CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H-VI E 83/2)
ProkschPrg 1863	'Einladung zur öffentlichen ganzjährigen Prüfung, ... am 29., 30., 31. Juli und 1. August 1863' (CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H-VI E 83/3)
ProkschPrg 1864	'Einladung zur öffentlichen ganzjährigen Prüfung, ... am 28., 29. Juli und 1. und 2. August 1864' (CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H-VI E 83/4)
TP	reference to a concert programme listed in the preliminary catalogue of concert programmes in the Czech Museum of Music; quoted from Magdalena Šmídová Turchichová, 'Znovuoživování staré hudby v českých zemích v 19. století' ('The revival of early music in the Czech lands in the nineteenth century'), unpublished BA thesis, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, Brno (2011), pp. 54-8

Table 3 lists the performances of Bach's works by the Proksch Institute. The list was compiled from various sources, such as newspaper reviews and announcements, Proksch's own school records and, in a few instances, supplemented by information from secondary literature.¹⁰⁰ Naturally, due to the selective nature of the press and a shortage of original records, the list is by no means exhaustive. From Proksch's syllabus, discussed in the preceding section, it may be inferred that playing (and analysing) Bach's works was a core element of the theoretical and practical assessment for students at middle and higher levels, which is corroborated by the extant examination programmes.¹⁰¹ However, the reviews and announcements do not always reflect this. Neither do they always name the works that were performed in concert.

After Proksch had won the favour of the press – initially resistant, as discussed earlier – the papers reported on his undertakings with the enthusiasm that any novelty, especially one found to be creditable, would attract. However, as he became a household name and little remained to be said about his institution, the papers, although still duly announcing the events he organised, elaborated less frequently on their programmes. Similarly, when the events were reviewed (and this, too, became less regular), reviewers would single out the more unusual programme items, such as a new piece that had not previously been performed, or focus on a particularly promising student for whom they forecast a virtuoso career. The music of Bach and other early music composers had gradually become part of the repertoire and was no longer a rare treat to be extolled.¹⁰² It is therefore not surprising that the review of the 1857 examination in *Bohemia*¹⁰³ makes no specific reference to the performance of BWV 898 cited from the examination concert programme by Šmídová Turchichová,¹⁰⁴ nor for that matter

¹⁰⁰ A useful source of information is the research conducted by Magdalena Šmídová Turchichová, who in the appendix to her BA thesis lists some of the early music performances that took place in the nineteenth century, mainly in Brno and Prague. The list is primarily based on the preliminary catalogue of concert programmes in the Czech Museum of Music, information from the Czech periodicals *Dalibor* and *Slavoj*, and secondary literature. See Magdalena Šmídová Turchichová, 'Znovuoživování staré hudby v českých zemích v 19. století' ('The revival of early music in the Czech lands in the nineteenth century'), unpublished BA thesis, Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, Brno (2011), p. 54.

¹⁰¹ The programmes consulted relate to the years 1860, 1861, 1863–65, 1867–70, 1873 and 1875, and are kept at the Czech Museum of Music (shelfmarks H VI E 83/1–14).

¹⁰² For an indication of the staggering number that performances of early music in Prague had reached by 1860s, see Jan Smaczny, 'Dr. Dvořák steps off his World of Baroque Certainty: Dvořák and Early Music', in Jarmila Gabrielová and Jan Kachlík (eds.), *The Work of Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904): Aspects of Composition – Problems of Editing – Reception. Proceedings of the International Musicological Conference, Prague, September 8–11, 2004* (Prague: Institute of Ethnology Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2007), pp. 319–23.

¹⁰³ V. [=Franz Ulm], 'Local- und Provinzialchronik', *Bohemia*, 30/180-Supplement (1 August 1857), p. 176.

¹⁰⁴ Šmídová Turchichová, 'Znovuoživování staré hudby v českých zemích v 19. století', p. 54. The date of the showcase examination concert featuring BWV 898, given in her thesis as 30 June 1857, appears to be erroneous: Proksch's examinations consistently took place at the end of July or the beginning of August. The review of this particular examination in *Bohemia*, was published on 1 August (see note 103) and states that the concert took place 'on Thursday',

to Bach; it merely states that, apart from the brilliantly performed solo pieces and carefully chosen and arranged ensemble works, the programme featured several first-rate concertos.¹⁰⁵

In addition, as the number of educational establishments in Prague grew (in 1857 there were twelve)¹⁰⁶ and their productions often coincided, newspapers had to choose which events to cover. The reviewer for *Bohemia* happened to be inclined towards Proksch, where others may not have been:

When we then in this respect make another exception for our model and mother institution of Mr Proksch, the following is self-evident: without this pioneer of the ever-spreading group teaching, these sundry institutes would hardly exist. And as these now continue to propagate and are sprouting from the Prague soil like mushrooms, the reporter will hopefully be most graciously forgiven, when he herewith spares himself the trouble of having to always state the same about the examinations, with greater or lesser emphasis on the advantages of this or that institute, while taking into account certain delicate interests, and for this reason appeals to all those which attach importance to the matter, for friendly information.¹⁰⁷

Finally, it must be considered whether the decisions of newspapers to report on the examinations of one institute over another might, to a certain extent, have been politically driven—after all, it was a climate where nationalist aspirations were in full swing, where interest in Czech language and cultural heritage had gained sway, and the rift between the Czech and German populations was broadening. For example, the Czech language newspaper *Lumír*, which started appearing in 1851, regularly reported on the examinations of the Prague Organ School and the Music Institute of Petr Maydl (1820?–1896), and occasionally some others, including the Prague Conservatory and the academies of Franz Frömter (1811–1894),¹⁰⁸ Celestin Müller (1826–1877)¹⁰⁹ and Bedřich Šimák (1826–1886),¹¹⁰ but never published anything on Proksch's examinations. Interestingly, Frömter,

implying the preceding Thursday (30 June 1857 was a Tuesday). It follows, therefore, that the actual date of this examination was 30 July 1857.

¹⁰⁵ V. [=Franz Ulm], 'Local- und Provinzialchronik', p. 176 (see note 103).

¹⁰⁶ –š, 'Z Prahy a z venkova (From Prague and the provinces)', *Lumír*, 6/32 (7 August 1856), p. 767.

¹⁰⁷ V. [=Franz Ulm], 'Musik', *Bohemia*, xxix/176 (26 July 1856), p. 135: 'Wenn wir noch bei unserer Muster- und Mutteranstalt des Hrn. Proksch in dieser Beziehung eine Ausnahme machen, so versteht sich dies hier wohl von selbst: denn ohne diesen Begründer des hier sich immer mehr und mehr ausbreitenden allgemeinen Unterrichtes wären die überzahlreichen Institute wohl schwerlich vorhanden. Da nun diese sich immer mehr vervielfältigen und wie die Pilze aus der Prager Erde wachsen; so wird man dem Referenten hoffentlich geneigtest verzeihen, wenn er sich der Mühe, mit Wahrung gewisser heikler Interessen, über die Prüfungen stets dasselbe, mit größerer oder minderer Betonung der Vorzüge dieses und jenes Institutes zu sagen, hiemit enthebt und deshalb alle Jene, welche etwa ein Gewicht darauf legen, um freundliche Nachricht bittet'.

¹⁰⁸ See G., 'Z Prahy', *Lumír*, 30 (28 July 1853), p. 717 and Š., 'Z Prahy a z venkova', *Lumír*, 31 (30 July 1857), p. 740.

¹⁰⁹ Š., 'Z Prahy a z venkova', p. 740.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Maydl and Šimák had learnt Proksch's method, by which they subsequently taught in their own establishments, either through Proksch himself or studying with those who had formerly taught at Proksch's Institute and had left to establish their own academies. Maydl trained with Josef Jiránek, who left Proksch in 1846, while Šimák studied with both Jiránek and Maydl.

Arranging Bach

Originally a fortunate solution to a predicament in which Logier had found himself, teaching piano in groups soon bestowed a new dimension on piano teaching and democratised the art of piano playing, which was no longer an exclusive pursuit of the privileged few geared towards rearing virtuosi. The number of thriving establishments in nineteenth-century Prague that implemented the approach is telling. Apart from its obvious advantage of allowing the maximum number of pupils to be taught by the minimum number of staff, proponents argued that children not only found it more enjoyable to play in a group, but that it also helped to improve their sense of rhythm and hearing, as well as overcome their nervousness.

The materials used in group piano teaching at the time were mostly limited to purely mechanical exercises: in Logier's own system, the same exercise was played many times over by all students, either in unison or in two doubled parts: one for the beginners, the other – the 'accompanying variations' – for the more advanced students.¹¹¹ To fill this void, Proksch composed pieces specifically for ensembles of up to eight pianos with sixteen players, some of which he later published in a seven-volume collection titled *Die Kunst des Ensemble's im Pianoforte-Spiel*.¹¹² Moreover, keen to raise well-rounded musicians and not just nimble-fingered steady-handed piano players, he saw in ensemble-playing an opportunity to broaden his students' horizons by joining the elements of teaching that pertained to pianism in the narrower sense with those that extended into the realm of the entire musical literature.¹¹³ In an ensemble his students could perform arrangements, many of them his own, of representative works by classical and contemporary composers extending beyond the standard pianist repertoire (overtures, symphonies and the like) – among them BWV 898. Proksch's library is said to have contained 'possibly the entire corpus of more

¹¹¹ Johann Bernhard Logier, *J. B. Logier's Anweisung zum Unterricht im Clavierspiel und der musikalischen Composition nach seiner Methode: ein Handbuch für Lehrer und Ältern* (Berlin: Logier, 1829), pp. 13–14; see also Budiš, 'Die Prager Jahre des Josef Proksch', p. 79.

¹¹² The full title of the work is *Die Kunst des Ensemble's im Pianoforte-Spiel, eine Reihe instructiver Tonstücke für 3 und 4 Pianos mit 5, 6 und 8 Spielern mit besonderer Rücksicht für Musikbildungsanstalten, zum Gebrauche bei öffentlichen Prüfungen und Productionen* (Prague: Fischer, 1859), with the individual volumes titled: I. *Aufmunterung, Rondino für 3 Pianoforte, ein Piano zu 2 Händen, 2 Pianos zu 4 Händen*; II. *Kleine Scalen-Sonate für 3 Pianoforte, ein Piano zu 2 Händen, 2 Pianos zu 4 Händen*; III. *Rondoletto à la polacca für 3 Pianoforte, jedes zu 4 Händen*; IV. *Variationen über ein Thema von Logier für 4 Pianoforte, jedes zu 4 Händen*; V. *Concertino für 4 Pianoforte, jedes zu 4 Händen*; VI. *Grosse Scalen-Sonate für 4 Pianoforte, jedes zu 4 Händen*; VII. *Variationen über Mozart's 'Frühlingslied' für 4 Pianoforte, jedes zu 4 Händen*.

¹¹³ See Proksch, *Jahresbericht*, p. 13; see also Anon., 'Prager Musikleben', p. [1].

important nineteenth-century piano music for two or more persons'.¹¹⁴ The auctioned-off part of the library numbered 450 volumes of works for four or more hands and two or more pianos.¹¹⁵

Unfortunately, none of the sources listing printed or manuscript arrangements used at the Proksch Institute mentions the arrangement of BWV 898 for eight pianos or, for that matter, any other arrangement of the work.¹¹⁶ This, together with the fact that only two parts survive, poses the question whether the arrangement was ever completed and performed. The names 'Jelinek und Schubert' and 'Domania und Rudel', written on the title pages of the parts, suggest that it was, and the level of difficulty points to upper-level students, so perhaps the few surviving school documents of Proksch's Music Institute could offer some more conclusive evidence.

A register from the school years 1858/59–1860/61¹¹⁷ records the name of Jakub Jelinek, but not the other three. Jelinek enrolled on 1 October 1852 and, as his name is absent from the records for 1860/61, must have graduated at the end of the school year 1859/60. The surviving end-of-year examination programmes confirm this: his name is found on the programme of the 1860 examination, but not the following year's.¹¹⁸ As the course normally lasted six years, Jelinek should have graduated in 1858, but for unknown reasons did not graduate with the rest of his class. This would explain why the other three names are absent from the school register and examination programmes,¹¹⁹ which in turn implies that the eight-piano arrangement of BWV 898 was performed around 1857/58. The most likely contender for its performance, then, is the end-of-year showcase concert held on 30 July 1857, discussed in the preceding section.

Although only two parts of the set survive, it may be possible to offer some thoughts on the question of how the piece was arranged by examining another arrangement for the same number of players, for which all parts have survived.

¹¹⁴ Kraus, *Musikbibliothek Joseph Proksch*, p. 39: 'Die umfangreiche Sammlung aus der Musikanstalt Proksch umfasst wohl die gesamte wichtigere Klaviermusik für 2 und mehr Personen, welche im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts erschienen ist'.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ See *Catalog der Musikalien Sammlung des Joseph Proksch* (see also note 72); Proksch, *Lehrplan*, p. 17.; Neumann, *Proksch und seine Musikbildungs-Anstalt*, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ The handwritten document bears no shelfmark. Although the inscription on its title page, which reads 'Katalog sämtlicher Zöglinge für die Musikbildungsanstalt des Jos. Proksch für das Jahr 1858/59', specifies only one school year, its actual records relate to three successive school years.

¹¹⁸ See 'Einladung zur öffentlichen ganzjährigen Prüfung, ... am 31. Juli 1., 2., 3., und 4. August 1860', CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H-VI E 83/1 and 'Einladung zur öffentlichen ganzjährigen Prüfung, ... am 29., 30., 31. Juli und 1. August 1861', CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H-VI E 83/2.

¹¹⁹ All four names appear in Rejchlová's alphabetical listing of students who attended the Proksch Music Academy from 1831 to 1864. See Appendix IV in Magda Rejchlová, 'Josef Prokš a jeho hudebně vzdělávací ústav v Praze' (Josef Proksch and his music training institution in Prague), PhD dissertation, Prague: Charles University, 1951. However, the thesis does not cite the dates of the students' enrolments. Proksch's school register from 1853–60, one of the documents from which the list was compiled, kept in the Czech National Museum in Prague (shelfmark not provided), may offer some additional clues and is yet to be consulted.

In addition, source-critical information from the two existing parts of BWV 898 may yield some further clues.

The Coriolan Overture

A work for which a complete set of parts has survived is the arrangement of Beethoven's *Coriolan Overture*, Op. 62, for eight piano duets, kept in the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire (shelfmark 305). This arrangement also originated from Proksch's institute, as can be inferred from the title page of the first part (marked on the cover as 'I Parthie | 1ste Abth[eilung].'), which reads 'Overture | Coriolan | von | Beethoven | arrangirt | für | 8 Piano Forte | von | J. Proksch | im Jahre 3/7/1842 | I Parthie'. It also bears the later stamp of Theodor Proksch. Some of the parts have pencil indications of the names of the students who performed them, in some cases two sets of names, hinting that the piece was performed on more than one occasion. The first performance took place on 5 August 1842, the second day of the end-of-year examination which was held over three consecutive days.¹²⁰ According to the published review, the arrangement was performed by sixteen male students from the second class (*Abtheilung*), i.e. the more advanced students. Another review in *Bohemia* reveals that the piece was again performed in 1845.¹²¹ Although the majority of the names indicated on the parts are barely legible today, some may be related to this particular performance,¹²² while the identifiable names belonging to the second set of performers inscribed on the parts point to a performance around 1850/51.¹²³

This arrangement, however, is in fact not a true arrangement for eight piano duets, but rather a doubled arrangement for four duets. It may perhaps have started life as such, despite the title-page inscription, according to which the arrangement was made the same year it was performed by sixteen players on eight pianos, contradicting this hypothesis. The doubling was probably more of a necessity, owing to the fabric of the music and the fact that the arranger was bound to run out of notes and resort to doubling if he was to stay truthful to the score, especially if working from a piano reduction.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ See B. [=Bernhard Gutt], 'Musikalisches. (Beschluß.)', *Bohemia*, 15/98 (16 August 1842), p. [4] and Franz Neufeld, 'Nachrichten. Prag', *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 44/35 (31 August 1842), cols. 681–4. On the identification of the reviewer 'B.' as Bernhard Gutt, see Ludvová et al. (eds.), *Hudební divadlo v českých zemích. Osobnosti 19. století*, pp. 180–81 and Lomnäs, Lomnäs and Strauss, *Der Prager Davidsbund*, vol. I, pp. 196–200.

¹²¹ See Bernhard Gutt, 'Prüfung der Musikbildungsanstalt des Jos. Proksch', *Bohemia*, 18/94 (8 August 1845), p. [3]

¹²² The legible inscriptions read 'Beuer/Engelberth' and 'Wilhartitz/Richter'. Proksch's school journal of 1845–1848 (see note 84) records Ferdinand Beuer, Wenzel Engelberth, Adolph Wilhartitz and Karl Fischer as having joined the Institute in 1841 and 1842, so could have reached the level required for the performance of the piece by 1845.

¹²³ These are 'Gregor/Gregor', 'Nickerl/[?]' and 'Zweigelt'. According to the school journal of 1845–1848 (see note 84), brothers Julius and Otakar Gregor, Otakar Nickerl, and brothers Moritz and Rudolph Zweigelt joined the institution in 1846 and 1847, so it would have taken at least four years for them to attain the appropriate skill level.

¹²⁴ A piano transcription of the *Coriolan* (for two hands) is listed on p. 11 of the handwritten catalogue of Proksch's library (see note 72), and under the section 'Ouvverturen', in the unpaginated part of the manuscript. The orchestral parts are listed on p. 14 and again under

Just as is the case with BWV 898, this arrangement was copied on paper in two different formats: four parts are in landscape and four in portrait. Two copyists produced the arrangement, each a full set, as shown in Figure 6. The parts (*Parthien*) are marked with roman numerals (I-IV), and the two sets are labelled as 'Abtheilung 1' and 'Abtheilung 2'.¹²⁵ The sets are identical in musical content, except that, within the portrait parts, the parts of the second set have been switched. While all the parts of the first set have been inscribed with roman numerals on the first page of the text, the parts of the second set do not bear these inscriptions; their corresponding labels do appear on the covers (except in the case of III-2), but these have been written out by the first copyist. Therefore the switch probably occurred later, and was either accidental or arose from the need to accommodate the technical abilities of the particular students to which the parts were assigned. In addition, the two sets are identical as to format: parts I-II are in landscape, parts III-IV in portrait, which suggests that the choice of format may not have been random; however, the reasoning behind it remains unclear. The portrait parts differ from the landscape part considerably, with regard to texture and the level of difficulty: the landscape parts are generally characterised by single melodic lines and thinner chords, while the portrait parts boast a thicker, predominantly chordal texture and cover a greater keyboard compass, with III-1 being only marginally less demanding than IV-1 (vice versa within the second set).

	Landscape				Portrait			
Part	I-1	I-2	II-1	II-2	III-1	III-2	IV-1	IV-2
Copyist	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Texture	single melodic lines; thinner chords				thick chordal texture; greater keyboard compass, esp. extending towards the lower registers			

Figure 6: The disposition of the *Coriolan Overture* with respect to scoring, copyists involved in the production of the parts, formatting, and texture

Of the two surviving parts of the arrangement of BWV 898, the one in landscape format is labelled 'I Ripien Partie' while the other, in portrait format, bears the inscription 'II Ripien Partie' (for facsimiles of the musical text, see Figures 7 and 8). This presupposes the existence of one or more concertists' parts and, if the

the section 'Grössere Instrumental Werke'. It is also listed in Kraus' auction catalogue under No. 152: '—Overture compose pour la Tragédie Coriolan, arrange pour le Pfte. Op. 62. Wienne et Pesth, Bureau des Arts et d'Industrie, Nr. 604. Qu.-fol.'; See Kraus, *Musikbibliothek Joseph Proksch*, p. 11. It does not appear that Proksch owned the orchestral score of the work.

¹²⁵ The use of the word *Abtheilung* (here merely referring to a set) is not to be confused with the aforementioned use of the same word to denote a stage in his curriculum (see *Abtheilung* on p. 43).

Maestoso. Primo Riprendi per fine!

Preludio

gmo *lmo* *gmo* *lmo* *gmo* *lmo*

Fuga

19 20 21 22 23

24 25

Maestoso Secondo. Riprendi per fine!

Preludio

coll *coll*

Fuga

1 2 3 4 5

allegro moderato

19 20 21 22 23 24

ms 25

Figure 7: CZ-Pk 102a, 'I-1' (landscape), first page of the musical text of the Primo and Secondo parts

The image shows two pages of handwritten musical notation. The left page is titled "Secondo." and contains musical notation for the second part, including sections numbered 1 through 21. The right page is titled "Primo." and contains musical notation for the first part, including sections numbered 1 through 31. Both pages feature a "Praeludio" section and a "Fuga" section. The notation includes treble and bass staves with various musical symbols, clefs, and dynamic markings such as "coll." and "All. modto".

Figure 8: CZ-Pk 102b, 'II-1' (portrait), first page of the musical text of the Primo and Secondo parts

principle from the *Coriolan* was followed, two of the missing parts could have been those of the concertists', while the remainder could have been a duplicate set. However, as rhythmic coherence in the execution of typically concertist material—the demisemiquaver flourishes of the Prelude and the cadenza-like passage work at the end of the Fugue that are absent from the surviving ripieno parts— would be difficult to achieve by several players, the arrangement may have contained only one concertist part per set. The likelihood of there being a duplicate set rather than eight different parts is increased by the fact that the work was originally scored for keyboard, thus having a sparser texture than the orchestral *Coriolan*; this holds especially true for the Fugue, in which the material is limited to just four parts. It is also supported by the fact that, as mentioned earlier, the earliest performance of an arrangement of BWV 898 by Proksch's students, held on 15 March 1846, was in fact with eight players on four pianos.

Figure 9 shows two possibilities for the disposition of the parts within the arrangement of BWV 898 based on the arrangement of the *Coriolan Overture*, and an assessment of the material contained in the surviving parts. Both parts are in the hand of the same copyist, which matches the hand that added the section on arrangements for eight pianos in the library catalogue (see above). The identity of the copyist, however, remains unknown. As the library catalogue shows, while Proksch had fashioned the majority of the arrangements for ensemble performances, a small number was prepared by his auxiliary teachers. It is possible that the arranger of BWV 898 was the copyist, rather than Proksch himself.

	Land- scape	?	Portrait	?	?	?	?	
Part	I-1 Ripien	I-2 Ripien	II-1 Ripien	II-2 Ripien	I-1 Concert.	I-2 Concert.	II-1 Concert.	II-2 Concert.
or								
	I-1 Ripien	I-2 Ripien	II-1 Ripien	II-2 Ripien	III-1 Ripien	III-2 Ripien	I-1 Concert.	I-2 Concert.
Texture	thinned-out melodic lines, with left hand frequently doubling the right hand; chords used as 'punctuation' to accent cadences and ends of phrases; thicker chords in II						demisemiquaver flourishes; trills	

Figure 9: Possibilities for the disposition of parts in the arrangement of BWV 898

It is most likely that the source on which the two parts in question were modelled was one of the editions available at the time: the first edition by Breitkopf c. 1819, the Peters' 1839 edition edited by Czerny, the later, revised Peters edition of c. 1843 edited by Griepenkerl, and Gleichauf's arrangement for a piano duet from 1846 (see Table 1). Although a full text-critical comparison with these editions

was unfeasible due to the incompleteness of the musical text, certain elements that yielded to comparison have made it possible to establish the model.

The two parts agree with Gleichauf's rather than the other editions in their tempo indications. The opening of the Prelude is marked 'Maestoso' (rather than 'Lento e Maestoso. ($\downarrow = 56$.)' given in the two Peters editions), while the beginning of the Fugue bears the tempo indication 'Allo. Moderato' (as opposed to 'Allegro moderato. ($\downarrow = 76$) in Peters). Breitkopf's edition does not contain any tempo indications. The sources also more or less coincide with Gleichauf's arrangement with respect to articulation marks and dynamics. Especially indicative are the slurs in bars 31-32 of the Primo of the landscape part, shown in Figure 10, or the dynamic indication *mf* in b. 25 of the Secondo of the landscape part, shown in Figure 11.

Gleichauf



CZ-Pk 102a, I-1
(landscape),
Primo



Figure 10: BWV 898, bars 31-32




Gleichauf

CZ-Pk 102a I-1 (landscape) Secondo

Figure 11: BWV 898, bar 25

Further similarities between the manuscript copies and Gleichauf's edition become apparent on delving into the music and examining the distribution of the text between the parts.

Landscape Secondo

The landscape Secondo is essentially a reduced version of Gleichauf's Secondo, and focuses particularly on the bass part. The text of the Prelude (bars 1-19) follows Gleichauf's Secondo fairly closely, except in the demisemi-quaver flourishes and trills (bars 4-6; 13-15), which are substituted by plain chordal interjections at cadences. A sixteen-foot effect has been created by doubling the line an octave lower, except in places that have already been doubled in

Gleichauf's edition (e.g. bar 8, beat 1 and bar 9, beat 2). A tentative reading appears to have been scratched out in bars 13–15, hinting that the arrangement was made as it was being copied. The Fugue tends to extract only the bass part of Gleichauf's Secondo, doubling it an octave below. Textually, it is the simplest of the surviving parts. An important pitch correction of d to B \flat in bar 85 (Figure 12) is possibly the most convincing proof that the arrangement was based on Gleichauf's edition, from which the error had originated and in which it remained uncorrected. Interestingly, in the landscape part of Proksch's arrangement this error is corrected in pencil, whereas the portrait version gives the *post correcturam* reading, thus suggesting the order in which the parts were produced.

Gleichauf



CZ-Pk 102a, I-1
(landscape), Secondo



Figure 12: BWV 998, pitch correction in bar 85

Landscape Primo

The landscape Primo is a reduced version of Gleichauf's Primo, predominantly focusing on the soprano line and frequently doubling it an octave higher, thus creating a four-foot effect. Occasionally, and possibly by mistake, the part moves into the domains of the alto (e.g. bars 37–41 and 69–86) or tenor (bars 48–50). In the opening of the Prelude, the dotted rhythm ($\text{♩} \cdot \text{♩}$) has been reduced to plain quavers ($\text{♩} \text{♩}$) (see Figure 13).

Gleichauf



CZ-Pk 102a
(landscape),
I-1, Primo



Figure 13: Textual reduction of the landscape part, bars 1–3

Portrait Secondo

The portrait Secondo mostly follows the material of Gleichauf's Secondo, except at the beginning of the Prelude which combines both of Gleichauf's parts into thick chords to create a greater dramatic sonority. In the Fugue, this part is focused on the tenor line, hence the less persistent doubling and a greater textual complexity than in the landscape Secondo, i.e. the occasional excursion into Gleichauf's Primo (e.g. in bars 48–52 and 86–end). The peculiar appearance of the second part of the subject in the left hand in bar 29 (Figure 14) was presumably a mistake which the copyist forgot to remove. In bars 54–55, 61, and 70–71, the arranger consciously distributed the line between both hands. The tentative correction in the hand distribution in bar 61 (Figure 15), which follows the principle applied in bars 54–55 and 70–71 and would have required some premeditation on the part of the copyist as it deviates from Gleichauf, once again suggests that the arrangement was made as it was copied.



Figure 14: CZ-Pk 102b, II-1 (portrait), Secondo, bar 29



Figure 15: CZ-Pk 102b, II-1 (portrait), Secondo, bar 61: Correction in hand distribution

Portrait Primo

The texture of chords in the portrait Primo, like the portrait Secondo, is much thicker than that of the landscape part, but here the fortified chords are used more sparingly, strategically creating an emphasis on the strong beat (see Figure 16). Similarly to the landscape Primo, doubling at the octave above produces a four-foot effect but is mainly restricted to chordal sections; the melodic lines in this part primarily focus on the alto line, with the occasional lapse into the soprano (e.g. bars 39–40) and tenor (e.g. the first three beats of bar 69). As with the portrait Primo, a correction in the hand distribution in bar 20 implies the arrangement was made as it was copied.



Figure 16: CZ-Pk 102b, II-1 (portrait). Textual reduction of the Primo part

The deviations of the portrait parts from Gleichauf's edition to follow the actual fugal lines (alto and tenor) suggest that in their preparation the arranger also consulted an edition of the work in its original scoring for two hands, possibly the 1837 edition by Czerny (published by Peters), which Proksch had in his library.

The two surviving parts to Proksch's arrangement of BWV 898 indicate that the arrangement took into account the varying technical abilities of the students who performed it: the landscape part demonstrates more restraint and was evidently intended for students who had not yet mastered two-hand independence and grasping large chords, while students playing the portrait part were expected to manage a more complex, contrapuntal texture laced with denser, weightier chords.

Another important question to be answered concerns the relationship, if any, between CZ-Pk 102 and the other five manuscripts of the work found in the Archive of the Prague Conservatoire (see Table 2). Could these be the missing parts of the 32-hand arrangement? According to their nearly identical title pages, all were made from Gleichauf's edition,¹²⁶ and this is confirmed by a text-critical analysis.

However, other than having a common model, the historical information relating to these sources warrants ruling out any connection between this group of sources and CZ-Pk 102. Records indicate that BWV 898 was again performed at the examination concert held on 2 August 1869, when the school was run by Proksch's son Theodor.¹²⁷ According to the concert programme, on this occasion the work was performed by four male and four female players. The names given in the programme match the names of the performers written on the title pages of

¹²⁶ Its publication was reported in the *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen*, 18/3 (March 1846), p. 41, as follows: 'Bach (J. S.) Fuge über die Buchstaben B. A. C. H, arr. von F.X. Gleichauf. (Fugen von Bach, Mozart etc. No. 1.) Leipzig, Siegel u. Stoll 15 Ngr'.

¹²⁷ See *Programm zur Prüfungs-Production mit den Zöglingen der höheren Klassen in der Musikbildungs-Anstalt des Th. Proksch, Nr. 609-I, am 2. August 1869 Vormittags 11 Uhr* (CZ-Pnm, shelfmark H VI E 83/12). The concert was also announced in 'Tagesprogramm', *Bohemia*, 62/179 (29 July 1869), p. 2489.

CZ-Pk 98, 99, 101 and 104. The fact that they are almost literal copies of Gleichauf's arrangement for piano duet implies that Theodor did not produce an original arrangement, as his father did in 1857, but simply doubled the existing published arrangement for piano duet on four pianos.

Finally, the absence of any external markers, such as stamps or performers' names, means that it is not possible to link this manuscript with the shelfmark 3 C 188 to Proksch's Institute. Given that the vast majority, if not all, of the Proksch sources bear at least one identifiable hallmark, it is likely that this source did not originate from his school. As far as its text is concerned, it is yet another copy of Gleichauf's arrangement for piano duet.

Conclusion

The findings of this study show that, although Proksch's interests encompassed a wide variety of genres and styles from all epochs, he championed the baroque masters and recognised the value of their legacy at a time when their works appeared comparatively rarely in the repertoires of Prague's concert venues. Unlike his contemporary Carl Franz Pitsch, director of the Prague Organ School,¹²⁸ Proksch was not a high-exclusive Bach enthusiast; nevertheless, the music of Bach played a prominent role in his teaching and found its way into the performances of the many distinguished musicians he raised, as well as into their own teachings.¹²⁹ Proksch achieved this by integrating the study of Bach's music into both the theoretical and practical aspects of the school's curriculum, by advocating it in his writings, by making his extensive collection of Bach's works available to his students for study, and by arranging Bach's pieces for ensemble-playing in the concerts of his establishment, thus giving both his students and the people of Prague an opportunity to hear pieces that time and neglect had rendered obsolete.

The piano at this time was a fixture and a status symbol in middle-class parlours. It provided a new medium for social interaction, allowing players of all capabilities to engage in intimate music-making. A limitless number of transcriptions and arrangements of every possible genre and setting was fashioned to satisfy the ever-increasing market demand for this new commodity. In view of the revival of interest in Bach at this time, it is natural that the trend did not bypass him, and that BWV 898, having gained considerable popularity despite and, to a certain extent, possibly because of its spurious attribution, features among the host of Bach arrangements that were popular at this time.

On the other hand, the growing number of pianists in Prague – as in the rest of Europe – had resulted in the establishment of teaching institutions catering for large numbers of pupils where piano was taught in groups rather than

¹²⁸ See Kovačević, 'Bach Reception in Prague: an 1845 Performance of the Second Kyrie from the B minor Mass', pp. 23–48.

¹²⁹ A similar précis has been tendered by Undine Wagner in relation to his appreciation of Handel. Cf. Undine Wagner, *Das Wirken von Josef Proksch (1794-1864) für die Händel-Rezeption in Prag im 19. Jahrhundert*, in Klaus Hortschansky (ed.): *Georg Friedrich Händel - ein Lebensinhalt. Gedenkschrift für Bernd Baselt (1934 - 1993)*, Schriften des Händel-Hauses in Halle, XI (Halle, Saale: Händel-Haus, 1995), pp. 227–40.

individually. These institutions needed appropriate teaching and performance material for ensemble playing, and this is where Proksch arrangements came in.

Returning to the question of why Proksch chose to arrange BWV 898 and how this can be interpreted in the context of Bach reception, it can be concluded that the existence of a published piano duet arrangement would undoubtedly have made an arrangement for a larger piano ensemble simpler to produce. This particular work, with its grand opening and closing, was a typical showcase piece, perfectly suiting contemporary tastes and fully meeting the purpose for which it was intended – to be performed at the students' end-of-year concert.