

## Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great: a Survey of the Klipfel Collection in the Sing-Akademie, Berlin

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This article provides the first survey of the music collection amassed by the amateur musician and latterly Inspector of the Berlin Royal Porcelain Factory (KPM), Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel (1727–1802). This is possibly the largest collection of a private individual to survive from the eighteenth century and one that provides a unique insight into the repertoire of a provincial collegium musicum in Meissen, an organization that hitherto has not been recognised in scholarship. The importance of Klipfel's association with Frederick the Great is also outlined. The second section outlines the repertoire, including the many *unica* copies of works by a large number of Dresden and other Saxon composers, and in particular, the music of Johann Christian Roellig (b.1716), who was *de facto* resident composer of the Meissen Collegium Musicum. The analysis also demonstrates the importance of city-to-city distribution of musical works, including those by Hasse, in contrast to the more familiar court-to-court transmission in the eighteenth century. The third section then discusses the contribution by the various copyists based in Meissen, Dresden and Berlin, including a study of the handwriting of the principal copyist, Klipfel himself, which makes it possible to date works within the collection more accurately.

**Keywords:** Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel; Sing-Akademie zu Berlin; Frederick the Great; Johann; Christian Roellig; Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum; (KPM) Berlin Porcelain Factory

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, several large private collections of music were donated to, or acquired by, the recently created Sing-Akademie zu Berlin.<sup>1</sup> Of these, one of the largest was that of amateur musician and latterly co-director of the Berlin Royal Porcelain Factory, Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel (1727–1802).<sup>2</sup> Unknown prior to the restoration of the

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<sup>1</sup> This is generally considered to be 5 November 1793, the day the group's lease for the use of the hall in the Royal Prussian Akademie of the Arts was settled. The group had been meeting informally since 1791, when it numbered around 30. By 1801, there were 130 members. See Ellen Elizabeth Exner, 'The Forging of a Golden Age: King Frederick the Great and Music in Berlin 1732–1765' (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2010), 14.

<sup>2</sup> A list of the holdings of the Sing-Akademie library is published as *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Catalogue / Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Katalog, On behalf of Sing-Akademie zu Berlin* ed. Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann (Berlin, 2009). Detailed information on the

Sing-Akademie materials to Berlin in 2000, this remarkable collection of over 520 items (amounting to over 10% of the entire Sing-Akademie collection) is significant for a variety of reasons: the relative completeness of the surviving portion of Klipfel's collection provides an unusually detailed, and possibly quite unique, representation of the repertoire of an eighteenth-century collegium musicum and of an organization in Meissen that, hitherto, has not been recognised or researched; the Klipfel collection preserves *unica* copies of works by a large number of Dresden and other Saxon composers, and in particular, the music of Johann Christian Roellig (b.1716); it provides a great deal of light on the principally instrumental repertoire performed by provincial and amateur musical bodies in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as indicating how the music of Dresden Kapellmeister Hasse was disseminated outside the court. It also demonstrates the importance of city-to-city distribution of musical works in contrast to the more familiar court-to-court transmission in the eighteenth century. Finally, a study of the handwriting of the principal copyist (Klipfel himself) makes it possible to date works within the collection more accurately.

Klipfel's materials were amalgamated and mixed with items from other collections that were acquired by the Sing-Akademie during the early nineteenth century. Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832) created the first catalogue of the holdings (the 'Zelter' numbers), but although a more systematic catalogue was contemplated in the early twentieth century, it was not completed prior to World War II. For its protection during the hostilities, the collection was moved to Silesia. Here, it was discovered by advancing Soviet Army forces and transported to Kiev as war trophy, its existence kept secret not only from the West but, due to enmity between Kiev and Moscow, also from the authorities in Moscow. It was kept initially at the P.I. Tchaikovsky Kiev State Conservatoire until 1973, when it was transferred to a secret location.<sup>3</sup> At some point after 1945 every item in the collection was assigned a new shelf number by the Kiev librarians (the 'SA' numbers that are now used) further splitting up items that had previously been listed together. Scores of some works have been separated from sets of parts for the same piece and stored on different shelves, often by genre and in alphabetical order within a sequence of shelfmarks. The survival of the Sing-Akademie collection was only formally acknowledged by the Ukrainian authorities in the late 1990s and the collection was returned by the Ukrainian Government to Berlin in the year 2000.<sup>4</sup> Almost immediately the first modern catalogue of the holdings was commenced under the direction of Matthias Kornemann and Axel Fischer, completed only in 2008.

Unlike most large collections that survive from eighteenth-century Germany, the Klipfel collection was not created by a professional musician or member of the aristocracy. Neither does it represent the holdings of an institution, but was assembled by an amateur musician. Perhaps only the collections of Johann Heinrich Grave (c.1750–1810),<sup>5</sup> and of Sara Levy (née Itzig) (1761–1854),<sup>6</sup> are comparable in Germany, though Klipfel's collection

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manuscripts themselves (instrumentation, copyists, watermarks and former owners) can be accessed via RISM (<<http://opac.rism.info/index.php?L=1>>), library code: *D-Bsa*. Some examples of incorrect dating and geographical attribution are discussed below.

3 Christoph Wolff, 'Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al. A preliminary Report on the Music Collection of the Berlin Sing-Akademie', *Notes*, Second Series, 58, no. 2 (2001), 260–1.

4 For more information on the negotiations and arrangements for the return of the collection, see Wolff, 'Recovered in Kiev', 259–71.

5 See the article on the Grave collection by Barbara Wiermann, "Sie haben einen sehr guten musikalischen Magen, deßwegen erhalten Sie hierbey starke Speisen" Johann Heinrich Grave und das Sammeln von Musikalien im späten 18. Jahrhundert', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (Leipzig, 2010), 249–67. Like the Klipfel collection, the Grave collection has been broken up and absorbed into the Brussels accessions. Barbara Wiermann has attempted a reconstruction of the original collection.

6 See Peter Wollny, 'Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin', *Musical Quarterly*, 77 (1993), 651–88. The Sarah Levy collection was sold to the Sing-Akademie after her death in 1854.

pre-dates these by 30 to 60 years. In the same way that J.S. Bach's personal collection must have provided repertoire for the Leipzig Collegium Musicum, the greater part of Klipfel's collection was assembled to furnish the performing material for the Collegium Musicum in Meissen, a provincial cathedral town on the River Elbe some 30 miles north-east of Dresden. Meissen was also the location of the famed Porcelain Factory owned by the Elector of Saxony that had been established at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Other than the artistic creations of the factory itself, little has been known of the general cultural life of the town and, until this study, nothing of the music-making there.

The 'Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum' conforms to the model common in the German-speaking areas of an amateur or semi-professional society that met regularly for usually informal music making, as described by Johann Heinrich Zedler (1739) as 'a gathering of certain musical connoisseurs who, for the benefit of their own exercise in both vocal and instrumental music and under the guidance of a certain director, get together on particular days and in particular locations and perform musical pieces'.<sup>7</sup> While there are similarities between the function and activity of the Meissen group and its more eminent counterparts in Frankfurt, Hamburg and Leipzig, which were controlled by some of the most important composers of the eighteenth century, there were also quite marked differences, particularly so with the groups in Leipzig, which are the best documented. The discussion that follows is included to provide a context for the Meissen group, highlighting the contrasts between a major university city and a provincial town.

The two collegia musica in Leipzig were founded by Telemann (in 1701) and J.F. Fasch (in 1710). From 1705 Telemann's group had been run in turn by Melchior Hofmann (until 1715), Johann Gottfried Vogler (until c.1718, when he took charge of the group founded by Fasch) and by the organist of the Neukirche, Georg Balthasar Schott, until his appointment as Cantor in Gotha in 1729. From this point the 'Schottische' Collegium Musicum was taken over by J.S. Bach and immediately renamed the 'Bachsische' Collegium Musicum. Bach relinquished control of the group to C.G. Gerlach after 1741. However, the situation in Leipzig changed after 1743 following the institution of the *Grosse Concert* (Grand Concerts) by 16 leading merchants, which gave regular concerts to audiences of several hundred. Not only did the new organisation attract the best players from both the academic collegia musica, but Gerlach himself was also involved with its activities. As a result, the two collegia musica ceased to function in the 1750s, just when the Meissen group was getting into its stride.

Both Leipzig collegia could assemble between 40 and 60 members for the twice-weekly performances and were manned by students and former students, including latterly many of Bach's own, who subsequently gained major positions in courts and churches around Germany.<sup>8</sup> While it can be surmised that repertoire performed by the Bachsische Collegium Musicum featured vocal and instrumental music in the weekly series of 'ordinary' concerts, the dispersal of scores and performing materials makes it difficult now to assess fully the repertoire that was performed. As Christoph Wolff comments: 'It is impossible to reconstruct, even in the broadest outlines, any of the more than five hundred two-hour programmes for which Bach was responsible. Pertinent performing materials from the 1730s are extremely sparse.'<sup>9</sup> However, the importance of the group in stimulating the production of much of Bach's finest orchestral music, such as the solo concerti for violin and oboe, and the orchestral suites cannot be denied. It also brought Bach and his players in contact with the 'newest kind

7 Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (1739).

8 The former pupils of J.S. Bach are currently being tracked and researched as part of the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig project, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Thomaner*, led and co-ordinated by Prof. Dr Peter Wollny and Dr Michael Maul (see [www.bacharchivleipzig.de/de/bach-archiv/johann-sebastian-bachs-thomaner](http://www.bacharchivleipzig.de/de/bach-archiv/johann-sebastian-bachs-thomaner)).

9 Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, 2000), 252.

of music' and they frequently performed with guests, some of whom were leading musicians, including the Dresden Kapellmeister Johann Adolph Hasse.<sup>10</sup> It can be surmised that repertoire performed in Leipzig included concerti grossi by Handel, Locatelli and others, solo Italian cantatas by Porpora and Scarlatti, as well as German secular cantatas by Bach and others, and chamber music such as Telemann's *Nouveaux Quatours* (flute quartets, Paris, 1738). In these mixed programmes there would have been much chamber music by Bach, possibly including performances (presumably given by Bach himself) of solo keyboard music from the *Clavier-Übung* series and *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*.<sup>11</sup> Sadly lost are a number of works performed to celebrate the 'name days' of the Saxon royal family, such as BWV Anh.9 and BWV 193a, or the Funeral Ode to the Queen in 1727 (BWV 198) and various congratulatory pieces for university professors (BWV 36c, 205 and 207).

The collegia musica also provided Bach with many fine instrumentalists for the performance of concerted music in services in the Nicolaikirche and the Thomaskirche on solemn feast days and during trade fairs. In Dresden there was also a connection between the collegium musicum and church music. Theodor Christlieb Reinhold(t) (1682–1755) had earlier been concerned with a collegium musicum connected with the Kreuzkirche, but following his promotion to Fourth Teacher at the Kreuzschule in 1725, he took charge of sacred music at the Frauenkirche (under construction from 1726 to 1746), and in 1741 he took over the direction of a newly founded Collegium Musicum there.

No contemporary reports, other than Klipfel's obituary, have surfaced that comment upon the activities of the Meissen Collegium Musicum, so it is uncertain how frequently or where the group met.<sup>12</sup> However, like the Bachsiches Collegium Musicum and the Hamburg group, regular formal concerts were mounted in Meissen and there also appears to have been involvement in concerted music in church on major feast days, and in the performance of homage cantatas to celebrate royal birthdays. Whereas the instrumental repertoire of the Leipzig groups featured in particular Italian concerti and *Ouverturen* (in addition to works referred to above), in Meissen the staple diet consisted of opera sinfonias, chamber symphonies and lighter concerted and chamber music (partitas, divertimenti and sonatas), as well as operatic music by Hasse. Music in the style favoured in Dresden predominated and the Meissen players were strongly interested in up-to-date repertoire, whether vocal (Hasse) or instrumental (Graun, Roellig and Wagenseil).

This first survey of the Klipfel collection aims to provide an overview of the materials, provenance and its context within Meissen. Virtually no previous scholarship has considered the Klipfel collection or its contents, or indeed, any part of the Sing-Akademie collection prior to 1940. This state of affairs was created by both a lack of access to the collection by researchers (the collection had never been curated by professional librarians or archivists), married to the general misconception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that the collection was largely worthless after all the original J.S. Bach manuscripts were transferred from the Sing-Akademie to the Prussian State Library in 1853. Up to World War II, Sing-Akademie items had been seen only by a handful of Bach scholars and a single Telemann scholar;<sup>13</sup> both Curt Sachs in his writings of 1908 and 1910 and his immediate predecessor Georg Thouret, librarian of the Königliche Bibliothek, make no mention of these materials.<sup>14</sup> By the time E. Eugene Helm wrote his important study, *Music at the Court of Frederick the*

10 Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 355.

11 As suggested by Wolff in *Learned Musician*, 355.

12 See commentary below.

13 See Wolff, 'Recovered in Kiev', 259–71.

14 See: (a) Georg Thouret, 'Die Musik am preußischen Hofe im 18. Jahrhundert' in *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* (1897), 49–70 and *Friederich der Große als Musikfreund und Musiker* (Leipzig, 1898); (b) Curt Sachs, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Berlin bis zum Jahre 1800* (New York, 1908); *Music und Oper am*

*Great* (1960), basing much of his observations on Sachs and Thouret, the collection had disappeared, believed to have been destroyed in 1945. While the catalogue of the entire Sing-Akademie collection has been available via RISM since 2008, interpretive research building upon this process of cataloguing so far has tended to concentrate upon the works of the major composers, such as Telemann and C.P.E. Bach, in areas of the Sing-Akademie library other than the Klipfel collection.<sup>15</sup> Since 1999, scholarship on the materials in the Klipfel collection has been restricted to a few mainly biographical comments made by Tobias Schwinger in the introductory section to the new Sing-Akademie catalogue<sup>16</sup> and some observations made by Christoph Henzel as part of a commentary on each of the collectors who contributed symphonies to the Sing-Akademie holdings. Henzel also maps out (incompletely) Klipfel's list of library numbers on the symphonies.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the following discussion of the structure, contents and cultural context of the repertoire, including aspects of handwriting and the dating of much of the material in the Klipfel collection, casts light on hitherto completely uncharted territory.

## Part 1. Klipfel and the Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum

### *Biography, personnel and activity in Meissen*

Much of the following biographical information about Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel comes from the obituary published in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift*.<sup>18</sup> This biographical sketch was compiled by a writer who clearly had contact with Klipfel *ante mortem* and it is possible, judging by the manner and style of some of the observations, that Klipfel's memoirs were incorporated into the text. The obituary gives only a partial account of Klipfel's life and career and, perhaps with the bias of an autobiography, tends to concentrate upon his relationship with Frederick the Great. Thus, some caution has to be exercised with regard to the reported exchanges between Klipfel and the king.

Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel was born in Königstein to a family of relatively modest means; his father, Wilhelm Christian Klipfel, was a garrison surgeon, who removed limbs and such like. As a five-year-old boy the young Klipfel was knocked over by a dog, which severely injured his pelvis, leaving him with a noticeable limp that required a cane for the rest of his life. School did not interest him but he was noted for his beautiful handwriting and so it was a logical step that he should become apprenticed as an artist to the Meissen Porcelain Factory at the age of 14 (in 1741). By the age of 17 he was the best of the apprentices as a painter of insects and by 1761 was considered the leading painter in the Meissen factory and was a mosaic specialist.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, he took some lessons on the keyboard and violin, although the obituary suggests he was largely self-taught. However, Klipfel's passion for music was aroused and, at some point *c.*1747–50 (the date is unknown), together with

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*kurbrandenburgischen Hof* (Berlin, 1910); 'Prinzessin Amalie von Preußen als Musikerin', in *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 14 (1910), 181–91.

15 See the five articles in *Telemann, der musikalischer maler – Telemann-Kompositionen im Notenarchiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin* (Hildesheim, 2010).

16 See 'Symphonies, Concertos and Overtures', *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Catalogue*, ed. Fischer (Berlin 2010), 91.

17 Christoph Henzel, 'Die Musikalien der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin und die Berliner Graun-Überlieferung', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Institut für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, 72ff. See discussion of library sequences below.

18 *Berlinische Monatsschrift* (1793–1811) ed. F. Gedike and J.E.Biester, 1802, 135–49. (Available in digital copy at [www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufkl/berlmon/berlmon.htm](http://www.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/diglib/aufkl/berlmon/berlmon.htm) referred to hereon as 'Obituary'.) All material sourced from this article is indicated by footnotes.

19 I am grateful to Dr Peter Braun, *Leiter Historische Sammlungen* at the Meissen Factory, for this information (email to the author dated 10 June 2013).



a number of friends and members of the Meissen *Stadtpfeiffer*, he mounted what was to be the inaugural concert of the Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum.<sup>20</sup> It must be assumed that Klipfel probably did not commence copying and collecting works much before the age of 20 so the inaugural concert was probably not before 1745–6 (the earliest that a manuscript can be positively dated is c.1747).<sup>21</sup> The concerts caused ‘quite a stir’<sup>22</sup> and appear to have been frequented by the leading families of Meissen, who then opened their doors to Klipfel as the ‘founder’ of the organisation.<sup>23</sup> In the early stages, funding was so restricted that Klipfel became the copyist and set to work on a nightly basis to create performing materials, an activity that was to dominate his free time for the next decade or so. Principally a viola player in the group, he also sang and played timpani.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from Klipfel, the members of the Meissen Collegium Musicum are unknown, though it appears that Johann Christian Roellig may well have performed on occasion.<sup>25</sup> It is very likely that some of the identified Meissen copyists – Heinrich Oehm, J.F.E. Otto and J.F. Stübner – as well as the unidentified copyists – ‘Anon. Sing-Akademie 96’, ‘105’, ‘520’, ‘521’, ‘522’ and ‘599’, ‘Anon Meissen 1’ and ‘NRS Meissen 1’ – may also have been performers in the Collegium Musicum.<sup>26</sup> In addition to a string orchestra there were also available at various times pairs of flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns and trumpets. There can be no doubt from the evidence provided by the music performed that a violone/double bass was required.<sup>27</sup> If Klipfel was principally the violist in the group, the need for a keyboardist as a continuo player and the need for a choir (see comments below) indicates that one of the town cantors or organists may well have been involved. In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a cantor of St Afra Church, who doubled as Fourth Teacher at the *Fürstenschule St Afra*; this would have been Sigismund Heinrich Kauderbach (1680–1757), or his successors Carl Christoph Bilitz (d. 1760) or Johann Liebrecht Shreger (1725–1881; in post 1758–1802).<sup>28</sup> The organist at St Afra, Gottlob Heinrich Günther (d.1787, in post 1748–87), was also a teacher at the school. There was also a separate *Stadtcantor*, Johann

20 ‘Dies begeisterte ihn, mit einigen seiner Kameraden, und mit den sogenannten Stadtpfeiffern, in Meissen ein Konzert zu errichten’ (‘Obituary’, 140). The name of the group comes from the printed wordbooks to cantatas performed in 1753 and 1755 (see discussion below).

21 See further comments below about the dating of works.

22 ‘mit Recht Aufseh[e]n’ (‘Obituary’, 142).

23 ‘... und verschafte zugleich dem Stifter den Zutritt zu den vorzüglichern Familien der Stadt’ (‘Obituary’, 142).

24 ‘Um bei seinem Konzerte die Lücken möglichst auszufüllen, erwarb er sich auch durch eignes Studium die Fertigkeit: zu singen, die Bratsche zu spielen und die Pauken zu schlagen’ (‘Obituary’, 141).

25 See comments in Section 4.

26 The anonymous copyists (some of whom may also have been members of the *Stadtpfeifers*) are discussed below.

27 Very often in the symphonies and partitas by Roellig, Schrägrichen and others the viola line goes below the notated basso part creating inversions of chords that are not intended. A 16-foot instrument (violone) is required to maintain the correct bass note in the harmony.

28 St Afra was one of three *Fürstenschulen* established by Herzog Moritz von Sachsen in Meissen (1543), Naumburg (1543) and Grimma (1550). An important library of music was built up at Grimma (now preserved in the State and University Library in Dresden) and there are records of performances at the School there. In contrast, little is known of the musical training, repertoire and musical life of St Afra in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and while St Afra cannot boast the musical achievements of St Augustin in Grimma, it did have its own church and choir. Vollhardt, in *Geschichte der Cantoren und Organisten von den Städten im königreich Sachsen* (Berlin, 1899), 83, reports that the choir at the school performed church music on at least 14 days, except in the holiday period, but that no performing materials from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century could be found in either the School or in the town archives. The present School building was constructed in 1879, and it is possible that eighteenth-century materials were dispersed or destroyed at this time.

Christoph Möbius (d.1774; in post from 1730 to his death), who was responsible for music at both the Frauenkirche and the Dom and who was also a teacher at the Stadtschule. The *Stadtorganist*, who similarly covered services at both the Frauenkirche and the Dom, was Johann Gottfried Stübner (d.1770, organist 1734–70) who is likely to have been a relative of the Meissen copyist J.F. Stübner.<sup>29</sup> While there are single violin parts for many works, there are two copies of each violin part for many symphonies and partitas and as many as four for one partita, suggesting that a large number of string players could be assembled on occasion.<sup>30</sup> It would appear that the group was fairly small to start, requiring in the main single strings parts, but grew after 1754; doubling parts are present in scores created after 1755, and have frequently been added in the period after 1754 to sets of parts that predate 1754.

In time, the support of the Burghers of Meissen clearly provided financial stability for the group, enabling it to commission works from Dresden-based composers, in particular Johann Christian Roellig (b.1716). In addition to symphonies, partitas and extracts from Hasse and Graun operas that appear to have been the staple diet of programmes,<sup>31</sup> occasional choral works were also performed, indicating that a choir, either an *ad hoc* group or possibly that of the Meissen Dom, Frauenkirche or St Afra, was available to the Collegium Musicum for special events. It is more likely that these special performances took place in the Dom, since not only is the Frauenkirche very cramped for the performance of concerted works, but also the organ of the Dom had been recently repaired in 1752–3 by Johann Ernst Hähnel, a date that appears to chime with the known performance dates of the liturgical and homage cantatas, all of which can be dated between 1753 and 1759. Organ parts to the Roellig vocal works have been transposed down a tone to compensate for the high chorton pitch typically used for church organs in eighteenth-century Germany.<sup>32</sup>

Printed wordbooks for two occasional cantatas, with texts by Gottfried Schrenkendorf, survive in Halle:<sup>33</sup> the birthday cantata *Wie glücklich ist ein Land* (SA 1177/4)<sup>34</sup> by J.C.

29 In 1733, J. G. Stübner had lost out to W.F. Bach for the post of organist at the Sophienkirche in Dresden and in c.1734 had been organist of the Annenkirche in Dresden where he had given lessons to (and been deputised by) the young G.A. Homilius. Stübner had then taken up a more lucrative post in Meissen. See (a) Hector Ian Soga, 'Sacred Vocal Works of Gottfried August Homilius (1714–85) with Particular Reference to his St Mark Passion' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 1989), 15–16 and (b) Ulrich Kahmann, *Wilhelm Friedmann Bach der unterschätzte Sohn* (Aisthesis Verlag, Bielefeld, 2010), 81, (Accessed online at [www.aisthesis.de/leseprobe/9783895288289.pdf](http://www.aisthesis.de/leseprobe/9783895288289.pdf) 2.6.2013).

30 See Roellig Partita in D, SA 2334.

31 This repertoire will be discussed further below.

32 *Chorton* pitch was the relatively high pitch of German church organs as opposed to *Kammerton*, the slightly lower pitch used for instruments introduced principally by the adoption of French oboes into Germany. Perhaps this might explain why, having been repaired again in 1771, the Dom organ was demolished in 1870 for a more modern instrument with a pipe box in a neo-gothic style. (Information from display in Meissen Dom, inspected July 2014).

33 Both libretti were owned by the old university library of Wittenberg, which received these books via a bequest from Johann August Ponickau (1718–82), who attended St Afra c.1732–40.

34 Autograph score. Title of libretto: *Die Eigenschaften / eines grossen Königs / betrachten an dem Ruhm-würdigsten Beyspiele / Des Allerdurchlauchtigsten, Großmäch- / tigsten Herrn, / HERRN / Friedrich August, / Königs in Pohlen / und Churfürstens zu Sachsen, u. / und suchten zugleich / bey Allerhöchst- = Deroselben erfreulichen / Geburthstage, / am 7. des Weinmonats, 1753. / ihre Landeskindliche Neigung in einem glückwünschenden / Singegedichte / allerunterthänigst gehorsamst zu bezeugen / Das jetzige / Collegium Musicum der Königl. / Porcellaine-Manufactur in Meissen. // Dresden, gedruckt bey der derro. Königl. Hof=Buchdr. Stößelin (D-Hau Yd1941). The fragment in autograph score of another birthday cantata dedicated to the Elector of Saxony is *Tag der mit Friedrichs Namen prangt* (SA 1177/2), which consists of just one recitative in F major.*

Roellig, performed on 7 October 1753, in honour of Elector Friedrich August, and the J.C. Roellig cantata *Tage die vor langen Jahren* (SA 792/2).<sup>35</sup> This *Singegedichte*, a large-scale three-part oratorio, was performed (later in the year, possibly in November) as part of the *Jubelfest* observed across Northern Germany in celebration of the Treaty of Augsburg (1555) and the religious freedom it brought. The bicentenary was celebrated on the anniversary itself (Michaelis, 25 September 1755) by the performance of another cantata by Roellig, *Lobe den Herrn meine seele* (SA 1431).<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, even though the librettist, composer and the Meissen Collegium Musicum are identified in these libretti, the location of the performance is not. The performance of two cantatas in the same programme was not unusual, for it appears that on 7 October 1753, the birthday cantata *Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde* (SA 1177(4)) was also presented. This was just one of three royal birthdays celebrated by the Collegium Musicum that summer. In July, Prince Karl [Caroli] Christian Joseph Ignaz Eugen Franz Xaver (13 July 1733–16 June 1796),<sup>37</sup> was honoured by the performance of the Roellig birthday cantata *Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde* (SA 1441),<sup>38</sup> and a month later a similar honour was bestowed on Prince Xaver when the Roellig birthday cantata *Wie könnt ihr so verdrießlich sein* (SA 1440)<sup>39</sup> was performed on 25 August 1753. Such homage cantatas were also known in Leipzig, where Bach presented a ‘loose sequence’ of special concerts dedicated almost exclusively to the electoral-royal house in Dresden, commemorating royal birthdays, name days and important political events, sometimes in the presence of royal family members.<sup>40</sup>

It may also have been no coincidence that in 1753, in what appears not only to have been the busiest season for the Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum, but one in which it repeatedly expressed its loyalty to the Saxon royal family, the factory (which was owned by the Elector) produced its famed ‘monkey orchestra’ (Figure 1).<sup>41</sup> Perhaps not totally with the Meissen group in mind, the musical figurines were designed by Johann Joachim Kaendler, based on the satirical illustrations of the French artist Christophe Huet, working in the ‘*singerie*’ style of elegant monkeys that was hugely popular with the French aristocracy during the eighteenth century. The set consists of 22 figures including a conductor, a music stand and 20 other figurines that fall into three categories: firstly, performers associated with a collegium musicum or court orchestra (a violinist, gamba player, flautist, oboe [or chalumeau] player, bassoonist, clavier player, French horn player, trumpeter, timpani player, two female singers and a boy treble); secondly, instruments of the home (guitarist and harpist); and thirdly, instruments associated more with peasant and ‘pastoral’ music making (fife and drum player, bagpiper, hurdy-gurdy [*Leier*] player and triangle player). The pastoral style was prized by courts such as Württemberg and Dresden at the time, hence such

35 Title of libretto: *Das / am Michaelistage 1755 / in Sachsen gefeyerte / Jubelfest, / wegen des / am 25. Sept. 1555. geschlossenen / religiousfriedens, / in einem / Singegedichte / aufgeführt / von dem / Collegio musico. / in Meissen // DRESDEN, / gedruckt bey Johann Wilhelm Harpetern* (Halle: D-Hau Yd1610).

36 The title is *Vor der predigt ... Festo Jubilei. d:25 Septbr: anno 1755 / Di Roellig jun:*

37 A Prince of Poland and Saxony in the house of Wettin, he was the son of August III and, from 1758 to 1763, was Duke of Courland and Semigallia, a region now part of Estonia.

38 Uses Symphony in Bb (SA 3206) as the overture; parts copied by Roellig, Klipfel and ‘Anon Sing-Akademie 105’.

39 Uses Symphony in D (SA 3204) as the overture; partly autograph score plus score and parts copied by Klipfel, ‘Anon Sing-Akademie 96’ and Roellig, text book written by Klipfel.

40 Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 358–60.

41 The image of the monkey orchestra, from the website of Kunsthaus Lempertz, Cologne, is reproduced with kind permission of Edgar Abs and Professor Henrik Hanstein. The date for the first production of the monkey orchestra is provided by the Meissen Factory website, [www.meissen.com/en/products/monkey-orchestra](http://www.meissen.com/en/products/monkey-orchestra) (Accessed 21 June 2014).





**Figure 1.** Meissen monkey orchestra figures.

pseudo-peasant figurines would have appealed to the Elector of Saxony.<sup>42</sup> About the same time (c.1753–4), Meyer and Kaendler worked on the ‘Galante Kapelle’, a fictional orchestra of 16 members with a similar set of characters to the Monkey Orchestra including a conductor, flautist, oboist, bassoonist, two violinists, cellist, trumpeter and lutenist (all male); a female hurdy-gurdy (*Leier*) player and harpist; plus four female and one male singer.<sup>43</sup> The figures represent ‘courtiers’, again in less formal ‘pastoral’ dress, rather than depicting professional musicians in livery.

Even though it exists in score format only and no performance date is known, the *dramatis personae*: ‘Meissen’, ‘Music’, ‘Neid’ and ‘Glück’ of the J.C. Roellig cantata *Nachhall schall auf unsre Lieder* (SA 1177/3)<sup>44</sup> indicate that this work was very likely another performed by the Meissen Collegium Musicum. This is one of a series of secular cantatas by Roellig, with allegorical characters, often not requiring a chorus. Others include *Wie glücklich is ein edles Herz* (SA 797/1); *Herr Schulze hört nur einmal an* (SA797/3); *Die Bauer und der Weinschenke* (SA 7967/4); *Wilkommen vom Himmel erbetene Stunden* (SA797/5) and *Der durch Musik überwundene Neid* (SA1177/1).

Two wedding cantatas by Roellig can be found in the Klipfel collection: *Ihr Himmel jauchzet Gott entgegen* (SA 1426), dated 1754, and *Herr hebe an zu segnen* (SA 444) (c. 1758–9).<sup>45</sup> It is tempting to believe that the latter might have been the music that celebrated Klipfel’s own

42 See Samantha Owens, ‘Gedanken für ein gantzes Leben’, *Polnischer Bock Music at the Württemberg Court c. 1730*, *The Consort*, 54 (1998), 43–56.

43 Images of the ‘Galante Kapelle’ can be found at [www.meissencollector.com/galante\\_kapelle.htm](http://www.meissencollector.com/galante_kapelle.htm). Winifred Baer (in *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM aus der Frühzeit des friderizianischen Porzellans* (Berlin 1986)) indicates the orchestra was designed and created 1753–4 but this website suggests the Kapelle was created c.1745, which would coincide with the foundation of the Meissen Collegium.

44 Autograph score with parts copied by Klipfel and Roellig. It is bound with the birthday cantatas *Wie Glücklich ist ein Land* (SA 1177/4) and *Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde* (SA 1177/5).

45 Both are autograph scores; the parts that accompany SA 444 are in Klipfel’s hand. From Klipfel’s styles of clef, it is possible to date SA 444 to c.1758–9. (See discussion of handwriting below).

wedding to Christiane Catharine, the daughter of co-worker Christian Gottlieb Liebscher, which took place in the Frauenkirche in Meissen on 22 May 1759.<sup>46</sup> The union was to produce a daughter, ‘Eleanora Sophia Catherina’ (b. 20 September 1761–1836)<sup>47</sup> and a son, Carl Wilhelm Klipfel (16 February 1764–13 September 1827), who was also a good amateur musician, a member of the Sing-Akademie from 1810, and a modest composer in his own right.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to homage works, cantatas for the principal feasts of the liturgical year were also performed by the Meissen Collegium Musicum, suggesting that it provided the musicians, in the tradition of *Adjuvantenmusikanten* (lay or amateur supporting instrumentalists), for feast-tide services in the Dom. Klipfel’s close association with Roellig is once again highlighted by the repertoire; 39 of the 42 choral works in the Klipfel collection are by J.C. Roellig (Table I). Over two thirds of these are autograph scores while there are sets of parts for half of the cantatas. In all cases, the parts (where they exist) have been copied by Klipfel and in three cases, both the score and parts are by Klipfel. There are works for Christmas, Easter and various Sundays in Trinity.

Two choral works are by composers from further afield: an Easter cantata *Seele geh in tiefstem Leide* (SA178/3) by Johann Gotthardt Abt (1700–99)<sup>49</sup> and the cantata *Herr Gott dich loben wir* by C.H. Graun. There is also the birthday cantata *Spielet und lachet ihr munteren Saiten* (SA 1422) for solo soprano, oboe, violin and cembalo by another local Dresden-based composer, ‘Hof organist Richter’, presumably Johann Christoph Richter (15 July 1700–19 February 1785).<sup>50</sup> The remaining items are secular cantatas for soprano and bass voices and strings by another composer local to the Meissen-Dresden area, Christoph Ludwig Fehre (1718–72),<sup>51</sup> or works for solo voice and keyboard (by Hiller and C. W. Klipfel), the copies of which are both post-1763.

46 Marriage recorded in *Taufbuch der Kircheneinde Frauenkirche (Stadgemeinde) Meißen, 1718–1765*, 299. I am grateful to Frau Marzin, *Sachbearbeiterin* at the Evangelisch-Lutherische, Landeskirche Sachsens Regionalkirchenamt, Dresden, for providing copies of the relevant records.

47 Christening recorded in *Traubuch der Kircheneinde Frauenkirche (Stadgemeinde) Meißen, 1748–1766*, item 122. She married Kriegsräth Samuel Gottfried Bandelow and lived at Mohrenstraße 15, Berlin ([www.adressbuecher.net/entry/show/3411698](http://www.adressbuecher.net/entry/show/3411698), accessed 10 June 2013) and died in Berlin ([www.gravestonephotos.com/public/gravedetails.php?grave=273439](http://www.gravestonephotos.com/public/gravedetails.php?grave=273439), accessed 10 June 2013).

48 Carl Wilhelm Klipfel composed the birthday piece *Wer denkt wer denkt so früh schon mein* (Alexia’s Ahnungen. | Aus einer romantischen Erzählung.) (SA 1404) for soprano and piano c.1800.

49 Composed 19 January 1759 in Presch (near Wittenburg). This is one of three Easter cantatas for solo soprano and instruments in the same folder (the other two are *Joseph lebet noch und ist ein Herr über ganz Ägypten* (SA 178/1) and *Christus ist um unsrer Sünde willen* (SA178/2). All scores are probably autograph, presumably collected by Klipfel at the same time. Parts are in Klipfel’s hand.

50 Johann Christoph Richter entered the Hopfkapelle in 1716 and was sent for further study in Italy. From 1727 he was *Hoforganist* in Dresden (taking on regular students) and took lessons on the Pantaleon from Hebenstreit. Surviving works include the *Opera drammatica per festeggiare il gloriosissimo giorno natalizio della real Altezza principesse. Imp. di Sassonia* [Maria Antonia] 1764. (Eitner, Vol. 8, 221).

51 *Nur fort ins Feld ihr tapfern Brüder* (SA 1291); score and parts copied by Klipfel. Fehre was an organist in Dresden and then in nearby Zehren bei Meissen (approximately five miles north of Meissen). Fehre is also a composer of a symphony in the Klipfel collection (SA 2285/1).

**Table I.** Sacred cantatas by J.C. Roellig, arranged in order of the liturgical year

Title of cantata	Sing-Akademie shelf no.	Liturgical association	Format and copyists (K= Klipfel, R= Roellig)
<i>Bringt, ihr bewegten Engels Zungen</i>	SA 441	Christmas	Score <sup>(K)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Uns ist ein Kind geboren</i> (1755)	SA 1435 <sup>1</sup>	Christmas	Score <sup>(R)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Willkommen ihr fröhlichen Zeiten</i> (1756)	SA 1434	Christmas	Score <sup>(K)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Der Siegesfürst kommet</i>	SA 795	Easter	Score <sup>(R)</sup>
<i>Jauchzet ihr Himmel freue dich Erde</i>	SA 1425	Easter	Score 1 <sup>(R)</sup>
<i>Man singet mit freuden vom siege</i> ( <i>Geistliche Posien</i> , Rambach)	SA 1427	Easter	Score 2 <sup>(K)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Der Siegesfürst kommet</i> (different work) ( <i>Geistliche Posien</i> , Rambach)	SA 1428		Score <sup>(R)</sup>
<i>Kommt gläubige Sellen betrachtet des Leiden</i>	SA 1437	Easter	Score <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Der Herr hat gesagt</i>	SA 1430	Easter	Score <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Leben und Wohltat hast du an mir geben</i>	SA 796	Johannistag	Score <sup>(K)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Welt dein purpur stinkt mich</i>	SA 445	Johannistag	Score <sup>(R)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Was ist doch das vor eine Gnadenkrone</i>	SA 1424	Trinity 1	Score <sup>(R)</sup>
<i>Der Herr hat gesagt</i> (different work)	SA 442 <sup>2</sup>	Trinity 8	Score <sup>(K)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Ihr werdet nur vergebens</i>	SA 1436	Trinity 15	Score <sup>(R)</sup>
<i>Jesu Blut komm über mich</i>	SA 1438	Trinity 20	Score 1 <sup>(R)</sup>
<i>Ach wo kommt doch das böse Ding her</i>	SA 1429	Communion	Score 2 <sup>(K)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Willkommen ihr flammenden Triebe</i> (1757)	SA 443	<i>unknown</i>	Score <sup>(R)</sup> & parts <sup>(K&amp;R)</sup>
<i>Singt Singens ungewohnte Zungen</i>	SA 1423	<i>unknown</i>	Score <sup>(R)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>
<i>Wer Ohren hat der höre</i>	SA 1432	<i>unknown</i>	Score <sup>(R)</sup>
	SA 1433	<i>unknown</i>	Score <sup>(K&amp;R)</sup> & parts <sup>(K)</sup>

1 Published by Ortus Verlag.

2 An autograph score can also be found in the main collection of the Berlin State Library *D-B Mus.ms.18636/8*

### ***Accompanist of Frederick the Great: 1760–1***

Towards the end of 1760, in the period from around 8 November to 8 December,<sup>52</sup> Frederick the Great<sup>53</sup> quartered in the palace of Meissen, with his troops nearby.<sup>54</sup> Without his Kapelle, which remained in Berlin, Frederick sought local musicians to enable him to continue his daily musical soirées, and in particular he sought someone to accompany his flute playing on the clavier.<sup>55</sup> Klipfel was recommended and was immediately found to be an extremely

52 Referring to his first meeting with the king, ('Obituary', 143) he describes Frederick as the 'Victor of Torgau', a battle that had taken place on 3 November 1760. Frederick penned a letter from Meissen seven days following the battle. See G.P. Gooch, *Frederick the Great: the Rule, The Writer, The Man* (London, 1947), 50.

53 Since Frederick the Great is most commonly referred to and known by the anglicised version of his name (Frederick), this spelling has been used for all references to the king. For all other persons, the German spelling 'Friedrich' has been maintained.

54 There is a report that Frederick visited the Meissen factory on 8 November 1760 in which he remained for over an hour in the storeroom before inspecting one of the studios and looking at china-ware he had ordered. See Berling, ed., *Meissen China An Illustrated History* (New York, 1970) 54, which is a reprint of the 1910 book entitled: *Festive Publication to Commemorate the 200<sup>th</sup> Jubilee of the Oldest China Factory, Meissen*.

55 The obituary states that Klipfel played the 'Flügel', but this may purely be an indication that by 1802 the piano had superseded the harpsichord.

proficient harpsichordist who (according to the obituary) soon earned cheers of encouragement from the king.<sup>56</sup> The experience of playing to such a refined and able player encouraged Klipfel to a much higher level of attainment in his own performance, though he must have had mixed feelings about meeting the man who had caused such destruction during the bombardment of Dresden only five months earlier and the destruction of the bridge over the Elbe at Meissen in 1759. Despite the differences in their social standing, and the fact that Klipfel appears to have received informal monetary payments for his services,<sup>57</sup> Klipfel and the king were musical equals, gifted amateurs brought together by their mutual love for music, a common interest that was to colour their subsequent interaction (and one that undoubtedly would not have occurred between the king and his professional accompanists, C.P.E Bach and Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch). Lengthy conversations were also part of the proceedings and while music, particularly the music of Graun and Hasse, remained central to these exchanges, the king also enquired after more local topics and was particularly interested in the workings of the Meissen Porcelain Factory. According to the obituary, Klipfel gained the king's trust by his 'humble openness from which his character shone forth'<sup>58</sup> and for his 'frank responses'.<sup>59</sup> While such language suggests a rather idealised picture of the relationship, most probably as it was remembered by Klipfel towards the end of his life, there is evidence to indicate that a friendship grew between the two men that was to last until Frederick's death.

Frederick moved to Leipzig on 8 December 1760, where he stayed at the Apel House until 17 March 1761.<sup>60</sup> Here he continued his daily evening concerts, along with Quantz, Benda (senior), and the singers Porporino, Paulino and Tossoni. He also sent for his second harpsichordist, C.F.C. Fasch, from Berlin to be present.<sup>61</sup> However, Frederick himself may no longer have been a participant; Carlyle reports that 'from himself [the king] there is no fluting'.<sup>62</sup> Frederick left Leipzig on 17 March 1761 to return to Meissen, where he remained until 3 May 1761. Notified of the concerts by his generals and aides, the king honoured the Meissen Collegium Musicum by attending several performances.<sup>63</sup> Once, Frederick expressed a wish to hear the programme again, so Klipfel devised a special surprise for the king. In 'early spring' (March–April 1761), with the help of court officials, Klipfel set up the orchestra in the garden under the window to the king's rooms and commenced the concert with a symphony by Graun. The surprise complete, the king came to the window and remained there to listen for the entire duration of the 90-minute performance in which Klipfel sang an aria, and he was most gracious in his applause, requiring a Chamber-hussar to express his pleasure and thanks.<sup>64</sup> MacDonogh confirms that

56 '... daß Friedrich ihn bald und oft mit Bravorufen belohnie' (Obituary', 143).

57 'Wenn der König Meißen verließ, ward Kl[ipfel]n jedesmal ein angemessenes Geldgeschenk ausgezahlt' ('Obituary', 145)

58 '... als wegen seines bescheidenen Offenheit, woraus sein Charakter hervorleuchtete ...' ('Obituary', 144).

59 '... worüber Kl[ipfel] immer mit Freimüthigkeit antwortete' ('Obituary', 143).

60 Thomas Carlyle, [History of Friedrich II.] [Called Frederick the Great], xx, 6. [www.gutenberg.org/files/2120/2120.txt](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2120/2120.txt) (Accessed 18 June 2013). Giles MacDonogh (in *Frederick the Great* (London, 2001), 302, suggests that Frederick took lodgings in Leipzig on 1 December 1760.

61 As reported in the 'Capelletats', see Mary Olekiewicz 'The Court of Brandenburg Prussia', in *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, ed. Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice Stockigt (Woodbridge, 2011), 107–8.

62 Carlyle, [Friedrich II.], xx, 6.

63 'Der König war bereits von dessen Konzerte benachrichtigt, durch seine Generale und Adjutanten, die mehrmal demselben beigewohnt ...' ('Obituary', 143–4).

64 'Friedrich trat an das Fenster, behiehl es während des ganzen Konzertes, das anderhalb Stunden dau [e]rte und wobei Kl[ipfel] auch ein Arie sang, offen, und ließ nach persönlich wiederholten Beifall Vergnügen am Schlusse durch den Kammerhusaren "für Das geleistete Vergnügen sehr danken"' ('Obituary', 144).



the ‘Meissen manufacturers went so far as to serenade the king’ who himself reported that ‘they have a band which plays prettily.’<sup>65</sup>

### ***Klipfel in Berlin: 1763–1804***

In his questioning of Klipfel about porcelain manufacture, Frederick II clearly had an ulterior motive. The Prussian monarch had taken control of the Meissen factory in 1756. Not only did he commandeer existing stocks of porcelain (described as ‘white gold’) to sell in order to raise badly needed funds for the war effort,<sup>66</sup> but he was also in the process of commissioning a great amount of material to be taken back to Berlin, including the celebrated ‘Mollendorf’ service, the design of which Frederick collaborated on with Klipfel. This activity is illuminated by a letter he wrote in March 1761:

TO MADAM CAMAS (at Magdeburg, with the Queen).  
MEISSEN, 20th March, 1761.

I send you, my dear Mamma, a little trifle, by way of keepsake and memento [snuffbox of Meissen Porcelain, with the figure of a dog on the lid]. You may use the box for your rouge, for your patches, or you may put snuff in it, or BONBONS or pills: but whatever use you turn it to, think always, when you see this dog, the symbol of fidelity, that he who sends it outstrips, in respect of fidelity and attachment to MAMAN, all the dogs in the world; and that his

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65 MacDonogh, *Frederick the Great*, 302, quoting *Oeuvres* xix, 213. Nancy Mitford writes that Frederick ‘passed through Meissen where the workmen at the China factory were very fond of him—they came out and serenaded him with their band’. See Nancy Mitford, *Frederick the Great* (London, 1970), 234, though, in error, she suggests that this was in the summer of 1760, before the battle of Torgau.

66 Although much chinaware was delivered to Frederick II free of charge, he paid considerable sums of money to the factory to ensure it remained operational. See Berling, ed., ‘Meissen China’, 55. However, according to Joseph Marryat (*A History of Pottery and Porcelain* [London, 1857], 263) ‘he forcibly carried away to Berlin, for his own establishment there, the workmen, with the models and moulds of the finest pieces ...’ and added ‘Meissen was the battlefield between the Austrians and Prussians [on 4 December 1759], when the manufactory was again plundered and its archives destroyed.’ That Frederick instructed his staff to ensure chosen workers were transported to Berlin is made clear in a letter dated 29 February 1761 from Dahlen, near Leipzig, that Frederick wrote to *Generalmajor* von Linden: ‘... do not forget to engage those people in Meissen of which I have spoken to you ...’ (Baer: *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM*, 70). It is suggested that many of the workers who moved from Meissen to Berlin did so under duress. Wraxsell reports, in *Memoirs of the Court of Berlin, 1777–9*, i. 212 (quoted by Marryat in *Pottery and Porcelain*, 263), that ‘these are acts imputable to Frederick over which no causistry can throw a gloss. Neither the laws of nations, nor those of modern war allow of transporting the male and female manufacturers of a conquered state into the dominions of the invader. This infraction of justice was nevertheless committed at Meissen, in Saxony, famous for the manufacture of porcelain, so generally admired under the name of Dresden china. All the best artists were forcibly sent to Berlin, and there compelled to continue their labours for the benefit of a sovereign the inveterate enemy of their county. They and their descendants, or their scholars, who are still here, have become the involuntary denizens of another soil, the subjects of Frederick II.’ This opinion appears to read like propaganda and, at least, does not reflect the experience of the leading artists. Klipfel’s circumstances were much improved by the move to Berlin (see further comments below) and, significantly, the most important modeller and artist of the factory in the 1740s and 1750s, Johann Joachim Kändler, together with his assistant Peter Reinicke, remained at the Meissen factory after 1764, working there for the rest of their lives. It should also be noted that the two monarchs displayed a markedly different attitude in their relationship to their respective porcelain factories. The electors of Saxony paid low wages and enjoyed a large income stream from sales that helped support a lavish lifestyle. In contrast, Frederick was more interested in the kudos (personal and Prussian) of having a porcelain factory in Berlin and supported it in its early days as a customer. The factory was set up on commercial lines and had to pay its way, but wages reflected more generously the level of skill of its artists.



devotion to you has nothing whatever in common with the fragility of the material which is manufactured hereabouts.

I have ordered Porcelain here for all the world, for Schönhausen [for your Mistress, my poor uncomplaining Wife], for my Sisters-in-law; in fact, I am rich in this brittle material only. And I hope the receivers will accept it as current money: for, the truth is, we are poor as can be, good Mamma; I have nothing left but honour, my coat, my sword, and porcelain ...<sup>67</sup>

At the same time Frederick II was also attempting to resurrect the Berlin Porcelain Factory, which had been founded with his financial support in 1751, but had since foundered under Wilhelm Caspar Wegele's control and finally closed in 1757, mainly due to the poor quality of the product. The result of Frederick II's stay in Meissen was to engage Klipfel to travel to Berlin in early 1761 (escorted by armed hussars riding fore and aft to ensure Klipfel's safety) where he remained for eight days to inspect the factory before travelling on to Leipzig to report to the king. At the same time Frederick negotiated with his protégé, the leading Berlin financier Johann Ernst Gotzkowsky (1710–75), to invest funds in the factory, which he did. The factory was re-commissioned on 11 January 1761, with 146 workers under the management of Johann Georg Grieninger (1716–98) who was a professional administrator.

The obituary is vague about the chronology. There is the implication, following his report to the king in Leipzig in 1761, in which Klipfel suggested that it would be possible to make a going concern of the Berlin factory if certain recommended courses of action were followed, that it was at this point that Klipfel was offered the post of Royal Inspector of [Porcelain] Manufacture. However, it appears that it was only following the signing of the Treaty of Hubertusburg (15 February 1763) that concluded the Seven Years War that the king offered Klipfel the post of second in seniority in the department of painting in Berlin, with a salary of 1,100 Thalers, making him the fifth most highly paid employee at the factory.<sup>68</sup> This was an offer not to be refused since, from 1757, the Meissen workers had had to endure the lowering of their wages by a third in order to keep the porcelain factory operational during the war period.<sup>69</sup> It was from March 1763 that the factory first produced mosaic-decorated ware, indicating Klipfel had only shortly arrived at the factory, the last artist to transfer from Meissen to Berlin.<sup>70</sup> (Frederick was particularly fond of a particular type of decoration

67 Carlyle, [Friedrich II,] xx, 6.

68 'Nach Abschluß des Hubertusbürger Friedens 1763 nutzte Friedrich II. in letzter Gelegenheit seine Stellung in Meissen aus. Seinem Aufruf folgte der Mosaikmaler Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel, der zum zweiten Leiter der Malerabteilung mit einem Gehalt von 1.100 Talern ernannt wurde.' [www.berlinintensiv.de/personen/person.html?tmpl=component&id=2577](http://www.berlinintensiv.de/personen/person.html?tmpl=component&id=2577) (Accessed 8 June 2013) In 1763, the highest paid employees of Gotzkowsky's factory were: *Commissioner Rath* Grieninger (1200 Thlr); Friedrich Elias Meyer, *Quarliter* (1500 Thlr); Jacob Clauce, *1. Vorgesetzter Quartaliter* (2000 Thlr); Klipfel, *2. Vorgesetzter Quartaliter* (1100 Thlr); Carl Wilhelm Böhme, *Figurn Mahler Quartaliter* (1000 Thlr); and Ernst Heinrich Reichardt, *Arcanist* (1200 Thlr). One or two other workers received 800 Thlr and 500 Thlr, the rest received lower wages; see Baer, *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM*, appendix.

69 In 1750, the eminent philanthropist and merchant Jonas Hanway who, on his return from St Petersburg to England, passed through Dresden and reported: 'There are about 700 men employed at Meissen in the manufactory, most of whom have not above ten German crowns a month, and the highest wages are forty, so that the annual expense is not estimated above 80,000 crowns. This manufactory being entirely for the king's account, he sells yearly to the value of 150,000 crowns and sometimes 200,000 crowns (35,000 l), besides the magnificent presents he occasionally makes, the great quantity he preserves for his own use.' (Quoted in Marryat, *Pottery and Porcelain*, 245; presumably from Hanway's memoirs: *Historical Account of British Trade over the Caspian Sea, with a Journal of Travels, etc.* [London, 1753]). This indicates that Klipfel's Meissen salary could have been not much more than 480 Thlr per annum at best, even before the cuts imposed during the war.

70 Baer, *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM*, 118.

around the edge of the tableware in which Klipfel excelled.)<sup>71</sup> He joined another Meissen modeller, Friedrich Elias Meyer,<sup>72</sup> and the painters Karl Wilhelm Böhme and Johann Balthasar Borrmann, who had previously moved to Berlin in 1761. Copies of works by Hiller in the Klipfel collection dated 1762 on paper with Saxon watermarks, confirm this later date to be correct.<sup>73</sup> What is clear is that the performing materials that Klipfel had so painstakingly assembled were transported with him to Berlin, with the implication that the Collegium Musicum in Meissen was dissolved. In the same year (1763) Roellig relocated to Hamburg. ‘As was common with provincial collegia musica, the private character of such societies is evident from the fact they depend upon the initiative of individuals and cease their activities when these individuals move elsewhere or die.’<sup>74</sup>

In 1763 Gotzkowsky went bankrupt and Frederick stepped in and bought out the Porcelain Factory himself on 19 September (for 225,000 Thaler), renaming it the Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Berlin (KPM). Klipfel very soon found himself in charge of administrative aspects of the running of the factory as a result of his deep understanding and knowledge of the financial aspects of porcelain manufacture.<sup>75</sup> From 1763–86 he held the post of *Debit-sbeamte*, and from 1783 to 1786 he was also *Malereibuchhalter*, in charge of production and pricing. By 1770 Klipfel is mentioned as ‘Inspektor der Berliner Manufaktur’.<sup>76</sup> Frederick, who involved himself in the decision-making process, received monthly reports on production, sales and artistic designs from Klipfel in person.<sup>77</sup> Klipfel reports how, on ‘repeated trips to Sansouci on affairs of work’, he was ‘delivered in a carriage of the Royal Marshal pulled by six horses’.<sup>78</sup> In 1770 it was Klipfel, rather than Griening, that the king approached to discuss design and production of a dessert service to be sent to Catherine II, Empress of Russia.<sup>79</sup> To Frederick’s great pleasure, the factory thrived, even if in the early days the principal customer was the king himself!

According to Griening, Klipfel remained a favourite of the king and continued to have access to the royal music making at court; Frederick ‘granted him admittance to his concerts in perpetuity at which he himself played the flute’ and, according to the rather idealised account in the obituary, he was allowed the unprecedented privilege, normally only accorded

71 ‘Doch Klipfel was für den König als Mosaikmaler, als Dekorationsspezialist für “gesteinete Gründes”, für Schuppenmuster oder ornamentale dekorierte Dondränder, wie sie seit kurzem in Meissen Mode waren, besonders willkommen, da er offensichtlich eine besondere Begeisterung für diese textile anmutenden Randdekorationen besaß.’ Baer, *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM*, 72.

72 Meyer was employed by the Meissen Factory between 1748 and 1761. See ‘*Meissen China*’, ed. K. Berling, (1911; repr. 1972), 53.

73 See SA 4642, which includes seven works: four works for solo keyboard (two sonatas, a minuet, and polonaise and trio) and three works for solo soprano and keyboard (*A teneri affetti*; *Hier wo die stummen Bäume* and *Die nacht: Du verstörst uns nicht o Nacht*). Descriptions of the watermarks on each source can be found in RISM.

74 Emil Platen and Iain Fenlon, ‘Collegium Musicum’, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 2001) vi, 116.

75 Klipfel was noted for ‘gute Kenntniss von den Meissner Malerei-Taxen hatte, wurde er nebst den beiden vorgesetzten hier mit zum monatlichen Taxiren betstellt.’ G. Kolbe *Geschichte der Königlichen porcellanmanufaktur zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1863), 139.

76 Dr Peter Braun, *Leiter, Historische Sammlungen*, Meissen Factory (email to author, 10 June 2013).

77 Walter Hubatsch, *Frederick the Great of Prussia, Absolutism and Administration* (London, 1975), 65.

78 ‘Daß Kl[ipfel]n zu seinen mehrmaligen Reisen nach Sansouci in Dienstangelegenheiten ein Wagen mit sechs Pferden aus dem Kgl. Marchall gelittert werden muste’ (‘Obituary’, 148).

79 Perhaps occurrences such as these contributed to the reportedly sometimes fiery relationship between Klipfel and Griening. Upon the promotion of Klipfel to co-director, Baer comments: ‘This constellation of power in the Factory has resulted in repeated violent disputes between the two directors’ (Baer, *Von Gotzkowsky zur KPM*, 117–8).

to Quantz, of standing next to the royal performer, praising him on his performance.<sup>80</sup> Frederick also continued to seek Klipfel out in order to discuss visiting virtuosi and performance at the Berlin opera. Klipfel was honoured for his distinguished service by the appointments as *Hofkammerat* (1782) and *Geheimer Hofkammerat* (privy councillor) in 1786. Six weeks before the king's death in 1786, Klipfel was summoned to Potsdam for a final audience with the ailing monarch. After some preliminary discussion of matters about the factory, the king then expressed his desire to have seen Klipfel one last time in order to wish his friend goodbye.<sup>81</sup> Klipfel was to live another 20 years. In September 1786, Frederick the Great's successor, Friedrich Wilhelm II, appointed Klipfel co-director of KPM alongside Johann George Grieninger, a post that provided privileges such as a fine carriage. A year later the factory was placed under the control of Friedrich Anton von Heinitz, State Minister of Mining at the Department of Mining and Metallurgy in the Commission Directorate (MK) who also oversaw brass and steel manufacture and coinage. As a result, the directors of KPM lost direct access to the king.<sup>82</sup> In 1787, the now aged Grieninger and Klipfel appointed their sons as *Directinassisten*, with the title *Hofrath*, to assist and eventually succeed their respective parent. 'Grieninger II' (also named Johann George Grieninger, 1757/8–1826) served to 1814, at which time he retired. Between 1804 and 1807, 'Klipfel II' (Carl Wilhelm Klipfel) was 'Hofrath und mitglied der Commission Königl. Porzellan Manufactur' and served to 1827.<sup>83</sup> In 1797, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, Klipfel senior was honoured by the production of a special plaque (*Portätplakette*) in the form of a medallion created by the factory which features a profile of his bust and bears the inscription: 'C.J.C. KLIPFEL KOEN. PREUS. GEH. CAMMERRATH AND PORC. MANUF. DIRECT.' A year later, Grieninger was commemorated by the production of a similar *Porcellanmedaillon*.<sup>84</sup>

The demands of the factory meant that Klipfel had less time to devote to his music than he had done in Meissen, but he did manage to involve himself as a viola player with musicians who would ultimately be connected to the founding of the Sing-Akademie Berlin in 1799. He also played the piano (*clavier*) privately at home. To what extent Klipfel organised performances in Berlin is unclear, though some works collected prior to 1763 received performances in Berlin, possibly in a sacred context, as exemplified by the libretti printed in Berlin of two Roellig cantatas SA 445, *Leben und Wohltat hast du an mir geben*, and SA 1436, *Der Herr hat gesagt*.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, the material that Klipfel brought to Berlin would have been attractive in a city where, 'from the postwar era until Frederick's death in 1786, the official musical repertory was almost exclusively made up of music composed before the mid-century (1756) that got

80 'Wenn Friedrich ein Solo blies, trat Kl.[ipfel], neben ihm an das Pult, und sagte bei jeder vorzüglich gelungenen Stelle ihm laut ein Bravo' ('Obituary', 149).

81 'Nach Beendigung dieses Gesprächs, machte der König eine kurze Pause, und sagte dann: "Nun! Leb' Er wohl, mein lieber Klipfel! ich habe Ihn eigentlich nur gerne noch einmal sehen wollen"' ('Obituary', 149).

82 [www.berlinintensiv.de/personen/person.html?tmpl=component&id=2577](http://www.berlinintensiv.de/personen/person.html?tmpl=component&id=2577) (Accessed 8 June 2013).

83 [www.berliner-klassik.de/publikationen/werkvertraege/hahn\\_leipziger/12.html](http://www.berliner-klassik.de/publikationen/werkvertraege/hahn_leipziger/12.html) (Accessed 8 June 2013).

84 This portrayed Grieninger in costume sitting next to his wife, his father, a boy (presumed to be his son, the new director of the factory) in front of what Kolbe refers to most tellingly as 'the house of cards' (*der Kartenhäuser*) that was the factory. Kolbe, *Geschichte*, 176.

85 Two cantatas with the same title *Der Herr hat gesagt*: SA 796 (a 'Johannistag' cantata, surviving as a score in Roellig's hand) and SA 1436 (a cantata for 15th Sunday after Trinity, score and parts in Klipfel's hand), also share the same music but set to differing libretti, the words of opening aria and final chorale being the only common texts of the two cantatas. It was the latter work (SA 1436) that was performed in Berlin. What is confusing is that the libretto that belongs with SA 1436 is incorrectly included with the materials of SA 796. However, there is a second solo bass part in SA 796 (in the hand of 'anon-Sing-Akademie 15') with the text that corresponds with the libretto of SA 1436, suggesting that the performing materials in SA 796 were used to perform the version of the cantata transmitted in SA 1436 in Berlin.

repeated, both in the opera house and in the king's private chamber music.<sup>86</sup> It was via Klipfel's son, who was a member of the Sing-Akademie from 1810, that this large collection was acquired by the library. The material, donated c.1810, would have particularly attracted the music director, Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), who stated: 'I have been to the Konigliche Bibliothek three times. It is very strong and contains rare musical codices and manuscripts from the sixteenth century that are magnificently endowed and well preserved. I myself am interested in the things from the second half of the eighteenth century, for the further enrichment of my Sing-Akademie.'<sup>87</sup>

## Part 2. The repertory and structure of the Klipfel collection

Most of the material in the collection was copied out by Klipfel himself and is identifiable by his own very distinct and extremely neat hand on the scores and parts, or by the library covers he created for the sets of parts on which he generally added his monogram in the bottom right-hand corner (Figure 2). These covers make it possible to identify works that he acquired which had been copied by other hands. However, the full extent of Klipfel's collection may never be known since there has been some dispersal of material (see discussion below about Klipfel's catalogue numbers); sets of performing parts to works known to have been performed in Meissen are missing,<sup>88</sup> and some sets of parts are incomplete. In addition, there are some works in the Sing-Akademie holdings that are now not directly associated with Klipfel (since his hand is not in the music, nor is there an identifying library cover which may have been lost/separated from the source) but which were undoubtedly originally part of the collection. Examples of such works would be the Roellig autograph scores and parts, which clearly found their way into the Sing-Akademie Library via Klipfel, rather than by another other route.<sup>89</sup> In total, there would appear to be in excess of 520 manuscripts in the collection.

While most composers are represented by between one and six manuscripts, only five composers are represented by more than ten, they are: C.F. Abel (20), Wagenseil (31), 'Graun' (composer unspecified, 56), Hasse (60) and J.C. Roellig (180+). The greater part of the collection was amassed in Meissen, but copyists and paper types confirm that there were some additions after 1763. As might be expected, the Klipfel collection features composers who worked and lived in the Dresden area, with operatic music of Hasse and the instrumental and choral music of Roellig being of particular interest. Very few Italian composers are represented and, significantly, this music was collected prior to 1763. While the Italian style was extremely popular in the court of Dresden (the court provided one of the principal conduits by which the music of Vivaldi came to be known and accepted by German musicians and composers),<sup>90</sup> it was either not one that was performed extensively in post-1763 Berlin, or it was not of great interest to Klipfel. The works of the Graun brothers were also readily available to Klipfel prior to 1763 and, as indicated by the discussion above, greatly interested him.

86 Exner, 'Golden Age', 54.

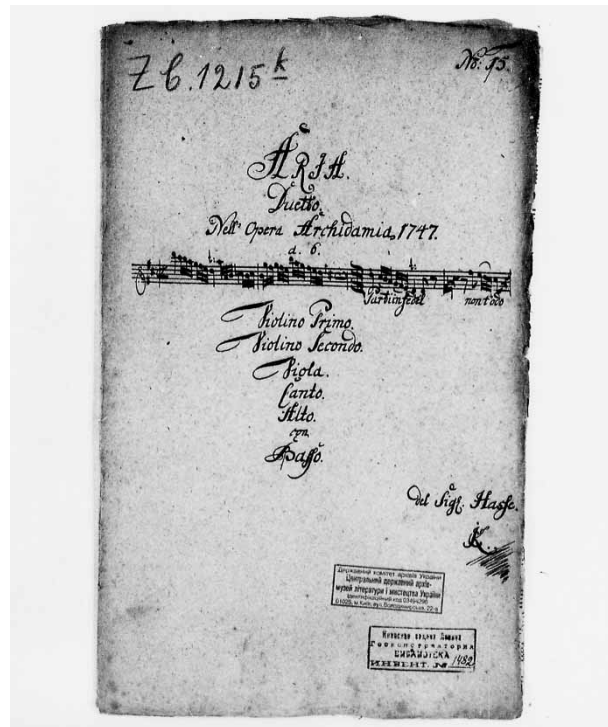
87 Letter from Zelter to Goethe, 26 Sept. 1827, (Reich), 360. '*Auf der königlichen Bibliothek bin ich nun dreimal gewesen; sie ist sehr stark und enthält rare musikalische Codices und Manuskripte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, die prächtig ausgestattet und wohl erhalten sind. Mich selbst interessiert, was aus der letzten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts ist, um meine Singakademie damit noch mehr zu bereichern*' (Quoted and translated by Exner, 'Golden Age', 43).

88 Examples of lost sets of performing parts are those to the birthday cantata *Wie glücklich ist ein Land* (SA 1177/4), and the celebratory cantata *Tage die vor langen Jahren* (SA792/2)1, where the printed word book for the performance survives in Halle (see discussion above).

89 Most of these are choral works: see SA 795, SA 1423, SA 1424, SA 1426, SA 1427, SA 1436, SA 1177/1–5, SA 1439/1–5 and SA 797/1–4; many are listed in the tables. Klipfel's relationship with Roellig will be explored more fully below.

90 Karle Hellern (trans. David Marinelli): *Antonio Vivaldi the Red Priest of Venice* (Portland 1997), 243.





**Figure 2.** Cover sheet for the parts to Hasse's aria from to *Archidamia*, 1747.

The move to Berlin brought Klipfel in touch with new repertoire and he continued to expand his collection after 1763. Indicating that this was more a process of getting to know new music than preparing for planned performances, nearly all of the acquisitions in Klipfel's hand were scores rather than set of parts. As might be expected, some is repertoire by composers based in Berlin, Schwerin and Mannheim, which was new to Klipfel. These included five symphonies and two piano concertos by C.P.E. Bach;<sup>91</sup> a symphony each by J.W. Hertel (SA 2290) and J.P. Kirnberger (SA 2299); three symphonies by F.X. Richter,<sup>92</sup> six by J. Stamitz (SA 2374), a symphony (SA 2294) and two trio sonatas (SA 2373) by Leopold Hoffman; a partita by Wiedner (SA 3189) and the sinfonia to *La Didone abbandonata* by J. G. Schwanenburg (SA 2283). Perhaps based on these few scores, Christoph Henzel talks of a 'realignment' in the collection,<sup>93</sup> but the evidence provided by the majority of scores acquired after 1763 suggest that Klipfel continued to favour the styles with which he was familiar; the greater number of works added to the collection after 1763 were additions to the holdings of music by composers which he had previously collected and performed in Meissen. Significantly, the music of composers who arrived in Dresden after 1763 appear in the collection, such as Johann Gottlieb Naumann, who only returned to Dresden in 1764 as Court *Kirchenkomponist* after travel in Italy. Clearly, Klipfel was attempting to keep abreast of the most recent developments in the Dresden area (Table II).

In the list below, composers represented in the collection are grouped geographically by their area of activity. The number in brackets indicates the quantity of manuscripts in the

91 SA 1932, Symphony in F (Helm 650); SA 1933, Symphony in C (Helm 649); SA 1936, Symphony in E minor (Helm 652); SA 1956, Symphony in Eb (Helm 654); SA 1934/5, Symphony in C (Helm 651); SA 2620, Concerto in Bb (Helm 429); SA 2611, Concerto in D (Helm 421).

92 SA 2280, Symphony in G (BocR 22); SA 2291/1, Symphony in Bb (BocR 61); SA 2291/2, Symphony in C (BocR deest).

93 Henzel, 'Die Musikalien der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', 72ff.



**Table II.** Works added to the collection by composers who had already been collected prior to 1763: a comparison of formats between pre- and post-1763 copies

Composer	Genre	Works on Saxon paper		Works on Berlin paper	
		Score	Parts	Score	Parts
Abel	Symphonies	0	y	y	0
Camerloher		0	y	y	0
Graun		y	y	y	y (two in both score and parts)
Wagenseil		y	y	y	y
Graun	Opera sinfonias	y	y	y	y
Hasee		y	y	y	0
Hiller		0	0	0	y
Abel	Concertos	y	0	y	0
Graun		y	y	y	0
Roellig	Partitas/divertimenti	y	y	y	0
Harrer		y	y	y	0
Hiller		y	y	y	0
Kleinknecht		y	y	y	0
Steinmetz		y	y	y	0
Wagenseil		y	y	y	0

collection while the suffix indicates whether the works of that composer were collected entirely before 1763<sup>(D)</sup>, entirely after 1763<sup>(B)</sup> or whether Klipfel continued to acquire music of this composer both in Dresden and Berlin(\*):

- (1) Composers working in the sphere of Dresden / Meissen: Abel, Carl Friedrich (20\*); Adam, Johann (5<sup>D</sup>); Binder, Christlieb Siegmund (2<sup>B</sup>); Drobisch, Johann Friedrich (2<sup>D</sup>); Fehre, Christoph Ludwig (2<sup>D</sup>); Förster, Christoph (1<sup>D</sup>); Gebel, Georg (2<sup>D</sup>); Götzl, Franz Joseph (1<sup>D</sup>); Harrer, Johan. Gottlieb (7\*); Hiller, Johan Adam (31\*); Hasse, (60\*); Horn, [Christian Friedrich] (1<sup>D</sup>); Naumann, Joh, Gottlieb (2<sup>B</sup>); Neruda, Johann Baptist Georg (5<sup>D</sup>); Quantz, Johann Joachim (1<sup>D</sup>); Richter, [Johann Christoph] (1<sup>D</sup>); Roellig, Johann Christian (180+\*); Schaffrath, Christoph (2<sup>D</sup>); Schürer, Johann Georg (6<sup>D</sup>); Steinmetz, Johann Erhard (5<sup>D</sup>)
- (2) Other Saxon composers:<sup>94</sup> Abt, Johann Gotthardt (3<sup>D</sup>); Hartwig, Carl (2<sup>D</sup>); Schwägri-chen, Gottfried Siegmund (7<sup>D</sup>); Schwanenberg, Johann Gottfried (1<sup>B</sup>); Wiedner, Johann Gottlieb (1<sup>B</sup>)
- (3) Composers associated with Berlin and other northern German centres: Agricola, Johann Friedrich (1<sup>D</sup>); Bach, C.P.E. (9<sup>B</sup>); Benda, Franz (8<sup>D</sup>); Benda, Georg (2<sup>D</sup>); Graun [?] (10\*); Graun, Carl Heinrich (46\*); Hertel, J.Wn. (1<sup>B</sup>); Kirnberger, Johann Philip (1<sup>B</sup>); Klipfel, Carl Wilhelm (1<sup>B</sup>); Krause, Christian Gottfried (6<sup>D</sup>)
- (4) Composers from the German centres of Stuttgart, Mannheim and Munich: Camerloher, Placidus von (2\*); Holzbauer, Ignaz Jacob (4<sup>D</sup>); Kleinknecht, Johann Friedrich (5\*); Richter Franz Xaver (2<sup>B</sup>); Stamitz, Johann (6<sup>B</sup>)
- (5) Vienna- and Prague-based composers: Hofmann, Leopold (4\*); Ordonez, Carlos D (1<sup>D</sup>); Orschler, Johann Georg (2<sup>D</sup>); Wagenseil, Georg Christoph (31\*)

94 I.e. those based in Saxon towns and cities other than Dresden and Meissen.

- (6) Italian composers: Pergolesi, Giovanni Battista (2<sup>D</sup>); Platti, Giovanni Benedetto (1<sup>D</sup>); Reluzzi, Giovanni Ambrogio (2<sup>D</sup>); G.B. Sammartini (4<sup>D</sup>)

The collection divides into four broad areas:<sup>95</sup>

- (1) Concerted works: symphonies, ‘overtures’, partitas and suites, extracts from operas, sacred and occasional choral works
- (2) Works for a small chamber groups: works for two, three, four, and five or more players such as quadro and trio sonatas, divertimenti and partitas
- (3) Works for solo keyboard presumably for Klipfel’s own use
- (4) Songs and other works for solo voice and instruments/keyboard

The collection can be further divided into six sequences of materials. The number of items within each group in [Table III](#) provides an indicator to the scale of the collection. The table illuminates the large number of partitas and symphonies and sinfonias, compared to the very few concertos.

**Table III.** A subdivision of the collection into six sequences of materials

Sinfonias & ouvertures (151)	Partitas and chamber music (250)	Concertos (24)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Concert sinfonias (96)</li> <li>• Sinfonias to stage works (49)</li> <li>• Sinfonias to choral works (1)</li> <li>• ‘Overtures’ (5)</li> </ul>	Partitas, divertimenti and sonatas (250), subdivided as follows: (à2 = 16) (à3 = 73) (à4 = 59) (à5 = 17) (à6 = 70) (à7 = 3) (à8 = 7) (à10 = 5)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cembalo (13)</li> <li>• Flute (10)</li> <li>• Bassoon (1)</li> </ul>
Opera and oratorio extracts (not including sinfonias in separate shelfmarks) and Oratorios (45)	Keyboard music (21)	Choral Works for solo voice (48)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recitatives, arias and choruses etc. (40)</li> <li>• Hasse oratorios (2)</li> <li>• Marches (3)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partitas (14)</li> <li>• Divertimenti (3)</li> <li>• Sonatas (2)</li> <li>• Variations (2)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sacred cantatas and figural music (27)</li> <li>• Occasional and secular cantatas/intermezzi (15)</li> <li>• Solo voice and insts. / keybd. (6)</li> </ul>

Note: Figures indicate the number of items (call numbers).

From the earliest acquisitions Klipfel added library covers to many of the sets of performing parts. Many, though not all, of these are numbered. (For an example see the top right-hand corner of the cover sheet in [Figure 2](#).) There appear to be three independent sequences of numbering of the sets of performing parts in the collection:

<sup>95</sup> Included are all works that are referenced to Klipfel in RISM, along with all works by J.C. Roellig in the Sing-Akademie Library, whether there is an overt reference to Klipfel or not.

- (1) Concert symphonies and sinfonias/overtures to stage works: listed in Appendix, Catalogue Sequence 1
- (2) Partitas and divertimenti: listed in Appendix, Catalogue Sequence 2
- (3) Excerpts from stage works: listed in Appendix, Catalogue Sequence 3

It is clear that while many covers were created contemporaneously with the set of parts, some post-date the parts to which they belong by a number of years. It would be extremely convenient to find that the numbering system indicates a chronology, but the sets of the parts in the library sequence are not in date order; some of the covers date from as early as 1747, but it appears the library numbers were added after 1755, and possibly as late as 1758–60. This implies that the creation of a catalogue of the contents of the collection was intended, if not completed at this time.<sup>96</sup> The ordering of the library sequences appears to be haphazard, though in the sequence of partitas, suites and divertimenti, one finds that the majority of the works by Roellig are in batches of three or six items, reflecting the eighteenth-century practice of publishing works in groups of six. Thus, it is possible to infer that some of the missing items (nos 31, 41–2 and 76–8) are by Roellig, and are possibly some of the many works in the Klipfel collection now lacking a library cover.<sup>97</sup> Appendix 2 also highlights how the items that constitute *Raccolta V* (Breitkopf, 1761) appear as six consecutive numbers, whilst items that belong to other collections listed in Breitkopf catalogues are all separated in the Klipfel collection.

What is perhaps surprising is the high proportion of scores in the collection, which are not included in the library numbering. Klipfel indicated in the biography that when he acquired new music, he would first write out the music in score format,<sup>98</sup> a way of working that enabled Klipfel to increase his understanding of the theoretical aspects of music.<sup>99</sup> While this assertion holds true for works acquired after 1763, and for some works collected before 1763 where scores and parts in Klipfel's hand are clearly contemporaneous (as in Roellig's Partita in A),<sup>100</sup> paradoxically, in the majority of cases the score post-dates the parts by several years.<sup>101</sup>

This raises several questions: what were Klipfel's sources? Were they scores or parts? From the thematic catalogues published from 1761, it can be determined that much of the instrumental music in his collection was available via Breitkopf. Was the ultimate source therefore Breitkopf (which sold music as manuscripts in both score format and in parts)? Did Klipfel have an arrangement to copy scores from musicians who had purchased copies directly from Breitkopf, possibly paying a partial fee to help defray the capital cost of the original

96 See comments below about the dating of copies in Klipfel's hand.

97 Indeed, in 2005, before the Roellig works had been fully examined by the Sing-Akademie cataloguers, they were issued to the author to inspect still bound in their original packs of six items, labelled by only by the genre of the item on top (e.g. 'Symphonies by Roellig') even if occasionally some of the items in the bundle were found to be by other composers.

98 'Gewöhnlich schrieb er die Musikalien erst in ganzer Partitur, und dann in einzelnen Stimmen ab' ('Obituary', 141).

99 '... durch das erstere bildete er sich zugleich zum Theoretiker, indem er sein Geschäft nicht mechanisch betrieb, sondern dabei über den Zusammenhang der Stimmen unter einander, den Sinn der Komposition im Ganzen, und die musikalische Harmonie überhaupt, nachdachte [making the most of this business [copying] not as a [purely] mechanical operation, but in the context of the parts under each other, gained the sense of the composition as a whole and, above all, consider the musical harmony]' ('Obituary', 141).

100 Score: SA 2392, parts: SA 3224. See comment below about Klipfel's handwriting and the dating of sources.

101 Scores created prior to 1763 that postdate the set of parts to the same work include: Partita in A (score: SA2399; parts SDA 2356/2); Partita in A (score: SA2366; parts SDA 2355; Partita in D (score and parts: SA 2344). Scores created after 1763 that postdate sets of parts (in Klipfel's hand) created prior to 1763 include: Partita in G (score: SA 2360; parts SA 2350); Partita in G (score: SA 2402; parts SA 3238).

purchaser? Barbara Wiermann also suggests another model, whereby works could be hired for short periods from commercial lending organisations.<sup>102</sup> Though no evidence of such an activity has yet been recognised in Dresden in the 1750s, this appears to have been the means by which Klipfel acquired much of the instrumental material directly from Roellig. It cannot be ruled out that Klipfel was a source of materials acquired by Breitkopf.

### **Orchestral music**

In the largest identifiable sequence of catalogue numbers, numbering some 111 sets of parts (see Appendix 1 for full list), Klipfel included concert symphonies and sinfonias to stage works, the latter played as independent works by the Meissen Collegium Musicum. About half of the items in the sequence are unaccounted for, but some of these ‘missing’ works may be the eight items listed at the foot of Appendix 1 that have a number missing, or are awaiting an allocation; upon these Klipfel wrote ‘No ...’ on the cover and then did not add a figure. There are some apparent repetitions of library number. In the case of the Abel symphony numbered No. 1 in Klipfel’s library sequence, Klipfel possessed in score all six symphonies of Abel’s Op. 4., two of which (Op. 4 No. 1 and Op. 4 No. 2) also appear in the collection in sets of parts corresponding to Nos 1 and 2 in Klipfel’s catalogue sequence. This suggests that the Klipfel ‘library’ number here appears to relate to the subdivision of the opus rather than to his collection. There are three other repetitions (No. 5, No. 11 and No. 64). In two cases, it is between a symphony and a sinfonia to a stage work.

With the caveat that the Klipfel catalogue numbers indicate that material is missing, the balance between scores and sets of parts in the collection does provide a strong indication of the repertoire performed by the Meissen Collegium Musicum; opera sinfonias were favoured over concert symphonies; there is an almost total absence of music by Italian composers, and there are few French ‘ouvertures’ (only two of the five works exist in parts). Unlike in Leipzig, where solo concertos were a feature of the programmes, few solo concertos appear to have been performed in Meissen; there are only sets of parts for five of the 24 concertos in the Klipfel collection (two each for cembalo and flute, and the only bassoon concerto). This is probably because the Leipzig collegia musica could draw on more virtuosic players, including Bach himself. It is tempting to suggest that the parts to the Quantz Flute Concerto in C (SA 2937–QV5.5)<sup>103</sup> might have been prepared in order that Frederick II might have the opportunity to play some concerted music during his sojourn in Meissen.

While Klipfel collected a large number of symphonies, fewer than half of the surviving works appear to have been performed; of the free-standing concert symphonies, there are more works in score format (63) than in sets of parts (41).<sup>104</sup> Of these sources, only 12 works exist in both formats and, highlighting the way Zelter dispersed sources within the collection at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there are only two instrumental works where the score and parts share the same shelf number. Symphonies by C.P.E. Bach, Fehre, Hertel, Hoffman, Kirnberger, Ordonez, Richter and Stamitz exist as scores only. The performed repertoire included: one each by F. Benda, P. Camerloher, Hiller, Holzbauer,

102 ‘Neben dem Kaufhandel entstanden Leihanstalten’ [In addition to the merchandise outlets, Lending Offices have been created], in Barbara Wiermann, “Sie haben einen sehr guten musikalischen Magen”, 249, quoting T. Widmaier, *Der deutsches Musikalien. function, bedeutung und Topographie einer Formen gewerblicher Muskaliendistribution vom späten 18. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Saarbrücken, 1998), 18–34.

103 Copied on Saxon paper.

104 Peter Wollny believes that sets of parts existed for all works now represented by only a score in the collection; in conversation with the author, August 2013.

Neruda and Schürer; two each by Abel and Adam; three by Wagenseil; and five by Graun. It might appear that, with 19 sets of parts, Roellig was the most often performed symphonist by the Meissen musicians. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the longest intact sequence of items in the Klipfel catalogue (items 67–74), consists mainly of Roellig symphonies. Indicating the popularity of opera sinfonias, a greater proportion of these works (39 of the 49 shelfmarks) survive as sets of parts, with works by Graun (12) and Hasse (23) dominating the repertoire. Only one work by an Italian can be found in the collection of orchestral works, the Sinfonia to *L'Olimpiade* by Pergolesi (SA 2468).

***Music for ensemble: partitas, suites, divertimenti and sonatas***

The largest segment of the collection consists of the partitas, divertimenti and sonatas for varying combinations of instruments. Divertimenti were multi-movement works for a small chamber ensemble, generally in three movements, fast-slow-fast. The partita (in the main multi-movement works for three or more instruments), was particularly popular in the Dresden area in the mid-eighteenth century and by far the most popular genre in the collection. Partitas consisted of four or five movements but, reflecting the links with the Polish court, the majority in the collection belong to the distinct subgenre that has been identified as the 'Dresden Partita', where the last two movements are almost invariably a minuet (and trio) followed by a polonaise or, occasionally, a polacca, with the trio section occasionally cast as a 'massur' (mazurka).<sup>105</sup> Partitas in the Klipfel collection were composed principally by musicians with a link to Dresden or further afield in Saxony: Johann Adam (2); Johann Friedrich Drobisch (2); Georg Gebel (2); Johann Gottlieb Harrer (6); Johann Adam Hiller (12); Johann Ludwig Horn (1); Johann Georg Schürer (2); Johan Erhard Steinmetz (4) from Dresden and Schwägrichen (7); and Wiedner (1) from greater Saxony. Dresden-style works by Christian Gottfried Krause (4), a Berlin composer, were available to Klipfel prior to 1763. Those by Wagenseil (2), which originate from furthest afield, are in a three-movement fast-slow-fast format associated with the Viennese version of the partita and emergent divertimento. However, again, Johann Christian Roellig dominates the collection of partitas with over 90 items, several in one or more arrangements for differing instrumental combinations.

The instrumentation of the Dresden partita was particularly variable; the most numerous in the collection being 'à3' (of which there were 53 for the trio sonatas combination of two violins and bass and seven for two flutes and bass), 'à4' (40 are for a string quartet combination, one for three violins and bass, seven for flute, two violins and bass) and 'à6' (of which the majority are for two flutes and strings (27), or two oboes and strings (16), or two horns and strings (16), and two trumpets and strings (5)). While the divertimenti and sonatas can be viewed exclusively as chamber works, requiring just one player per part, the performing group for the partita as a genre was much more flexible. Again, it is tempting to suggest that the eight works for solo flute and cembalo (all by Roellig)<sup>106</sup> was repertoire that Klipfel provided for the king to play, perhaps quickly commissioned from Roellig, particularly since two divertimenti are arrangements of works which elsewhere in the collection

<sup>105</sup> This sub-genre was first identified by Nigel Springthorpe in 'Who was Roellig? – Roellig and the Sing-Akademie collection', *Fasch-Studien 10: Musik an der Zerbster Residenz: Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz vom 10. bis 12. April 2008 im Rahmen der 10. Internationalen Fasch-Festtage in Zerbst* (Beskow, 2008), 117–42, and is a topic of ongoing research by the author.

<sup>106</sup> Partitas in A minor (SA 2341); G major (SA 2424); D major (SA 2432); F major (SA 2433) and Divertimenti in C (SA 3234); A major (SA 3235); G minor (SA 3236) and D minor (SA 3242), all by Roellig.



are for four-part strings.<sup>107</sup> In contrast, others are designed to be performed in a larger space or even out of doors, such as Partitas 1, 2 and 3 of the set of six by Roellig that comprise SA 2415; these are written 'à10' for pairs of trumpets, oboes, bassoons and strings, while two partitas in Eb (SA 2415/5 and SA 2415/6) are scored 'à7' for pairs of horns, oboes, bassoons and bass (with no upper strings). In addition, whole sets of six partitas might be arranged for a completely different performing group. For example, the second suite from Roellig's *Raccolta V*,<sup>108</sup> which is scored 'à7' for a pair of trumpets, oboes, bassoon and four-part strings, also exists in two other arrangements: 'à6' for two trumpets, and strings,<sup>109</sup> and 'à2' for violin and cembalo.<sup>110</sup> It also comes as no surprise to find that many partitas were performed orchestraly, particularly those with obligato wind instruments. About half of the set of parts have two sets of violin and bass parts, some have three copies of each violin and bass part,<sup>111</sup> and one, a partita in D scored for two trumpets and strings (SA 2334) has four of each violin part and three bass parts, nearly all in the hand of Klipfel ('Sing-Akademie 522' copied only three folios, all the parts were otherwise copied by Klipfel), perhaps suggesting an outdoor performance was envisaged, such as the one mentioned above, organised for Frederick the Great in Spring 1761, also indicating that a sizeable number of musicians could be assembled.

### *Extracts of stage works and oratorios*<sup>112</sup>

According to the obituary, Klipfel made frequent trips to Dresden at carnival time in order to see the latest operas, returning to Meissen with scores of the ones he had just heard.<sup>113</sup> Klipfel's collection bears witness to this activity and there are extracts, ranging from single arias and instrumental marches, to quite complete scores. If Klipfel did indeed collect most of these works soon after their performance for the Hoftheatre, they provide one of the clearest indications of chronology within the collection. Some are dated (see cover sheet for the Hasse opera above), while in other sources, the name of the singers who performed the aria is given in the score, thereby confirming the date of performance with which the score is associated. There appears to be a further attempt to add library numbers to performing parts of the opera materials (see Appendix 3), but the chronology of the works is again not reflected in the library sequence.

While the repertoire reflects that which was performed in the Hoftheatre, it appears that Klipfel has generally eschewed stage works by Italian-born composers. Thus, apart from some arias from the chamber cantata *Segreto tormento* by Pergolesi (Naples, 1731), all other music for the stage he collected was by German-born composers writing in an Italian style,

107 SA 3234 is concordant with SA 2342 (for string quartet) while SA 3242 is concordant with SA 2318 (for string quartet).

108 VI. *Suites del Sigr. ROELLIG, jun. a7 Voci. Racc.V.*, published by Breitkopf (Part V, 1765), music now lost.

109 SA 2415/2 (score), SA 2335 (parts).

110 SA SA2418/3.

111 Partita in Eb, SA 3225, scored 'à6' for two horns and strings. This Partita has not only a triple set of violin and bass parts but also extra *colla parte* oboe and bassoon parts. (Extra string copies by Anon. Sing-Akademie copyist 522, the rest by Klipfel).

112 Excluding the sinfonias discussed above.

113 'Zur Karnevalszeit versäumte er nie, in Dresden die großen Opern zu hören, so beschwerlich auch in mancher hinsicht ihm die Befriedigung dieser Sehnsucht ward; auf der Rückreise nahm er jederzeit ein Partitur der gehörten Opern mit' ('Obituary', 141). There was a popular tradition of carnival (*Fas-tennacht*) in Saxony before the Reformation. (See Bob Scribner, 'Reformation, Carnival and the World Turned Upside Down', *Social History*, 3 (1978), 303–29). The Reformers tried to stamp out carnival, but it was cultivated at Dresden court in the late sixteenth century and again in the late seventeenth century when the Electors of Saxony converted to Catholicism in order to retain the Polish crown, but it is likely that carnival appealed to the Italophilia of the Saxon royal family.

indicating that, in general, the Italophilia displayed within the court did not automatically transfer to music lovers outside. Klipfel's collection contains extracts from *La Galatea* (Dresden 1746) by Johann George Schürer (c.1720–86), and extracts of three operas by C. H. Graun: *Catone in Utica* (premiered in Berlin in the 1743–44 season, the Klipfel copy is dated 1748); *Demofonte* (1745–6 in Berlin) and *Ifigenia in Aulide* (1748–9). Significantly, the other 43 items are of music by Hasse, taken from operas that were given premieres as early as 1730 and as late as 1760. It is highly illuminating that Klipfel was able to acquire copies of music by Hasse so soon after its first performances in Dresden. Not only does it serve to underline the changing 'buon gusto' (good taste) apparent in the musicians in the environs of Dresden, particularly those without direct access to courtly life, but also the speed of transmission suggests that there was a well-oiled system for disseminating Hasse's music, presumably as a commercial enterprise. It is not certain whether this was an official courtly business or an informal, even surreptitious, activity by the court copyists.

It is in the stage works that there is the highest proportion of manuscripts in hands other than Klipfel's. To enable him to return to Meissen with copies of music of the latest opera after each carnival season, Klipfel had to count not only on professional copyists to provide such large amounts of material in a short amount of time, but he also had to purchase copies directly from the court copyists. Thus, we see that Johann Georg Kremmler (employed by the court 1733–59) is the copyist of one of the scores containing extracts from *Solimano* (1753) (SA 1571) and both he and Johann Gottfried Grundig (employed by the court 1733–73) are the copyists of the score containing arias from *Ezio* (1755) (SA 1901). Not only must it have been an expensive proposition to purchase a score of an opera, the scale of the work meant that more than one copyist might be engaged to complete the order.<sup>114</sup> *Solimano* proved to be a popular work with more than one set of items. Another 'supplier' was Holstein,<sup>115</sup> who copied the (?complete) score of work (SA 1038) from which Klipfel copied out parts.

The earliest date Klipfel commenced collecting music is not apparent, but there is evidence to suggest that three of the earliest in Table IV – *Demetrio* (1740), *Lucio Papirio* (1742) and *Antigone* (1744) – were very likely copied c.1760, since they are all copied on the same Saxon paper in the hand of the Dresden-based copyist described as 'Berlin 61', who is also the copyist of *Artaserse* (1760).<sup>116</sup> Like a stamp collector trying to complete his set by purchasing missing items, it appears that Klipfel has commissioned copies of the highlights of works he would not have otherwise been able to collect. It would appear that Klipfel started collecting music circa 1747 when he was 20 years old, giving a possible inauguration of the Meissen Collegium Musicum to around that time.

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114 In the Sing-Akademie Library there are ten examples of entire Hasse operas in score copied out by members of the Dresden court where each copyist produced one of the three acts. Kremmler invariably copied act 1 and Grundig copied act 2, while act 3 was copied by Grundig, Schlettner or a 'disciple of Kremmler'. Considering the probable cost, it seems unlikely that Klipfel could afford the expense of a complete opera. But if not via Klipfel, what then was the route by which these copies were transmitted to the Sing-Akademie Library? Were the Dresden court copyists receiving commissions direct from Berlin?

115 Holstein was an active copyist in Berlin, supplying sets of Italian songs (SA 4940) and trio sonatas by various Berlin composers (SA 4114). He collaborated with the copying of choral work such as the C. P.E. Bach Magnificat (SA 239) but his principal role was as a copyist of Graun operas (complete and extracts) in score, short scores and parts. Is it the same person as F.E. Holstein mentioned in conjunction with Schrank II (worked from 1744–51) see: [www.schrank-zwei.de/recherche/schreiber-wasserzeichenkataloge/schreiberkatalog/?tx\\_slubwatersignauthorsdb\\_pi1%5Bmaxpages%5D=188&tx\\_slubwatersignauthorsdb\\_pi1%5Bpage%5D=10&tx\\_slubwatersignauthorsdb\\_pi1%5Baction%5D=detail&tx\\_slubwatersignauthorsdb\\_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=Author&cHash=ec359e1cb9758b49f8c67791e31d3698](http://www.schrank-zwei.de/recherche/schreiber-wasserzeichenkataloge/schreiberkatalog/?tx_slubwatersignauthorsdb_pi1%5Bmaxpages%5D=188&tx_slubwatersignauthorsdb_pi1%5Bpage%5D=10&tx_slubwatersignauthorsdb_pi1%5Baction%5D=detail&tx_slubwatersignauthorsdb_pi1%5Bcontroller%5D=Author&cHash=ec359e1cb9758b49f8c67791e31d3698) (Accessed 18 June 2014).

116 I.e. the copies were all made in reasonably close proximity rather than with a 20-year gap.

Table IV. Sources of Hasse opera music in the Klipfel collection

Hasse operas	Date of 1 <sup>st</sup> performance in Dresden	Sing-Akademie call no. and format	Copyist
<i>Dallia</i>	17 May 1730	SA 1348 (parts) (parts - 1 aria only)	Klipfel
<i>Demetrio</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> version 8 Feb. 1740	SA1474 (parts - 1 aria only)	Berlin 61
<i>Lucio Papirio</i>	18 January 1742	SA 1476 (parts - 1 aria only)	Klipfel, extra vn an vlne parts / Berlin 61 all others
<i>Antigono</i>	20 January 1744	SA1479 (parts)	Klipfel, extra vn parts / Berlin 61 all others
<i>La spartana generosa (Archidamia)</i>	14 June 1747	SA 1482 (parts - 1 aria only)	Klipfel
<i>Demofonte</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> version 1748	SA 1473 (parts - 1 aria)	Klipfel
<i>Il natal di Giove</i>	7 October 1749	SA 1079 (score - excerpts)	Dresden court copyists 1& 2
<i>Attilio Regolo</i>	12 January 1750	SA 1078 (score - excerpts)	Klipfel
<i>Ciro riconosciuto</i>	20 January 1750	SA 1480 (parts - 1 aria only)	Klipfel
<i>Ipermestra</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> version 7 Oct 1751	SA 1481 (parts - 1 aria only) SA 1561 (score- 5 arias)	Klipfel Dresden copyists (f1-6) / Klipfel (f5-27)
<i>Adriano in Siria</i>	17 January 1752	SA 1573 (score - 2 arias only)	Dresden copyist
<i>Arminio</i>	7 Oct 1745 / 2 <sup>nd</sup> version 8 Jan 1753	SA 1075 (parts - sinfonia and 1 <sup>st</sup> aria only)	Klipfel
<i>L' Eroe cinese</i>	7 October 1753	SA 1483 (parts - 1 aria only)	Klipfel

<i>Solimano</i>	5 February 1753	SA 1577(2) (score - 1 aria only) SA 1362 (score - 13 arias) SA 1368(2) (parts - 1 aria only) SA 1570(1) (score- 2 arias only) SA 1571 (score x2 & parts- excerpts) „ SA 1038 (score- complete?)	Dresden copyist / Roellig Klipfel Stübner/Klipfel/court copyist Klipfel / Roellig Klipfel (score 1 & parts) / Kremmler (score 2) Klipfel (score), Holstein (score)
<i>Artemisia</i>	6 February 1754	SA 1367(1) (score- 1 aria) SA 1581 (parts - 1 aria)	Klipfel Klipfel
<i>Ezio</i>	2 <sup>nd</sup> version 1755	SA 1568 (score- 9 arias) SA 1901 (score- arias) SA 2206 (parts- march) SA 1368(1) (score- 1 recit & aria only)	Dresden copyist Kremmler/Grundig Klipfel Dresden court copyists (1&2)
<i>Il re pastore</i>	7 October 1755	SA 1117 (parts- 5 arias) SA 1578 (parts- 1 aria only) SA 1577(1) (score- 17 arias, 4 <sup>th</sup> chorus)	Klipfel Klipfel Dresden copyist
<i>L'Olimpiade</i>	16 February 1756	SA 1109 (score - incomplete 114 folios) „(parts) SA 1572 (score - 3 arias) „(parts)	Dresden copyist Klipfel Unknown (Berlin?) Klipfel (1756)
<i>Artaserse</i>	1760?	SA 1475 (parts - 1 aria only)	Berlin 61

### Part 3. Copyists in the Klipfel collection and the dating of Klipfel's handwritten copies

The Sing-Akademie cataloguers have given approximate dates for most items in Klipfel's former collection, but in the main have only indicated whether they believe the manuscripts pre- or post-date his move to Berlin. In this regard they have not been entirely consistent, giving both a pre- and post-1763 indication for works with the same watermark. What can be presented for the first time in this article is the discovery that Klipfel's handwriting can be used to date scores and that, from this, it is possible to make a correlation with the paper stock Klipfel used in distinct periods. Klipfel was very consistent in his drawing of clefs within certain periods of time and, by cross-checking dated works by Roellig and the copies of Hasse operas listed above, it can be determined that Klipfel adopted two distinctly different forms of the treble 'G' clef, changing from the 'baroque' clef to the modern style around 1754–5 (there was some alternation between the two types in 1754–5) (Table V). The earlier baroque style of 'G' clef was developed from a 'closed' version in c.1746–7, to an 'open' version in 1748–54 which, c.1748, was placed across the two lowest spaces of the staff. In addition, the bass 'F' clef gradually evolved c.1740–c.1760 with minor variants in the period to 1748. The pair of vertical double lines was abandoned in 1756, and it was developed into a large rounded shape that extended above the staff c.1758 before returning to a version similar to that of 1756. The 'C' clef remained more or less constant in style until c.1758 when it, too, was modified to a form that was consistently used from 1759 onwards.

From this it is then possible to ascertain that while Klipfel used certain paper types consistently between c.1747 and 1763, such as 'ES im Falz' (which Klipfel used only up to c.1758) and the generic 'Saxon arms' which covers a variety of marks,<sup>117</sup> some watermarks only appear on works copied within a short time-frame, sometimes as short as a year or so (such as 'ES im Kreis' and the 'W' watermarks used only in the period 1753–5) and so a number of watermarks only appear on works that can be dated 1748–54. The right-hand column of Table VI lists those watermarks which are restricted to certain time periods. A variety of different papers were used, but from 1755, fewer paper types were purchased by Klipfel, possibly since fewer were available to him as a result of privations imposed by the Seven Years' War. The occupation by Prussian troops might also explain the use of the 'crowned FR' paper c.1761–2, which appears to be Prussian rather than Saxon. (Perhaps Klipfel acquired this on his trip to Berlin in 1761?). The 'crowned eagle' paper was used for a few scores after 1756, but is also associated with doubling parts added to works composed earlier. The 'P' and 'K' watermark is used exclusively after 1763 following Klipfel's relocation to Berlin. Table VI, based upon a sample of 100 sources, including all the Roellig sources, indicates the correlation of Klipfel's clef-types and watermarks.<sup>118</sup>

With the change from the older form of treble clef to the modern style, the changes to the form of the F clef found in sources c.1758–9, and the C clef from 1759, it appears that Klipfel adopts forms of clef that are more similar to those used by Roellig (Figure 3). A further change in style can be observed in the production of scores; in the last year or so in Meissen, Klipfel changed from a portrait format to a landscape format, one he then used exclusively in Berlin.

The significant breakthrough in dating Klipfel's pre-1763 scores to within a few years makes it possible to date more firmly works by a number of other composers, for whom

117 There are undoubtedly a number of different examples (types) of Saxon arms and further research is required to identify all.

118 A thorough examination of all scores in Klipfel's hand in the collection may provide further clarity to the dating of sources.



**Table V.** Klipfel's clef types

	Treble	C clef	Bass
Before 1747			
1748			
c.1748			
1748–55			
1754–5			
1756–			
?1758			
?1758–9			
1759			
c.1760?			
After 1763			

no other means of dating is possible, particularly composers of the Dresden circle such as J. C. Roellig (b.1716); G. Gebel (1709–53); J.G. Harrer (1703–55); C.J. Fehre (1718–72) and J. A. Hiller (1728–1804), and to refine the dating of works by other composers such as C.F. Abel (1723–87) and the Graun brothers. The dating of Klipfel's handwriting also highlights how extra string parts have been added to sets of parts at a later date, indicating changes to the size of the performing group (see comments below). It is also clear that library covers occasionally post-date the sets of parts; there is a batch of works (SA 2334, 3225, 3230, 3231 and 3233) on 'ES im Falz' paper where the handwriting on the cover is post-1754 while the clefs in music are all of the older style from 1748–54.

**Table VI.** Watermarks found on sources in Klipfel's hand

	Generic, or common to most periods	Specific to particular time periods
1747–8	ES im Falz Saxon arms	'Springende Einhorn im Kreis' Crossed swords 'ES in circle'
1748–53	ES im Falz Saxon arms (various, with countermarks: GHS/CHS; 'Dresden')	'Springende Einhorn im Kreis' Anchor Crossed hammers (with countermark 'CFS') 'SW in Falz'
1753–5	ES im Falz Saxon arms (with upright lion, 1754)	'ES in circle' (in 1753/54 only) Crowned 'W' Double-stroked 'W'
1756–8	ES im Falz Saxon arms (with countermark: ICF)	'ES doppelstrichig', with and without circle (1756) Crossed swords Crossed swords, crowned between two branches Crowned (double) eagle with sceptre and sword
1759–63	Saxon arms	Crowned lily-shield Crowned 'FR'
1763–	-	'P' & 'K'

**Figure 3.** Rollig's autograph clef types in 1754 (from SA 1426).

While Klipfel took on the role of copyist for the Collegium Musicum in its early phase to save on costs, as time went on, and funding for the group perhaps became more secure, Klipfel increasingly relied on other copyists (Table VII). There are a number of scribes in the Meissen-Dresden area with whom Klipfel appears to have interacted.<sup>119</sup> It is not always clear whether these were independent collectors or merely copyists engaged by Klipfel, though the presence of names in the title page tends to suggest the former, while the anonymous copyists tend to be the latter. Some of these copyists may have been members of the Collegium Musicum, while others were freelance musicians in Dresden.

<sup>119</sup> Two copyists listed on the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin web site ([www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/musik/projekte/dfg-projekt-singakademie/ergebnisse/](http://www.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/die-staatsbibliothek/abteilungen/musik/projekte/dfg-projekt-singakademie/ergebnisse/)) as 'Meissen copyists' to have nothing to do with Klipfel. One, G. Füllner, is associated with a Graun Symphony in D, (SA 2114) copied in 1770, and the provenance appears to be Zelter rather than Klipfel. Heinrich is also listed as a Meissen copyist, but identifying a source with his name has not been possible.

**Table VII.** A summary of the copyists in the Klipfel collection, their location and the genre in which they worked

Location	Symphony	Concerto	Partitas	Opera extracts	Choral/vocal	Keyboard
Berlin	Itzig 9 (/Itzig 8) Berlin 38 Berlin 46 Berlin copyist Thulemeier III Patzig, J. A. Baumann, F. Zelter		'Berlin copyist' Thamm	?Holstein	'Berlin copyist' SA 15	
Dresden	Roellig Oehm, H. Berlin 61 'copyist of dresden'	Roellig 'copyist of Dresden'	Roellig Berlin 61 'copyist of Dresden'	Roellig 'Dresden court copyists 1 & 2' Kremler/ Grundig	Roellig 'copyist of Dresden'	Roellig
Meissen	Klipfel Stubner, J.F. Otto, J.F.E. SA 519 SA 522 SA 550	Klipfel Stubner, J.F. SA 522	Klipfel Stubner, J.F. Otto, J.F.E. SA 521 SA 522 SA 574	Klipfel	Klipfel SA 105 SA 96	Klipfel Stubner, J.F.
Other			'(monogram CFH?)'			Bach, J.C.

### *Meissen copyists*

The score of a Graun symphony (SA 2168)<sup>120</sup> dated 1752 is presumed to have come into Klipfel's possession from the collection of Heinrich Oehm; Klipfel later created a set of parts from the score (SA 2167). J.F.E. Otto is another copyist from the Meissen-Dresden area, identified by his written signature on SA 2394. Otto provided scores of three partitas by Dresden composers, one each by Georg Gebel, J.C. Roellig and Harrer,<sup>121</sup> and he also provided the violone parts to the set otherwise copied by Klipfel for Graun's *Sinfonia to Demofonte*.<sup>122</sup>

The most important copyist to stand out is the Meissen musician J.F. Stübner (identified on the title page of SA 2330).<sup>123</sup> A likely member of the Meissen Collegium Musicum and active c.1747–51, he supplied works copied by other copyists, copied works entirely on his own, and also closely collaborated with Klipfel on the production of parts to several

120 SINFONIA. | Violino Primo | Violino Secundo | Viola | et | Basso. | Heinrich Oehm | 30<sup>t</sup> November 1752. The paper type appears to be unique in the collections: gekröntes Wappen - Gegenmarke "M" (b), gekrönter Adler mit Brustschild, Zepter und Schlüssel.

121 Gebel Partita in D for strings (SA 2383) (Klipfel copied the parts in SA 2308); Roellig Partita in C (à4) for flute, 2 violins and bass (SA 2394); Harrer Partita in Bb (à6) for two oboes and strings (SA 2390). The paper used is of Saxon origin for SA 2383 ('Sing-Akademie 520' produced the parts that accompany the score within the signature SA 2394).

122 SA 2101.

123 SA 2330 is a Partita in F by Harrer.

works.<sup>124</sup> The scores of two partitas by the Prague-based J.G. Orschler (SA 3812) are in the hand of two unknown copyists, while Stübner's ownership is confirmed by the cover.<sup>125</sup> Of the works in the collection copied by J.F. Stübner, all but one are instrumental. He is associated with one vocal work, the Richter cantata *Spielet und lachet* (SA 1422) for solo voice, for which he provided the instrumental parts; while Klipfel copied the vocal part of this work, Stübner also wrote the words 'Cantata' and 'Soprano Solo' at the beginning of Klipfel's copy.<sup>126</sup> J.F. Stübner was the sole provider of several items including: a set of six G.C. Wagenseil partitas for solo keyboard (SA 4151) and a further one in F major (SA 4349); the parts of an Abel trio sonata<sup>127</sup> (SA 2556); a partita by Harrer (SA 2330); and anonymous trio sonata (based upon *Il Pastor Fido*, SA 3597). However, in the majority of the sources Stübner collaborated with other copyists. On the scores of two Carl Hartwig ouvertures (SA 3178 and SA 3179) Klipfel's hand is also apparent. In conjunction with another collaborator identified by the Sing-Akademie as 'Anon Dresden copyist' (but who clearly was based in Meissen)<sup>128</sup> Stübner produced parts of a Graun Cembalo Concerto in Bb<sup>129</sup> (SA 2796) from scores in Klipfel's hand (SA 2875). Stübner was the primary copyist of several works, as in a Partita in Bb by Roellig (SA 3227, where he is also the copyist for the cover title page) and a Symphony in D by Reluzzi (SA 2502). For three symphonies by Hasse, Stübner produced a full set of strings parts and most of the wind parts, while Klipfel provided missing or extra parts. For SA 2198 (*Didi Abandonata*; Dresden 1743) Klipfel provided just second copies of the violin and bass parts;<sup>130</sup> he provided not only second copies of the violin parts, but also the last movement of the oboe part on SA 2200 (*Nun Popillo*, 1742) and the flute parts and continuo part for SA 2201 (*La Clemenza di Tito*, 1736). For two further Hasse sinfonias the tables are turned, and Klipfel is the main copyist, while Stübner contributed just a bass part for SA 2198 (*Leucippo*, 1747) and the horn parts to SA 2224 (*Alfonso*, 1738), while the viola part of the latter is copied by 'Berlin 61'.<sup>131</sup> Stübner also contributed just one doubling copy of the violin parts to the Roellig Partita in D (SA 2338, c 1747), otherwise copied by Sing-Akademie 521,<sup>132</sup> and the provider of the horn part of the Roellig Partita in D (c.1748–54).

For one Hasse symphony (the Sinfonia to *Antigono* (1744), SA 2207) the collaboration was much more complex:

Stübner		vn2	va	b	hn2
Klipfel	vn1	vn2	vc	b	
'Anon Dresden' / 'Anon Meissen1'	vn1				hn1

Stübner also is a part-copyist of the score of an aria from *Solimano* by Hasse and the sole copyist of the arias from *L'Ipermestra* (1751).

The Sing-Akademie catalogue identifies a number of anonymous copyists only associated with items in the Klipfel collection who can be identified either as 'suppliers' ('Sing-Akademie 550' and '574') and therefore likely to have been based in Dresden, or 'collaborators'

124 See comments above about his possible relationship with Meissen Stadtorganist J.G. Stübner.

125 Trio. | à. 3. | [incipit] | Violino Primo. | Violino Secondo. | et | Fondamento. | del Sigr: Orschler. | Stübner. In RISM Stübner is described as a 'former owner' of SA 2330.

126 Only Klipfel is credited as a copyist in RISM.

127 KnaA 104.

128 ... and perhaps who should be renamed 'anon. Meissen 1'.

129 C:XIII:45. See Henzel, *Graun-Werkverzeichnis: Verzeichnis der Werke der Brüder Johann Gottlieb und Carl Heinrich Graun* (Ortus Verlag, 2006).

130 *Dido Abandonata* (1743).

131 See discussion of anonymous copyists below.

132 In RISM 469233800, Stübner's handwriting has been confused with Klipfel; Stübner is the copyist not Klipfel.

(‘Sing-Akademie 96’, ‘105’, ‘520’, ‘521’, ‘522’ and ‘559’),<sup>133</sup> who are more likely to have been Meissen musicians.<sup>134</sup> The most prolific ‘supplier’ was ‘Sing-Akademie 550’, who produced scores to five symphonies, four of which have a Viennese connection, including two symphonies by Viennese-born and trained Ignaz Jakob Holzbauer (1711–83) (who worked at Mannheim from 1754), and one each by Carloz d’ Ordonez and Wagenseil,<sup>135</sup> as well as one by the Dresden-based composer Christoph Ludwig Fehre 1718–72) (SA 2285/1). ‘Sing-Akademie 574’ supplied scores of six sonatas for solo violin and continuo by Franz Benda.<sup>136</sup>

An indicator that both Roellig and Klipfel were at full stretch during the busy 1753 season, when so many occasional choral works were performed in Meissen (see comments above), is the number of other copyists who were utilised to prepare materials for the series of concerts that year. These included ‘Sing-Akademie 105’, who prepared extra vocal parts for the Roellig celebratory cantata *Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde* (SA 1441)<sup>137</sup> performed on 13 July 1753 and ‘Sing-Akademie 96’ who, along with Roellig, Klipfel and another unknown/unspecified ‘Dresden’ copyist,<sup>138</sup> is a part-collaborator in both the score and parts for the Roellig cantata *Der Jäger und der Landmann* (SA 1440) performed on 15 August 1753. ‘Sing-Akademie 105’, was also a part copyist (with Klipfel) of the score to Roellig’s cantata *Willkommen Ihr fröhlichen Zeiten* (SA 1434) performed in 1756. Thus, we can probably conclude that ‘Anon. Sing-Akademie 96 and 105’ are likely to be Meissen musicians.

Having copied a score and a set of single parts, Klipfel often required extra violin parts and a second bass part, suggesting that either Collegium Musicum grew in the period 1753–5 (many extra violin were added at this time to earlier works) or that an orchestral timbre was desired in works with wind instruments. While occasionally Klipfel supplied doubling violin parts contemporaneously with the other parts in a set (as in SA 3230, for four-part strings), in all other cases the doubling parts post-date those of the original set by several years. In two sources, where the original parts date from c.1747 (SA 2337 and SA 2356/1), the extra parts were created in the period 1748–54, probably at a point toward the end of this period since all other extra parts in Klipfel’s hand post-date 1754.<sup>139</sup> Apart from two partitas for four-part strings (SA 2356/2 and SA 3230), all other works for which extra violin parts were created have concertato wind instruments, most commonly a pair of horns or trumpets and strings, or pairs of flutes and strings, indicating that these were conceived as orchestral works.<sup>140</sup>

Since it is likely that those copyists who just provided additional doubling parts were based in Meissen rather than more distantly in Dresden, ‘Sing-Akademie 520’, ‘521’, ‘522’ and ‘559’ may also be considered to be Meissen-based musicians, and very likely therefore, members of the Collegium Musicum. Of these, the most important is ‘Sing-Akademie 522’ (active

133 ‘Sing-Akademie 15’ appears to be a Berlin musician, see comments below. Note: the term ‘Sing-Akademie 96’, as used in RISM, refers to an anonymous copyist identified by the Sing-Akademie cataloguers, while ‘SA 96’ refers to the shelf number of a musical item in the collection.

134 Note: ‘Sing-Akademie 509’ is a Berlin copyist associated with items in the Sarah Levy collection (see SA 3637) and the collection of Georg Friedrich von Tempelhoff (see SA3169, copied in conjunction with SA 510).

135 SA 2296/1–4.

136 Each score is labelled ‘FB II No. ...’: FB II No. 1 Sonata in Bb (SA 4016, LeeB 3.132); FB II No. 2 Sonata in C minor (SA 4015, LeeB 3.10); FB II No. 3 Sonata in F minor (SA 4014, LeeB 3.73); FB II No. 4 Sonata in Eb (SA 4013, LeeB 3.99); FB II No. 5 Sonata in G (SA 4012, LeeB 3.76); FB II No. 6 Sonata in Bb (SA 3354, LeeB 3.131).

137 ‘Sing-Akademie 105’ also collaborated with Klipfel with the production of the score for Roellig’s 1756 Christmas cantata *Willkommen ihr fröhlichen Zeiten* (SA 1434).

138 ... as he is described in RISM, but he is more likely to be a Meissen musician.

139 See SA 3222, SA SA3220 and SA 3193/2, SA 2346 and SA 2417.

140 Other combinations are: SA 2337, SA 2344 and SA 3228.



c.1753–?1762), whose handwriting is the closest in style to Klipfel's. (It is principally the style of the clefs and the title and written words which distinguish the two copyists.) Not only is the style of handwriting very similar, but the pagination and setting out of the doubling parts follows Klipfel's originals very closely, suggesting that 'Sing-Akademie 522' may either have been a pupil or protégé of Klipfel. 'Sing-Akademie 522' produced extra violin parts to Klipfel's set of Hasse's Sinfonia to *Il re pastore*, 1747 (SA 211), Roellig's Partita in C (SA 3228), and suites in Bb (SA 2334 and SA 2335) and in Eb (SA 3225, SA 3226 and SA 3228), works which Klipfel copied in 1754–6. 'Sing-Akademie 522' also produced the score of Roellig's Partita in D (SA 2415/4) that is interleaved with the other six items that comprise SA 2415, which are otherwise in Klipfel's hand.<sup>141</sup> Earlier examples of the hand of Sing-Akademie 522 are less polished, but the writing became more developed and stylish and, ultimately, the musical notation is almost indistinguishable from Klipfel's own. This is evidenced in a set of six trio sonatas (SA 3889), which may date from c.1758–62, where it is only the form of the G clef and the Italian directions that indicate the identity of the copyist.<sup>142</sup>

'Sing-Akademie 520' (active c.1748–54) produced the parts which accompany the score of Roellig's copied by Otto (SA 2394), and contributed the doubling violin parts to Klipfel's set of parts for Hiller's Partita in A minor (SA 2328). 'Sing-Akademie 521' copied all the parts (except violin 2, copied by Klipfel) for the partitas SA 2337 and SA 2338 (c.1747), the doubling violin parts to Klipfel's set of parts for Roellig's Symphony in C (SA 3205), the oboe parts for Roellig's Symphony in Bb (SA 3206, c.1753), and the score of Roellig's Partita in A (SA 2396), to which Klipfel provided the parts. Multiple hands produced the parts to Hasse's Sinfonia to *Alfonso* (SA 2224); 'Sing-Akademie 559' supplied extra violin 1 and cello parts, Stübner supplied horn parts, Berlin 61 copied the viola part, while the rest were copied by Klipfel. Two further copyists not identified by the Sing-Akademie cataloguers are 'NRS Meissen 1' (see SA 2337) and 'NRS Meissen 2' (see SA 2422).

### **Dresden copyists**

The two court copyists Johann George Kremmler and Johann Gottfried Grundig have been mentioned above. The Sing-Akademie cataloguers also assign some copying to two anonymous 'Dresden court copyists'<sup>143</sup> although further research is required to match them to those identified by Fechner and Landmann. By the consistent use of Saxon paper, the most prolific of the unidentified copyists, 'Berlin 61', can be identified as a Dresden musician. He is sole copyist of a Graun trio sonata (SA 3672), arias from Graun's *Adrio in Silla* (SA 3296)<sup>144</sup> and of two sets of parts of Hasse operas (arias from *Demetrio* [SA 1474] and *Artasese* [SA 1475]). For the extracts from *Lucio Papirio* (SA 1476) and *Antigono* (SA 1479)

141 'Sing-Akademie 522' copied f.2, 4, 6 and 7 while Klipfel copied f. 1, 3 and 5. It is suggested in RISM that 'Sing-Akademie 522' is also the copyist of the score of Abel's Concerto for Flute in E minor (SA 2670) though this needs further investigation. If correct, this might be a further work formerly in the Klipfel collection.

142 It should be noted that the convergences of the musical handwriting and notational styles of colleagues working in the same environment (e.g. copying shop, court or less formal collective) is a fairly universal feature in eighteenth-century Europe. It had pragmatic value in that copies of longer compositions produced by several hands, often working concurrently, became uniform in appearance and therefore more attractive to the end user/owner. In this case, Klipfel set exacting standards for quality and style to which, it appears, Sing-Akademie 522 aspired.

143 SA 1368(1): recitative and aria from *Ezio* (score – one copyist) and SA 1079: excerpts from *Il natal di Gove* (score – two copyists).

144 Watermark: Saxon arms with crown ('Gekröntes Kursachsenwappen') with 'IGS' underneath; countermark 1: 'F I', countermark 2: 'G H S'.

'Berlin 61' copied the original set, while Klipfel copied the extra violin and bass parts. 'Berlin 61' is also a part-contributor to three sinfonias by Graun and Hasse (SA 2205, SA 2224 and SA 2087). Another work 'Berlin 61' copied is the only composition by Telemann in the collection (SA 1202), the Intermezzo *Pimpione oder Die ungleiche Heirat* (TVW 21:15).<sup>145</sup>

### **Berlin copyists**

In a similar manner to Meissen, Berlin copyists in the Klipfel collection can be described as 'suppliers' or 'collaborators'. 'Suppliers' included the anonymous Berlin copyists who copied the score to the overture to *Medea in Colchide* by Naumann (SA 2284). From 1763, Klipfel was earning a considerable salary, and thus was able to afford to engage copyists for the very few sets of parts that appear to have been created. Copyists Klipfel used in Berlin were common to other collectors of materials that were to find their way into the Sing-Akademie library, including: 'Berlin 38', '46' and '80',<sup>146</sup> Thulemeier III, Johann August Patzig, F. Baumann and Carl Friedrich Zelter.

Of the 'collaborators', 'Sing-Akademie 15' appears to be a Berlin-based musician associated principally with the production of performing parts of sacred choral works.<sup>147</sup> He is associated with extra parts of a cantata by Roellig that were performed in Berlin, producing the solo bass vocal part of *Der Herr hat gesagt* (SA 1466)<sup>148</sup> and the score of the Graun cantata *Herr Gott dich loben wir* (SA 332).

Henzel also identifies Thulemeier III as the provider of two flute parts to a set of parts of Hasse's Overture to *L'Olimpiade*, that otherwise had been created prior to 1763. 'Berlin 38' and 'Berlin 46' were also frequent suppliers to the Sarah Levy collection,<sup>149</sup> but are associated with the parts for two Graun Symphonies in the Klipfel collection (SA 2018 and SA 2151),<sup>150</sup> sharing the copying duties with F. Baumann.<sup>151</sup> Similarly, the parts of a Graun symphony in D (SA 2002) were copied by another of the Levy copyists, 'Anon. copyist Itzig 8 (or 9)',<sup>152</sup> and the parts to C.P.E. Bach's Trio Sonata in Bb major (SA 4919) were copied by Thamm<sup>153</sup> from Klipfel's scores that had been created in Meissen.

145 Score and parts: 'geteiltes kursächsisches wappen – countermark 'C H F' (SA 3927 is a work in the Klipfel collection).

146 As demonstrated above, 'Berlin 61' was based in Dresden.

147 'Sing-Akademie 15' is a copyist of sacred choral works by Agricola (SA 185, SA 186 – copy dated c.1758), C.F. Fasch (SA 221), Graun (SA 700, SA 734) and 'anonymous' (SA 180, SA 758).

148 Which is found with the parts in SA796 – see comments above about the relationship of SA 796 and SA 1436.

149 'Berlin 38' is a copyist on several items in the Levy Collection: see SA 3090, SA 2156, SA 1999 and SA 2152 (all music by Graun) while 'Berlin 46' appears on SA 3768, SA 3399, SA 2107, SA 3401, SA 3663, SA 3665, SA 2038, SA 3688, SA 2016, SA 3687, SA 3726, SA 3705, SA 3744 (all works by Graun) and SA 2827 (a flute concerto by Hoffman).

150 These are SA 2018 (Symphony in C, D:XII:103) and SA 2151 (Symphony in C, A:XII:31); score copied by Klipfel and Zelter, parts copied by F. Baumann, 'Berlin 38' and 'Berlin 46'.

151 F. Baumann was a major contributor to the Levy collection in the Sing-Akademie, supplying mainly instrumental music (symphonies, concerti and chamber music) as well as supplying parts to the C.P.E. Bach St Matthew Passion (H798) and St Luke Passion (H800).

152 Confusingly, the entry in RISM gives both copyists in different places on the page. SA 2002, Graun Symphony in D (A:XII:8).

153 There are 26 works in the hand of Thamm in the Singakademie collection, all but two are symphonies or opera sinfonias by: anon (x2) C.P.E. Bach (x3), Graun (x10), Hasse (x2) and Udhe (x3); plus trios by C.P.E. Bach and Benda.

Schober, a copyist associated with several works, both in the Sing-Akademie and in the State Library collection,<sup>154</sup> is ascribed as copyist of the Graun cembalo concerto in D (SA 2733). In fact Klipfel is the copyist of the score, along with an unknown Berlin copyist, while Schober provided the parts along with [the same?] unknown copyist.

It is clear that after 1763, the Klipfel collection became the source of music accumulated by other Berlin collector/musicians. The score copied by Klipfel of Hasse's opera *Solimano* (1753) is paired in SA 1038 with another copy of the score copied by the Berlin musician Holstein.<sup>155</sup> The set of parts for Hasse's Oratorio *Sant'Elena al Calvario* (1747)<sup>156</sup> and the set of parts of Roellig's Symphony in F (SA 3203) were copied by Berlin music teacher Johann August Patzig (1736–1816) (with a title page written out by 'Berlin 63').<sup>157</sup> Over a number of years, Patzig regularly invited students and friends to his home to practise orchestral and chamber music. One such visitor was Carl Friedrich Zelter who, when he was at the Sing-Akademie, convened similar gatherings with his *Ripienschule* and acquired Patzig's library.<sup>158</sup> However, an example of Klipfel's wider activity in the musical life of Berlin is his collaboration in the production of parts in preparation for the performance (possibly given by the nascent Sing-Akademie?) of other major choral works by Hasse.<sup>159</sup> The parts for *I pellegrini al sepolcro di Nostro Signore* (1742) (SA 97) were copied by Klipfel, J.G. Siebe and Zelter, whilst parts for *La conversione di Sant' Agostino* (SA 84) were produced by as many as 11 copyists, including Bauman, Hering, S. Hering, C.F. Fasch, Patzig, Siebe and Zelter.<sup>160</sup>

#### Part 4. Klipfel and Roellig

While no documentary evidence has yet come to light to provide details of the relationship between Klipfel (the musical director of the Meissen Collegium Musicum) and Roellig (the principal composer of the group), the extent of Roellig's representation in the collection (roughly half), and his involvement as composer and copyist indicate an association that may have amounted to more than just a professional relationship. Evidence for this is provided by the following:

- (1) Klipfel created scores and sets of parts copied from Roellig's own (mainly instrumental) scores, possibly for a fee (but, presumably, a much lower cost than if Roellig had made the copies himself or engaged a third-party copyist) similar to the model of

154 A number of sets of parts of orchestral works and chamber were produced by Schober (as sole copyist). He copied music of C.P.E. Bach, Hasse, Kirnberger, Kleinknecht, Mortellari and Schluzer, as well as a set of parts of Handel's *Messiah*. Since the paper 'ES im Falz' is associated with Saxony, then the identity of the copyists also need further investigation; the tentative dating in RISM of the parts of SA 2733 (1755–66) also needs reappraisal if indeed as it appears the parts were created prior to Klipfel's move to Berlin.

155 See reference above.

156 SA 79. The score, in Klipfel's hand, was written on the Saxon paper ('ES in circle'), before 1763. An anonymous 'copyist of Berlin' aided Patzig.

157 Patzig copy is SA 3218 Patzig and Berlin 63 collaborated on just four works: SA 1593 (J.C. Bach: one aria from *Allesandro nell'Indie*); SA 4090 (Graun: Sonata in E minor); SA 2484 (Steinmetz: Symphony in D); and SA 3218. However, a number of works just in the hand of 'Berlin 63' are in the Patzig collection.

158 Eighty sources in the Sing-Akademie Library have an association with Patzig.

159 It perhaps debatable whether SA 84 and SA 97 can be considered part of Klipfel's personal collection; it is more likely they were passed straight to the Sing-Akademie collection at the time of performance.

160 The others are 'Anon. Sing-Akademie 9', 'Anon. Sing-Akademie 20' and 'Copyist of Berlin'.

commercial 'lending' described by Barbara Wiermann (referred to above). That Klipfel had ready access to Roellig's original scores might account for the number of Roellig's works in the Klipfel collection in Klipfel's hand; indeed, Klipfel would have been a reliable customer.

- (2) Klipfel engaged the help of Roellig to make copies of major operatic works, as evidenced by the hand of both on some of the sources of Hasse's operas in the Sing-Akademie collection.<sup>161</sup>
- (3) In addition, there were clearly enough funds available to allow Klipfel to commission sacred, homage and other occasional vocal works from Roellig. This might explain the high proportion of scores in Roellig's hand within the Klipfel collection – the scores having been 'purchased' from the composer. By 1753, this funding also allowed the publishing of libretti for the audience to follow.
- (4) The proximity of Dresden to Meissen (about three hours by horse) and the richness of the repertoire composed by Roellig for Meissen suggest that he was not just present at these performances, but also a [paid?] participant in the Collegium Musicum.<sup>162</sup> Some works were certainly completed in Meissen, so his presence there is confirmed. Roellig has provided dates at the end of scores to some occasional cantatas. With homage cantatas that fall on royal birthdays, it is the place and date of performance that is recorded (for example on SA 797/5 he states 'Dresden d. 19 Septbr. 1757' and on SA 1177/5 *Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde* he indicates 'Misn: d. 7. October: 1753') while, occasionally, it is the place and date of completion of the score that is indicated, for example: 'Meissen / den 13 Dec: / 1755' at the end of the score of the Christmas cantata (SA 1436) *Uns ist ein Kind geboren*. Roellig was also composing for players he knew and created works with solo oboe and bassoon parts and, presumably for his friend Klipfel to play, works featuring a solo viola part (See SA 2347 and SA 3232).

Thus, while Klipfel appears to have been the administrative director of the group, as the 'favoured' composer, Roellig fulfilled, in part, the role that Telemann and Bach provided in the collegia musica Leipzig and Hamburg. Mention has been made above of the completion by Klipfel of scores commenced by Roellig. The closeness of the working relationship is no better indicated than by the score (which is in Roellig's hand) of the communion cantata *Jesu Blut komm über mich* SA1429; on the final blank page of which is found the first three lines written in Klipfel's hand of the soprano part of an aria of the Graun Opera *Artaserse*, an opera that does not otherwise appear in the collection. Was this an error on Klipfel's part? Did he commence the writing out of the soprano part on a page already used for the cantata, or was it a case of Roellig requiring one more page to complete the score and using a page which Klipfel had already partly used? Roellig's influence can also be perceived in Klipfel's own handwriting, so that by c.1758, the clef types in Klipfel's scores change to forms very close in style to Roellig's own.

Klipfel's collection provides a unique insight into the repertory of the Meissen Collegium Musicum. Extracts of the latest operas by Hasse and new music by many contemporary Saxon composers were performed, while the music of Hasse, Graun and Roellig dominated these programmes. It also appears that the group enriched worship on feast days and provided the focus for loyal statements to the Elector and other members of the royal family. The richest period of music making, judging from the works that can be dated, was between 1750 and 1756. Most homage works to Saxon royalty date from before 1756 and it is likely

161 See SA 1570/1, Hasse: excerpts of *Solimano*.

162 Were Stadtpfeiffers paid to play?

that Frederick the Great's presence in Meissen during the Seven Years War (1756–63) made it difficult for the Collegium Musicum to contemplate performances of the type of homage cantata that it gave in 1753. This may not have been the only effect of the war on the Collegium Musicum. While there are reports of concerts being given during the period that Frederick was in Meissen c.1760–1, it is significant that all the works that Roellig composed for large ensemble and scored for wind instruments and string orchestra ('à6', 'à7' and 'à8'), or for wind band, were composed prior to 1756, the majority in the period 1748–54.<sup>163</sup> Works composed by Roellig and copied by Klipfel after 1755 are almost exclusively for either string orchestra or for various chamber groups (principally for strings, 'à3' and 'à4', and for strings and flute). Two reasons for this marked shift in instrumentation in the repertoire might be surmised. Firstly, it is quite likely that the *Stadtppfeifer*, who most probably played the trumpet, horn and (possibly) the oboe parts, were no longer available, having been enlisted to the army. Secondly, the migration of Meissen factory workers to Berlin after 1760 may have also reduced the size of the membership of the Collegium Musicum quite dramatically. Thus, it is possible that the group had come to a natural end by the time of Klipfel's relocation to Berlin in 1763.

What is remarkable is the size of the collection of musical material that was amassed by Klipfel. Like the Grave collection, rather than being an assemblage of materials either commissioned from professional copyists or acquired via a variety of sources, the materials are mostly in the hand of the collector, a feat of enterprise on its own merits. There was clearly a process of self-education, as acknowledged in the 1804 obituary, but Klipfel appears to have gone beyond the process of obtaining music to perform in concerts and displays a collector's urge to extend his ownership of a body of material beyond the immediate needs of the Collegium Musicum. To acquire such an extensive collection, Klipfel must have made many contacts amongst Dresden musicians and cantors, such as members of Count von Brühl's Kapelle. Indeed, works by (and we also must assume in the collection of) Brühl's Kapellmeisters, Gebel and Harrer, and *Konzertmeister* Christian Friedrich Horn, appear in the collection.

The importance of Frederick the Great cannot be understated; without royal patronage, Klipfel would have remained in Meissen and his collection would probably have been dispersed following his death with the inevitable loss of much of the material. It is clear that Klipfel was able to interact with social superiors in Meissen, but the move to Berlin and patronage of the king brought not only professional advancement but also greater social status, which enabled him to move freely in the upper echelons of Berlin musical society, whose creation of the Sing-Akademie provided the means for the preservation of the greater part of the collection.

What this survey highlights is the importance of Johann Christian Roellig within the collection, representing nearly half the items. Klipfel continued to collect music by Roellig in Berlin after 1763. Over 180 works by Roellig, representing around 95% of his surviving oeuvre are preserved. (It was the result of the first systematic cataloguing of the Sing-Akademie materials, that J.C. Roellig, known previously only as 'Roellig jun.' was finally identified in 2008.)<sup>164</sup> In addition, there are unique sources, such as music by the Dresden-based composers Johann Friedrich Drobisch, Christoph Ludwig Fehre, Georg Gebel, Franz Joseph Götzel, Johann Gottlob Harrer, Christian Friedrich Horn and Johann Christoph Richter,<sup>165</sup> that provide further insights into the musical style and taste of mid-century Saxon composers.

163 With the exception of the scores copied by Klipfel after 1763, which appear to have been copied from sets of parts of works composed at an earlier date (see discussion above).

164 See Springthorpe 'Who was Roellig?', 131–3.

165 In A major, SA 2370 (score)/SA 2333 (parts); in B minor, SA 2390 (score)/SA 2313 (parts); in G major, SA 3191 (score); and in F major, SA 3195 (score)/SA 2330 (parts).



Finally, the collection also provides new readings of works by major composers such as Graun, Carl Philip Emanuel Bach and Telemann. Other than the music of Hasse, very few works appear to have been sourced from the court repertoire in Dresden, but instead were acquired in the main from other musical contacts within the city, indicating a city-to-city distribution (from Saxony, Berlin and Vienna), rather than a court-to-court exchange. Indeed, in turn, after 1763 Klipfel brought works by Dresden composers to the attention of the Berlin musical society.

The collection provides an indication of the musical tastes of musicians in Dresden and the more provincial Meissen, as well as providing clues to the social context of the music making and its vibrancy during a relatively short period in the mid-eighteenth century. While aspects of the repertoire were common to both Meissen and Leipzig, such as homage and other secular cantatas employing allegorical characters, the repertoire for Meissen favours collective musical making; in particular, there was a fascination in both the concert and opera sinfonia and the orchestral partita, as opposed to displays of bravura inherent in the concerto.

It is clear from this preliminary survey, which has concentrated in the main on the Roellig materials, that further study of the Klipfel collection would prove extremely fruitful – making it possible perhaps to identify anonymous copyists, date works in the collection more accurately, and to expand our understanding of music performed in Dresden and its environs in the mid-eighteenth century.

#### **Notes on contributor**

Nigel Springthorpe divides his time between teaching, composing, examining and musicological research and is currently Director of Music at St Albans High School. He specialised in conducting at the University of Surrey and at the Royal College of Music, where he won the Sir Adrian Boult Conducting Prize. A specialist interest in the eighteenth-century oratorio Passion and the music of the court of Anhalt-Zerbst culminated in the completion of a fellowship thesis on the oratorio Passion in Hamburg, and a doctoral thesis on the Passion tradition and repertoire at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst (University of Surrey, 1997). Current research at Royal Holloway College, University of London, is on the music of Johann George Roellig and Johann Christian Roellig as well as on the music of Zerbst, Dresden and Meissen 1740–65. He has published performing editions of cantatas, chamber music and symphonies by Roellig and Nichelmann. Nigel Springthorpe is a member of the STINT Scheme organised by Uppsala University, Royal Holloway, London and the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. He is the author of many sixth-form textbooks on music, a co-author of *Conducting – A Guide to Essential Skills* (1989, rev. 2005), and is a multiple contributor to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*.

## Appendix

## Catalogue Sequence 1: symphonies and opera sinfonias

Klipfel no.	Composer	Item	Sing-Akademie call no.	Format
1	Abel, C.F.	Symphony in D (Op.4/1; KnaA 7)	SA 2553	Parts
1	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Angelica e Medoro</i> (Berlin 1749)	SA 2082	Parts
2	Abel, C.F.	Symphony in Bb (Op.4/2; KnaA 8)	SA 2305	Parts
3	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Arminio</i> (1745/1753)	SA 2225	Parts
5	Graun	Symphony in Bb (B:XII:66)	SA 2168	Parts
5	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in D	SA 2301	Parts
6	Graun	Symphony in D (D:XII:101)	SA 1997	Parts
7	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Antigono</i> (1744)	SA 2207	Parts
8	Reluzzi	Symphony in D	SA 2502	Parts
9	Hasse	Aria from <i>Ciro riconosciuto</i> (1750)	SA 1480	Parts
10	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Atalanta</i> (1737)	SA 2197	Parts
11	Wagenseil	Symphony in Bb (MicWka 444)	SA 2522	Parts
11	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Rodelinda</i> (Berlin 1741)	SA 2087	Parts
14	Wagenseil	Symphony in C (MicWka deest)	SA 2527	Parts
17	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Numa Pompilio</i> (1741)	SA 2200	Parts
21	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Didone abbandonata</i> (1742/1743)	SA 2198	Parts
23	Graun	Symphony in D (Cv:XII:73)	SA 2457	Parts
26	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Alfonso</i> (1738)	SA 2224	Parts
27	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> (1735/1738/1759)	SA 2201	Parts
30	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Cleofide</i> (1731)	<b>SA 2204</b>	Parts
32	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Artaserse</i> (1760)	<b>SA 2205</b>	Parts
34	Roellig	Symphony in Eb	<b>SA 3199</b>	Parts
35	Roellig	Symphony in D	<b>SA 3200</b>	Parts
36	Schürer	Sinfonia to <i>La Galatea</i>	SA 2504	Parts
37	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Siroe</i> (1763)	SA 2199	Parts
41	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i> (Berlin 1748)	SA 2106	Parts
47	Steinmetz	Symphony in D	SA 2507	Parts
49	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Demofonte</i> (Berlin 1746)	SA 2101	Parts
54	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Le feste galanti</i> (Berlin 1747)	SA 2103	Parts
55	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Cajo Fabricio</i> (Berlin 1746)	SA 2146	Parts
59	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Alessandro e Poro</i> (Berlin 1744)	SA 2105	Parts
61	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Leucippo</i> (1747/1751)	SA 2202	Parts
63	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in D	SA 3212	Parts
64	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in D	SA 2303	Parts
64	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Adriano in Siria</i> (1752)	SA 2187	Parts
67	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in Bm (Sp. B7)	SA 2302	Parts
68	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in D	<b>SA 3207</b>	Parts
69	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in E	<b>SA 3208</b>	Parts
70	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in A	<b>SA 3209</b>	Parts
71	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in G	<b>SA 3210</b>	Parts
72	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in Bb	<b>SA 3211</b>	Parts
73	Graun	Symphony in F (Av:XII:49)	SA 2019	Score & parts
74	Graun	Overture to <i>Cleopatra e Cesare</i> (Berlin 1747) (B:I:7)	SA 3077	Parts
77	Roellig	Symphony in C	SA 2305	Parts
79	Steinmetz	Symphony in D (Wold L-16)	SA 2506	Parts

(Continued)

## Catalogue Sequence 1: Continued

Klipfel no.	Composer	Item	Sing-Akademie call no.	Format
81	Pergolesi	Sinfonia to <i>L'Olimpiade</i> (1735) (payP 145a)	SA 2468	Parts
83	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Cajo Fabricio</i> (Dresden 1734)	SA 2229	Parts
88	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in C	SA 3213	Parts
90	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in Bb	<b>SA 3202</b>	Parts
92	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in F	<b>SA 3203</b>	Parts
94	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in D	<b>SA 3204</b>	Parts
96	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>L'eroe Cinese</i> (1753)	SA 2203	Parts
97	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in Bb	SA 2283	Parts
98	Neruda	Symphony in A (OttNe A1)	SA 3878	Parts
101	Adam, Johann	Symphony in D	SA 2304	Parts
102	Roellig, J.C.	Symphony in C	SA 2300	Parts
105	Adam, Johann	Symphony in C	SA 2552	Parts
106	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Il Re pastore</i> (1755/1762)	SA 2190	Parts
107	Hasse	Ouverture to <i>L'Olimpiade</i> (1756)	SA 3116	Parts
108	Schwaegrichen	Symphony in D	SA 2508	Parts
111	Roellig, J.C.	Overture in D	SA 3198	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Hiller	Symphony in D	SA 2549	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Holzbauer	Symphony in D	SA 2254	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Shürer (=Graun)	Symphony in B <sup>♭</sup> (D:XII:117)	SA 2505	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Wagenseil	Symphony in G (MicWka 413)	SA 2521	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Agricola	Sinfonia to <i>Il Tempio d'amore</i> (Berlin 1755)	SA 2306	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>I fratelli nemici</i> (Berlin 1756)	SA 2147	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Il natal di Giove</i> (1749)	<b>SA 2227</b>	Parts
No. [ ... ]	Hasse	Sinfonia to <i>Siroe re di Persia</i> (1763)	<b>SA 2228</b>	Parts

Note: Emboldened call numbers indicate where there are consecutive shelf numbers within the Klipfel catalogue sequence.

## Catalogue Sequence 2: partitas, divertimenti and sonatas

Klipfel no.	Composer	Item	Sing-Akademie call no.	Format	Date of source	
					Parts	Cover
1	Gebel	Partita in Bb	SA 2308	Parts		
2	Hiller	Partita in A	SA 2329	Parts		
3	Hiller	Partita in A	SA 2331 SA 2371	Parts Score		
4	Harrer	Partita in F	SA 2330	Parts		
5	Hiller	Partita in Gm	SA 2327	Parts		
6	Harrer	Partita in A	SA 2333 SA 2370	Parts Score		
7	Krause	Partita in D	SA 2325	Parts		
7	Anon [Abel]	Trio (Sonata) - II pastor fido (KnaA 104)	SA 2556	Parts		
8	Hiller	Partita in Bb	SA 2332 SA 2385/2	Parts Score		
9	Roellig, J.C.	Divertimento in A	SA 2355	Parts	c.1756	c.1756
10	anon [Roellig, J.C.]	Partita in G	SA 2352	Parts	c.1758	c.1758
11	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2351	Parts	c.1747	c.1747
12	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 2350	Parts	1754-6	c.1755
13	Graun	Trio (Sonata) in Em (Cv: XV:82)	SA 3672	Parts		
15	Roellig, J.C.	Suite in D	SA 2337	Parts	c.1747	1748-54
16	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C	SA 2342	Parts	1756-7	1756-7
16	Graun	Trio (Sonata) in D (B: XV:55)	SA 3669	Parts		
17	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2338	Parts	(aut.)	c.1747
18	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 2340	Parts	1756-8	1756-8
19	Steinmetz	Partita in C	SA 3320	Parts		
20	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 2346	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
21	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2319	Parts	1758-9	1758-9
22	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2321	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
23	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 3238	Parts	1747	1747
24	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in E	SA 3239	Parts	1747-8	1747-8
25	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C	SA 3240	Parts	c.1748	c.1748
26	Adam	Partita in Eb	SA 2311	Parts		
27	Adam	Partita in Bb	SA 2310	Parts		
28	Harrer	Partita in Bm	SA 2313	Parts		

(Continued)

## Catalogue Sequence 2: Continued

Klipfel no.	Composer	Item	Sing-Akademie call no.	Date of source		
				Format	Parts	Cover
29	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 2356/1	Parts	1758-9	1758-9
30	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C	SA 2357	Parts	1747-8	1747-8
31	?Roellig	<i>lost</i>	-	-	-	-
32	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in Eb	SA 3220	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
33	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in Dm	SA 2318	Parts	c.1758	c.1758
34	Hiller	Partita in Bm	SA 2314	Parts		
35	Krause	Partita in Bb	SA 2320	Parts		
36	Krause	Partita in Eb	SA 2323	Parts		
37	Steinmetz	Partita in G	SA 3321	Parts		
38	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in Eb	SA 2347	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
39	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in F	SA 3237	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
40	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C	SA 3222	Parts	c.1748	c.1748
41	?Roellig	<i>lost</i>	-	-	-	-
42	?Roellig	<i>lost</i>	-	-	-	-
43	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in A	SA 3241	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
44	Anon. [Roellig, J.C.]	Partita in C (= SA 2394)	SA 3223	Parts	1746-8	1746-8
45	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2349	Parts	c.1748	c.1748
46	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2348	Parts	1748-54	1760→
47	Krause	Partita in D	SA 2322	Parts		
48	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 2419	Parts	1748-54	-
49	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D (= SA 2414)	SA 3221	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
50	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	SA 2344	Score & parts	1748-54	1748-54
51	Drobisch	Partita in D	SA 2315	Parts		
52	Anon. (Adam/ Roellig?)	Partita in D	SA 2309	Parts		
54	Roellig, J.C.	Suite in D	SA 2334	Parts	1748-54	1754-6
55	Roellig, J.C.	Suite in Bb	SA 2335	Parts	c.1756	c.1756

(Continued)



## Catalogue Sequence 2: Continued

Klipfel no.	Composer	Item	Sing-Akademie call no.	Date of source		
				Format	Parts	Cover
56	Roellig, J.C.	Suite in Bb	<b>SA 2353</b>	Parts	c.1756	c.1756
57	Roellig, J.C.	Suite in D	<b>SA 2354</b>	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
58	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in A	<b>SA 3226</b>	Parts	c.1756	c.1756
59	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in Eb (=2418/2415(6))	<b>SA 3225</b>	Parts	1748-54	1756-7
60	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in A	SA 2356/2	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
61	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	SA 2345	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
62	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C	SA 3233	Parts	c.1758	c.1758
64	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C (=SA 2413)	<b>SA 3229</b>	Parts	1748-54	1755→
65	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in A (= SA 3242)	<b>SA 3230</b>	Parts	1748-54	1756-7
66	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in D	<b>SA 3231</b>	Parts	1748-54	1755→
68	Hiller	Partita in Am	SA 2328	Parts		
70	Anon. [Roellig, J.C.]	Partita in Bm	SA 2429	Score		
74	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in C	SA 3232	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
75	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in G	<b>SA 3228</b>	Parts	1748-54	1748-54
76	?Roellig	<i>lost</i>	-	-	-	-
77	?Roellig	<i>lost</i>	-	-	-	-
78	?Roellig	<i>lost</i>	-	-	-	-
79	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in Bb	<b>SA 3227</b>	Parts	1754-5	-
80	Hiller	Partita in A	SA 2326	Parts		
81	Hiller	Partita in Gm	SA 2317	Parts		
82	Roellig, J.C.	Partita in A	SA 3224	Parts	1754-7	1754→
No.[.]	Graun	Trio (Sonata) in Eb (Cv:XV:107)	SA 3671	Parts		
No.[.]	Graun	Trio (Sonata) in F (Cv:XV:85)	SA 3673	Parts		
No.[.]	Roellig, J.C.	Divertimento in A	SA 3235	Parts	(aut.)	1755→
No.[.]	Roellig, J.C.	Divertimento in D	SA 2434	Parts	(aut.)	1755→

Note: Emboldened call numbers indicate where there are consecutive shelf numbers within the Klipfel catalogue sequence. The Roellig sources in Klipfel's hand have been given approximate dates of the earliest copies. The shading indicates which works are consecutive in the Klipfel accession numbers. Since many are in groups of three and six, reflecting eighteenth-century practice of publishing works in groups of six and twelve, this grouping suggest that groups of items may well have been acquired as 'collected' works. These groupings also help to indicate the authorship of anonymous works in the sequence.

## Catalogue Sequence 3: extracts of stage works

Klipfel no.	Composer	Item	Sing-Akademie call no.	Format
1	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Angelica e Medoro</i> (Berlin 1749)	SA 2082	Parts
3	Hasse	Sinfonia and 1st aria from <i>Arminio</i> (1745)	SA 1075	Parts
9	Hasse	Aria from <i>Ciro riconosciuto</i> (1750)	SA 1480	Parts
11	Graun	Sinfonia to <i>Rodelinda</i> (Berlin 1741)	SA 2087	Parts
12	Hasse	1 aria from <i>L' Eroe cinese</i> (1753)	<b>SA 1483</b>	Parts
15	Hasse	Aria from <i>La spartana generosa</i> (1747)	<b>SA 1482</b>	Parts
17	Hasse	Aria from <i>Ipermestra</i> (1747)	SA 1481	Parts
17	Hasse	Aria from <i>Demetrio</i> (1740)	<b>SA 1474</b>	Parts
18	Hasse	1 aria from <i>Demofonte</i> (1748)	<b>SA 1473</b>	Parts
18	Hasse	1 aria from <i>Antigono</i> (1744)	SA 1479	Parts
22	Hasse	Aria from <i>Lucio Papirio</i> (1742)	<b>SA 1476</b>	Parts
26	Hasse	Aria from <i>Artaserse</i> (Dresden 1760)	<b>SA 1475</b>	Parts
36	Hasse	1 aria from <i>Il Re pastore</i> (1755/1762)	SA 1578	Parts

Note: Emboldened call numbers indicate where there are consecutive shelf numbers within the Klipfel catalogue sequence.