

# INTRODUCTION

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The five fascicles of CPEB: CW, I/6 contain forty-six keyboard sonatas and six sonatinas composed by C.P.E. Bach that were not published during his lifetime (see CPEB: CW, I/6.1 for a discussion of sonatas falsely or questionably attributed to Bach). Table 1 lists these works in the order they appear in NV 1790, identifies the five fascicles of CPEB: CW, I/6 in which they are published, and provides information about place and date of composition as well as catalogue listings.

The six sonatinas comprise section 64 (Sechs Sonatinen für das Clavier) of Alfred Wotquenne's catalogue of the works of C.P.E. Bach, while sections 65 (Vollständige Sammlung aller ungedruckten Clavier-Sonaten) and 69 (Sonata per il Cembalo a due Tastature) contain the keyboard sonatas (not including the organ sonatas) that were not published during Bach's lifetime;<sup>1</sup> these works are thus collectively referred to as Wq (for Wotquenne) 64, 65, and 69. Wotquenne relied, however, on a catalogue compiled about a century earlier by the Schwerin organist and music collector Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal (1756–1825), who obtained copies of nearly all of C.P.E. Bach's instrumental music and much of his vocal music (Cat. J.J.H. Westphal). Westphal corresponded with Bach directly during the last year of Bach's life, and with his widow and daughter after Bach's death, in an attempt to ascertain the completeness and correctness of his collection. He was greatly aided in this task by the publication of Bach's estate catalogue, NV 1790, which also allowed him to arrange his C.P.E. Bach collection chronologically. Westphal's collection, including its handwritten catalogue, was eventually sold to the Belgian musician François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), from whom it passed to the Brussels Conservatory. It was there that Wotquenne, serving as librarian, used the Westphal material to publish his own catalogue of C.P.E. Bach's works in 1905. Thus Wotquenne's section 64 corresponds exactly to section 3:13 of Westphal's catalogue "Claviersachen," and Wotquenne's section 65 corresponds to Westphal's section 3:15, with the sole exception of the sonata for a two-manual instrument, Wq 69, for which Wotquenne created a separate section. The anomalies in

table 1, therefore, are to be traced back mostly to Westphal, rather than to Wotquenne. For example, Westphal included the Suite in E Minor in his section 3:15, although it more properly belongs in an earlier section, "Vermischte Clavierstücke," and Wotquenne followed him by including the suite as the fourth item in his corresponding section 65. CPEB: CW publishes this suite in I/8.2, which explains the gap in table 1 where Wq 65/4 would have been. Similarly, Westphal failed to notice a duplication in his catalogue, where the Sonata in A Major (NV 1790, p. 14, no. 100) is listed both as a clavier sonata in section 3:15 and as an organ sonata in section 3:10. Wotquenne perpetuated this mistake by also listing the sonata twice, as Wq 65/32 and Wq 70/1. Since the "clavier" version of the sonata was published during Bach's lifetime, it is included in CPEB: CW, I/5.2 and is accordingly also missing from table 1. In another case, while Westphal recognized that two manuscripts containing sonatas in C major did not transmit independent sonatas, but rather embellished versions of the first sonata from the collection *Fortsetzung von sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen*, published in 1761, he still gave them separate entries, an error that Wotquenne again perpetuated. Thus Wq 51/1, 65/35, and 65/36 are all versions of the same sonata, and these three versions are published together in CPEB: CW, I/2, which explains why Wq 65/35 and 65/36 are missing from table 1.

Despite the remarkable breadth of Westphal's collection, he acquired many of his keyboard manuscripts (now mostly in B-Bc, 5883 MSM) through indirect or unknown means. Those that he did acquire through the Bach family were copied from manuscripts closer to the composer. They are therefore either not as reliable as sources that were demonstrably under Bach's direct control, or they are derivative from the so-called house copies. Such house copies were copies of his works that Bach kept and maintained (i.e., that were in his personal music library) from which further copies could be made for interested third parties when necessary. Table 1 in the critical report lists the principal manuscripts in which house copies of Bach's unpublished sonatas have survived. Even though remarkably few of them are autograph, such house copies do carry

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1. Wotquenne, 20–25.

TABLE I. CONTENTS OF CPEB: CW, I/6 IN NV 1790 ORDER

No. in NV 1790	No. in CV 1772	Wq	H	Key	Date of Composition/Revision	Place of Composition/Revision	CPEB: CW
2	19	65/1	3	F major	1731/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
3	16	65/2	4	A minor	1732/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
4	17	65/3	5	D minor	1732/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
6	3	64/1	7	F major	1734/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
7	4	64/2	8	G major	1734/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
8	5	64/3	9	A minor	1734/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
9	6	64/4	10	E minor	1734/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
10	7	64/5	11	D major	1734/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
11	8	64/6	12	C minor	1734/1744	Leipzig/Berlin	I/6.1
13	10	65/5	13	E minor	1735/1743	Frankfurt/Berlin	I/6.2
14	9	65/6	15	G major	1736/1743	Frankfurt/Berlin	I/6.2
15	13	65/7	16	E-flat major	1736/1744	Frankfurt/Berlin	I/6.2
16	11	65/8	17	C major	1737/1743	Frankfurt/Berlin	I/6.2
17	12	65/9	18	B-flat major	1737/1743	Frankfurt/Berlin	I/6.2
18	15	65/10	19	A major	1738/1743	Frankfurt/Berlin	I/6.2
20	20	65/11	21	G minor	1739	Berlin	I/6.2
22	22	65/12	23	G major	1740	Berlin	I/6.2
32	29	65/13	32.5	B minor	1743	Töplitz	I/6.2
36	36	65/14	42	D major	1744	Berlin	I/6.2
42	44	65/15	43	G major	1745	Berlin	I/6.3
45	45	65/16	46	C major	1746	Berlin	I/6.3
46	46	65/17	47	G minor	1746	Berlin	I/6.3
47	47	65/18	48	F major	1746	Berlin	I/6.3
48	n/a	65/19*	49	F major	1787?	Hamburg?	I/6.5
49	49	65/20	51	B-flat major	1747	Berlin	I/6.3
51	52	69	53	D minor	1747	Berlin	I/6.3
52	53	65/21	52	F major	1747	Berlin	I/6.3
54	54	65/22	56	G major	1748	Berlin	I/6.3
56	56	65/23	57	D minor	1748	Potsdam	I/6.3
58	57	65/24	60	D minor	1749	Berlin	I/6.3
59	58	65/25	61	A minor	1749	Berlin	I/6.3
63	63	65/26	64	G major	1750	Berlin	I/6.4
67	66	65/27	68	G minor	1752	Berlin	I/6.4
76	75	65/28	78	E-flat major	1754	Berlin	I/6.4
81	79	65/29	83	E major	1755	Berlin	I/6.4
86	84	65/30	106	E minor	1756	Berlin	I/6.4
92	89	65/31	121	C minor	1757	Berlin	I/6.4
114	105	65/33	143	A minor	1759	Berlin	I/6.4
118	106	65/34	152	B-flat major	1760	Berlin	I/6.4
128	123	65/37	174	A major	1763	Berlin	I/6.4
130	125	65/38	175	B-flat major	1763	Berlin	I/6.4
131	126	65/39	176	E minor	1763	Berlin	I/6.4
132	127	65/40	177	D major	1763	Potsdam	I/6.5
133	128	65/41	178	C major	1763	Berlin	I/6.5
147	146	65/42	189	E-flat major	1765	Potsdam	I/6.5

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

No. in NV 1790	No. in CV 1772	Wq	H	Key	Date of Composition/Revision	Place of Composition/Revision	CPEB:CW
148	148	65/43	192	A major	1765–66	Potsdam and Berlin	I/6.5
151	149	65/44	211	B-flat major	1766	Berlin	I/6.5
152	150	65/45	212	B-flat major	1766	Berlin	I/6.5
155	153	65/46	213	E major	1766	Potsdam	I/6.5
174	n/a	65/47	248	C major	1775	Hamburg	I/6.5
195	n/a	65/48	280	G major	1783	Hamburg	I/6.5
205	n/a	65/49	298	C minor	1786	Hamburg	I/6.5
206	n/a	65/50	299	G major	1786	Hamburg	I/6.5

\*Although Wq 65/19 is listed as no. 48 in NV 1790 with Berlin 1746 as the place and date of composition, it is likely that NV 1790 is in error and that the sonata was composed (or at least compiled) very late in Bach's life; in fact, it might be his very last sonata. See the introduction and critical report of CPEB:CW, I/6.5.

Bach's own catalogue numbers—usually the CV 1772 number in Bach's own hand, or the NV 1790 number in the hand of his daughter Anna Carolina Philippina, or both—and many of them contain further entries (corrections and revisions) in Bach's hand. For most of the sonatas in CPEB:CW, I/6 at least one house copy has survived (indicated by "hc" in table I in the critical report), and these have been used as the principal sources for the edition. The majority of Bach's house copies were sold at auction after A. C. P. Bach's death in 1804, and nearly all of them eventually made their way to the Königliche Bibliothek in Berlin (present-day SBB), where most of them are still to be found. A more detailed discussion of Bach's house copies is in the critical report.

The present volume contains eleven sonatas, all composed in Berlin between 1750 and 1763, and they reflect Bach's different compositional approaches and market demands. In a letter to Johann Nicolaus Forkel from February 1775, Bach wrote concerning his keyboard works that "[a]ll of the remaining unprinted ones are either very old works or easy things for beginners. Nevertheless everything is at your disposal, whatever is not half bad, and whatever does not belong to the few things that still warm up my old fingers a bit, when someone visits me."<sup>2</sup>

2. "Die übrigen ungedruckten alle sind entweder sehr alte Arbeiten oder leichte Sachen für Anfänger. Indeßen steht alles zu Ihren Diensten, was nur halbweg nicht zu schlecht ist, und was nicht unter die wenigen gehört, womit meine alten Finger noch ein bisgen aufgeputzt werden, wenn Jemand zu mir kommt." *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:485–86; *CPEB-Letters*, 75–76.

The most elementary work for beginners in this volume is Wq 65/39: the first movement is a concise binary form (36 mm.), the second is an atypical rounded binary form (40 mm.), and the third is a more extended rounded binary form (71 mm.) whose gestures are similar to a minuet. Two of the sonatas (Wq 65/26, 65/27) are technically more challenging and similar in size and style to the easier sonatas in the *Sechs Leichte Clavier Sonaten*, Wq 53 (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1766; cf. CPEB:CW, I/3). Six of the sonatas (Wq 65/28–29, 65/31, 65/34, 65/37–38) are much longer and more elaborate technically. Especially prominent in Wq 65/28–29, 65/31, and 65/34 are passages in parallel octaves. Two sonatas (Wq 65/30 and 65/33) exist in a middle ground between the simpler and more elaborate works and will be discussed further below.

As has been noted by Darrell Berg and others, pieces from this period were revised considerably, but the revision was not always noted in NV 1790. The initial versions of these sonatas were often rather austere, with few dynamic or articulation indications, sparse textures and, often, plain melodic figuration. When Bach later reviewed these works he occasionally added minor revisions, generally in the form of additional dynamic markings and other small changes in ornamentation and detail. These revisions were most likely an important aspect of his search for variety.

Since I have never liked excessive uniformity in composition and taste, since I have heard such a quantity and variety of good [things], since I have always been of the opinion that one could derive some good, whatever it may be, even if it is

only a matter of minute details in a piece, probably from such [considerations] and my natural, God-given ability arises the variety that has been observed in my works.<sup>3</sup>

In most cases, the revisions were so slight that they probably would not have elevated the work to the level of *erneuert* (“renewed” or “revised”) as noted for many pieces in NV 1790.<sup>4</sup> Most of Bach’s revisions probably reflect his exposure to the music and musicians of Berlin, as well as a broader aesthetic change in keyboard music during the 1770s and 1780s related to the increasing importance of the clavichord and fortepiano.<sup>5</sup> Bernard Harrison has noted that keyboard music written in Vienna during the later 1760s was often later published in revised versions with added dynamics.<sup>6</sup>

Among the sonatas in this volume, the Sonata in E Minor, Wq 65/30 demonstrates the most revisions by Bach. The extent of these changes is quite clear when the earlier and later sources are compared. The early version from 1756 is found in six manuscripts, most clearly associated with Berlin; these include source D 19, written by a copyist often employed by Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia, and source B 3, a copy in the hand of Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch. The image of these sources is almost austere; there are very few articulation marks, no dynamic markings, and very few ornaments. At some point before leaving Berlin, Bach appears to have begun a process of revising Wq 65/30. In a manuscript copied by Anon. 12 in Berlin before 1769 (source A 11) is a version of the sonata with some minor differences from the early version, to which Bach later added further revisions over erasures, as well as dynamic and articulation markings.<sup>7</sup> At some later pe-

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3. “Da ich niemahls die allzugrosse Einförmigkeit in der Komposition und im Geschmack geliebet habe, da ich so viel und so verschieden Gutes gehört habe, da ich jederzeit der Meinung gewesen bin, man möge das Gute, es stecke wo es wolle, wenn es auch nur in geringer Dosi in einem Stücke auzutreffen ist, annehmen: so ist vermuthlich dadurch und mit Beyhülfe meiner mir von Gott verliehenen natürlichen Fähigkeit, die Verschiedenheit in meinen Arbeiten entstanden, welche man an mir bemerkt haben will.” *Autobiography*, 208; translated in William S. Newman, “Emanuel Bach’s Autobiography,” *MQ* 51 (1965), 371.

4. Berg 1983, 168.

5. This transition in relation to the shift towards “touch sensitive” instruments (clavichord and fortepiano) is discussed in A. Peter Brown, *Joseph Haydn’s Keyboard Music: Sources and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 134–71.

6. Bernard Harrison, *Haydn’s Keyboard Music: Studies in Performance Practice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 27–28.

7. Anon. 12, as he is called in Kast, is traceable as a copyist in Leipzig for J.S. Bach from c. 1742/1743–50, and later in Berlin he served as a

riod, Bach turned once again to this sonata and began a substantial revision of the third movement in A 11, adding extra ornamentation and filling in leaps and arpeggios with passing notes. Bach was, however, apparently dissatisfied with the result. He crossed out the entire movement in A 11, and made a new fair copy of his revisions on two pieces of scrap paper (source A 14) containing discarded soprano and tenor parts for the duet “Muster der Geduld und Liebe” from his *Passions-Cantate* (Wq 233). While the sources for this oratorio are quite complex—Bach himself kept making various changes to the work—the following observations are pertinent to an understanding of the two fragments in A 14 (PL-Kj, Mus. ms. Bach P 756).<sup>8</sup> According to a note added by Bach to a score of the *Passions-Cantate* (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 337), the music was composed in Hamburg and was based upon his Passion according to St. Matthew from 1769.<sup>9</sup> In the Passion, the duet no. 28, “Muster der Geduld und Liebe,” is set for two sopranos, and this voicing was retained as no. 16 in the earliest version of the *Passions-Cantate*. According to Anette Nagel, a tenor appears as an alternative to the second soprano for the first time in Johann Christoph Kuhnau’s parts for the *Passions-Cantate*, copied in 1773.<sup>10</sup> This set of parts also apparently includes a revised tenor part for the duet completed on 4 March 1778. It appears likely, then, that the two scraps are from an earlier version of the duet that Bach later revised (between 1773 and 1778), discarding the earlier parts for later use as scrap paper. From the material in A 11 and the fair copy of the revised third movement in A 14, Johann Heinrich Michel prepared before 1788 a new house copy of the revised version of Wq 65/30 (A 8), which is also found in two later copies by Michel from c. 1790 (D 12 and D 22). The edition includes two versions of Wq 65/30, since the extent of the differences between them would have been difficult to describe in the critical report, and to provide a demonstration of Bach revising his own work.

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scribe for C.P.E. Bach. Perhaps he was a pupil of the elder Bach who followed C.P.E. Bach to Berlin upon the death of Sebastian. See Yoshitake Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” *BJ* (1988): 7–72, esp. 29–31. This copyist is also known as Anon. Vr (Kobayashi) and Anon. C.P.E. Bach VIII (Wutta, Blechschmidt).

8. The complex nature of the sources of Bach’s *Passions-Cantate* is discussed in greater detail in CPEB: CW, IV/3.

9. Clark, 51; and CPEB: CW, IV/4.1.

10. Nagel, 127–28 discusses P 756, the copyist of which was Anon. 304, and on pp. 80–83 discusses Kuhnau’s parts (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 192) and the two other unknown copyists.

The Sonata in A Minor (Wq 65/33) is of particular interest for different reasons. It is probable that this sonata was created out of initially separate character pieces. The last two movements, “La Guillelmine” and “La Coorl,” are preserved separately in D 20, a voluminous source from the circle of Johann Philipp Kirnberger containing most of Bach’s character pieces composed between 1754 and 1757.<sup>11</sup> Peter Wollny proposes that because of the autograph entries by Bach in this source it was most likely based on the composer’s own house copies for the pieces (CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 150–53). “La Guillelmine” was also included in the now-lost manuscript [D 49], which possibly contained two separate copies of the work (CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 186), and it is also in D 47, a source copied in Berlin c. 1775 (CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 165–66).

According to the entries in both CV 1772 and NV 1790, Wq 65/33 was composed/compiled in Berlin during 1759; the character pieces copied in D 20 undoubtedly predated their incorporation into the sonata. It seems likely that Bach’s autograph for the complete sonata was written at this time, as its handwriting appears consistent with other sources Bach copied in the 1750s. A 13 is marked in the upper left corner with “No. 106”, which Hans-Günter Ottenberg speculated was based on the then-unavailable catalogue from 1772.<sup>12</sup> However, with the return of the manuscripts of the Berlin Sing-Akademie, it can be verified that this sonata was listed in CV 1772 as “No. 105”, so it appears likely that there must have been other earlier inventories of C. P. E. Bach’s keyboard compositions.<sup>13</sup>

An ambiguous passage in Bach’s *Autobiography* may describe the process that produced this sonata:

All together my compositions consist of about . . . one hundred and seventy solos for clavier, which are mostly sonatas, with a few of them comprising [either] little collections of character and other little pieces, [or] concertos [reduced to solos], [or] sinfonias [reduced to solos], and fugues.<sup>14</sup>

Bach’s intended meaning is that among the 170 solos for Clavier are some small collections of character pieces; but

11. As I suggest below, it is possible that Anon. 301’s copy of “La Guillelmine” may date from later in 1758 at the earliest.

12. Hans-Günter Ottenberg, “Bach and Carl Friedrich Zelter,” in *CPEB-Studies* 1988, 194.

13. Wolff 1999, 233.

14. “Ueberhaupt bestehen meine Kompositionen ohngefehr . . . in 170 Solos fürs Clavier, welches mehrentheils Sonaten sind, einige darunter bestehen aus kleinen Sammlungen charackterisirter und anderer kleinen Stücke, aus Concerten, Sinfonien und Fugen.” *Autobiography*, 207; translated in Newman, “Emanuel Bach’s *Autobiography*,” 371.

the ambiguity is that the phrase “einige darunter” could also refer to “Sonaten,” with the meaning that some sonatas were created as “little collections of character and other little pieces,” which is true of Wq 65/33.<sup>15</sup> Only one other sonata by Bach contains a title with more than just a tempo indication: the Sonata in E Minor, Wq 52/6, composed during 1758 in Zerbst, has a second movement titled “Adagio. L’Einschnitt,” though Berg has indicated that this referred to a precise compositional technique rather than a specific “character.”<sup>16</sup>

Also unusual in Wq 65/33 is Bach’s use of a minuet tempo final movement. As noted by Ottenberg: “The minuet, an integral part of the South German sonatas of Wagenseil, Monn, Steffan, and others, expressing a lighter, more relaxed mood, is rejected, together with the rondo, on aesthetic grounds.”<sup>17</sup> Ottenberg’s observation does need to be moderated as regards the rare minuet tempo movements by Bach. While some final movements from Bach’s sonatas are similar to minuets (for example, Wq 62/7 and Wq 65/26), only two other sonatas have a final movement clearly marked as being in minuet tempo: Wq 63/1, published with the other *Probestücke* in 1753, and Wq 50/5. Each of these movements is quite distinct from the others:

15. Bach’s intended meaning is clear in his letter to Forkel from 10 February 1775: “My works for clavier alone total 173 pieces, partly sonatas, partly small collections of character pieces. Of these 173 pieces just 99 are printed.” (Meine Arbeiten fürs Clavier allein enthalten 173 Stücke, theils Sonaten, theils kleine Sammlungen von characterisirten Stücken. Von diesen 173 Stücken sind just 99 gedruckt), *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:485–86; *CPEB-Letters*, 75. David Schulenberg, “C. P. E. Bach in Zerbst: The Six Sonatas of Fall 1758, with Contributions on the Early Biography and Compositions of Carl Fasch,” in *Johann Friedrich Fasch als Instrumentalkomponist: Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz am 8. und 9. April 2005 in Rahmen der 9. Internationalen Fasch-Festtage in Zerbst*, ed. Wolfgang Ruf, Schriften zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte 14 (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2007), 141, suggested that movements with “relatively small dimensions” and the “use of simple rondo and da-capo designs alongside the usual sonata forms . . . do not disappear from Bach’s sonatas after 1758, but at least a few of these later, simpler sonatas might have been assembled from separately composed *Clavierstücke*.” Schulenberg also discussed the possibility that Wq 53/1 was made up of separate pieces in CPEB: CW, I/2, xvi. Darrell M. Berg, “Claviermusik mit Texten: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs gemischte Genres der fünfziger und sechziger Jahre,” in *Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800) und das Berliner Musikleben seiner Zeit*, ed. Konstanze Musketa et al., *Fasch-Studien VII* (Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 81–92, also discusses Bach’s fascination with character pieces and smaller genres between 1754 and 1757.

16. Berg 1986, 2:98, “This title (= Caesura or Incision) refers to the way in which the melody is constructed (each phrase beginning with the same pitches that ended the preceding phrase).” This is also discussed in Darrell M. Berg, “Towards a Catalogue of the Keyboard Sonatas of C. P. E. Bach,” *JAMS* 32 (1979), 291–92.

17. Ottenberg, 40.

the “Tempo di Minuetto con tenerezza” from Wq 63/1 is a simple binary-form dance (42 mm.); the “Tempo di Minuetto” from Wq 65/33 is a more extended rondo (100 mm.) with some dynamic contrasts; and the “Tempo di Minuetto” from Wq 50/5, composed in Zerbst in 1758, is also a rondo, but is longer (229 mm.) and much more complex.<sup>18</sup>

“La Coorl,” the original designation (source A 13) of the final “Tempo di Minuetto,” is explained by Carl Friedrich Zelter as a nickname for Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800):

Concertmaster Höckh, an intimate but cheerful friend of the house of the old Fasch, was engaged from time to time with the child in insignificant conversation, but never received a reply. Höckh, who was born not far from Vienna, spoke in an Austrian dialect, according to which he always called the young Fasch, who was named Karl, “Monsieur Koorl;” \*) this annoyed him, and for that reason he gave no answer. Once Höckh asked the child whether he had absolutely any desire for music? He wished to teach him the violin and received to his astonishment a friendly and lively, Yes! After many questions and research it finally turned up that the young Fasch had collected in his head a number of entirely new pieces without his father’s knowledge, and at such a time, when the father was at court or in the church, he had practiced at the keyboard.

\*) Among C.P.E. Bach’s character pieces one is entitled *La Coorl*, which refers to this circumstance.<sup>19</sup>

18. The Sonata Wq 63/1, like the second movement of Wq 65/33, also has rather explicit tempo markings: “Allegretto tranquillamente,” “Andante ma innocentemente,” and “Tempo di Minuetto con tenerezza.” Schulenberg, “C.P.E. Bach in Zerbst,” 143, discusses the two minuet-rondos, Wq 65/33/iii and Wq 50/5/iii.

19. “Der Konzertmeister Höckh, ein vertrauter aber muntre Hausfreund des alten Fasch, ließ sich von Zeit zu Zeit mit dem Kinde in unbedeutende Gespräche ein, bekam aber niemals eine Antwort. Höckh, der unweit Wien geboren war, hatte einen österreichischen Dialekt, dem zufolge er den jungen Fasch, der Karl hieß, immer Monsieur Koorl nannte \*); dieß verdroß ihn, und deswegen gab er keine Antwort. Einst fragte Höckh das Kind: ob er denn gar keine Lust zur Musik habe? er wolle ihn auf der Violine unterrichten, und erhielt zu seinem Erstaunen ein freudliches und lebhaftes Ja! Nach vielem Fragen und Forschen fand sich endlich, daß der junge Fasch mehrere ganz neue Stücke, ohne Wissen des Vaters, in seinem Kopfe zusammengesetzt, und zu solcher Zeit, wann der Vater am Hofe oder in der Kirche gewesen, auf dem Klaviere geübt hatte. \*) Unter C.P.E. Bachs Charakterstücken ist eins: *La Coorl*, überschrieben, welches sich aus diesen Umstand bezieht.” Carl Friedrich Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch* (Berlin: In Commission und gedruckt bei J.F. Unger, 1801); reprinted as *Karl Friedrich Zelter, Dokumentation zu Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch, 1736–1800*, ed. Eitel-friedrich Thom (Blankenburg/Harz: Forschungs- und Gedenkstätte Kloster Michaelstein, 1983), 8–9.

This story is based on information that Zelter must have received directly from Fasch.<sup>20</sup> Carl Höckh (1707–73) was a violinist in Zerbst, and a close friend of the Fasch family, and began teaching C.F.C. Fasch when he was 11 years old (in about 1747).<sup>21</sup> Bach was also close to the Fasch family, providing for the young Fasch when he arrived in Berlin in 1756, and later the two of them, along with Bach’s family, evacuated to Zerbst from August to December 1758 when Austrian and Russian troops occupied Berlin, staying with the elder Fasch.<sup>22</sup> Bach may have heard this story either from Johann Friederich Fasch during a visit to Berlin in 1751 or possibly from his Berlin colleague, Franz Benda, who was accompanied by C.F.C. Fasch during a performance he gave at Strelitz in 1751.<sup>23</sup>

Bach also used “La Coorl” as the last movement of the Sinfonia in A Minor, Wq 156, a trio sonata which was written in Berlin, 1754, according to NV 1790.<sup>24</sup> It is likely, however, that the character piece for keyboard predated this arrangement, though its earliest copy is found in a later section of D 20, following Bach’s autograph copy of the Polonaise (Wq 116/2) and “La Guilielmine.”<sup>25</sup> Given the rarity of a minuet as a final movement in Bach’s sonatas, and its association with southern German and Austrian composers, it is possible that its use in this character piece is a subtle reference to Höckh’s Austrian ancestry and dialect (which may account for its early use in the sinfonia, Wq 156) as well as Fasch’s nickname.<sup>26</sup>

20. This story is also mentioned in Darrell M. Berg, “Bach’s Character Pieces and his Friendship Circle,” in *CPEB-Studies 1988*, 2, fn.3; and Ottenberg, 87.

21. Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch*, 8–9, and “Höckh,” Grove Music Online (accessed 23 October 2010).

22. Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch*, 13. Bach’s time in Zerbst and his composition of six sonatas there is discussed in Schulenberg, “C.P.E. Bach in Zerbst,” 131–51.

23. Concerning the visit to Berlin, see Bernhard Engelke, *Johann Friedrich Fasch: Sein Leben und seine Tätigkeit als Vokalkomponist* (Halle: C.A. Kaemmerer, 1908), 26; concerning Franz Benda’s connection with C.F.C. Fasch, see Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch*, 11.

24. See CPEB: CW, II/2.2, 60–69.

25. CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 153.

26. Schulenberg, “C.P.E. Bach in Zerbst,” 141–42, speculates that the final movement of Wq 65/33 “is curiously anodyne for a piece named after Fasch, who was perhaps Bach’s most talented imitator; could this be because Bach composed it before he had fully recognized the musical strengths of his young colleague?” Berg, “Claviermusik mit Texten,” 88, may also infer that this movement refers to Höckh rather than Fasch: “. . . La Coorl (this last named for Carl Hoeckh, the concertmaster of the Zerbst court chapel)” [. . . La Coorl (das letzte nach Carl Hoeckh, dem Konzertmeister der Zerbster Hofkapelle, benannt)]. Christoph Wolff, in CPEB: CW, II/2.2, xvii, accepts that this is a musical portrayal of Fasch.

More problematic is the identification of “La Guillelmine,” Wq 65/33/ii. This movement is unusual in a number of respects: it remains in A minor, the key of the outer movements of the sonata (though other sonatas by Bach also retain the same key in all movements, such as Wq 65/26 and 65/39 in this volume, for example); its tempo designation (*Adagio ma non troppo*) was rarely used by Bach; and it has an unusual *cadenza*-like conclusion.<sup>27</sup> Although “La Guillelmine” had a separate existence as a character piece, it would seem that in creating Wq 65/33 in 1759, C.P.E. Bach would have been combining movements of some significance within his Berlin circle, especially since his autograph of the sonata (A 13) included the titles of these two character pieces. Given the gravity of this movement’s musical style, its composition in Berlin, and the association of the third movement with C.F.C. Fasch, it is tempting to associate “La Guillelmine” with Friedrich’s older sister, Princess Wilhelmine of Prussia (Friederike Sophie Wilhelmine, 1709–58), herself a performer on lute and harpsichord and a composer, perhaps as a *tombeau*.<sup>28</sup>

While Bach tended to use French forms for the given names of women in his other character pieces, very few of these can be identified with any certainty.<sup>29</sup> “La Guillelmine” is very similar to a nickname used by Voltaire, who in some of his letters describing life at Frederick’s court compared Potsdam to an abbey. In these letters, Frederick and his friends were monks, and Wilhelmine was the abbess, “*Sœur Guillemette*.”<sup>30</sup> There is, however, no direct ev-

27. See Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg’s discussion of character pieces: “French character pieces largely preclude such [extravagant performance], and one would wish that it weren’t considered sufficient, in all compositions in the new style, to set nothing more than the words ‘allegro’ or ‘adagio’ at the head of a piece without giving the player more explicit information about the inner nature and distinctiveness of this particular Adagio.” (Die französischen charakterisierten Stücke bewahren sehr davor, und es wäre zu wünschen, daß man es auch nicht allezeit in allen Sachen nach dem neuen Geschmack bei uns genug sein liesse weiter nichts als die Wörter Allegro oder Adagio etc. über ein Stück zu setzen, ohne den Spieler von der inneren Beschaffenheit und dem Unterschiede dieses Adagio nähere Nachricht zu geben.) Quoted and translated in Berg, “Bach’s Character Pieces,” 3–4.

28. The entry for her in Grove Music Online (accessed 18 May 2011) contains a number of inaccuracies. For a more detailed summary see the discussion of Wilhelmine in Derek McCulloch, “Aristocratic Composers in the 18th Century” (Ph.D. diss., University of Surrey, 1990), 242–49.

29. Berg, “Bach’s Character Pieces,” 7 and 19.

30. Edith E. Cuthell, *Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1905), 2:165. Compare with François Couperin, *Troisième livre de pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1722), 50–51, *Dix-huitième Ordre*, “*Sœur Monique*.” It is unlikely that Bach would have been aware of the double meanings in Couperin’s reference, either a sis-

ter for any connection between Bach and Wilhelmine; the most concrete but still indirect link is that Bach taught Carl Eugen, Duke of Württemberg, during his stay in Berlin until 1744; the duke married Wilhelmine’s only daughter Friederike on 26 September 1748.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the most remembered potential contact between Wilhelmine and Bach would have taken place during her visit to Berlin in 1750, an event commemorated in the famous nineteenth-century painting by Adolph von Menzel, which he labeled on his pencil sketch “*Die Oertlichkeit ist das Musikzimmer auf Sanssouci, Zeit 1750*.”<sup>32</sup> During the course of this visit—in addition to the balls, plays, intermezzi, operas (including Graun’s *Iphigenia*)—there were numerous occasions for music in Potsdam, at Sanssouci, and in Berlin; these would have included the participation of Frederick’s musicians, including Bach. A contemporary report described the visit to Sanssouci, during which Frederick, Wilhelmine, and the other guests toured the palace: “From the Library they returned to the Music Room, where the King’s musicians executed a concert, while ladies and distinguished persons sat down to cards.”<sup>33</sup> Though it is commonly accepted that Bach’s character piece, “*La Prinzette*” (Wq 117/21) refers to Baroness Johanna Benedicte von

ter in a religious order or a woman of ill-repute; see the entry in the list of titles included in Jane Clark and Derek Connon, *The Mirror of Human Life: Reflections on François Couperin’s Pièces de Clavecin* (London: Keyword Press, 2011), 170.

31. Ottenberg, 38; see also Ellen Elizabeth Exner, “The Forging of a Golden Age: King Frederick the Great and Music for Berlin, 1732 to 1756” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010), 260. Irene Hegen has suggested that the two clavier concertos which Franz Benda had brought to Bayreuth in 1734 from Leipzig were by Bach. In a letter to Frederick, Wilhelmine mentions they were by a “neuen Virtuoso” (a new virtuoso) who would be a “sehr guter Komponist” (very good composer) and hoped he would be one “den du in dene dienste nehmen willst” (whom you should take into your service). See Wilhelmine von Bayreuth, *Concerto in g*, ed. Irene Hegen (Kassel: Furore, 2000), 31.

32. McCulloch, “Aristocratic Composers,” 258, includes a reproduction of Menzel’s pencil sketch identifying the significant persons he portrayed, including Wilhelmine sitting on the couch just to the left of Frederick; McCulloch includes a short description and analysis of the painting and sketch on p. 257. This painting is also described in E. Eugene Helm, *Music at the Court of Frederick the Great* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), plate between pp. 124 and 125. Most of the description of the visit of 1750 which follows is summarized from Cuthell, *Wilhelmina*, 2:166–71.

33. Translated in Cuthell, *Wilhelmina*, 2:167, from an unnamed source. Certainly Wilhelmine’s younger sister, Anna Amalia, had strong connections with the Bach circle around the court; see the discussions in Exner, “The Forging of a Golden Age,” 261–83, and Berg 1998, 477–519. Exner, 278, also notes that Lorenz Christoph Mizler dedicated the first issue of his *Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek* in 1739 to two of Anna Amalia’s older sisters, Friederike Luise and Wilhelmine.

Printzen, who attended the christening of C.P.E. Bach's son Johann Sebastian on 26 September 1748, the identification of "La Guillelmine" with Princess Wilhelmine may be unlikely because of the difference in station between Bach and the royal family.<sup>34</sup>

Given the unique referents of the second (proposed) and third movements of Wq 65/33, it seems likely that Bach's autograph score, which now resides in the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv in Weimar, was given to C.F.C. Fasch, from whom it passed to Zelter and, finally, was given to Goethe.<sup>35</sup> The autograph (A 13) most likely served as the direct or indirect model for the other source copied with movement titles (D 19).<sup>36</sup>

The Sonata in E Major, Wq 65/29, may relate to Bach's growing international reputation. The French writer Denis Diderot stopped in Hamburg when returning from St. Petersburg in March 1774, at which time he wrote a letter to Bach requesting copies of "some clavier sonatas, if he has any in manuscript that have not yet been published" for his daughter.<sup>37</sup> Four years earlier, Diderot had already been in contact with Friedrich Melchior Grimm to obtain from Johann Gottfried Eckard "a volume of sonatas in unusual keys by Emanuel Bach."<sup>38</sup> On the first page of Wq 65/29 in source A 2 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 359) an unknown hand has added the comment "Für Diderot in Paris," indicating that this was possibly one of the sonatas sent in fulfillment of Diderot's request.

Based just on the evidence of the present volume, Bach's continuing engagement with even his older compositions is remarkable. Partly it may have been due to his desire to keep these works up-to-date in terms of the changing instrumentation of the later eighteenth century. Partly it may have been due to his continuing search for an effective keyboard idiom:

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34. Berg, "Bach's Character Pieces," 31, and CPEB: CW, I/8.2, xvii.

35. Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Bach and Carl Friedrich Zelter," 193–94. The autograph also has the otherwise unrecorded inventory mark "No. 106" on its first page. This number is close to the CV 1772 numeration for this sonata of (No. 105) though the difference may indicate that the MS was already out of Bach's possession before CV 1772 was compiled.

36. The version of the sonata in D 45 has the title "La Guillelmine" for the second movement, but the third movement in this source is titled "La Caroline." I believe that the title "La Caroline" may have been a scribal attempt in this source to render the otherwise obscure "La Coorl" into a reasonably recognizable name, though it could possibly also refer to A. C. P. Bach.

37. CPEB-Briefe, 1:375–80; CPEB-Letters, 50–51.

38. Ottenberg, 223.

My chief effort, especially in recent years, has been directed towards both playing and composing as songfully as possible for the clavier [clavichord], notwithstanding its lack of sustaining power. This [challenge] is not at all easy if the ear is not to be left too empty and [if] the noble simplicity of the melody is not to be disturbed by too much bustle. It seems to me that music primarily must touch the heart, and the clavierist never can accomplish that through mere bluster, drumming, and arpeggiating, at least not in my opinion.<sup>39</sup>

## Notation and Performance Practice

The sources for the sonatas in the present edition almost universally designate "cembalo" as the instrument for which they were written. This does not mean that they were intended only for harpsichord. They could be played on a variety of commonly available stringed keyboard instruments—harpsichord, clavichord, *Bogenclavier*, fortepiano—and even, with adjustments for a pitch compass that was typically smaller, the organ. Although Bach discussed the relative merits of the harpsichord and clavichord in his *Versuch*, he seems to have preferred not to stipulate a particular instrument for most of his solo keyboard compositions.

After the publication of the *Versuch* in 1753, Bach's notation of his ornaments in keyboard music became more precise. Because the sources which transmit the sonatas of CPEB: CW, I/6.4 generally employ ornaments in the manner Bach prescribes in the *Versuch*, few editorial changes have been necessary in this regard. These have been mainly to keep the notation within each sonata consistent where the copyist has used multiple symbols for the same ornament, or where the copyist has used an atypical symbol (see the discussion of Wq 65/26 and 65/27 in the critical commentary).









Table 2 presents an overview of the ornaments used in the present volume.

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39. "Mein Hauptstudium ist besonders in den letzten Jahren dahin gerichtet gewesen, auf dem Clavier, ohngeachtet des Mangels an Aushaltung, so viel möglich sangbar zu spielen und dafür zu setzen. Es ist diese Sache nicht so gar leicht, wenn man das Ohr nicht zu leer lassen, und die edle Einfalt des Gesanges durch zu vieles Geräusch nicht verderben will. Mich deucht, die Musik müsse vornemlich das Herz rühren, und dahin bringt es ein Clavierspieler nie durch blosses Poltern, Trommeln und Harpeggiren, wenigstens bey mir nicht." *Autobiography*, 209; translated in Newman, "Emanuel Bach's Autobiography," 372.



TABLE 2. ORNAMENTS USED IN 1/6

Symbol	Name	Versuch Reference	Execution
tr, +, <sup>mw</sup>	Trill, regular trill (Triller, ordentlicher Triller)	I:2.3, § 1–21, and Tab. IV, Fig. XIX–XXIII	
<sup>mw</sup>	Trill from below (Triller von unten)	I:2.3, § 22, and Tab. IV, Fig. XXXIV	
<sup>mw</sup>	Trill from above (Triller von oben)	I:2.3, § 27, and Tab. IV, Fig. XLI	
<sup>w</sup>	Short trill (halber Triller, Pralltriller)	I:2.3, § 30–36, Tab. IV, Fig. XLV–XLVIII, and Tab. V, Fig. XLIX	
∞, 2	Turn (Doppelschlag)	I:2.4, § 1–27, and Tab. V, Fig. L–LXII	
∞	Trilled turn (prallender Doppelschlag)	I:2.4, § 28–34, and Tab. V, Fig. LXIII–LXVIII	
∞	Inverted turn (Schleiffer von dreyen Nötgen)	I:2.7, § 5, and Tab. VI, Fig. LXXXIX	
<sup>w</sup> , <sup>mw</sup>	Mordent and long mordent (Mordent, langer Mordent)	I:2.5, § 1–15, and Tab. V, Fig. LXXXII–LXXXV	

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Charles E. Brewer