



Collaborative Work Processes in Copyist Workshops in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Vienna

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Abstract: The assessment of scribes in handwritten musical sources not only supports editorial philology by aiding in the determination of manuscript provenance and dating but also enables conclusions about the professional practices of copyists, which are rarely documented in other sources. This study examines the collaborative work processes of music copyist workshops in mid-eighteenth-century Vienna, drawing on a comprehensive survey of opera score copies produced between 1760 and 1775. Shifting the traditional scholarly focus from copyists associated with individual composers to a specific repertoire within a defined geographical and institutional framework, it enables a systematic analysis of copyists active in the Viennese court's theatrical sphere during this period. After the Habsburg court discontinued its official copyist position in 1755, commissions were assigned to independent copyist workshops, fostering a growing open market for sheet music. Within the timeframe under examination, three distinct copyist workshops can be identified, the most prominent being that of (Anna) Theresia Ziss (1700–77), widow of a long-serving court copyist. This case study introduces Ziss's workshop as a framework for examining the division of labor and the responsibilities of a workshop's head, as reflected in the manuscripts. Although copying tasks were distributed among multiple main and occasional copyists, the visual consistency of the workshop's output was maintained through minimization of the number of scribes involved in each manuscript and transitions between copyists within volumes. As head of the workshop, Ziss ensured uniform quality through standardized title pages, final adjustments, and meticulous proofreading. In contrast, the workshops of Boniface Charles Champée, active in the 1760s, and of an unidentified scribe, WK71F, who became the court's primary supplier in the early 1770s, exhibited slightly different organizational structures and professional practices, resulting in more heterogeneous manuscripts and reflecting the increasing complexity of the Viennese copyist landscape.

Keywords: 18th century; collaboration; copyists; Vienna; workshop; Ziss Theresia

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Introduction: Approaches to Music Copyist Research

The study of music copyists has long been embedded in the German tradition of philological research, frequently associated with the production of critical editions for collected works series. Within this context, the identification of scribes plays a key role in establishing the authenticity, provenance, and chronology of handwritten musical sources.¹ As a result, research on copyists has predominantly focused on the scribes involved in the manuscript traditions of individual composers, with particular emphasis on those composers regarded as central to the musical canon. Beginning with pioneering research on Johann Sebastian Bach, the field has since primarily focused on composers such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart or Ludwig van Beethoven.² More recent examples include Anette Müller's monograph on Robert Schumann's copyists,³ as well as a research project on "The Viennese Copyists of Anton Bruckner's Works."⁴ Additionally, there is sporadic research on copyists in (sometimes quite heterogeneous) individual collections.⁵ However, extensive studies addressing the profession of copyists as a whole remain rare.⁶

In contrast to the emphasis on individual composers, the corpus of sources analyzed in the research projects "Cultural Transfer of Music in Vienna, 1755–1780: Music Distribution, Transformation of Pieces, Involvement of New Consumers" (CTMV) and "Paper and Copyists in Viennese Opera Scores, 1760–1770" (P&C, in the following both referred to as Paper & Copyists) shifts the focus to a specific repertoire within a particular geographical and institutional context. This approach offers a broader perspective on the activities of copyists, as it encompasses a comprehensive overview of opera score copies produced between 1760 and 1775. It provides a systematic survey of the copyists who were active in the theatrical sphere for the Viennese

court during this period, fulfilling a proposal by László Somfai, who identified the need for a catalog of Viennese copyists as a research desideratum in 1989.⁷ The assessment of scribes not only establishes a robust foundation for determining the provenance and dating of additional manuscripts but also provides valuable insights into the professional landscape of copyists in mid-eighteenth-century Vienna.

As Somfai posited, “the collaboration of various hands in a copyist workshop [is] clearly documentable” through such data records.⁸ Nevertheless, little is known about the commercial craft businesses involved in the production of handwritten sheet music.⁹ In his study on Mozart’s Viennese copyists, Dexter Edge notes that even the “working arrangements”—that is, the organizational structure—and, by extension, the appropriate terminology (copying firm, copy shop, copyist workshop, scriptorium, etc.) remain unclear.¹⁰ The term “workshop” (*Werkstatt*) appears most fitting, as it encapsulates both the attributes of a craft enterprise and those of an “artist’s studio.” With regard to Early Modern contexts, the notion of a studio or workshop also encompasses “the entire cohort of people working in conjunction with an artist,”¹¹ many of whom remained anonymous. In this regard, the term “copyist workshop” does not necessarily refer to a physical workspace where tools were stored and the copying was conducted, but rather to an organizational model for the collaborative production of handwritten musical manuscripts under the supervision of a lead copyist. According to Nicole Schwindt, who has outlined the characteristics of workshops in the context of collaborative composition, a workshop is characterized by a head “who, with [their] name, is responsible for the collectively produced output at various stages of work and represents the shared profile of the workshop.”¹² Furthermore, she emphasizes—besides shared training—communal practice as the basis for collaboration under a single “label,” and the “development of a workshop identity.”¹³

In the Paper & Copyists sample, three distinct copyist workshops can be identified, the most prominent being that of Theresia Ziss, the widow of a former court copyist. Following an introduction to Ziss’s workshop and her assistant copyists, I will use this case as a framework to explore the division of labor within a copyist workshop, a phenomenon rarely documented in other sources. I will then examine how Ziss’s role as workshop leader is reflected in the musical scores themselves.

Alongside Ziss's workshop, the other two active workshops will be presented and their working methods compared to those of Ziss. This analysis reveals the professional practices of copyist workshops and the developments that shaped the Viennese music market between 1760 and 1775.

Theresia Ziss's Copyist Workshop

The majority of opera copies produced for the court during the period under review can be attributed to the workshop of (Anna) Theresia Ziss (1700–77; Paper & Copyists code: [WK71P](#)),¹⁴ who had been married to the long-serving official court copyist Johann Andreas Ziss. After his death in 1755, the court left the position vacant, distributing copying tasks among various scribes instead.¹⁵ This decision resulted in a burgeoning open market for sheet music, positioning the court as one of several clients for copyists. Theresia Ziss was commissioned to copy opera scores and parts¹⁶ for the court, primarily—but not exclusively—in the Italian repertoire,¹⁷ thus assuming some of Johann Andreas's former responsibilities. In the Early Modern period, it was not uncommon for widows to take over their late husbands' workshops, as guild practices often allowed women to continue their husband's business, a custom later referred to as "widow's right" (*Witwenrecht*).¹⁸ The fact that she was able to take over the trade suggests that she had previously worked in her husband's workshop. Although direct evidence of female copyists in the eighteenth century is scarce, it is reasonable to assume that other women, particularly the wives of composers—as documented in the case of Anna Magdalena Bach¹⁹—and professional copyists were similarly involved in copying activities. Evidence that Ziss's late husband had already employed several copyists in his workshop can be found in two application letters, in which they applied for Johann Andreas's vacant position at court after his death.²⁰ However, due to the changing nature of orders, it can be assumed that assistants were typically hired as subcontractors rather than as salaried employees.²¹

A total of ninety out of 159 score copies (as of September 1, 2024)²² can be attributed to Ziss's workshop, which reached its peak productivity in the mid-1760s (see Table 1). These scores comprise (1) copies Ziss herself worked on,²³ along with (2) manuscripts written by her assistants without her direct involvement (see figure 1). The first group includes scores in which Ziss was personally involved in the musical and/or verbal text, including manuscripts for which she only wrote the title page(s).²⁴ Further scores are attributed to

Ziss's workshop if they feature at least one of her main copyists and match the paper used in her workshop. Furthermore, paper and handwriting analysis suggests that some of the unassigned scores may also have originated from her workshop.

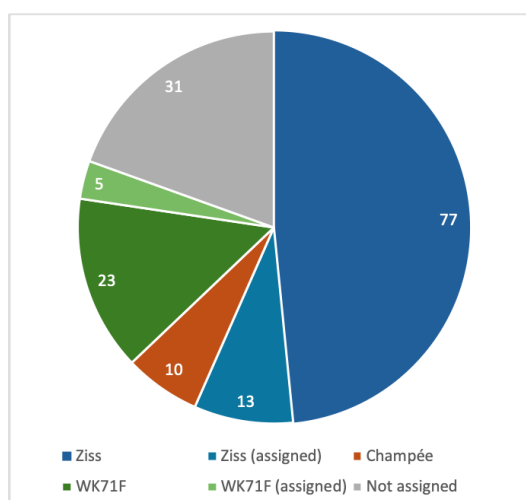


Figure 1: Attribution of opera score copies to different workshops

In the payment records of the imperial court, Ziss is listed as a single contractor.²⁵ However, the copying tasks were distributed among various scribes within her workshop. Over the fifteen-year period between 1759 and 1773, she collaborated with a total of twenty-five assistants. Among them, four principal copyists stand out, each of whom contributed to over thirty score copies. Two of these, WK60G and WK72D, had been working for Ziss as early as 1759/1760, but their involvement declined in the 1760s, with both resigning after 1767. The other two main copyists, WK71K and WK73F, joined the workshop in 1763/1764 and remained active until the early 1770s. Other copyists served as main copyists only temporarily, working intensively for shorter periods of time, such as WK63B in 1764–65 and WK67A and WK67B in 1767–68. A large group, however, consisted of occasional copyists who sometimes contributed to as few as a single copy. It is likely that only a small number of these scribes were full-time copyists; most were probably musicians, which makes the consistently high quality of their writing all the more remarkable. Only a few frequent scribes can be presumed to have worked exclusively as copyists.²⁶

Table 1: Opera score copies produced by Ziss's (WK71P) workshop
The format of the date reflects the basis for dating the score (applies to tables 1, 4, and 5): Dates that include both month and day correspond to known performance dates of the opera in Vienna ("xx" indicates that the exact date is unknown). When only the year is provided, the dating is determined on the basis of an analysis of copyists and paper.

The given data only reflect the original manuscript layer; subsequent changes made by other copyists on different paper are not included.

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)						Paper
			Ziss	60G	71K	72D	73F	Other	
1759-02-21	Galuppi, <i>Il filosofo di campagna</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18068	x	x					P61 P80 P93
1760-10-07	Hasse, <i>Alcide al bivio</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18709	x	x		x			P64
1761-01-03	Traetta, <i>Armida</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17861	x	x		x		60S 61C	P71
1762-02-12	Hasse, <i>Alcide al bivio</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18663		x		x		60K	P59 P71
1762-04-27	Hasse, <i>Il trionfo di Clelia</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17297	x	x		x		60S	P66 P71 P76
1762-10-05	Gluck, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17783	x			x			P66
1762-10-05	Gluck, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.9949	x			x			P59 P66
1762-10-05	Gluck, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	F-Po, CS-3971	x	x		x			P65 P66 P71
1763-01-04	Scarlatti, <i>Artaserse</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17851	x	x		x			P65 P66 P71
1763-01-15	Gaviniès, <i>Le prétendu</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17889	x	x		x			P65
1763-05-12	Bonno, <i>L'isola disabitata</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18291	x			x			P59
1763-06-15	Scolari, <i>La conversazione</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18042	x	x		x			P22 P65
1763-06-18	Philidor, <i>Le maréchal ferrant</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17896	x	x		x			P22
1763-09-12	Galuppi, <i>Il filosofo di campagna</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18067	x	x					P22
1763-10-04	Traetta, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17853	x	x		x	x		P22
1763-10-04	Traetta, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10008	x	x		x	x		P22 P65
1763	Gassmann, <i>Filosofia ed amore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18081	x			x			P22
1763	Blaise, <i>Annette et Lubin</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18766	x	x					P22
1763	Philidor, <i>Sancho Panca</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17897	x	x					P22
1764-04-24	Hasse, <i>Egeria</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18280	x						P69
1764-05-19	Piccinni, <i>La buona figliuola</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17821	x	x	x	x	x		P69
1764-06-02	Majo, <i>Alcide negli orti Esperidi</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17187	x	x				60M	P69

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)						Paper
			Ziss	60G	71K	72D	73F	Other	
1764-06-06	Fischietti, <i>Il signor dottore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18063	x	x	x	x	x	60M	P69
1764-11-05	Galuppi, <i>Le nozze</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18071	x			x	x	64C 71L	P69
1764-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>La buona figliuola maritata</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17823	x	x		x	x	60M	P69
1764	Scarlatti, <i>L'Issipile</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10004	x	x		x			P69
1764-xx-xx	Fischietti, <i>Il mercato di Malmantile</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18064	x	x	x	x		63B	P69 P87 P88
1764-10-18	Gassmann, <i>L'olimpiade</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18074	x			x	x		P69 P87
1764-10-18	Gassmann, <i>L'olimpiade</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.9947	x	x		x	x		P87
1764-xx-xx	Boroni, <i>L'amore in musica</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18261	x	x		x	x		P87
1765-01-24	Gluck, <i>Il parnaso confuso</i>	D-DI, 3030-F32	x						P68
1765-01-24	Gluck, <i>Il parnaso confuso</i>	I-MOe, F.0511		x			x	63B	P87 P88
1765-01-24	Gluck, <i>Il parnaso confuso</i>	I-Nc, 27.4.12	x	x		x			P88
1765-01-24	Gluck, <i>Il parnaso confuso</i>	F-Pn, D-4703	x			x	x		P69 P87 P88
1765-01-25	Gassmann, <i>Il trionfo d'Amore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18079	x			x			P69 P88
1765-01-30	Gluck, <i>Il Telemaco ossia L'isola di Circe</i>	F-Pn, VM4-51	x			x	x	60M	P72
1765-01-30	Gluck, <i>Il Telemaco ossia L'isola di Circe</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17780	x	x	x	x	x		P69 P72 P88
1765-02-11	Scarlatti, <i>Gli stravaganti</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17850	x	x	x	x	x		P69 P88
1765	Maria, <i>Talestri, regina delle amazzoni</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17201				x			P88
1765	Hasse, <i>Il trionfo di Clelia</i>	I-MOe, F.0545			x			63B	P87 P88
1765	Traetta, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i>	I-MOe, F.1188		x				63B 60R	P87 P88
1765-xx-xx	Galuppi, <i>Li tre amanti ridicoli</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18056	x	x			x	63B	P84 P87 P88
1765-04-20	Piccinni, <i>La schiava</i>	I-Nc, 30.3.28-29	x		x		x	68H	P22 P65 P87
1765-04-20	Piccinni, <i>La schiava</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17827	x	x	x	x	x	63B	P87
1765-xx-xx	Pergolesi, <i>La serva padrona</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18034	x		x				P22 P87
1765-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>Le donne vendicate</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17812	x						P22 P87
1765-08-06	Hasse, <i>Romolo ed Ersilia</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17288	x	x	x		x	63B	P22 P65 P87 P89
1765-10-04	Gluck, <i>La corona</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10123	x		x		x		P89
1765-10-04	Gluck, <i>La corona</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17782	x	x			x		P22 P89

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)						Paper
			Ziss	60G	71K	72D	73F	Other	
1765	Scarlatti, <i>La serva scaltra</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17849	x	x		x	x		P22 P65 P68
1766-10-25	Gassmann, <i>Il viaggiatore ridicolo</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18083	x		x		x		P89
1766-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>Il cavaliere per amore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17822	x		x				P88
1767-02-25	Pasqua, <i>L'albagia smascherata o sia Il cittadino rinnobilito</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17817	x		x		x		P79
1767-04-26	Gassmann, <i>L'amore artigiano</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18085	x		x		x		P79
1767-09-09	Hasse, <i>Partenope</i>	I-Nc, 27.2.23-24			x				P79
1767-09-09	Hasse, <i>Partenope</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17298						67A 67B	P79
1767-09-09	Galuppi, <i>Il marchese villano</i>	I-Nc, 27.6.20-21						67A 67B	P79
1767-10-05	Gassmann, <i>Amore e Psiche</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.9946					x	60X 67B 67E 67F 72J	P10 P56 P79 P91
1767-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>Le contadine bizzarre</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10062					x	67A 67B	P79
1767-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>Le contadine bizzarre</i>	I-Nc, 30.3.2-3	x		x		x		P79
1767-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>Le contadine bizzarre</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17826	x		x	x	x	67C	P79
1767-xx-xx	Sacchini, <i>La contadina in corte</i>	I-Nc, 31.4.20-21					x	60M 67A 71L	P79
1767-xx-xx	Sacchini, <i>La contadina in corte</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17815			x		x	67A 67B 71L 71M	P72 P79
1767	Bonno, <i>L'isola disabitata</i>	I-Nc, 25.6.1						67A 67B	P79
1767	Boroni, <i>L'amore in musica</i>	I-Nc, 25.6.8-10						67A	P79
1767	Gassmann, <i>L'olimpiade</i>	I-Nc, 27.6.36-38			x				P79
1767	Gluck, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	I-Nc, 27.4.2-3			x				P79
1767	Hasse, <i>Alcide al bivio</i>	I-Nc, 27.2.6-7	x						P79
1767	Traetta, <i>Armida</i>	I-Nc, 32.6.9-11				x			P79
1767	Traetta, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i>	I-Nc, 32.6.12-14					x		P79
1767	Fischietti, <i>Il mercato di Malmantile</i>	I-Nc, 26.2.30-32				x			P72 P79
1767	Fischietti, <i>Il signor dottore</i>	I-Nc, 26.2.27-29						71L 71M	P72 P79
1767-04-26	Gassmann, <i>L'amore artigiano</i>	I-Nc, 27.6.28-30		x			x	67A	P72 P79
1767	Gluck, <i>Il Telemaco ossia L'isola di Circe</i>	I-Nc, 27.4.14-15						68B	P72 P79
1767	Gassmann, <i>Il viaggiatore ridicolo</i>	I-Nc, 27.5.1-3						67B	P79 P89
1768-01-05	Gassmann, <i>La notte critica</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18086	x		x		x	67B 68A 68E	P79

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)							Paper
			Ziss	60G	71K	72D	73F	Other		
1768-xx-xx	Anfossi, <i>Lo sposo di tre e marito di nessuna</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18048			x			67B 68E 71Q	P10 P54 P73 P79	
1768-xx-xx	Gassmann, <i>Gli uccellatori</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18080	x		x			67B 68F	P5 P10 P73	
1768-xx-xx	Scolari, <i>La cascina</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1065			x			67B 68D 68F 68H	P10 P73 P89	
1769-xx-xx	Guglielmi, <i>La sposa fedele</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10031	x		x			69C	P73	
1770-09-xx	Gassmann, <i>La contessina</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17773	x		x			71B 71H	P5 P38	
1770-10-21	Gluck, <i>Alceste</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.9948	x		x			71H	P1 P3 P7 P38 P95	
1771-04-14	Sacchini, <i>Il finto pazzo per amore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1057			x			71B	P1 P3 P12 P38	
1771-04-14	Sacchini, <i>Il finto pazzo per amore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10070	x		x			71H	P3 P9	
1771-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>L'incognita perseguitata</i>	H-Bn, OE-28	x		x				P1 P3 P38	
1771-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>L'incognita perseguitata</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17813	x		x			71H	P3 P9	
1772-01-21	Gassmann, <i>Il filosofo innamorato</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18082	x		x			71B 71H	P5 P38	
1772-09-23	Grétry, <i>Lucile</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10173	x						P3 P26	
1772-09-xx	Grétry, <i>Le tableau parlant</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10174			x				P3 P26	
1773-05-11	Felici, <i>L'amore soldato</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18059	x				x	71H	P1 P3 P37 P38 P39	

Labor Division within a Workshop

The practice of distributing the labor of copying among several scribes in Ziss's workshop, rather than having one scribe copy an entire score alone, was likely motivated by labor-economic considerations. The allocation was probably influenced by the time constraints of the commission, as well as the availability, qualifications, and workload of the copyists Ziss had at her disposal. While it cannot be entirely ruled out that the division of labor was also intended as a safeguard against unauthorized copying—a concern occasionally raised by contemporaries²⁷—this seems unlikely, given that individual copyists were sometimes entrusted with copying different segments when multiple copies of a work were produced.²⁸ Furthermore, the analysis disproves Somfai's hypothesis that a basic copy was initially made by the lead copyist and subsequently reproduced by several other scribes in additional manuscripts.²⁹

The remarkable visual uniformity of the workshop's products was achieved

not only through standardized handwriting, as Christiane Maria Hornbachner elaborates, but also through a minimization of the number of copyists involved with each manuscript and the frequency of changes within a volume. Nearly one-fifth of the scores were written by a single scribe, while the majority were copied by two to four copyists collaboratively (see figure 2). It was especially common for an opera with three acts to be assigned to three different copyists, each responsible for copying one act in a separate volume. As a result, more than half of the volumes were copied by a single scribe (see figure 3), suggesting that sufficient time was allocated to the copying process. In contrast, instances in which more than three changes of copyist occurred within a single volume were rare.

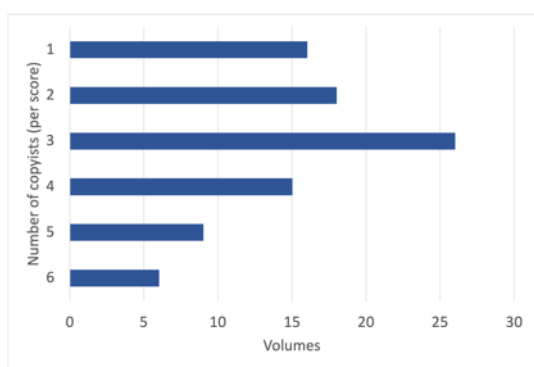


Figure 2: Prevalence of the number of copyists per score in opera copies produced by Ziss's workshop

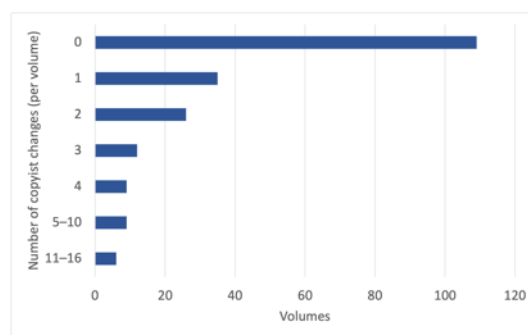


Figure 3: Prevalence of copyist changes per volume in opera copies produced by Ziss's workshop

When the copyist changed within a volume, the division was typically organized in blocks. These transitions most often coincided with musical or material cesuras, or even both simultaneously. In many instances, a new copyist would begin at the start of a new scene, aria, or chorus, which frequently aligned with the beginning of a new gathering, sometimes on a different paper. A simultaneous shift in copyist, musical section, and gathering allowed multiple copyists to work concurrently on the same score, leading to significant time savings in the manufacturing process. In contrast, changes without any musical or material cesura were less common. One example can be found in a copy of Hasse's *Il trionfo di Clelia* (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17297), where Ziss began writing an aria and even set up a new system with the appropriate clefs on a new folio within a gathering. The subsequent musical text, however, was written by WK60G, one of her main copyists, indicating that in this case the copyists had to work consecutively (see figure 4).³⁰



Figure 4: Change of copyist within a musical piece: page setup (clefs, key signatures) by Ziss and musical notation by WK60G. Johann Adolf Hasse, *Il trionfo di Clelia* (1762), A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17297, vol. 1, fol. 70v; by courtesy of the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)

Volumes with more than three alternations are relatively rare exceptions. Generally, a larger number of scribes and frequent changes suggest a production process under time constraints, where all available labor was utilized to complete the work, possibly to ensure the scores were ready in time for the Viennese premiere. However, multiple alternations do not necessarily indicate the involvement of numerous copyists; they can also result from the alternating work of a small number of scribes. For instance, the beginning of a copy of Gluck's *La corona* (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17782) presents a rare case of division based on the type of music (see table 2). Scribe WK73F was responsible only for copying recitatives and scene openings, while WK60G handled the more complex arias and the sinfonia at the beginning. Notably, in this case, the shifts between copyists consistently correspond to changes in paper. WK73F only used P22, whereas WK60G exclusively wrote on P89. This suggests that the copyists drew from separate stacks of paper and may have even worked in different locations.³¹ The staff ruling, which varies with the paper in this instance, was not applied by the copyists themselves but most likely before the paper arrived in Vienna, as revealed by Martin Eybl and Konstantin Hirschmann in their [article in this special issue](#).

Table 2: Division of labor between two copyists based on the type of music.
Beginning of Christoph Willibald Gluck, *La corona* (1765), A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17782,
vol. 1

Gathering	Folios	Paper	Staff Ruling	Copyist	Musical Disposition
1	1-8	P89	10/191	WK60G	Sinfonia
2	9-16				
3	17-22				
4	23-25	P22	10/184	WK73F	Scena 1
5	26-27				
6	28-35	P89	10/191	WK60G	Aria
7	36-41				
8	42-44	P22	10/184	WK73F	Scena 2
9	45-52	P89	10/191	WK60G	Aria
10	53-56				
11	57-59	P22	10/184	WK73F	Scena 3
12	60-61				Scena 4
13	62-69	P89	10/191	WK60G	Aria
14	70	P22	10/184	WK73F	Recitative

The beginning of this copy of *La corona* may also shed light on another aspect of potential division of labor: the training process.³² Handwritten copying required not only a deep understanding of musical notation and the music itself but also specific skills related to the appropriate spacing of bars and notes on the folio to ensure a practical and aesthetically pleasing result, facilitating easy reading and comfortable page turning. It would be expected that inexperienced scribes, or those new to the workshop, would be assigned to copy less demanding sections, such as recitatives, or to create secondary versions from a model allowing them to develop a sense of page layout. However, this was not the case; both WK73F and WK60G were already experienced scribes at the time of collaboration on this manuscript. There is also no division of labor between beginners and mentors when it came to music and lettering, as Ortrun Landmann has observed with copyists at the Dresden court;³³ typically, both the music and the word text were written by the same scribe. There is no evidence of apprenticeship; training in copying techniques, whether in general or specific to any potential workshop style, did not take place on opera scores that were required to meet the high-quality standards expected by patrons.

Tasks of a Workshop's Head

In contrast to the intricacies of task allocation among scribes, the responsibilities of a workshop's head may appear more straightforward. The owner, on the one hand, acted as the workshop's external representative, handling client relations. As the principal contractor, Ziss was responsible for accepting commissions and invoicing royal and aristocratic patrons for the sheet music produced under her supervision. This facet of her role is the only one explicitly documented in written sources, such as the *Hofzahlamtsbücher* (court treasury books).³⁴ In addition to serving the court, Ziss also provided copies to other aristocratic clients, including the princes Joseph I Adam Schwarzenberg (1722–82)³⁵ and Nikolaus I Esterházy (1714–90).³⁶ However, she did not seem to employ newspaper advertisements for client acquisition, a practice that only began to emerge among Viennese copyists in the early 1760s.³⁷ On the other hand, managing the workshop required overseeing its internal labor structure. Depending on the volume of commissions, Ziss was responsible for hiring a sufficient number of assistant copyists, coordinating the distribution of tasks among her assistants, and ensuring payments for those working under her direction. Notably, Ziss also undertook a significant portion of the copying tasks herself.

Beyond her evident external and internal responsibilities, a detailed examination of the musical manuscripts produced under her direction offers deeper insights into Ziss's leadership, particularly her role in upholding consistent quality standards across the workshop's output. Ziss's pivotal position in the production process is most clearly demonstrated by the title pages of the volumes, many of which were personally decorated by her. Even in cases where she did not contribute to the content of a volume, her handwriting frequently appears on the title page. For instance, in a copy of Johann Adolf Hasse's *Romolo ed Ersilia* (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17288), performed during the wedding celebrations of Archduke Leopold and Maria Ludovica of Spain on August 6, 1765, in Innsbruck, Ziss only wrote the overture in the first volume, delegating the remainder of the work to other copyists. Nevertheless, she personally designed the title pages of all three volumes, thereby ensuring visual coherence despite the involvement of multiple scribes and reinforcing the overall unity of the score (see figure 5).



Figure 5.1–3: Title pages written by Ziss. Johann Adolf Hasse, *Romolo ed Ersilia* (1765), A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17288, vol. 1–3, fol. 1r each; by courtesy of the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)

This practice is particularly evident in a group of sixteen scores, which were likely produced as part of a large-scale order in 1767 (see table 3), resulting in a peak of productivity of Ziss's workshop. These manuscripts from the collection of Archduchess Maria Carolina (1752–1814), currently housed in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella in Naples, were probably prepared in anticipation of her wedding to Ferdinand I of the Two Sicilies and her subsequent relocation to Naples in May 1768. Five of the scores contain operas staged in Vienna in 1767, while the remaining manuscripts feature

combinations of copyists and paper that are characteristic of scores from that year alone, supporting the hypothesis that all were produced within a limited period of time.³⁸ Although Ziss personally contributed to only two of the scores, the remaining copies can also be attributed to her workshop, as she was responsible for writing nearly all the title pages. In just two of the manuscripts, she delegated this task to one of her most skilled scribes (WK72D), who had copied the entire respective work independently.

Table 3: Opera score copies produced in 1767 for Archduchess Maria Carolina by Ziss's workshop

Bold print indicates that the opera was actually performed in Vienna in 1767.

Opera	I-Nc Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)	Scribe of the Title Page(s)		
			Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Vol. 3
Bonno, <i>L'isola disabitata</i>	25.6.1	67A 67B	Ziss	-	-
Boroni, <i>L'amore in musica</i>	25.6.8-10	67A	Ziss	Ziss	Ziss
Fischietti, <i>Il mercato di Malmantile</i>	26.2.30-32	72D	WK72D	no title page	no title page
Fischietti, <i>Il signor dottore</i>	26.2.27-29	71L 71M	Ziss	no title page	no title page
Galuppi, <i>Il marchese villano</i>	27.6.20-21	67A 67B	Ziss	Ziss	-
Gassmann, <i>L'amore artigiano</i>	27.6.28-30	67A 71K 73F	Ziss	Ziss	Ziss
Gassmann, <i>L'olimpiade</i>	27.6.36-38	71K	Ziss	Ziss	Ziss
Gassmann, <i>Il viaggiatore ridicolo</i>	27.5.1-3	67B	Ziss	Ziss	Ziss
Gluck, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i>	27.4.2-3	71K	Ziss	Ziss	-
Gluck, <i>Il Telemaco ossia L'isola di Circe</i>	27.4.14-15	68B	Ziss	Ziss	-
Hasse, <i>Alcide al bivio</i>	27.2.6-7	71P (Ziss)	Ziss	Ziss	-
Hasse, <i>Partenope</i>	27.2.23-24	71K	Ziss	Ziss	-
Piccinni, <i>Le contadine bizzarre</i>	30.3.2-3	71K 71P (Ziss) 73F	Ziss	Ziss	-
Sacchini, <i>La contadina in corte</i>	31.4.20-21	60M 67A 71L 73F	Ziss	Ziss	-
Traetta, <i>Armida</i>	32.6.9-11	72D	WK72D	no title page	no title page
Traetta, <i>Ifigenia in Tauride</i>	32.6.12-14	73F	Ziss	Ziss	Ziss

A similar practice is observed in scores produced by Boniface Champée's workshop. Bruce Alan Brown suggests that Champée may have designed the title pages himself, possibly to indicate his oversight and approval of the work.³⁹ Concurrently, the Venetian copyist Giuseppe Baldan employed a similar technique, sometimes even inserting his own name on the title page of the scores. Kordula Knaus notes that these title pages can be attributed to Baldan, whose distinctive design, characterized by richly ornamented letters, had a "high degree of recognition value."⁴⁰ In contrast, the practice of marking the title page with the workshop owner's name did not emerge in Vienna until the 1780s, under Wenzel Sukowaty and Lorenz Lausch.⁴¹ The use of a uniform

title page design thus provided Ziss with the opportunity to emphasize that the score was produced under her direct supervision.

Ziss's leadership role is evident not only in the initial presentation of the majority of the scores but also throughout their internal production, as will be demonstrated by two examples. To ensure that the final product met the professional quality standards of a neat copy, Ziss made final adjustments herself when necessary to enhance visual uniformity and maintain a clean, orderly manuscript. Although she was not originally involved in the production of a copy of Florian Leopold Gassmann's *Gli uccellatori* (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18080), which was prepared by copyists WK76B, WK68F, and WK71K, the score shows signs of her intervention. When alterations—likely introduced during the significant revision for the 1768 Viennese performance—were added to a recitative written by WK68F, they created a cluttered and confusing page (see figure 6). In response, Ziss meticulously rewrote the relevant section of the recitative, pasting it over the unsightly passage to restore the score's clarity and visual consistency (see figure 7).



Figure 6: Original page written by WK68F, with alterations. Florian Leopold Gassmann, *Gli uccellatori* (1768), A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18080, vol. 2, fol. 93v; by courtesy of [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)



Figure 7: New page written by Ziss implementing the alterations. Florian Leopold Gassmann, *Gli uccellatori* (1768), A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18080, vol. 2, fol. 94v; by courtesy of the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)

Another example is found in a copy of Niccolò Piccinni's *La schiava* (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17827). Ziss appears to have reviewed the completed score to inspect and approve the manuscript. In one of the arias (Act 1, Scena V), WK63B began the writing, consistently marking the bass clefs and key signatures for both the vocal and bass parts on the verso folio (see figure 8). However, when WK63B neglected to include the clefs and accidentals on the last folio before passing the writing on to WK60G, Ziss later corrected the omission by adding the necessary notational signs (see figure 9). Although such observations are

relatively few, they suggest that the scores leaving Ziss's workshop underwent close scrutiny by her.

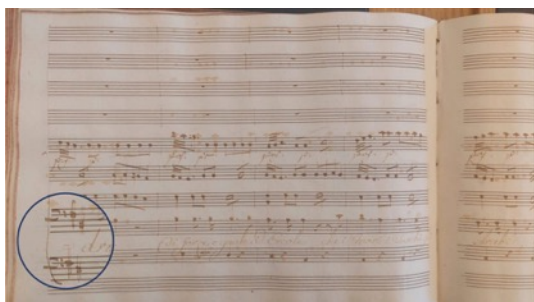


Figure 8: Bass clefs, key signature, and musical text by WK63B. Niccolò Piccinni, *La schiava*, A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17827, vol. 1, fol. 82v

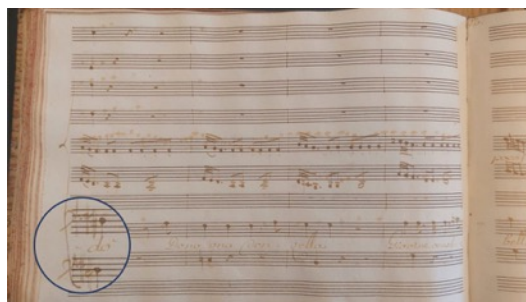


Figure 9: Musical text by WK63B with added bass clefs and key signature by Ziss. Niccolò Piccinni, *La schiava*, A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17827, vol. 1, fol. 83v

Additional Viennese Copyist Workshops: Boniface Champée and WK71F

In addition to Ziss's workshop, which served as the primary supplier of score copies for the court during the Paper & Copyists investigation period from 1759 to 1775, habitual collaborations among scribes suggest the existence of two additional workshops, each led by a principal copyist. The sustained production of scores over several years under these copyists allows for foundational comparisons to be made regarding their activities relative to those of Ziss's workshop.

As has been noted repeatedly, the court commissioned another scribe, Boniface Charles Champée (Paper & Copyists code: [WK60B](#)), in addition to Ziss, to copy opera scores in the 1750s and 60s.⁴² Champée's life dates remain unknown, and his career as a musician and copyist can only be traced in part.⁴³ He is first documented as a court violinist at the Kärntnertheater during the 1755/56 theatrical season.⁴⁴ In 1762, Philipp Gumpenhuber listed him as a violist in the orchestra register of the Burgtheater.⁴⁵ The first invoice documenting his work as a copyist dates from 1757, although his handwriting appears in earlier manuscripts.⁴⁶ Thus, his copying activities seem to have been, at least initially, a secondary occupation alongside his career as a musician. While Ziss supplied the court with mostly Italian operas, Champée primarily focused on copying opéras comiques, including numerous works by Gluck, which has made him a point of interest in Gluck scholarship.⁴⁷ In addition to his work for the court, Champée, like Ziss, also worked for other aristocrats. The collection of Joseph I Adam of Schwarzenberg contains

numerous ballets originating from Champée's workshop.⁴⁸ For Prince Nikolaus I Esterházy, he copied operas, ballets, and symphonies between at least 1761 and 1768, as evidenced by invoices.⁴⁹ In 1756 and 1759, he had already compiled two catalogs of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy's musical collection.⁵⁰

The Paper & Copyists sample includes a subset of ten opera score copies produced by Champée and his assistants (see table 4), which largely aligns with the current understanding of his activities. Champée's handwriting appears frequently between 1759 and 1764, with one final copy dating to 1769. The majority of the works—all but two—are by Christoph Willibald Gluck. With few exceptions, the manuscripts predominantly feature French opéras comiques. However, two copies of *Tetide* from 1760 and the 1769 copy encompass Italian repertoire, indicating that Champée's commissions extended beyond French music. Champée contributed to all the scores, serving as the sole scribe for six of them. For the remaining four, he collaborated with up to seven assistants (see figure 10), including three scribes also associated with manuscripts of different provenance.⁵¹ In contrast to Ziss, Champée does not appear to have employed a permanent team of copyists. The sharp increase in the number of contributing scribes in manuscripts from 1764 and 1769 possibly reflects a growing volume of orders from the mid-1760s, necessitating the involvement of additional assistants. In two key aspects, the manuscripts from Champée's workshop are significantly more heterogeneous than those produced by Ziss's workshop. First, scores copied by multiple scribes often exhibit frequent changes in handwriting within a single volume, with shifts occurring between, or even within, gatherings, often without regard for the musical structure.⁵² Second, a wide variety of papers were used in the workshop, often mixed seemingly at random within a single volume. However, drawing more precise conclusions about the organization of work in Champée's workshop would require a more extensive and, crucially, chronologically denser set of sources.

Table 4: Opera score copies produced by Champée's (WK60B) workshop

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)		Paper
			Champée	Other	
1759-xx-xx	Gluck, <i>Cythère assiégée</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17875	x		P67 P75
1760-10-10	Gluck, <i>Tetide</i>	D-DI, 3030-F9	x		P60 P63
1760-10-10	Gluck, <i>Tetide</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17778	x	60A 62A	P59 P60 P63 P67 P75
1760-xx-xx	Gluck, <i>L'ivrogne corrigé</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17878	x		P25 P80 P81
1761-12-09	Gluck, <i>Le cadi dupé</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10242	x		P59
1761-12-09	Gluck, <i>Le cadi dupé</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17877	x		P59
1763-05-08	Monsigny, <i>Le maître en droit</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17893	x	62A	P22 P59 P84 P85
1764-01-07	Gluck, <i>La rencontre imprévue</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17898	x		P61 P81 P84
1764-01-07	Gluck, <i>La rencontre imprévue</i>	D-DI, 3030-F28	x	60S, three other copyists	P59 P61 P71 P81
1769-01-23	Piccinni, <i>La pescatrice</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1056	x	68C 69E 69F 69H 69J 69K, one external copyist	P5 P11 P54 P73 P90 P96 P97

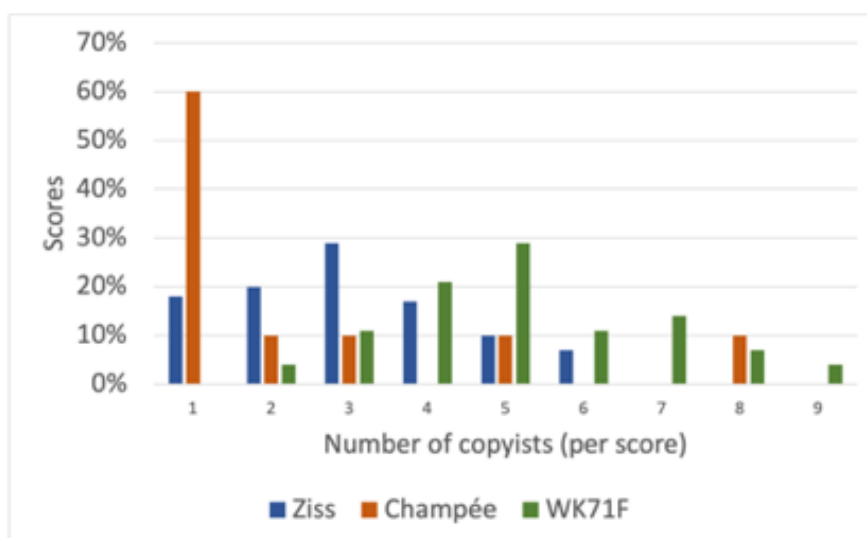


Figure 10: Prevalence of the number of copyists per score in opera copies produced by different workshops

It was not until nearly fifteen years after the workshops of Ziss and Champée began supplying the court with copies in the mid-1750s that a third workshop emerged. Unlike the first two, the identification of this workshop's "owner" is not based on a named copyist in the invoice documents but is instead inferred from codicological analysis of the scores. The head of this workshop has been identified as copyist [WK71F](#), whose handwriting appears in the majority of

the scores in this group. However, unlike Ziss and Champée, WK71F was not primarily responsible for writing the title pages.⁵³ Efforts to link the lead copyist to a known name have thus far been unsuccessful.⁵⁴ As a result, nothing is known about their personal circumstances or involvement in other musical activities.

The workshop associated with WK71F first appears in 1769, the only year in which all three workshops were simultaneously actively serving the court (see figure 11). On the one hand, WK71F seems to have assumed some responsibility from Champée’s workshop, which produced its final score in 1769, after a hiatus of several years. On the other hand, WK71F appears to have benefited even more from Ziss’s reduced activity beginning in 1769. Ziss’s decision to draft a will in 1770⁵⁵ may suggest declining health, possibly due to age or illness, which could have led to a reduced workload. In any case, WK71F capitalized on this gap in supply, becoming the court’s primary supplier in the early 1770s.

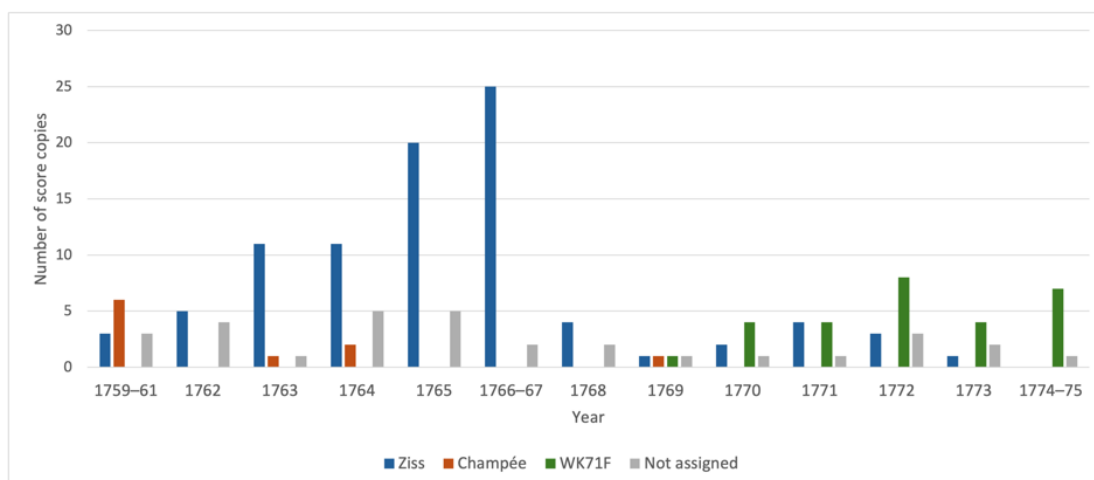


Figure 11: Opera score copies by copyist workshop and year

A total of twenty-eight scores can be attributed to the group of copyists associated with WK71F (see table 5),⁵⁶ all of which comprise Italian repertoire. WK71F himself contributed to twenty-three of these scores, while the remaining five were produced by his principal copyist, WK71D, among others. Over the span of six years, more than thirty additional scribes can be linked to this workshop, representing a larger group of assistants than Ziss ever employed. This increased workforce is also reflected in the scores themselves: in some cases, a significant number of copyists (up to nine) were involved in the production of a single score, indicating the beginning of a development that resulted in up to fifteen copyists per score from the workshop of Wenzel

Sukowaty in the following years.⁵⁷ The majority of WK71F's scores were written by five copyists, compared to only three scribes in Ziss's workshop productions (see figure 10).

Table 5: Opera score copies produced by WK71F's workshop

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)			Paper
			71F	71D	Other	
1769-xx-xx	Sacchini, <i>L'isola d'amore</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17830	x	x	68F 69A 71E 71Q 71S	P5 P10 P41 P73
1770-01-10	Salieri, <i>Le donne letterate</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17833		x	69A 70A	P2 P10 P41 P73 P79
1770-11-01	Gluck, <i>Paride ed Elena</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17781	x		70D	P2 P3
1770-xx-xx	Galuppi, <i>Il villano geloso</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18073	x	x	69A 71H 71S	P2 P10 P11 P73
1770-xx-xx	Piccinni, <i>Lo sposo burlato</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17816	x	x	71B 71E 71H 71S	P2 P11 P71
1771-01-05	Gassmann, <i>Le pescatrici</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18076	x	x	71A 71B 71C 71E 71G 71H	P1 P2 P3 P5 P7 P9 P38 P71
1771-06-02	Salieri, <i>Armida</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17837	x		71E 71Q 71R 71S 71U 71V	P2 P3 P5 P44 P38
1771-12-31	Deller, <i>Il maestro di capella</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17857		x	71A 71G 71R 72B	P2 P38
1771	Gassmann, <i>L'opera seria</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17775	x	x	71B 71E 71R 71S 71U 72E	P1 P2 P3 P5 P7 P9 P12 P20 P38 P71
1772-01-29	Salieri, <i>La fiera di Venezia</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17838	x	x	71E 71H 71R	P1 P2 P3 P20 P28
1772-04-20	Piccinni, <i>Le finte gemelle</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17828	x		71E 71R 72C 72R	P2 P3 P26 P40 P42
1772-05-12	Salieri, <i>Il barone di Rocca antica</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17834	x	x	71R	P2 P26 P38
1772-06-23	Gassmann, <i>I rovinati</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18075	x	x	71G 71H	P2 P3 P21 P26
1772-08-12	Piccinni, <i>L'americano</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17825	x	x	71A 71H 71R	P3 P26 P40
1772-09-22	Gazzaniga, <i>La locanda</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1058		x	71A 72C 72E	P2 P3 P19 P20 P21 P26
1772-10-21	Salieri, <i>La secchia rapita</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17841	x		71A 71B 71C 72C	P3 P9 P26 P31 P35
1772-10-21	Salieri, <i>La secchia rapita</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10075	x		71B 72E 72R 72Z	P3 P12 P26 P31 P35 P38 P43
1773-02-03	Gassmann, <i>La casa di campagna</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17774	x	x	71B 71C 71R 71V 73C	P2 P3 P26 P33
1773-06-08	Salieri, <i>La locandiera</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17840		x	71B 71H 73L 73M 73N 74C	P1 P3 P9 P12 P26 P39 P48
1773-08-31	Anfossi, <i>L'incognita perseguitata</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18047		x	71H 73L 73U 73W 74C	P3 P7 P26 P49
1773-08-31	Anfossi, <i>L'incognita perseguitata</i>	A-Wgm, Q1129	x	x	72E 74C	P12 P26
1774-04-04	Gazzaniga, <i>L'isola d'Alcina</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17777	x		73N 74C	P12 P31 P39 P44 P49 P51 P54 P55 P56
1774-06-01	Piccinni, <i>L'astratto ovvero Il giocator fortunato</i>	H-Bn, OE-27	x		72E	P3 P40 P51

Date	Opera	Shelfmark	Copyists (WK)			Paper
			71F	71D	Other	
1774-06-01	Piccinni, <i>L'astratto ovvero Il giocator fortunato</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17824	x		74B 74C 74G	P3 P31 P40 P51 P56
1774-12-06	Paisiello, <i>Il tamburo</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17801	x		73U 74A 74B	P3 P31 P44 P51 P52 P53
1775-04-29	Paisiello, <i>La Frascatana</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17800	x	x	71A 72Z 73U 74A 74G 75A 75D	P7 P26 P31 P40 P51 P53
1775-05-25	Anfossi, <i>Il geloso in cimento</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.18046	x	x	71Q 73U 74A	P2 P40 P51
1775-09-09	Salieri, <i>La finta scema</i>	A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17842	x	x	71M 74A 74G 75A	P3 P26 P40 P51 P52

In general, the early 1770s saw a growing complexity in the landscape of Viennese copyists. Increasingly, copyists can no longer be clearly assigned to a single workshop within this period. For instance, WK71B and WK71H, along with various others, worked for both Ziss and WK71F during the same year. This observation corroborates assumptions previously established in the literature.⁵⁸ Furthermore, individual volumes show significantly more changes in the copyists involved. This period also witnessed a broader diversity of paper used in the scores. For example, while Ziss's workshop utilized only five different papers in 1771, WK71F's workshop employed eleven papers for the same number of scores. Although the scores produced by WK71F's workshop remain high-quality professional copies, they exhibit less consistency in their manufacturing compared to the more homogeneous products of the 1760s.

Prospects

The evaluation of the theatrical copyists in Vienna between 1759 and 1775 demonstrates the potential of geographically focused copyist research. A dense chronological framework not only provides a solid foundation for determining the provenance and dating of additional manuscripts—particularly when combined with paper analysis⁵⁹—but also allows for conclusions to be drawn about the otherwise sparsely documented copyist system. This approach offers insights into the structures of a professional field that can only be uncovered through the examination of a larger dataset. Edge's assertion "that few if any large commercial copying enterprises were in business in Vienna before the 1780s"⁶⁰ must be partially reconsidered. While the number of such enterprises was not large, the theatrical sector was nonetheless dominated by three capable workshops: in addition to the well-known workshops of Ziss and Champée, a third workshop has

been identified as active from the late 1760s. Although the court ceased to employ an official copyist after 1755, in the following years, commissions were primarily awarded to these three workshops rather than to independent freelance copyists.⁶¹ The professional standards required of their products, which Ziss also had to uphold, were outlined in a protocol of the Vienna Tonkünstler-Societät from 1779. It stipulated that copies should be completed “always within the specified time, beautifully, clearly and legibly, also not overly stretched, with the greatest possible accuracy, and without copying anything for oneself or selling the work on.”⁶²

The observations regarding the division of labor in Ziss’s workshop, her role as workshop leader, and the comparison with the workshops of Champée and WK71F raise several further research questions. First, it would be valuable to connect the insights gained from this period of investigation with findings from adjacent periods. One approach already pursued in the Paper & Copyists project involves amalgamating the codes used in the project database with those of copyists identified in prior literature. This process has facilitated the identification of concordances with the [Writers’ Catalogue](#) of the “Dresden Court Music.” However, it has also underscored the complexity of distinguishing and merging individual copyists due to numerous overlaps and ambiguities. Another approach entails extending the research period to bridge the temporal gap with Haydn and Mozart studies, thereby enabling the identification of potential connections to copyists documented in those contexts, such as those active in Wenzel Sukowaty’s workshop. These efforts would not only expand the dataset but also enhance our understanding of the copyist landscape in eighteenth-century Vienna, effectively linking the period under study with the preceding and subsequent decades.

Additionally, further identification of copyists by name could be achieved through archival research, connecting inferences drawn from musical manuscripts with biographical data for a deeper understanding of the profession. A comparison with copies from other genres could reveal similarities and differences in the business practices of various Viennese copyist workshops. It is expected that the handwriting of occasional copyists would also appear in other repertoires. Finally, additional avenues of inquiry emerge from the analysis of the handwriting. Although other research projects consider lettering “the main means of identifying copyists,”⁶³ this aspect requires further examination in Viennese manuscripts. Other questions could include the potential evolution of scripts among individual copyists and, as

Christiane Maria Hornbachner discusses, the development of “workshop styles”⁶⁴ alongside a specific Viennese style of writing in comparison to other major centers of music copying.

Notes

1. On the significance of copyists for editorial philology, see Thomas Hochradner, "Kopisten," in *Musikphilologie. Grundlagen—Methoden—Praxis*, ed. Bernhard R. Appel and Reinmar Emans, *Kompendien Musik 3* (Laaber: Laaber, 2017), 111–28.
2. To give just one example of each, see Georg von Dadelsen, *Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seines Kreises* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1957); Alan Tyson, "Notes on Five of Beethoven's Copyists," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 23 (1970), 439–71; Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese copyists" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2001). A symposium at the 2021 annual conference of the *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung*, dedicated to the topic of "Kopistenforschung—Bestandsaufnahme und Perspektiven" (Research on Copyists—Review and Perspectives), also focused on results from individual composers' complete editions.
3. Anette Müller, *Komponist und Kopist. Notenschreiber im Dienste Robert Schumanns*, *Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft* 57 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010).
4. Online catalog of the project (2020–21) on bruckner-online.at (accessed September 23, 2024).
5. E.g., John D. Wilson, "Catalogue Raisonné of the Surviving Operatic Sources," in *The Operatic Library of Elector Maximilian Franz: Reconstruction, Catalogue, Contexts*, ed. Elisabeth Reisinger, Juliane Riepe, and John D. Wilson, in collaboration with Birgit Lodes, *Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung 30 / Musik am Bonner kurfürstlichen Hof 2* (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 2018), 251–450.
6. See especially the works of Thomas Hochradner, "Kopisten—Facetten eines musikalischen Berufsbildes," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 58 (2014): 171–216; and "Garanten musikalischer Überlieferung. Zu Produkt, Aufgabenbereich, sozialer Lage und Bedeutung von Kopisten im 17., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert," in *Musik und kulturelle Identität. Bericht über den XIII. Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Weimar 2004*, Vol. 3, *Freie Referate und Forschungsberichte*, ed. Detlef Altenburg (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012), 75–88.
7. László Somfai, "Die Wiener Gluck-Kopisten—ein Forschungsdesiderat," in *Kongreßbericht Gluck in Wien, Wien, 12.–16. November 1987*, ed. Gerhard Croll and Monika Woitas, *Gluck-Studien 1* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), 178–82, here 179.
8. Somfai, "Forschungsdesiderat," 178 (original wording: "die Zusammenarbeit von verschiedenen Händen in einer Kopistenwerkstatt [ist] klar dokumentierbar").
9. It is indicative that, although Müller devotes an entire chapter of her monograph to "Historische Einblicke in die Kopistenwerkstatt" (historical insights into the copyist's workshop), the division of labor within these workshops is only briefly mentioned in the introduction, the remainder focusing on detailed descriptions of the tools used (Müller, *Notenschreiber*, 67–114).
10. Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 68; Dexter Edge, "Viennese Music Copyists and the Transmission of Music in the Eighteenth Century," *Revue de Musicologie* 84 (1998): 298–304, here 303: "The extent to which these establishments or workshops could be considered 'firms' is unclear. At present, next to nothing is known about any regulations or tax laws to which the commercial trade in music manuscripts in Vienna in the eighteenth century may have been subject. To my knowledge, there are few if any surviving internal records from commercial copy shops: no account books or correspondence from such shops is known to survive."

11. Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, "Studio, artist's," in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger, last update August 17, 2022.
12. Nicole Schwindt, "Werkstatt-Produkte," in *Maximilians Lieder. Weltliche Musik in deutschen Landen um 1500* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2018), 497–504, here 498 (original wording: "der mit seinem Namen für das in verschiedenen Arbeitsstufen und Bestandteilen kollektiv erstellte Ergebnis verantwortlich zeichnet und das gemeinsame Profil der Werkstatt mit seiner Person vertritt").
13. Ibid. (original wording: "Entfaltung einer Werkstatt-Identität").
14. For new insights into the life of Ziss, see [Christiane Hornbachner's contribution](#) in this special issue, as well as her portrait of "Theresia Ziss," Paper and Copyists in Viennese Opera Scores / Copyists / Theresia Ziss, last edited 31.07.2024, <https://doi.org/10.21939/ns98qc> (retrieved: 2025/03/03).
15. As Josef Horst Lederer's examination of court records has shown, a selection process to fill Johann Andreas's position resulted in the employment of Franz Xaver Riersch to copy church, table, and chamber music, and the commission of independent scribes for further copying services. See Josef-Horst Lederer, "[...] von denen eingangs benannten Supplicanten unter eines jeden eigenen Hand:Unterschrift Copiaturen anbegehret.' Vier Eingaben zur Nachbesetzung einer Kopistenstelle am Wiener Hof aus dem Jahre 1755," in *Beiträge zur Wiener Gluck-Überlieferung*, ed. Irene Brandenburg and Gerhard Croll, Gluck-Studien 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 73–94.
16. Orchestral parts have not been included in the Paper & Copyists analysis. However, as one example, WK60G contributed to both the score (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17288) and the parts (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17289) of *Romolo ed Ersilia*.
17. Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 93; Thomas A. Denny, "Wiener Quellen zu Glucks 'Reform'-Opern: Datierung und Bewertung," in *Beiträge zur Wiener Gluck-Überlieferung*, ed. Irene Brandenburg and Gerhard Croll, Gluck-Studien 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 9–72, here 27.
18. Gesa Ingendahl, "Als zünftige Handwerkswitwen," in *Witwen in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eine kulturhistorische Studie*, Geschichte und Geschlechter 54 (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2006), 151–74; Christine Werkstetter, "Meisterwitwen—Handwerksmeisterinnen ohne formale Ausbildung," in *Frauen im Augsburger Zunfthandwerk. Arbeit, Arbeitsbeziehungen und Geschlechterverhältnisse im 18. Jahrhundert*, Colloquia Augustana 14 (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), 144–280.
19. "Bach (geb. Wilcke), Anna Magdalena," [Bach digital](#), last modified April 10, 2024.
20. Lederer, "Supplicanten," 74 and 76.
21. Edge, "Organization of labor," in "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 116–19. The organization may have resembled a workshop system or a putting-out system (*Verlagssystem*). One of the few sources that mentions the work of assistants is a protocol of a petition from 1803 by Joseph Arthofer (ca. 1742–1807), copyist of the Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät, in which he declared how much "his assistants" ("seine Helfer") demanded to be paid; see A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein A 2/2, Sitzungsprotokolle 1801–1830, protocol of May 6, 1803; cited in Rita Steblin, "Beethoven Mentions in Documents of the Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät, 1795 to 1824," in *Bonner Beethoven-Studien* 10 (2012): 139–88, here 186.

22. The analyses for this paper include all scores recorded by Paper & Copyists in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (A-Wn), Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (A-Wgm), Biblioteca del Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella (I-Nc), Biblioteca Estense Universitaria (I-MOe), Bibliothèque nationale de France (F-Pn), Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra (F-Po), and Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (H-Bn) from the period 1759–75. Scores in the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria (I-Tn), Sächsische Landesbibliothek—Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (D-DI), and Universitätsbibliothek "Bibliotheca Albertina" (D-LEu) were not considered.
23. The identification of Ziss's handwriting is based on Denny, "Wiener Quellen," 14 (fn. 9) and 48, who relied on Dexter Edge's expertise, and Bruce Alan Brown, "Wiener Ballette im Schwarzenbergischen Archiv zu Český Krumlov. Probleme der Autorschaft und Chronologie," in *Tanzdramen, Opéra-comique. Kolloquiumsbericht der Gluck-Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Gabriele Buschmeier and Klaus Hortschansky, Gluck-Studien 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 9–34, here 20. The accuracy of the Paper & Copyists attribution is further supported by the observations on Ziss's leadership role described below. Specimens of her handwriting can be found in "WK71P," [Paper and Copyists in Viennese Opera Scores](#) (accessed September 23, 2024). A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10173 offers extensive samples of her word script.
24. For an overview of the manuscripts for which Ziss only wrote the title page(s), see Table 3.
25. E.g. in the *Theatralkassenrechnungen* (1765), A-Wös, FHKA SUS HZAB 386, fol. 26v and 33r; cited in Walther Brauneis, "[...] bey glorreichster Vermählung ihrer königlichen Hoheiten [...] zu Inspruck in Tyrol von Hof aus abgehaltenen *Festivtaeten* [...] Anno 1765.' Das musikalische Rahmenprogramm im Überblick, aus Anlass der 250. Wiederkehr der Vermählung des späteren Kaisers Leopold II. mit der Infantin Maria Luisa von Bourbon-Spanien sowie des 250. Jahrestags des Ablebens von Kaiser Franz I. Stephan von Lothringen," in *Wissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Tiroler Landesmuseen* 6 (2013): 77–115, here 111 and 113. See also [Christiane Hornbacher's contribution](#) to this special issue. For further payment records, see Konstantin Hirschmann, "'Speesen' für die 'Copiaturn zur Opera.' Wiener Kopisten in den Theatralkassenrechnungen der 1750er- und 1760er-Jahre," in *L'importanza dei copisti per la diffusione dell'opera italiana nel Settecento*, ed. Milada Jonášová and Tomislav Volek, *L'opera italiana nei territori boemi durante il Settecento* 10 (Prague: Artefactum—Academia; in preparation).
26. On professional copyists in the last third of the eighteenth-century, see Edge, "Who copied?," in "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 72–100.
27. Hochradner, "Facetten," 188.
28. Cf. the copyists of different versions of an opera in Table 1.
29. Somfai, "Forschungsdesiderat," 178. On the correlation between Gluck opera copies see also Denny, "Wiener Quellen."
30. Somfai had already noted the occurrence of both simultaneous and successive workshop processes; see Somfai, "Forschungsdesiderat," 178–79.
31. Edge, "Where were copies created?," in "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 100–16.
32. In her analysis of workshop characteristics, Schwindt places particular emphasis on the importance of apprenticeship (Schwindt, *Lieder*, 498). Both A. Peter Brown and Edge have proposed that Viennese copyists may have operated under some form of apprenticeship system; see A. Peter Brown, "Notes on Some Eighteenth-Century Viennese Copyists," *Journal of*

the American Musicological Society 34, no. 2 (1981): 325–38, here 327; Edge, “Mozart’s Viennese Copyists,” 119.

33. Ortrun Landmann, “Notes on the Music Copyists of the Dresden Court, 1720–1850,” paper given at the IAML Conference 2010, [RISM](#) (accessed September 23, 2024). The scribes of the word text were not systematically recorded in Paper & Copyists.
34. E.g., entries in the payment records of the *Theatralkassenrechnungen* (1765); cited in Brauneis, “Rahmenprogramm,” here 111 and 113.
35. Brown, “Wiener Ballette,” 11 and 20.
36. Brown, *French Theatre*, 94. One score made for Prince Esterházy was identified by Paper & Copyists: Piccinni, *L’incognita perseguitata*, H-Bn, OE-28.
37. In the 1760s, only Simon Haschke advertised commercial copies in the *Wienerisches Diarium* (from 1780 called *Wiener Zeitung*), followed by Johann Traeg and Lorenz Lausch from 1782 onwards, and later also Wenzel Sukowaty; see Hannelore Gericke, *Der Wiener Musikalienhandel von 1700 bis 1778*, Wiener Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge 5 (Graz: Böhlau Nachf., 1960), 104–5; Edge, “Mozart’s Viennese Copyists,” 5–7.
38. Paper P79 (partially in combination with P72_var1 and in one case with P89) was used in every score. For details on the specific combinations of paper and copyists and comparable scores, see the commentary to the individual scores in [Paper and Copyists in Viennese Opera Scores](#) (accessed September 23, 2024). Some of the manuscripts also display later annotations by nineteenth-century librarian Francesco Rondinella on the title page.
39. Brown, “Wiener Ballette,” 11.
40. Kordula Knaus, “Die Musikalien der Opera buffa und ihre Verbreitung,” in *Die Opera buffa in Europa. Verbreitungs- und Transformationsprozesse einer neuen Gattung (1740–1765)*, ed. Andrea Zedler, Lena van der Hoven, and Kordula Knaus, Vernetzen—bewegen—verorten. Kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven 3 (Bielefeld: transcript, 2023), 141–58, here 145 (original wording: “mit großem Wiedererkennungswert”). An example of Baldan’s title pages can be found on the cover of the volume.
41. Edge, “Mozart’s Viennese Copyists,” 192. Edge points out that these “signatures” did not necessarily refer to Sukowaty or Lausch as copyists of a specific score themselves but rather indicated a “publisher’s imprint.”
42. On Champée, see Brown, *French Theatre*, 93–94; Brown, “Wiener Ballette,” 11 and 17–19 (for an identification of his handwriting); Denny, “Wiener Quellen,” 41. The simultaneous commissioning of Ziss and Champée by the court is reflected, for example, in the payment records for the mentioned wedding celebrations in Innsbruck in 1765; see *Theatralkassenrechnungen* (1765), A-Wös, FHKA SUS HZAB 386, fol. 26v (No. 115); cited in Brauneis, “Rahmenprogramm,” 111.
43. Only the dates of death of his daughter Elisabetha, who died on June 13, 1763, at the age of seven, and of his wife Catharina, who passed away on January 31, 1775, at the age of fifty-eight, are known; see Gericke, *Wiener Musikalienhandel*, 103. In contrast to Catharina’s death record, cited by Hannelore Gericke, her probate record identifies “Champe Katharina” as the wife of a court constable (Verlassenschaftsabhandlung “Champe Katharina, Ehefrau

eines Hofkonzipie[n]ten", 1775, A-Wös, HHStA HA OMaA 749-165). If this caption is correct, this would indicate that Champée held a position as a court official in 1775. He can also be traced in 1765 and 1769, issuing two promissory notes to a tobacco merchant alongside his wife ("Edict," *Wiener Zeitung* 116, April 27, 1846, Amtsblatt, 668). The wife of the language teacher "Karl Schampe," Elisabeth, who passed away in 1797 at the age of fifty-six, might have been Champée's daughter-in-law (*Wiener Zeitung* 17, March 1, 1797, 629: "Dem Karl Schampe, Sprachlehrer, s. W. Elis. alt 56 J. auf d. Wieden N. 304.") I am grateful to Martin Eybl for providing this reference.

44. Lederer, "Supplicanten," 76 (fn. 9).
45. Philipp Gumpenhuber, *Repertoire de tous les Spectacles qui ont été donné au Theatre près de la Cour ... depuis le 1.er Janvier jusqu'au 31 Dec[ember] 1762*, fol. 28r, A-Wn, Mus.Hs.34580b. I would like to thank Julia Ackermann for providing this reference.
46. Brown, *French Theatre*, 93.
47. For an overview of Gluck copies attributed to Champée's workshop, see "Champée, Bonifacius Carl," Christoph Willibald Gluck. Sämtliche Werke, [GluckWV-online](#) (accessed September 23, 2024).
48. Brown, "Wiener Ballette," 11; Jiří Zálaha, "Hudební život na dvoře knížat ze Schwarzenberku v 18. století," *Hudební věda* 24, no. 1 (1987): 43–62, here 61; Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Ballettmusiken*, ed. Irene Brandenburg, Christoph Willibald Gluck. Sämtliche Werke II/3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2022).
49. The first record dates from January 27, 1761, before Nikolaus had become prince (A-FOea, HM Graf Nik. 1761 Jan Extra Haus Ausgabe). For further invoices by Carl Champée, see the online database of Josef Pratl and Heribert Scheck, [Esterházy'sche Musik-Dokumente](#). *Die Musikdokumente in den Esterházy'schen Archiven und Sammlungen in Forchtenstein und Budapest*, Eisenstädter Haydn-Berichte 10 (2016), accessed September 23, 2024.
50. János Hárich, "Inventare der Esterházy-Hofmusikkapelle in Eisenstadt," *The Haydn Yearbook / Das Haydn Jahrbuch* 9 (1975): 5–125, here 67–88.
51. WK60S also contributed to two scores produced by Ziss's workshop in 1761 and 1762 (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17861, Mus.Hs.17297); WK62A and WK68C each wrote in a copy from 1762 and 1768, respectively, which cannot be attributed to a specific workshop (A-Wn, Mus.Hs.10244, Mus.Hs.17890).
52. Cf. A-Wn, Mus.Hs.17778, D-DI, 3030-28, and A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1056.
53. Cf. [Christiane Maria Hornbachner's chapter](#) in this special issue.
54. It is possible that information from the Hofzahlamtsbücher between 1769 to 1775 (A-Wös, FHKA SUS HZAB 375–381) could provide further clues for attribution.
55. Theresia Ziss's will from 1770 is kept in her probate proceedings, A-Wös, HHStA HA OMaA 816-31. I am grateful to Christiane Maria Hornbachner for providing this reference.
56. The allocation follows the criteria established for attributing scores to Ziss's workshop. Furthermore, A-Wn, Mus.Hs.1053 (Salieri, *La locandiera*), may represent a twenty-ninth score

potentially originating from WK71F's workshop. However, none of WK71F's main copyists contributed to this manuscript; instead, it was written by several of their occasional copyists.

57. Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 1358.
58. Brown, "Viennese Copyists," 333.
59. Christiane Maria Hornbachner and Constanze Marie Köhn, "Watermarks in Viennese Opera Scores: Toward a Comprehensive Database of Music Paper 1760–1775," in *Artists' Paper: A Case in Paper History*, ed. Penelope Banou, Georgios Boudalis, Patricia Engel, Stephen R. Hill, Joseph Schirò, and Jedert Vodopivec Tomažic (Vienna: Berger, 2023), 484–502.
60. Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 7.
61. This approach is also evident in the practices of the Tonkünstler-Societät, which almost exclusively commissioned Joseph Arthofer for copying work from 1772 onward and officially appointed him as the sole copyist in 1779 (Steblin, "Beethoven Mentions," 167 and 184).
62. Protocol of April 13, 1779, A-Wsa, Haydn-Verein B 2/1, Sitzungsprotokolle 1771–1785; cited in Steblin, "Beethoven Mentions," 184 (original wording: "jedesmall in der bestimmten Zeit, schön, deutlich und leßbar, auch nicht zu weitläufig [*sic*], in allermöglichster Richtigkeit, und ohne etwas für sich zu *copiren*, oder weiter zu veräussern").
63. Landmann, "Notes." See also her considerations regarding the evolution of copyists' scripts and the "scribal school" of Dresden copyists.
64. Schwindt points out that the question whether "a workshop style emerged involuntarily through uniform practices or whether a specific profile was sought can hardly be determined" (Schwindt, *Lieder*, 499, original wording: "ob sich ... ein Werkstatt-Stil durch gleichförmige Praktiken unwillkürlich einstellte oder ob ein spezielles Werkstatt-Profil angestrebt wurde, ist kaum zu entscheiden"). One starting point could be to compare the typefaces used by copyists working in different workshops.