

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach composed the keyboard sonatas now in Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Mus. ms. Bach P 771 (hereafter P 771), at various times between 1732 and the last two years of his life. All but one of the eleven fascicles in this manuscript are holographs—sources entirely in the hand of the composer. Fascicle VIII, containing the Sonata in B-flat Major, Wq 65/45, also has the authority of an autograph: although it is mainly in the hand of Johann Heinrich Michel, it contains entries in C. P. E. Bach's hand. These eleven sonatas are listed separately in the catalogue of Bach's musical estate (hereafter NV 1790):¹

Fascicle	Work	Entry in NV 1790
I	Wq 70/3	"No. 84. B. 1755. Für die Orgel."
II	Wq 65/2	"No. 3. L. 1732. E. B. 1744."
III	Wq 65/7	"No. 15. F. 1736. E. B. 1744."
IV	Wq 65/8	"No. 16. F. 1737. E. B. 1743."
V	Wq 65/19	"No. 48. B. 1746."
VI	Wq 65/34	"No. 118. B. 1760."
VII	Wq 65/42	"No. 147. P. 1765."
VIII	Wq 65/45	"No. 152. B. 1766."
IX	Wq 65/47	"No. 174. H. 1775."
X	Wq 65/49	"No. 205. H. 1786."
XI	Wq 65/50	"No. 206. H. 1786. Mit einem Rondo."

One valuable aspect of P 771 is the variety of samples of Bach's handwriting it contains, dating from the mid-1740s to the late 1780s. These samples, with one exception, confirm the chronology of the two catalogues containing Bach's records of his works. Fascicles II, III, and IV, for example, each containing a sonata listed in CV 1772 and NV 1790, display the right-opening bass clef sign that is found in Bach's autograph manuscripts before 1749. For almost all of his works assigned a date of origin in the

1730s, NV 1790 also lists a date of revision in the mid-1740s. Most of the original versions of these sonatas have not survived, and it can be assumed that fascicles II and IV represent revised versions, since no further revisions of the two sonatas in them are extant.

For fascicle III (Wq 65/7), however, the handwriting samples not only agree with the information provided in the two catalogues, but add to it. NV 1790 records only two dates for this sonata: origin 1736, revision 1744. Since there are extant copies of the 1730s version, it can be established that it is the revision of 1744 that Bach first entered in fascicle III. Yet he made further changes to this version in the late 1780s; these are entered in his late hand on the two pages containing the first movement (see critical report of CPEB: CW, I/6.2).

Two other revisions, not recorded in NV 1790, should also be mentioned. In fascicle VIII, containing the Sonata in B-flat Major, Wq 65/45 (a bifolio mostly in Michel's hand), Bach replaced the original third movement, *Allegro* $\frac{6}{8}$, inserting a bifolio with a new movement, *Allegretto* $\frac{3}{8}$ (in a hand that can be dated to the late 1780s), between the first and second pages of the earlier third movement. On the cover of this sonata Bach wrote "Hat noch niemand" (no one has it yet), probably signifying that the sonata had not yet begun to circulate, and thus there would be no confusion about the new movement. He transferred the earlier third movement, transposed to A major and varied somewhat, to the end of the keyboard and violin version of the Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, "C. P. E. Bachs Empfindungen," Wq 80.

Fascicle X, containing the Sonata in C Minor, Wq 65/49, also reflects Bach's late substitution of movements. Its inner bifolio was originally the inner bifolio of a sonata in C minor, composed in 1766. Almost twenty years later Bach published the first movement of this sonata, together with new second and third movements, as *Una Sonata per il Cembalo* (Leipzig, 1785), Wq 60. In 1786 (according to the chronology of NV 1790) Bach composed the Sonata in C Minor, Wq 65/49: he scratched out the page of the bifolio containing the final page of the first movement of Wq 60, and surrounded this original bifolio with a new bifolio containing, in his trembling hand of the late 1780s, a new

1. *Verzeichniß des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach . . .* (Hamburg, 1790), a thematic catalogue based on Bach's records and published under the supervision of his widow. The following abbreviations are used: B. = Berlin; E. = erneuert (renewed or revised); F. = Frankfurt an der Oder; H. = Hamburg; P. = Potsdam. The sonatas in P 771 with dates of composition prior to 1772 are also recorded in a manuscript catalogue, partly in Bach's hand, the so-called *Clavierwerke Verzeichnis* (hereafter CV 1772).

first movement and the final page of the third movement. It is thus clear from these three fascicles of P 771 (III, VIII, and X) that although NV 1790 does not record all of the changes Bach made in his works written after 1740, he continued to make alterations in his keyboard sonatas up to the very last years of his life.²

All of the fascicles in P 771 are house copies: manuscripts containing unpublished works, which Bach kept as models from which his scribes could prepare exemplars for sale. Early in his career, at least for his keyboard works, Bach created a system of numbers in roughly chronological order of origin; he entered these on the title pages or first pages of music of his house copies, together with the dates of composition. These generally correspond to the numbering and dates in CV 1772. Later he devised a new numbering system generally corresponding to the one found in NV 1790, which was presumably intended to record the chronology of his works more accurately. After his death, his daughter Anna Carolina Philippina added the new numbering in parentheses to his house copies.

Peter Wollny has recently demonstrated that Bach replaced some of his house copies with new ones—more legible, perhaps, or somewhat altered.³ Among the sonatas for which he has found duplicate house copies, Wollny lists three of the sonatas of P 771: Wq 65/2, 65/7, and 70/3. It is possible that some or all of the remaining sonatas of P 771 were also duplicates. Wollny suggests that Bach may have given away duplicate copies to his pupils or friends; it is also possible that these copies lay in the undifferentiated piles of manuscripts in Bach's estate that were auctioned in 1789 and 1805.⁴

Although two of the most avid collectors of Bach's works, Casper Siegfried Gähler (1747–1825) and Georg Poelchau (1773–1836), must have purchased works by

Bach in the auctions of 1789 and 1805, none of the sonatas of P 771 can be found in either Poelchau's or Gähler's catalogue of collected manuscripts. Yet Peter Wollny identifies Gähler as the writer of the number "146" on the title page of the Sonata in E-flat Major, Wq 65/42, directly above the numbering "(147)." Also, the large pencilled page numbers at the top of the pages of fascicle I (containing Wq 70/3) may also be in Gähler's hand. It is therefore likely that Gähler once owned one or more of the fascicles of P 771.

Whatever their early provenance, the eleven fascicles of P 771 arrived at the Königliche Bibliothek (Royal Library) in Berlin at some time in the nineteenth century. It can be inferred from some of the numberings in red crayon on these fascicles that it was the Royal Library that undertook to have them bound into a single manuscript with the shelf number "Mus. ms. Bach P 771." The manner and date of acquisition of the eleven fascicles of P 771—whether they arrived separately or as a composite manuscript (a pile of separate manuscripts enclosed in a folder or envelope), and when they were bound by the library—is unknown.

Except for the first fascicle (Wq 70/3), the sequence of the sonatas in P 771 seems to reflect an attempt, whether by a librarian or an earlier owner, to place them in chronological order of their date of origin. It is not clear why Wq 70/3, dated to 1755, was placed first in P 771—possibly because it is the only sonata in the manuscript that specifically designates the organ, rather than a stringed keyboard instrument. Whatever the reason for its placement, the handwriting in it corresponds to the other manuscripts Bach prepared in the 1750s. The cramped, trembling hand in fascicle V (containing the Sonata in F Major, Wq 65/19) does not, however, correspond to the handwriting in other manuscripts by C.P.E. Bach of the 1740s. It is possible that in the 1780s Bach copied this sonata from an earlier manuscript, or that it is a revised version of an earlier work. But there is strong evidence that it was not composed in 1746, as NV 1790 records. In the upper left-hand corner of the first page "No. 211" appears in Bach's hand directly above Anna Carolina Philippina's later entry "(48)." It can be inferred that since the last item in the solo keyboard section of NV 1790 is numbered "No. 210" and dated to 1787, no. 211 must have been composed in 1787 or 1788. It is significant, moreover, that Wq 65/19 is not listed in CV 1772. Therefore, it is now generally supposed that this sonata,

2. NV 1790 does, however, mention the embellished version of Wq 65/32 (NV 1790, p. 14: "No 100, Zerbst, 1758, ist in die Oeuvres melées, P. IX gedruckt, aber nachher verändert worden" and the two completely varied versions of Wq 51/1 (NV 1790, p. 16: "No 119. B. 1760, ist die 1ste Sonate der 1sten Fortsetzung der Reprisen-Sonaten. Diese Sonate ist nachhero 2 mal durchaus verändert"). But the entries do not give the dates for these later versions.

3. See Peter Wollny, "Ein Klaviersonate von C.P.E. Bach aus dem Besitz J. S. Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2013) 177–97.

4. See Ulrich Leisinger, "Die 'Bachsche Auction' von 1789," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1991): 97–126, in which the author provides a facsimile of the auction catalogue. No. 349, "Ein Heft Clavierstücke" could have contained some or all of the sonatas of P 771. See also Elias N. Kulukundis, "Die Versteigerung von C.P.E. Bachs musikalischem Nachlaß," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1995): 145–76, with a facsimile of the auction catalogue of the remainder of Bach's estate held by his daughter, Anna Carolina Philip-

pina Bach. Nos. 84, "Ein Stoß mit 87 Sonataen Simphonien, Menuetten und andern kleinen Handstücken" and 88, "Ein starker Stoß mit Simphonien, Sonaten, Trios, Arien, etc." could likewise have contained any or all of these sonatas.

in its present form at any rate, is Bach's last work for solo keyboard.

P 771 was housed in the Königliche Bibliothek, successively named the Preußische Staatsbibliothek (Prussian State Library) and Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (German State Library), until 1941, when the library sustained minor damage from a British air raid on 9 April of that year. Following a decision to take many of the library's holdings to depots unlikely to be bombed, this manuscript was transported, along with some of the library's most valuable holdings, to Schloß Fürstenstein in Silesia for the duration of World War II.⁵ When this depot became overcrowded with other documents housed there for safekeeping, these valuable materials were transferred to a monastery in the nearby town of Grüßau. At the end of the war the German State Library attempted to retrieve them, but they had disappeared from Grüßau. Their whereabouts remained unknown to most of the world until 1977 when the Polish government revealed that they were in the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków; since that time they have been available to scholars for examination. In 2000 the binding of P 771 was removed, and the fascicles are now separated to assist in the preservation of the manuscript.

The fascicles of P 771 are presented here in the order in which they were bound in the Berlin library; it is in this form that they have existed longer than in any other. (Assuming that they were bound around the middle of the nineteenth century, or a decade or so later, the length of the bound state of these fascicles would be 125 to 150 years.) Since very little is known about the history of any or all of these eleven fascicles before they were bound, putting them in strict chronological sequence would not only destroy the integrity of P 771, but would impose on it an order which may never have existed.

Because it is not feasible to present pages within each fascicle in the order which they had either before or during their bound state, pages within all fascicles are arranged in straightforward musical order. A few adjustments were

5. Among these holdings were autographs of eight of Mozart's piano concertos and several of his operas; Beethoven's Seventh and Ninth Symphonies and his string quartets, opp. 74, 130, and 131; works by Brahms, Mendelssohn, and J. S. Bach; the collection of Varnhagen von Ense and other documents important to the study of nineteenth century Romanticism in German literature; and the collection of "Libri picturati" that record zoological findings collected by Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen during his visit to South America and given to Friedrich Wilhelm, the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg in 1652. For the most exhaustive listing of these materials see Carleton Smith, "Music Manuscripts Lost during World War II," *The Book Collector* 17 (1968): 27–36 (list of manuscripts on pp. 30–36).

made in order to present the straightforward musical sequence within each fascicle, so that the sonatas in P 771 can be performed from this facsimile.

Fascicle I, containing Wq 70/3, consists of a bifolio to which a single page was added. This page consists of the end of the third movement and, on its other side, the entire second movement. The second movement has been presented directly after the first, and the pages containing the third continue in logical sequence.

Fascicles II, V, VI, and XI, containing Wq 65/2, 65/19, 65/34, and 65/50, were prepared originally as *Auflagebögen* (bifolios in which a musical work begins on facing pages; the entire bifolio is turned over, and the work continues on facing pages), which cannot be presented in a logical musical sequence in a bound manuscript. They are therefore presented in straightforward musical order, each beginning with a first movement on a recto page and ending with the last movement on a verso page.

Fascicle III, containing Wq 65/7, also prepared originally as an *Auflagebogen*, proceeds likewise in straightforward musical order, but its original recto/verso structure is reversed, so that Bach's deletion of the torn, untidy, and scratched-out measure (m. 40 of the *Allegro moderato*) replaced on the sixth system of the first page of the *Auflagebogen* and the neater, more legible form of this measure entered on the sixth system of the second page can be easily seen facing each other. (Pages 11 and 16 are intentionally blank.)

Fascicles IV, VII, IX, and X, containing Wq 65/8, 65/42, 65/47, and 65/49, consist of two nested bifolios each. These are presented in their original form. Although the fascicle containing Wq 65/49 includes the first movement from 1786 and the older second and third movements (see above), they are in logical musical order and do not need to be changed.

Fascicle VIII, containing Wq 65/45, consisted originally of two nested bifolios. Another bifolio was later inserted between the sixth and seventh pages of this fascicle (these pages contain the beginning and end of the original third movement) with the information on its first page, in the hand of a librarian or former owner, that Bach had written a new third movement, intended to replace the original one.⁶ This later bifolio (with the later third movement in Bach's hand of the 1780s) has been placed after the entire original version of the sonata, so that the original third movement may be viewed without interruption.

6. "Dieses Blatt war auf das vorige aufgeheftet [sic]. Bach will also, daß statt des 6/8 Allegros der umstehende (autographe) Satz (B Dur 3/4) gespielt wird."

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