

INTRODUCTION

Inception

The six collections of sonatas, rondos, and fantasias “für Kenner und Liebhaber” issued between 1779 and 1787 together constitute Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s largest-scale publishing venture. (A complete list of contents is given in table 1.) Its preparation and sales (all published “im Verlag des Autors”) occupied much of Bach’s energy for the final ten years of his life; yet when he mooted the first collection—a retrospective selection of six sonatas—he does not appear to have thought of it as the beginning of a series: he only added “Erste Sammlung” to the title page shortly before publication. Only when the commercial success of the first keyboard collection was patent did he expand and vary the scheme, first by adding rondos (a recently popular form) for a second collection, and eventually, in the final three collections, samples of his free fantasies (so that, despite the ephemeral nature of this improvisatory art, posterity and the world at large might know what a *Phantast* he had been).

He had many reasons to propose such a venture: this was, for him, a time for securing his reputation. Like his father, C.P.E. Bach had never left Germany, and most of his important musical acquaintances came to visit him at home; he travelled less than many of his contemporaries, and regretted the fact: “I do not deny that it would have been both exceptionally pleasant and advantageous if I had had the opportunity of visiting foreign countries.”¹ One remedy for the lack of exposure that travel would have given him was publications that would circulate more widely than he had; Bach was also planning to publish select vocal works—the double-chorus Heilig, Wq 217, *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq 238, *Klopstocks Morgengesang*, Wq 239, and, with much effort, the score of the oratorio, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Wq 240.

In addition, although he had been careful to control the manuscript circulation of his unpublished works, he was worried by the possibility and was constantly preoccupied

with financial security—for his family after his death as much as for himself at the present. He sensed rightly that there was an appetite for his music and that he had the accumulated resources to satisfy it. In many ways Bach’s works became his children, particularly after the death of his son during the preparation of the first “Kenner und Liebhaber” collection, and he struggled to send them decently and securely abroad into the world.

“Kenner und Liebhaber”

The qualifier chosen by Bach for his collection, “für Kenner und Liebhaber,” did not propose a distinction new to the arts. French theorists such as Jean-Pierre Crousaz in his *Traité du beau* (Amsterdam, 1715) and Jean-Baptiste Dubos in *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie, la peinture et la musique* (Paris, 1719) had used the terms to distinguish differing approaches to aesthetic experience. Some twenty years before Bach’s use of the phrase, the archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann had recommended a study of mythical Greece, wherein “The connoisseur will find plenty to reflect upon, and the amateur will learn to do likewise.”² Neither term was thought to be pejorative or even preferable.³ Johann Nikolaus Forkel, a colleague and regular correspondent with Bach, had produced *Über die Theorie der Musik, insofern sie Liebhabern und Kennern notwendig und nützlich ist* in 1777, but the phrase was new to printed music when Bach adopted it. Quickly imitated elsewhere in Germany, it has since given rise to much analysis and speculation.⁴ Bach’s nemesis in Berlin, Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab, started a “Kenner und Liebhaber” concert series and a short-lived publication, the *Clavier-*

1. “Diesem allen ohngeachtet, läugne ich nicht, daß es mir ungemein lieb und auch vortheilhaft würde gewesen seyn, wenn ich hätte können Gelegenheit haben, fremde Länder zu besuchen.” *Autobiography*, 202.

2. Quoted in *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism*, ed. H.B. Nesbit (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 54; see Winckelmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Eiselein (1825–29), 1:56.

3. Although the lawyer (and timpanist) Christian Gottfried Krause did seem to lean towards the amateur, who, he explained, was “neither familiar with the rules of harmony, nor subject to other prejudices”. *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1752), 31.

4. For other interpretations of *Kenner* and *Liebhaber* see Erich Herbert Beurmann, *Die Klaviersonaten Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs* (Ph.D. diss., Georg-August Universität Göttingen, 1952), 78–80.

TABLE I. CONTENTS OF BACH'S "KENNER & LIEBHABER" COLLECTIONS

Collection / Caption Heading in Print	Key	Wq No.	H No.	NV 1790	Place, Date of Composition
<i>Erste Sammlung</i>					
Sonata I	C	55/1	244	p. 22, no. 170	Hamburg, 1773
Sonata II	F	55/2	130	p. 15, no. 106	Berlin, 1758
Sonata III	b	55/3	245	p. 22, no. 173	Hamburg, 1774
Sonata IV	A	55/4	186	p. 19, no. 143	Potsdam, 1765
Sonata V	F	55/5	243	p. 22, no. 169	Hamburg, 1772
Sonata VI	G	55/6	187	p. 19, no. 142	Potsdam, 1765
<i>Zweite Sammlung</i>					
Rondo I	C	56/1	260	p. 22, no. 177	Hamburg, 1778
Sonata I	G	56/2	246	p. 22, no. 172	Hamburg, 1774
Rondo II	D	56/3	261	p. 23, no. 178	Hamburg, 1778
Sonata II	F	56/4	269	p. 23, no. 184	Hamburg, 1780
Rondo III	a	56/5	262	p. 23, no. 179	Hamburg, 1778
Sonata III	A	56/6	270	p. 23, no. 185	Hamburg, 1780
<i>Dritte Sammlung</i>					
Rondo I	E	57/1	265	p. 23, no. 183	Hamburg, 1779
Sonata I	a	57/2	247	p. 22, no. 171	Hamburg, 1774
Rondo II	G	57/3	271	p. 23, no. 186	Hamburg, 1780
Sonata II	d	57/4	208	p. 21, no. 162	Potsdam, 1766
Rondo III	a	57/5	266	p. 23, no. 180	Hamburg, 1779
Sonata III	f	57/6	173	p. 17, no. 127	Berlin, 1763
<i>Vierte Sammlung</i>					
Rondo I	F	58/1	276	p. 24, no. 194	Hamburg, 1782
Sonata I	G	58/2	273	p. 24, no. 189	Hamburg, 1781
Rondo II	E	58/3	274	p. 23, no. 188	Hamburg, 1781
Sonata II	e	58/4	188	p. 19, no. 145	Berlin, 1765
Rondo III	B \flat	58/5	267	p. 23, no. 182	Hamburg, 1779
Fantasia I	E \flat	58/6	277	p. 24, no. 193	Hamburg, 1782
Fantasia II	A	58/7	278	p. 24, no. 192	Hamburg, 1782
<i>Fünfte Sammlung</i>					
Sonata I	e	59/1	281	p. 24, no. 198	Hamburg, 1784
Rondo I	G	59/2	268	p. 23, no. 181	Hamburg, 1779
Sonata II	B \flat	59/3	282	p. 24, no. 197	Hamburg, 1784
Rondo II	c	59/4	283	p. 25, no. 199	Hamburg, 1784
Fantasia I	F	59/5	279	p. 24, no. 191	Hamburg, 1782
Fantasia II	C	59/6	284	p. 24, no. 196	Hamburg, 1784
<i>Sechste Sammlung*</i>					
Rondo I	E \flat	61/1	288	p. 25, no. 202	Hamburg, 1786
Sonata I	D	61/2	286	p. 25, no. 201	Hamburg, 1785
Fantasia I	B \flat	61/3	289	p. 25, no. 208	Hamburg, 1786
Rondo II	d	61/4	290	p. 25, no. 209	Hamburg, 1785
Sonata II	e	61/5	287	p. 25, no. 200	Hamburg, 1785
Fantasia II	C	61/6	291	p. 25, no. 207	Hamburg, 1786

* The pieces are not numbered in this collection.

Magazin für Kenner und Liebhaber (1787); Karl Hanke followed with *Gesänge beim Clavier für Kenner und Liebhaber* (Flensburg, Schleswig, and Hamburg, 1790), and the *Musikalische Anthologie für Kenner und Liebhaber* began in 1788 (later becoming the less fashionable *Anthologie zur Musikalischen Real-Zeitung*).

In literary cases the title usually implied an exclusive division: part of the publication would be concerned with theory, the other with practice, just as sonata collections might be described as “halb leicht, halb schwer” (Hässler, 1785) or the earlier collections of Georg Benda “für geübte und ungeübte Spieler” (1780–87). But Bach’s usage could equally be taken as inclusive: both *Kenner* and *Liebhaber* represent private rather than public qualities—the “connoisseur” possessing a palate deliberately sensitized by the intellect, while “amateurs” display a “natural” emotion and “untainted” feeling. Other sources interpreted the *Kenner* as “experts” (i.e., craftsmen of the highest rank), and the *Liebhaber* could be translated as “admirers.”⁵ Certainly the lexicographers saw a demarcation which did not involve professionalism; Johann Christian Adelung’s *Wörterbuch* of 1796 (vol. 2, col. 261) provided a definition with a well-nuanced sting in its tail: “the *Liebhaber Ital. Dilettante*, is one who has an excellent taste for fine art and artworks without being an artist himself. Not all amateurs (*Liebhaber*) are also connoisseurs (*Kenner*).”⁶ Nevertheless, a glance at Bach’s subscription lists shows that many of his most loyal supporters combined both qualities.

By the time of the final collections, with declining sales and a smaller subscription base, the title eventually may have carried a privately cynical or satirical tone: Bach wrote “to please himself in spite of criticism over their difficulty and declining numbers of subscribers”;⁷ even Charles Burney, one of the composer’s staunchest supporters, admitted early on that “Emanuel Bach . . . seems to have outstript his age,” a verdict repeated by François-Joseph Fétis some sixty years later.⁸ Even today, especially among critics, there is a residual belief that such music is best reserved for the initiated.

5. J.S. Bach dedicated his *Clavierübung* to “denen Liebhabern zur Gemüths Ergetzung.”

6. Quoted in *The Musical Dilettante: A Treatise on Composition* by J.F. Daube, trans. Susan P. Snook-Luther (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 18n.

7. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel,” by E. Eugene Helm.

8. See Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London, 1775), 2:271, and Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*,

Method of Publication

The stages of preparing and issuing a publication with Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf followed a standard pattern.⁹ “Selbstverlag”—for which there is no elegant equivalent in English (“self-publication” melts too readily into “self-publicist”)—meant that Bach originated the proposal, requested Breitkopf’s services, organized the advertising for subscriptions once a printing price had been fixed, ran a team of agents or collectors (including Johann Philipp Kirnberger, Baron van Swieten, Charles Burney, etc.) in other towns and countries, and offered all material—title pages, dedication, listing of subscribers as well as musical content—in copy-ready form to Breitkopf. Subscription was by *Pränumeration* (payment in advance), rather than *Subscription* (payment on delivery), but there were many *lapsus memoriae* to which countless Bach letters bear impatient testimony. Those who failed to keep their promises were dismissed succinctly by Bach to Breitkopf as having died, either “morally or physically” (*moraliter oder physice*).¹⁰

The area covered by subscriptions was large (but, sadly, largest for the first collection). The many sales in Scandinavia are perhaps explained by the fact that the poets Klopstock, Claudius and Gerstenberg all lived in Copenhagen for some time, while Sweden remained a clavichord-dominated country longer than much of the rest of Europe, due to the ban on imports of fortepianos from Austria and Germany. St. Petersburg, Moscow, Bordeaux and London also appear as significant strongholds of Bach enthusiasts, displaying symptoms of what Burney’s friend, the wonderfully ebullient Thomas Twining, described as “Carlophilip-emanuelbachomania.” The subscribers included among the *Kenner* many professional musicians and theorists, some of whom (like Burney) also acted as agents or collectors for Bach’s subscriptions; unlike the amateurs, the professionals would have had additional outlets for their purchases, buying not only for their own use, but also on behalf of

2nd ed. (Paris, 1867–83), 1:204: “. . . il fut méconnu de ses contemporains, parce que son style était trop nouveau pour eux, et ses successeurs, instruits par son exemple, ont developpé ce qu’il avait inventé et en ont perfectionné les formes.”

9. Well summarized by Peggy Daub in “The Publication Process and Audience for C.P.E. Bach’s *Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber*,” in *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 2, J.S. Bach, the Breitkopfs, and Eighteenth-Century Music Trade, ed. George B. Stauffer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 65–83.

10. See letter of 21 September 1787; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1227; *CPEB-Letters*, 269.

their pupils and also for selling on to the general public in their locality. Among the *Liebhaber* subscribers we find nearly 30 percent consisted of women, a higher proportion than usual and one that “points to a new audience for chamber music and keyboard pieces in particular.”¹¹

The evidence of his contemporaries and friends who were publishing solo clavier music at the same time may have led Bach to expect a greater response than materialized. The first volume of Georg Benda’s keyboard collection appeared in 1780 with an impressive 2,076 subscribers listed (and this without the late-comers), while a year later Nathanael Gruner had 1,368 subscribers for his collection of *Sechs Sonaten für das Klavier*, Op. 1 (among them C. P. E. Bach). Türk’s subscription lists seem to have rarely dropped below four figures: 1,254 in 1783 for his *Sechs leichte Klaviersonaten . . . Erster Theil* (his first publication); 1,334 for the *Zweyter Theil* in 1783; 2,354 for similar sonatas in 1785; and 2,415 in 1786. Any hopes that Bach might have entertained for such an impressive and regular increase were not sustained. His first collection listed 519 subscribers, and sold more than 600 copies; however, by the last collection only 288 subscribers were listed, although Bach claimed in a letter of 23 July 1785 that he often had up to 40 extra names that were not printed in the subscription list.¹² Nevertheless, it is estimated that he made 950 Reichsthaler profit from sales of the first collection alone, which was the equivalent of his annual Hamburg salary.¹³ Additionally it must be noted that the large number of surviving manuscript copies of these collections, some in their entirety (see “Manuscript Sources Not Used for the Edition”) suggests a considerable body of supporters for whom the asking price for the print had been set beyond what they could afford or were willing to pay.

11. Daub, “The Publication Process,” 81.

12. For details of sales in Göttingen, see Klaus Hortschansky, “The Musician as Music Dealer in the Second Half of the 18th Century,” in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century*, ed. Walter Salmen, trans. Henry Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 233; for the wider range of sales see Daub, “The Publication Process,” 77ff.

13. Hans-Günter Ottenburg, “Die Klaviersonaten Wq 55 ‘im Verlage des Autors. Zur Praxis des Selbstverlages bei Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk*, ed. Heinrich Poos (Mainz: Schott, 1993), 34.

Printing and Proofreading

The largest part of Bach’s surviving correspondence in the last ten years of his life was with Breitkopf, not only in his capacity as printer and publisher, but also as a close friend of the composer. Bach confided his familial as well as financial concerns to Breitkopf, sympathised with him over the death of his wife and the divorce of his daughter, and gave his unguarded opinions on contemporaries and rivals. But in the first place there were the practicalities of interpreting the manuscript and the proofreading and distributing of the finished product.

Doubtless the high sales of other keyboard volumes was one encouragement for Bach to set the print run for his first “Kenner und Liebhaber” collection (after a moment’s hesitation) at 1,050 copies,¹⁴ and to persist in this quantity through all six sets; 1,000 copies were for public sale, the extra 50 for complimentary distribution. Subscribers were asked to choose in which clef they wished the upper part notated, either treble (G clef or “violin clef” to Bach) or soprano (C clef or “keyboard clef”). The normal proportion Bach specified to Breitkopf was 600 in soprano clef and 450 in treble, although for the final collection in 1787 he requested equal numbers.¹⁵ Amateur preference throughout Europe was moving away from the soprano clef, partly led by publishers in Vienna where, as Bach noted, the treble clef was most customary.¹⁶

One of the drawbacks of the Breitkopf printing method, using movable type, was that after a first print run the frames would be broken up and type used for other publications, unlike engraved plates, which could be stored and reused when necessary; this was probably a second incentive for Bach to risk over-optimistic print runs.¹⁷ There still remains a need for research into the printer’s methods for issuing the same music in both soprano and treble clefs; although the right-hand staff would need resetting, the left-hand remained the same, and it would have been wasteful to have dismantled and then reassembled it. Some of the right-hand staves seem to have been reset on a “prefabricated” system, with a conglomerate of several pieces of type

14. See letter of 13 November 1778; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:704; *CPEB-Letters*, 127.

15. See letter of 3 January 1787; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1189–91; *CPEB-Letters*, 255–56.

16. See letter of 31 July 1784; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1023–25; *CPEB-Letters*, 209.

17. A total of 3,038 copies of various *Kenner und Liebhaber* volumes still remained in Bach’s possession in 1788.

moved bodily together to stand one line or space higher or lower. Bach supplied manuscript copy in only one clef (sometimes mixing them in a single collection, as his letters testify), so presumably one work-stream in the Breitkopf house was devoted to transposition.

Bach wrote reminders to Breitkopf about idiosyncrasies of notation such as the use of large flats (letter of 1 May 1781), which are found from the third collection onward; he suggested improvements in spacing and layout, and even proposed explanatory footnotes for the fantasies with more esoteric notation (as suggested in a letter of 30 November 1782, but not implemented). The letters give us only occasional glimpses into the proofreading process, and no marked-up proofs survive in Bach's hand. It is not clear from the correspondence whether Bach proofread versions in both clefs or whether the changes mentioned in his letters were a result of seeing sample pages; certainly the corrections he sent in a letter of 10 March 1787 were based on checking his own manuscript copy. The letter of 28 December 1782 suggests that Bach made at least some corrections from memory, although the letter of 23 July 1783 shows that he had complete proofs to mark. A letter to Engelhardt Benjamin Schwickert on 17 November 1787 indicates that Bach saw all proofs of the "Kenner und Liebhaber" collections.

Criticism and Reception

"How rarely does one find in a critic the necessary degrees of sensitivity, knowledge, honesty and courage!" (Wie gar sehr selten trifft man bey einem Kritiker Empfindung, Wissenschaft, Ehrlichkeit und Muth im gehörigen Grade an) Bach lamented in his autobiography (p. 208). Yet his late publications were well received by critics both in Germany and abroad, often with a perceptive, if flowery, appreciation of his most novel ventures. When the fifth collection appeared in 1786, a reviewer in the *Magazin der Musik* enthused that

The musical genius of our great Bach seems in fact to be inexhaustible. However often one studies his sonatas, rondos, or fantasias, of which he constantly issues new examples, and however often one compares them with one another, or with the work of other masters, one always finds that each piece is entirely new and original in its invention, while the spirit of Bach is unmistakably present in them all; thus this composer is literally incomparable.¹⁸

18. "Das musikalische Genie unsers vortrefflichen Bachs scheint in der That unerschöpflich zu seyn. Man mag seine Sonaten, Rondo's oder

Bach himself was not unconscious of this reputation and even his more prosaic explanation of his talent suggests that he warmed to such critical approval:

Since I have never liked excessive uniformity in composition and taste, since I have heard such a great variety of good things and since I have always been of the opinion that one may make use of good elements wherever they may be found . . . it is presumably precisely these considerations—with the aid of that natural skill granted by God—that explain the variety noticed in my work.¹⁹

Vierte Sammlung, Wq 58

With unconvincing coyness, Bach introduced the subject of a fourth collection to Breitkopf as being at the insistence of friends—"Whether I may want it or not, my friends want me to publish my 4th collection" (Ich mag wollen oder nicht, meine Freunde wollen es, daß ich meine 4te Sammlung herausgeben soll). However, a couple of months later, on 15 October 1782, by which time he had completed the work, he allowed that it was an interest in his posthumous reputation (again put into his friends' mouths) that compelled him to include two examples of his free fantasy manner: "My friends positively wanted 2 fantasias included, so that after my death one could see what a Phantast I was." (Meine Freunde wollten durchaus 2 Fantasien mit darbey haben, damit man nach meinem Tode sehen könne, welcher Fantast ich war). Presenting the new publication to Artaria, Bach made the point that "this collection is markedly different from the others. It is easier, sweeter, and more substantial, since it contains 7 pieces" (Diese Sammlung unterscheidet sich von den übrigen merklich. Sie ist leichter, süßer und stärker, weil sie 7 Stücke enthält). The fantasies presented more than usual problems, both for the typesetter and the performer. In a marginal note

Fantasien, so wie er sie nach und nach herausgegeben, ansehen, und unter sich vergleichen: auch mit den Musikstücken andrer Meister vergleichen, wie man will, man wird immer finden, daß jedes Stück gleichsam von ganz neuer Erfindung sey, und seine eigene Originalität habe, obgleich in allen der Bachsche Geist unverkennbar ist, so daß man diesen Componisten im eigentlichen Verstande den unvergleichlichen nennen kann." *Magazin der Musik*, vol. 2 (5 August 1786): 869–70.

19. "Da ich niemahls die allzugrosse Einförmigkeit in der Composition und im Geschmack geliebet habe, da ich so viel und so verschiedenen Gutes gehört habe, da ich jederzeit der Meinung gewesen bin, man möge das Gute, es stecke wo es wolle, . . . in einem Stücke anzutreffen 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.


added to a letter of 30 November regretting delays to publication (possibly caused by the death of Breitkopf's wife), Bach added:

In both fantasies [in E-flat and A], the notes are to be played strictly according to their value. In the fantasy in A major the hemi-demi-semiquavers [64th notes], which are played as fast as possible, determine the tempo of the allegretto. This can be indicated in a footnote.²⁰

As evidenced by his letter of 28 December, it was Bach's habit to begin sending corrections, either from memory or from his own manuscript copies, as soon as he had delivered a set to Breitkopf:

In the free fantasy in A major from my 4th collection the following passage occurs close to the end:



I remember that my copyist had written 4 triplets in the discant, just as four of the same precede in the bass: however, I have forgotten whether I had corrected this mistake and changed to . Should it not have happened, then would you please do it, as the above instruction states, so that the typesetter does not set it incorrectly.²¹

Four months later Bach was still nervous about this passage, and on 26 April 1783 he confirmed the same correction:

I ask that you send me, as soon as you answer me, the passage in my free fantasy in A major written in the margin [see above] about which you wrote that you had entered the changes in my manuscript, copied in notes just as far as the tailed triplets go. Then I will be quite happy.²²


20. "In beÿden Fantasien werden die Noten streng nach ihrem Werth gespielt. In der Fantasie aus dem A dur bestimmen die 64theile, welche so hurtig, wie möglich, gespielt werden, die Zeitmaße des allegretto. Dies kan mit-angemerkt werden." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:945; *CPEB-Letters*, 189. No such footnote appeared in the print.

21. "In der freÿen Fantasie meiner 4ten Sammlung aus dem A dur kommt bald am Ende folgender Satz vor: [music excerpt] ich erinnere mich, daß mein Copist im Discante 4 Triolen geschrieben hatte, so, wie 4 dergleichen im Baße vorhergehen: ich habe aber vergeßen, ob ich diesen Fehler verbeßert und so [music] geändert habe. Sollte es nicht geschehen seÿn, so belieben Sie es noch zu thun, wie obige Vorschrift stehet, damit der Setzer nicht falsch setzt." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:947; *CPEB-Letters*, 189.

22. "Die an der Seite geschriebene Stelle aus meiner freÿen Fantasie A dur, von der Sie schrieben, daß Sie die Aendrung davon in mein Msrpt

Two months elapsed before he could confirm that the passage was correct. By the time page proofs arrived, they required only minor corrections:

This morning I carefully looked through all proof sheets and found nothing of importance. Would you please note the following: page 24, bar 1, system 2, in the bass

 must be under the first note, and under the first note of the following 3rd triplet a quaver [quarter] rest is missing in the bass. Allegro di molto must stand at the beginning of the fantasy in E-flat major. Later on, would you please include with the proof sheets 2 title pages and the last sheet in violin clef, so that both copies are thereby complete.²³

At the beginning of September 1783, the volumes arrived safely (though still a month later than Bach had promised to his friends). Unlike the other collections, Bach did not dedicate the fourth collection to a patron. The first 134 measures of the Rondo in B-flat, Wq 58/5 are found in an autograph manuscript (in D-Kl, 2^o Ms. Mus. 440), otherwise no other autograph material has survived. Johann Heinrich Michel copied realizations of the three figured arpeggio passages in Wq 58/6 and 58/7, and these passages are transcribed in the appendix.

Publication of this collection had been announced in Hamburg in October 1782.²⁴ A short notice of the collection was printed in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* for 1787 (p. 165), praising Bach for having overcome the "fashionableness" of the rondo form.²⁵ More insight and imagination was shown by C. F. Cramer, in an extended review which included an extravagant description of the G major sonata in the expected spirit of *Empfindsamkeit*:

eingetragen hätten, erbitte ich mir, so bald Sie mir antworten, in Noten, nur blos so weit, als die eingeschwänzten Triolen gehen, abgeschrieben zu schicken. Dann bin ich ganz ruhig." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:967; *CPEB-Letters*, 193 (modified).

23. "Diesen Morgen habe ich alle Aushänge Bogen genau durchgesehen und nichts Beträchtliches gefunden. Folgendes belieben Sie mit anzumerken: Seite 24, tact 1, Syst. 2, muß im Baße unter der ersten Note [music] stehen, und unter der ersten Note der drauf folgenden 3ten triole fehlt im Baße eine Achtel Pause. Ueber den Anfang der Fantasie aus dem Es muß Allegro di molto stehen. Künftig belieben Sie zu den Aushänge Bogen 2 Titelblätter und den letzten Bogen im Violinzeichen mitzuschicken, damit dadurch beÿde Exemplare komplett werden." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:974; *CPEB-Letters*, 194–95.

24. See Barbara Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Dokumente zu Leben und Wirken aus der zeitgenössischen hamburgischen Presse (1767–1790)*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 4 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2000), 276–77.

25. *CPEB-Westphal*, 164.

The calm, tender happiness of an innocent maiden sitting by a brook in the fragrance of a summer evening. Now softly, gently, delicious sensations emanate from the twilight. But soon more conflicting feelings arise in the *Larghetto e sostenuto* which follows. Earnestness awakens in her soul. Pensively the upper voice lingers on a single note for six bars in which the bass leads the harmony in a new direction.²⁶

But Cramer also noted the less conventional, more prophetic pronouncements implicit in the two fantasies of this same collection:

Anyone who, unlike Rousseau, does not see the essence and the entire power of music exclusively in the imitation of nature and passion, who is not altogether insensitive to instrumental music of the non-descriptive variety, and who can ascribe merit on other grounds to successions of sounds which do not correspond to specific feelings or ideas, and which sometimes hold no conspicuous attraction for the ear, will surely find such an assortment of abrupt ideas, thoughts, capriccios, in other words such free outbursts of poetico-musical inspiration . . . most fascinating listening, and all the more so the greater his familiarity with the secret rules of art and the deeper his penetration into its inner sanctum. For at every step the most diverse vistas are opened up for the intelligent music-lover. The novelty of so many frequently quite heterogeneous and yet always correctly and artistically interconnected ideas, their unexpectedness and constant surprises, given the absence of any clear theme which might register with the listener and generate expectations, the boldness of the modulations, the harmonic digressions and returns, the inexhaustible fecundity of ideas and turns of phrase, the multiplicity of the individual figures which combine to make up the whole, and the brilliant finger work which affords even the most inexperienced listener at least the pleasure of astonishment at hearing technical difficulties overcome: all these things suggest major and significant angles from which to view such works of art, such studies in expression as are appreciated by only a few and intelligible to only a few, and on which a man such as Bach bases no small part of his fame.²⁷

26. "Heitere, sanfte Freude eines unschuldigen Mädchens, sitzend an einem Bache im Dufte eines Sommerabends. So sanft, so eben fließt die dämmerndwonnigliche Empfindung hin. Aber bald lößt sie sich in widrigere Empfindungen auf, in dem drauf folgenden *Larghetto e sostenuto*. Ernst erwacht in ihrer Seele. Nachdenkend verweilt sich die Oberstimme in sechs Tacten auf derselben Note, indeß der Baß die Harmonie auf eine neue Art fortschreiten läßt." *Magazin der Musik*, 1 (7 December 1783): 1243; translated in Darrell Matthews Berg, "The Keyboard Sonatas of C. P. E. Bach: An Expression of the Mannerist Principle" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975), 59.

27. "Wer also nur nicht mit Rousseau ausschließend das Wesen und die ganze Kraft der Music in Nachahmung und Leidenschaft setzt, wer

Fünfte Sammlung, Wq 59

After the appearance of the fourth collection *für Kenner und Liebhaber*, Bach for a while turned his attention to ensuring his published legacy of vocal music, concentrating on *Klopstocks Morgengesang* and the final edition of the "Gellert" Lieder. He pressed for the publication of his father's chorale harmonizations (although C. P. E. Bach edited the collection, he insisted his name should not be mentioned on the title page), and finally proposed the printing of the *Auferstehung* in full score—although he ruefully admitted that "works for clavier go better and are also for non-Germans" (Claviersachen gehen beßer und sind auch für Undeutsche). Earlier volumes of the "Kenner und Liebhaber" collection were still selling; on 31 July 1784 he wrote to Artaria summarizing the sales they had undertaken, which included copies of both the second and third Sammlungen.²⁸ At the end of the year, however, Bach was dismayed to learn from Breitkopf that the full score of *Die Auferstehung*, which he had estimated (and advertised) as being 36 or 37 sheets, would in fact require 45; coming on top of insufficient subscriptions, this additional shock produced a quick reaction:

nicht gegen die Instrumentalmusic insbesondere, so bald sie nicht mahlt, gefühllos ist, und auch solchen Folgen von Tönen, denen keine genauestimmbaren Empfindungen oder Ideen entsprechen, und die auch sogar bisweilen für das Ohr keinen entschiedenen Reiz haben, demohngachtet aus andern Gründen Werth zugestehen kann, dem wird eine solche Sammlung von momentaneen Einfällen, Gedanken, Capriccio's, . . . sicher die unterhaltendste Geistesbeschäftigung verleihen, und das um so viel mehr, je mehr er mit den geheimern Regeln der Kunst vertraut geworden, und je tiefer er in das Heiligthum derselben gedrungen ist. Denn für den Denker eröffnen sich hier bey jedem Schritte die mannigfaltigsten Aussichten. Das Neue so vieler oft ganz heterogenen, aber doch immer mit harmonischer Richtigkeit und Kunst zusammengewebter Gedanken, ihr Unerwartetes, und weil gar kein Thema genommen wird, das das Gedächtniß des Hörers auf Zukünftiges vorbereitet, immerdar Ueberraschendes; die Kühnheit der Modulationen, der Abschweifungen und Wiedereinlenkung, die Unerschöpflichkeit an Gängen und Wendungen, die Mannigfaltigkeit der einzelnen Figuren, aus denen das Ganze zusammengesetzt ist, und denn das Brilliante im Spiele der Hand, das auch für den Unerfahrensten wenigstens das Vergnügen des Anstaunens überwundner Schwierigkeiten mit sich führt: alles dieß sind große und wichtige Seiten, von dem man solche Werke der Kunst, solche Studia ansehen, und in Rücksicht auf welche ein Mann wie Bach, auf diese auch nur von wenigen genossene, und von wenigen genießbare Werke einen nicht geringen Theil seines Ruhms gründen kann." *Magazin der Musik*, 1 (7 December 1783), 1250–51; cited in Hans-Günther Ottenberg, *C. P. E. Bach*, translated by Philip J. Whitmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 171–72.

28. Interestingly, Bach remarked that he was sending only music in violin clef since this was customary in Vienna: "Gegenwärtig habe ich alles im Violinschlüssel gepakt, weil er in Wien gewöhnlich ist." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1024; *CPEB-Letters*, 209.

The contents of your last letter nearly made me ill . . . [T]he printing of my cantata in score will not be continued and will be abandoned. Instead of which you will most kindly have printed my 5th collection *für Kenner und Liebhaber*, which is waiting here completed, and as soon as I get back my manuscript of the cantata from you I will make a keyboard reduction of it, that shall be printed.²⁹

One problem, however, was the larger format paper that Breitkopf had ordered for the cantata printing; at worst, Bach decided, this could be used for the keyboard collection (although in the end this expedient fortunately was not needed). He mused disappointedly to Eschenburg on 27 January 1785 that “Works for clavier fit into more hands than scores” (Claviersachen paßen in mehrer Hände, als Partituren). On 15 April 1785 the fair-copy manuscript was sent to Breitkopf, with the usual instructions and at the same price as the previous collection. In this instance Bach claimed to be hoping for a better subscription than previously (not borne out by the eventual figures), and on 23 July indicated that he was occupied with proofreading his manuscript house copy of the new set: “In the 5th part I have up until now not come across any mistake.”³⁰

On 14 September 1785 Bach sent: “(1) the title, (2) the printing errors, (3) the list of subscribers, and (5) [recte (4)] the instructions for shipping.”³¹ However, most of this letter to Breitkopf was preoccupied with a long description and defence of his row with Johann Rellstab in Berlin (“truly a loathsome man”) over a pirated issue of the *Reprises-Sonaten*. An additional reason for his annoyance is revealed in an earlier letter of 26 August, where among many complaints Bach remarks:

These *Reprises Sonaten* are more popular with many people than my collections *für Kenner und Liebhaber*. They are more

serious than the latter and also easier. To many people my Rondos are objectionable.³²

A letter to Charles Burney (now lost) confirmed that he was on the shipping list to receive twelve copies of the new collection, plus a free copy as commission for distribution in England; but at this point a quite different and unexpected proposal arrived from another acquaintance of Bach’s in England, the young Alexander Reinagle.³³ Based on the evidence of a letter dated 25 February 1785 (written in French) to Reinagle, the Scottish musician had visited Bach in Hamburg earlier that year, bought some music on the spot and left an order for more. We might deduce that these purchases included some of the more recent *Kenner und Liebhaber* collections, since Reinagle now followed up with a suggestion of publishing a collection consisting entirely of Bach’s Rondos. Bach replied with measured sympathy, and a proposal that could benefit them both:

Your project concerning my printed Rondos can result in many losses for me since my collections that include them, published at great expense by me in large printings, will remain unsold. The fancy for the Rondos is just as great here as in London, and for that reason I have inserted them to further my sales. I know from experience that very many people buy my collections only because of the Rondos. Accordingly, copies of your published Rondos are of no use to me: rather I would prefer that they would not come to Germany at all, even though Westphal here and Hummel in Berlin would order large quantities from you. However, I want to suggest a way to you, since you expect to earn something with them, whereby you could achieve your goal without fear of a pirated edition. In the second, third, fourth, and fifth collections there are altogether 11 Rondos. You have 4 of the collections, but the last, namely the 5th, I believe you do not yet have and I can send it to you since there are 2 Rondos in it. I intend to compose 4 more new Rondos for you in addition to these 11 Rondos: I will be content that you announce publicly my permission for the printing of these 11 published Rondos and, finally, you must also make public that I added more new Rondos to them expressly for you. You can publish these 15 Rondos in 4 or fewer parts. However, there must be something new in each part. This way of proceeding and my public permission assure you definitely against a pirated edition.

29. “Der Inhalt Ihres letzten Schreibens hat mich bey nahe krank gemacht. . . Meine Cantate in Partitur wird nicht fortgedruckt u. bleibt liegen. Statt deßen werden Sie mir gütigst meine 5te Samelung für Kenner u. Liebhaber, die fertig bey mir liegt, drucken laßen, und so bald ich mein Manuscript von der Cantate von Ihnen wiedererhalte, so mache ich einen Clavier Auszug davon, der gedruckt werden soll.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1054–55; *CPEB-Letters*, 220. The oratorio, Wq 239 was finally published in score in 1787 when more subscriptions had been generated.

30. “Im 5ten Theile habe ich noch keinen Fehler angetroffen.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1084; *CPEB-Letters*, 231.

31. “so erhalten Sie hierbey (1) den Titel, (2) die Druckfehler, (3) die Pränumeranten Liste, u. (5) die Anweisung zum Versenden.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1104; *CPEB-Letters*, 233.

32. “Sind diese Reprises Sonaten bey sehr vielen beliebter als meine Saml. f. K. u. L. Sie sind ernsthafter als die letztern u. auch leichter. Vielen sind meine Rondos anstößig.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1091; *CPEB-Letters*, 232.

33. *CPEB-Letters*, 225; see also O.G.Sonneck, “Zwei Briefe C.Ph.E. Bach’s an Alexander Reinagle,” in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8 (1906–7): 112–14.

For my compensation and for my newly added composition[s] I am requesting no more and no less than 34 guineas. At the same time, I promise you that I will give these 4 new Rondos to no one, much less have them printed. I can assure you that 1 part of my collections, which contains only 2 Rondos, after deduction of all expenses, has brought me at least 1,000 marks in local money up until now, without counting about 100 copies that I still have available and which will also be sold in time. The delivery of my 4 new Rondos at once will happen at the same time as the payment at once. We are mortals. More about the fantasies in the future or in person. I ask for a fast sufficient answer of Yes! or No!³⁴

On a separate page of the same letter Bach added:

No one has pirated anything from me here in Germany. I would indeed have publicly identified such a pirate as a swindler right away in the newspapers. That is how such a person is generally regarded here, and no one wants to risk it.

34. "Ihr Project wegen meiner gedruckten Rondos kann mir in der Folge viel Schaden thun, weil meine mit großen Kosten von mir in starken Auflagen verlegten Samlungen, worin sie stehen, unverkauft liegen bleiben werden. Die Liebhaberey zu den Rondos ist hier eben so groß, wie in London, und ich habe sie deswegen mit eingemischt um meinen Verkauf zu befördern. Ich weiß aus der Erfahrung, daß sehr viele meine Samlungen blos wegen der Rondos kaufen. Folglich sind mir Exemplare von Ihren verlegten Rondos nichts nutze, sondern ich wünschte lieber, daß sie gar nicht nach Teutschland kämen, ohngeacht Westphal hier und Hummel in Berlin ganze Quantitäten von Ihnen würden kommen lassen. Ich will jedoch Ihnen, da Sie etwas damit zu verdienen glauben, einen Weg vorschlagen, wodurch Sie zu Ihrem Endzweck kommen könnten, ohne einen Nachdruck befürchten zu dürfen. In der zweyten, dritten, vierten und fünften Samlung stehen überhaupt 11 Rondos. Von diesen Samlungen haben Sie 4, aber die letzte, nemlich die 5te, glaube ich, haben Sie noch nicht, und kann sie Ihnen, weil 2 Rondos darin stehen, überschicken. Zu diesen 11 Rondos will ich Ihnen noch 4 neue Rondos componiren; ich will zufrieden seyn, daß Sie meine Erlaubnis zu dem Drucke dieser schon gedruckten 11 Rondos öffentlich kundthun, und endlich müßen Sie auch bekannt machen, daß ich ausdrücklich für Sie noch neue Rondos darzu gemacht habe. Diese 15 Rondos können Sie in 4 oder wenigern Abtheilungen herausgeben. Es muß aber in jedem Theile etwas neues davon stehen. Dieses Mittel und meine öffentliche Erlaubnis sichert Sie gewiß vor einem Nachdruck.

Für meine Schadloshaltung und für meine neu darzu gekommene Composition verlange ich nicht mehr und nicht weniger als 34 Guinees. Ich verspreche Ihnen zugleich, daß ich die 4 neuen Rondos niemanden geben, noch viel weniger drucken lassen will. Ich kann Ihnen versichern, daß 1 Theil von meinen Samlungen, worin nur 2 Rondos vorkommen, nach Abzug aller Kosten, mir wenigstens 1000 Mark hiesiges Geld bisher eingebracht haben, ohne einige 100 Exemplare zu rechnen, die ich noch vorräthig habe u. welche nach und nach auch verkauft werden. Die Auslieferung meiner 4 neuen Rondos auf einmahl geschieht zugleich bey der Bezahlung auf einmahl. Wir sind sterbliche Menschen. Wegen der Fantasien künftig oder mündlich ein mehreres. Eine baldige genugthuende Antwort mit Ja! oder Nein! erbitte ich mir." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1130–31; *CPEB-Letters*, 241–42.

My public permission for your printing and the newly inserted Rondos would quite certainly prevent your loss from a pirated edition.³⁵

In fact Bach wrote only two further rondos, both of which were printed in the sixth collection of *Kenner und Liebhaber*. There is no evidence that Reinagle ever published a separate edition of such works; the plan was probably thwarted by his decision to emigrate to America the following year.

In the meantime Bach was finishing the additional *Sechs neue Clavierstücke* with which the publisher Schwickert was to supplement the new (1787) edition of the first part of the *Versuch*, and Bach had no time to consider further collections: "I will finish with the 5th collection and indeed if there should be thoughts of a 6th, of which still not a note is finished, then nothing can take place before next year."³⁶

The dedicatee of this collection (Wq 59), Peter Friedrich Ludwig, Duke of Holstein, had just been appointed Prince-Bishop of Lübeck and regent of the troubled duchy of Schleswig-Holstein, only recently united in the hands of the Danish king in 1767. A draft of his letter of thanks to Bach survives, in which he claimed to "have received this, your latest work, with the same lively pleasure which your compositions have given me so often." He also included a "small remembrance" which was presumably a financial reward. An extended review of the collection was printed in the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (1795, no. 193) which mentioned Bach's extemporising of fantasies "auf dem Fortepiano" and listed a number of corrections that needed to be made to the printed text.³⁷

Sechste Sammlung, Wq 61

Bach's hint of a possible sixth collection became more of a reality by the summer of 1786, despite endless problems with the printing of *Die Auferstehung*, which by now he

35. "Hier in Teutschland hat mir noch niemand etwas nachgedruckt: ich würde auch so gleich in den Zeitungen einen solchen Nachdrucker öffentlich als einen Betrüger erklärt haben. Dafür hält man hier durchgehends einen solchen Menschen, und das will keiner wagen. Meine öffentliche Erlaubnis zu Ihrem Druck und die neuen eingemischten Rondos würden ganz gewiß einen Nachdruck zu Ihrem Schaden abhalten." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1131; *CPEB-Letters*, 242.

36. "Mit der 5ten Samlung will ich schließen u. weñ ja an die 6te sollte gedacht werden, davon noch keine Note fertig ist, so kañ vor künftiges Jahr nichts werden." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1143; *CPEB-Letters*, 246.

37. *CPEB-Westphal*, 154.

had transferred to Breitkopf, together with the subscription list he had assembled (although it appears that in the end the project made a loss for the publishing house). As a final hope appended to a letter, which also included lists summarising his printed works up to 1785, Bach added: “Perhaps, perhaps if I live and have strength I will finish my work with the 6th collection next year” (*Vielleicht, vielleicht, wenn ich lebe u. Muth habe, beschließe ich mit der 6ten Sammlung, übers Jahr meine Arbeit*). He was well aware that this was his swan song.

Two months later, on 30 September he was able to declare:

My friends really want me to come out with my 6th collection *für Kenner und Liebhaber*. It is finished and I have played it for them. It is not as thick as the previous ones, at most 8 sheets.³⁸

Nor had he lost his enthusiasm for good commercial timing and shared postage:

If it would be possible for it [the sixth collection] to appear at the next Easter fair at the same time as the Ramler cantata [*Die Auferstehung*] how splendid this would be! The dispatch of both prints at the same time NB with the opportunity of the fair, just think.³⁹

This time, Bach suggested, Breitkopf should keep someone else waiting. A month later, on 26 October 1786, the fair copy was posted together with the familiar details of numbers, clefs and fine paper copies, and apologies that the pieces were written in different clefs.

His usual approach to Artaria followed—“The 6th collection announced herewith [in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* on 21 October 1786] is to be the last of my printed works for clavier”—but here the eventual outcome was a disappointing reduction in numbers ordered. However, some compensation for Bach’s wounded pride and an unexpected boost to his desire to secure a lasting legacy came unexpectedly from a thirty-year-old organist in Schwerin, Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal. Although not previously

a subscriber, Westphal had ordered both the cantata and the sixth collection when announced. Bach wrote to him on 2 January 1787 offering the preceding five collections and promising to send the “6th and certainly last collection” (6te und gewiß letzte Sammlung) in whichever clef was preferred as soon as it was ready. Westphal promptly began collecting as much of Bach’s music, both printed and in manuscript, as could be found, and the composer was delighted to find a supporter so enthusiastic:

I greatly marvelled at and delighted in your orderliness, your diligence, and insight. I have looked in vain for such faith, to use the words of the Bible, in many great places, suspected it least of all in Schwerin and yet found it there: Basta così!⁴⁰


As well as supplying him with fresh manuscript copies of unpublished music, alerting him to revisions and weeding out some spurious works (“There is a great deal in my name about which I know nothing”), Bach was anxious to browse through Westphal’s extensive catalogue of 400 volumes on music theory, and delighted to find a shared interest in collecting engravings and portraits of musicians. This, the happiest new friendship of his final year, had exactly the lasting result on Bach’s posthumous reputation that the composer longed for. After Bach’s death Westphal continued to assemble his vast library of Bachiana with material acquired from Bach’s widow and daughter, and put together a comprehensive thematic listing (which later, together with NV 1790, formed the basis of Wotquenne’s catalogue) and a comprehensive scrapbook of printed references and reviews. (The Westphal collection is now a major component of B-Bc.)

More prosaic problems continued, however, with publication details and proof-reading at the forefront. On 3 January 1787 Bach wrote to Breitkopf changing the clef allocations for the print run: “would you please print half of my 6th collection in violin clef and the other half in keyboard clef” (so belieben Sie von meiner 6ten Sammlung die Hälfte im Violinschlüssel u. die andere Hälfte im Clavierzeichen zu drucken). A letter dated 10 March 1787 shows that he continued to proofread his manuscript house copies of material that was already with Breitkopf, in advance of receiving page proofs:

38. “Meine Freunde wollen durchaus, daß ich mit meiner 6ten Sammlung f. K. u. L. herausrücken soll. Sie ist fertig u. ich habe sie ihnen vorgespielt; sie ist nicht so stark, wie die vorigen; höchstens 8 Bogen.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1175; *CPEB-Letters*, 251 (modified).

39. “Wäre es möglich, daß sie auf künftige Ostermeße mit der Raml. Cantate zugleich erscheinen könnte, wie herrlich wäre dieß! Die Abschickung beyder Stücke zugleich NB mit Meßgelegenheiten, denken Sie einmahl.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1175; *CPEB-Letters*, 251.

40. “. . . daß ich über Ihre Ordnung, über Ihren Fleiß u. Einsichten mich sehr gewundert und gefreuet habe. Solchen Glauben, sage ich mit der Bibel, habe ich an vielen großen Oertern vergebens gesucht, am wenigsten in Schwerin vermuthet und dennoch gefunden: Basta così!” *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1209; *CPEB-Letters*, 263.

Yesterday I looked through my manuscript of my 6th collection and found a small mistake in the Fantasy in C major that can easily be changed. If the printing has already taken place, it can be footnoted: almost at the end of the fantasy there is a fermata in the bass system over a dotted minim [half] note A flat, which must be omitted,  since the upper voice must continue at once; the fermata in the upper voice following soon thereafter remains.⁴¹

When Bach saw the proofs, there were apparently additional faults which derived from his material. He apologized to Breitkopf on 1 May, noting several corrections needing to be added to the errata list, some of which he was responsible for.

Bach wrote to Artaria on 5 May confirming the firm's order for six copies, a reduction from the 12 they had first ordered. (He had noted this already with disappointment in a letter of 3 January to Breitkopf, and therefore Artaria was only allowed a half copy discount. Apparently, Artaria refused to take even a single copy of *Die Auferstehung*, as Bach complained to Breitkopf in September.) Baron van Swieten, on the other hand, took twelve copies of the sixth collection, and the composer Christoph Transchel in Dresden came forward with an order for 17 copies, ten in soprano clef and seven in treble clef (letter of 19 May 1787).

The problem of unreliable subscribers continued to aggravate Bach; over 200 Reichsthaler was still owed for the sixth collection, and there were even some debts unpaid for the fifth (now two years overdue). Some subscribers had moved (Schiørring had retired, and Schulz had taken his place as kapellmeister in Copenhagen). Bach's own mortality also weighed heavily on him; writing to Johann Schröter with a list of his printed works currently available, he stated that the cantata, Wq 240, and litanies, Wq 204 remained to be published, which he hoped could bring "honour even after my death and much profit to lovers of the art"; after which ". . . I conclude my works for the public and lay my quill aside."⁴²

41. "Gestern sahe ich mein Manuscript von meiner 6ten Sammlung durch, und fand in der Fantasie aus dem C dur einen kleinen Fehler, welcher leicht geändert werden kann; wenn der Druck schon geschehen, so kann es angemerkt werden. Fast am Ende der Fantasie steht im Baßsystem ein Ruhezeichen über einer 3 Viertelnote as, dies muß weg, [music] weil die Oberstimme gleich fortgehen muß, das bald drauf folgende Ruhezeichen in der Oberstimme bleibt." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1201; *CPEB-Letters*, 259. This refers to m. 216 in the present edition, although Bach is mistaken about the note length; see commentary.

42. "Diese Cantate, bey welcher ich vielen Schaden habe, und die Litaneÿen . . . sind unter allen meinen Sachen die am stärksten gear-

But not entirely; only four months later, on 8 March 1788, a new hypothetical project raised its head; Bach intended to end by writing "an introduction to composition according to the current times, with the necessary rules and with omission of all pedantry, and with that, if God lets me live, I will close" (Ich will eine Anleitung zur Composition, mit den nöthigen Regeln u. mit Auslaßung aller Pedanterey, nach jetziger Zeit schreiben; u. damit, wenn mich Gott leben läßt, will ich schließen). Possibly he felt that the declining sales could be partly attributed to a lack of comprehension of their theoretical context, although on paper he simply blamed the fact that he only sold them from home. Noting the considerable numbers of each volume still collecting dust, he now made an offer to Breitkopf to sell him his entire stock of the six collections *für Kenner und Liebhaber*: "If you have any interest, make me an offer. Be it as little as it may. I shall not be offended" (Wenn Sie Lust haben, so thun Sie mir ein Gebot. Es sey so geringe, als es wolle. Ich nehme Ihnen nichts übel).

Bach reiterated the proposal in a letter of 3 May 1788, but insisted:

I am not poor, thank God! I am not doing what I am doing out of necessity. I have earned a considerable amount with my sonatas. Their construction is not that which is only fashionable and soon forgotten. They are original, pleasing, not nearly as difficult as much of the stuff that is now appearing, and they are not old-fashioned. Enough, they will survive as long and even longer than my other things.⁴³

This prophetic and confident pronouncement is the last mention of the *Kenner und Liebhaber* collections in Bach's surviving correspondence. He died shortly before Christmas, on 14 December 1788, at the age of 74.

An announcement of the collection was printed in the *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (1786, no. 168), praising the constant novelty of Bach's ideas, idiom, and modulation (especially in the Rondos for avoiding arpeggios and en-

beiteten Stücke, und von welchen ich, ohne ein eigenliebiger Geck zu seÿn, hoffen darf, daß sie mir auch nach meinem Ableben viele Ehre und Kunstliebhabern großen Nutzen bringen können. Hiermit beschließe ich meine Arbeiten fürs Publikum und lege die Feder nieder." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1240; *CPEB-Letters*, 274.

43. "Ich bin nicht arm[,] Gottlob! Aus Noth thue ichs nicht, was ich thue. Ich habe ansehnlich mit meinen Sonaten gewonnen. Ihre Einrichtung ist nicht das, was Mode bloß ist u. bald vergeht. Sie sind original, gefällig, lange nicht so schwehr, wie vieles Zeug, was jetzt erscheint, u. sie sind nicht altväterisch; genug, sie werden sich, wie meine anderen Sachen, u. noch länger erhalten." *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1263; *CPEB-Letters*, 279.

harmonic *Kunstwerke*).⁴⁴ The dedicatee was Maria Theresia, Archduchess of Leiningen-Westerburg, born 1746. The Fantasia in B flat, Wq 61/3 and the Rondo in D Minor, Wq 61/4 are the only works from the six *Kenner und Liebhaber* collections for which complete autographs survive (see sources A 1 and A 2).

Performance Considerations

Instruments and Tuning

The title pages of the “Kenner und Liebhaber” collections mention two keyboard types: the *clavier* and the *forte-piano*. By this point in the eighteenth century, the term *Clavier* had become associated in Germany (though not in Vienna) almost exclusively with the clavichord (what Daniel Gottlob Türk described in 1789 as the “eigentlichen Klavier”), although not all writers were as dogmatic as Christian Gottlob Neefe, who bluntly stated in the preface to his *Zwölf Klavier-Sonaten* of 1773 (dedicated to C.P.E. Bach):

These sonatas are clavichord sonatas: I wish, therefore, that they be played only on the clavichord; for most of them would have little effect on the harpsichord or pianoforte because neither of these is as capable as the clavichord of cantabile and different modifications of sound upon which I have depended.⁴⁵

C. F. Cramer reminds us that “all who have heard Bach play the clavichord must have been struck by the endless nuances of shadow and light that he casts over all his performances,”⁴⁶ and such variety is explicitly demanded in each of the six collections.

44. *CPEB-Westphal*, 161–62. 35. “Diese Sonaten sind Klaviersonaten: Ich wollte daher, daß sie auch nur auf dem Klavier gespielt würden; denn die meisten werde auf dem Flügel, oder Pianoforte wenig Wirkung thun, weil keines von beyden des Kantabeln und der verschiedenen Modulation des Tons so fähig ist, als das Klavier wornach ich mich doch gerichtet.” Translated by Kenneth Cooper, “The Clavichord in the Eighteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 154.

45. “Diese Sonaten sind Klaviersonaten: Ich wollte daher, daß sie auch nur auf dem Klavier gespielt würden; denn die meisten werde auf dem Flügel, oder Pianoforte wenig Wirkung thun, weil keines von beyden des Kantabeln und der verschiedenen Modulation des Tons so fähig ist, als das Klavier wornach ich mich doch gerichtet.” Translated by Kenneth Cooper, “The Clavichord in the Eighteenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1971), 154.

46. “Ein jeder, der Bachen auf dem Claviere hat spielen hören, muß es bemerkt haben, welche unendliche Nüancen von Schatten und Licht, welchen Ausdruck er durch sein Tenuto, das im Grunde nichts anders ist als die *Bebung*, über sein Spiel verbreitet.” *Magazin der Musik*, 1 (1 December 1783), 1217n.

In an undated letter to Breitkopf, Bach requested for a friend “a good unfretted clavichord with a range of low F to f’’, that does not rattle” (ein gutes Bundfreyes Clavicord vom großen F bis ins f’’, das nicht klappert). He had a special preference for Silbermann, Jungcurt, and Friederici as keyboard makers, and a dislike of builders such as Fritz or Hass, because of their “octave strings in the bass, a thing I cannot bear” (letter to Forkel dated 10 November 1773). Only in the first “Kenner und Liebhaber” collection do we find *Bebung* notated, an ornament exclusive to the clavichord; from the second collection onward, “Forte-Piano” (sometimes hyphenated, sometimes not) was added ambiguously to the title pages: *Clavier-Sonaten nebst einiger Rondos fürs Forte-Piano . . .* and later *Clavier-Sonaten und freye Fantasien nebst einiger Rondos fürs Fortepiano*.

However, the suggestion that “Fortepiano” was intended only or especially for the rondos and (possibly) the fantasies is partially refuted by Cramer’s review of the third collection, which particularly recommended that the Rondo in E Major, Wq 58/3 be performed on the clavichord:

By the way, this Rondo, like the preceding second Sonata, is superbly written for the clavichord, and only on [this instrument] is its peculiarly, variously nuanced expression possible. The flow, the interdependence of the melody lines, the multifaceted distribution of the light and shadow, the use of a certain musical *chiaroscuro*, and the almost complete avoidance of arpeggios, leaps, and passages consisting of nothing but broken harmony (these latter of which, I realize, some connoisseurs find too often in these collections) qualify these pieces as primarily for this instrument.⁴⁷

One unique feature of fortepiano performance is mentioned (though cautiously) by Bach in the *Versuch*:

The undamped register of the fortepiano is the most pleasing and, once the performer learns to observe the necessary precautions in the face of its reverberations, the most delightful for improvisation.⁴⁸

47. “Übrigens ist sowohl dieses Rondo, als die vorhergehende zweyte Sonate ganz vorzüglich fürs Clavier bestimmt, und auch nur darauf ihres gebührenden, mannigfaltig nüancirten Ausdrucks fähig. Der Fluß, das Aneinanderhängende des Gesangs, das vielfach darüber verbreitete Licht und Schatten, der Gebrauch eines gewissen musicalischen Hell-dunkels, und die fast gänzliche Enthaltung von den Horpeggios, springenden, und in blos gebrochner Harmonie bestehenden Passagen, die, wie ich weis, einigen Kennern in diesen neuern Sammlungen des Herrn Capellmeisters zu oft vorkommen, qualificiren sie für dieses Erste der Instrumente.” *Magazin der Musik*, 1 (7 December 1783), 1245–46. See also Cooper, “The Clavichord in the Eighteenth Century,” 73.

48. “Das ungedämft Register des Fortepiano ist das angenehmste, und, wenn man die nöthige Behutsamkeit wegen des Nachklings

Instruments by Silbermann and Friederici had hand-stops to control the raising of the dampers (in imitation of the pantaleon, a type of large hammered dulcimer), effects that might have been used in the purely harmonic sections of Bach's fantasias.

The harmonic mobility of Bach's writing clearly requires a tempered tuning that makes remote tonalities viable, yet it is unclear whether his preference was for an artfully unequal temperament (as he describes in the *Versuch* I, "Einleitung," § 14), or for what appears to be a truly "equal" temperament described by Barthold Fritz in his *Anweisung, wie man Claviere, Clavecins und Orgeln, . . . stimmen könne* (1756) to which Bach also gave his full approval (there "everything necessary and possible has been said").⁴⁹

Fingering and Ornamentation

Performance questions such as fingering, ornamentation, elaboration of fermatas, and improvisation on a figured bass are all covered by Bach himself in the *Versuch* and require very little supplement or amplification here. On niceties of fingering it is well to remember that Bach did not claim of his father's technique that "I shall expound it here" (as the standard English translation gives it) but rather, "I take it here as a basis" (so lege ich solche hier zum Grunde; *Versuch* I:1, § 8.). From the first notated fingering (Wq 55/2, movement ii) the *Bachischen Applikatur* utilizes the agility of a modern, thumb-crossing technique, without being afraid to revert to the earlier system of crossing the third finger over the fourth when needed (e.g., Wq 58/4, movement iii).

All the abbreviated ornaments employed in the "Köner und Liebhaber" collections are listed and explained in the *Versuch*:

tr, +,	Trill, regular trill (Triller, ordentlicher Triller; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.3, § 1–21, and Tab. IV, Fig. XIX–XXIII)
♯	Trill from below (Triller von unten; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.3, § 22, and Tab. IV, Fig. XXXIV)

anzuwenden weiß, das reizendeste zum Fantasiren." *Versuch* II, 41, § 4; translation after William J. Mitchell, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949), 431. See Dieter Krickeberg "Das 'ungedämpfte Register' bei Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach" in *Zur Geschichte des Hammerklaviers*, ed. Monika Lustig (Michaelstein: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 1996), 122–26.

49. But see Mark Lindley, "J.S. Bach's Tuning," *The Musical Times* 126 (December 1985): 721, for a proposal that Fritz actually advocated unequal temperament.

♯	Trill from above (Triller von oben; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.3, § 27, and Tab. IV, Fig. XLI)
♯	Short trill (halber Triller, Pralltriller; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.3, § 30–36, Tab. IV, Fig. XLV–XLVIII, and Tab. V, Fig. XLIX)
∞, ℓ	Turn (Doppelschlag; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.4, § 1–26, and Tab. V, Fig. L–LXII)
∞	Trilled turn (prallender Doppelschlag; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.4, § 27–36, and Tab. V, Fig. LXIII–LXX)
∞	Inverted turn (Schleiffer von dreyen Nötgen; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.7, § 5, and Tab. VI, Fig. LXXXIX)
♯, ♯	Mordent and long mordent (Mordent, langer Mordent; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.5, § 1–15, and Tab. V, Fig. LXXII–LXXV)

Bach did not specifically address such compounds as the mordent plus *Bebung* (found in Wq 55/2, movement i). Nor did he explain whether the number of dots printed for a *Bebung* indicated the number of inflections required, as proposed by, for example, Peter Paulsen in his *Claviermusic zu Ernst- und scherzhaften Liedern* (1766) and supported by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* (1750/1762), §56, p. 21. Additional sources that can be used to supplement Bach's instructions range from Carl August Thielo's *Grund-Regeln* of 1753 to the later writings of Türk and Ernst Wilhelm Wolf (both, incidentally, agents for Bach). In particular, Wolf's introduction to *Eine Sonatine, Vier affektvolle Sonaten, 13mal variierte Thema* of 1785 provides a substantial supplement to Bach's instructions in the *Versuch*.⁵⁰

Broader-scale decoration is required for the elaboration of fermatas (see *Versuch* I:2.9, §1–6) and the repeated sections of sonatas, always mindful of Bach's request that players "consider whether such variation is permitted by their ability and the construction of the piece" (introduction to the first volume of *Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen*, 1760; see CPEB: CW, I/2).

50. Translated by Christopher Hogwood as "A Supplement to C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch*: E. W. Wolf's *Anleitung* of 1785," *CPEB-Studies* 1988, 133–57.

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