

INTRODUCTION

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 the appendix to the introduction of 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 constitute section 64 (*Sechs Sonatinen für das Clavier*) of Alfred Wotquenne's catalogue of the works of C.P.E. Bach, while the keyboard sonatas (not including the organ sonatas) that were not published during Bach's lifetime constitute sections 65 (*Vollständige Sammlung aller ungedruckten Clavier-Sonaten*) and 69 (*Sonata per il Cembalo a due Tastature*);¹ 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 years 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

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 CPEB:CW, I/6.5 introduction and critical report for more information.

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 ten sonatas (Wq 65/5–65/14) that C. P. E. Bach composed between 1735 and 1744, the period leading up to his first public breakthroughs with the publication of the "Prussian" and "Württemberg" Sonatas. Most of the ten sonatas exist in multiple versions, and in cases where Bach made substantive changes in all three movements of a sonata, that sonata is presented twice (or, in one case, three times) in the main text of the edition. Often, though, Bach's revisions affected only a single movement of a sonata, and here, instead of reprinting an entire three-movement sonata when only one movement has been substantially changed, only that movement is presented in its earlier version. These revised single movements are given at the end of the main text. The revisions to many movements are minor enough that they can adequately be described in simple tables of variant readings in the critical commentary without having to print

the movements multiple times.² Six of the sonatas in the present volume originated in Frankfurt an der Oder, three of them in Berlin, and one in Töplitz. All of the Frankfurt sonatas were revised by Bach in Berlin in 1743–44 in a methodical process that he described in NV 1790 as "renewal" (*Erneuerung*). Table 2 lists the seventeen keyboard works showing the remark "E.B." in NV 1790. During his later Berlin years, and especially during his tenure in Hamburg (1768–88), Bach revised nearly all of his sonatas yet again to a greater or lesser degree. Therefore, it is possible for the Frankfurt sonatas that three versions exist: Frankfurt (1730s), Berlin (1740s), and Hamburg (1770s–1780s). In such cases we usually refer to the versions as "early," "intermediate," and "late" (for sonatas Wq 65/5 through Wq 65/10). For the sonatas composed after Bach's move to Berlin in 1738 (Wq 65/11 through Wq 65/14), there are usually just two versions, and these we have called "early" (Berlin) and "late" (Hamburg). Any exceptions to these designations are mentioned in the individual sonata discussions below.

The Sonatas Wq 65/5–10

The Sonata in E Minor, Wq 65/5, exists in two distinct versions, and demonstrates, perhaps better than any other sonata, Bach's experimentation with different movement combinations in his early sonatas and sonatinas (see the

2. For a discussion of Bach's revisions to his keyboard sonatas, see Darrell M. Berg, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Umarbeitungen seiner Claviersonaten," *BJ* (1988): 123–62.

TABLE 2: KEYBOARD WORKS MARKED AS “RENEWED” IN NV 1790

Wq	Title	NV 1790	CV 1772	CPEB:CW
62/1	Sonata in B-flat Major	1: L. 1731 E. B. 1744	18: L. 1731	I/5.1
65/1	Sonata in F Major	2: L. 1731 E. B. 1744	19: L. 1731	I/6.1
65/2	Sonata in A Minor	3: L. 1732 E. B. 1744	16: L. 1732	I/6.1
65/3	Sonata in D Minor	4: L. 1732 E. B. 1744	17: L. 1732	I/6.1
65/4	Suite in E Minor	5: L. 1733 E. B. 1744	1: L. 1733	I/8.2
64/1	Sonatina in F Major	6: L. 1734 E. B. 1744	3: L. 1734	I/6.1
64/2	Sonatina in G Major	7: L. 1734 E. B. 1744	4: L. 1734	I/6.1
64/3	Sonatina in A Minor	8: L. 1734 E. B. 1744	5: L. 1734	I/6.1
64/4	Sonatina in C Minor	9: L. 1734 E. B. 1744	6: L. 1734	I/6.1
64/5	Sonatina in D Major	10: L. 1734 E. B. 1744	7: L. 1734	I/6.1
64/6	Sonatina in C Minor	11: L. 1734 E. B. 1744	8: L. 1734	I/6.1
65/5	Sonata in E Minor	13: F. 1735 E. B. 1743	10: F. 1735	I/6.2
65/6	Sonata in G Major	14: F. 1736 E. B. 1743	9: F. 1736	I/6.2
65/7	Sonata in E-flat Major	15: F. 1736 E. B. 1744	13: F. 1736	I/6.2
65/8	Sonata in C Major	16: F. 1737 E. B. 1744	11: F. 1737	I/6.2
65/9	Sonata in B-flat Major	17: F. 1737 E. B. 1743	12: F. 1737	I/6.2
65/10	Sonata in A Major	18: F. 1738 E. B. 1743	15: F. 1738	I/6.2

introduction to CPEB:CW, I/6.1 for a discussion of the movement exchanges among the Wq 64 sonatinas in their early and late versions). The three movements of the early version of Wq 65/5 seem to have been composed at about the same time and as a cohesive sonata. When Bach revised the sonata several years later, however, he retained the first movement (adding four measures to it), but replaced the second and third movements with different pieces. For the new second movement, Bach took the original slow movement from Wq 62/3, a *Siciliano*, and transposed it from D minor to E minor. To replace the *Siciliano* in Wq 62/3, Bach composed a new *Andante* in B minor that was published with the other two movements of Wq 62/3 in 1763 (see CPEB:CW, I/5.1). The original second movement of Wq 65/5 was then reused as the second movement of the sonatina Wq 64/4, early version, before finally becoming the second movement in the late version of Wq 64/2. The original third movement of Wq 65/5, a *Vivace*, was replaced by an *Allegro di molto* in E minor, transposed from G minor. This *Allegro di molto* first appeared as a *Presto* in the early version of Wq 65/11. The discarded original *Vivace* may have provided the framework for a substantial recomposition that became the third movement of Wq 64/4, early version.

According to both CV 1772 and NV 1790, Wq 65/5 was composed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1735, and was Bach’s first sonata after moving out of the family home in

Leipzig the previous year. Bach’s concept of the genre “sonata for solo keyboard” included, from the start, the three-movement structure of his trio sonatas, as well as the flexible approach to macrotonality of those pieces—namely, that the key of the middle movement could be the same as or contrast with the tonality of the outer movements. Bach eventually developed a distinct preference for a contrasting tonality (or at least modality) for his middle movements in all genres, but he adopted the more suite-like unity of tonality across all three movements in four of his first nine sonatas and in all six of the sonatinas in their early versions. Thus Wq 65/5, in both of its versions, remains in E minor for all three movements.

NV 1790 provides the additional information that the sonata was *erneuert* in 1743, and it is likely that the exchange of movements took place then, along with the changes made to the first movement. Since the house copy of the sonata (source A 3) is in the hand of a scribe known only to have been active in Berlin, and the late copy in the hand of Johann Heinrich Michel made in Hamburg (source D 9) shows no significant variants from the house copy, it seems that Bach made no further revisions to Wq 65/5 after the major restructuring of 1743. Thus, Wq 65/5 is the only sonata in the present volume for which “late” refers to a final version from Bach’s Berlin years rather than his Hamburg years, while the designation “early” for this sonata refers to the version composed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1735.

Both versions are given in full in the main text of the edition. The unknown scribe of the only extant copy of the early version (source B 12) may possibly have been one of Bach's keyboard pupils in Frankfurt.³

The Sonata in G Major, Wq 65/6, was composed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1736, was revised in Berlin in 1743, and later underwent a more thorough revision in Hamburg. The sonata is therefore published in three complete versions in the present edition—early, intermediate, and late—the only sonata to be so treated, as all three movements were considerably revised at each stage. The first movement grew from sixty-nine measures in the early version to seventy-five measures in the intermediate version, with a change in tempo designation from *Andante* to *Un poco allegro*. The revisions made to the intermediate version to create the late version are not as far-reaching, but still substantive. Most of the melodic material and musical argument remain the same, or at least very similar, but Bach cut three measures of a sequential pattern in the second half of the movement, updated the ornamentation, and added some slurring. The second movement, *Adagio*, of the early version was replaced with an entirely new *Adagio molto* in the intermediate version. The new second movement was then elaborated and refined in the late version. The third movement is *Allegro* in all three versions, but, again, the measure count differs in each version. In the third movement, the differences between the intermediate and late versions are on a similar scale to those between the early and intermediate versions. Bach's late intervention is clearly documented in the principal source (source A 4), especially in the third movement, where much of Michel's original work is crossed out and replaced by autograph changes in Bach's typically shaky late hand (see plate 2).

The Sonata in E-flat Major, Wq 65/7, is the best known of the sonatas in the present volume, due to the inclusion of its first movement in the second *Clavierbüchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach and its availability in both of the published complete editions of the music of J.S. Bach. Both CV 1772 and NV 1790 assign the origin of the sonata to 1736 in Frankfurt an der Oder, but its history seems to have begun somewhat earlier in Leipzig: Anna Magdalena Bach's handwriting for her *Clavierbüchlein* entry has been dated to 1733–34.⁴ Perhaps the 1736 date refers to the addi-

tion of the second and third movements to create a three-movement sonata. The tempo designations for the earliest version of the complete sonata are: *Allegro—Siciliano—Vivace*. C.P.E. Bach's first major revision came with the *Erneuerung* of 1744 in Berlin, in which—among other changes—the first movement was expanded by twelve measures, the second movement was replaced entirely, and the third movement was more fully elaborated, but without changing the measure count. The tempo designations for this version are: *Allegretto—Andante—Vivace*.⁵ A another set of revisions, made in the mid-to-late 1780s, resulted in a further expansion of the first movement by eight measures, and another change of its tempo designation, this time to *Allegro moderato*. The second movement was changed only slightly, the third movement hardly at all. Bach's autograph manuscript, PL-Kj, Mus. ms. Bach P 771 (source A 11), originally containing the *erneuert* version, clearly shows these later revisions in Bach's shaky late hand. The edition presents both this late version and the 1736 early version complete in the main text, and includes the intermediate version of the first movement from 1744 at the end of the main text.

The Sonata in C Major, Wq 65/8, was composed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1737 and was revised in Berlin in 1743. No source for the “pre-*erneuert*” Frankfurt version is extant. The autograph manuscript (P 771; source A 12) is a fair copy from the mid-1740s, with only a very few later revisions entered directly into the music. It is thus possible to speak of only one surviving version of the sonata—that of Berlin, 1743. Whether the later readings in P 771 are from Bach's later Berlin years or his Hamburg tenure cannot be determined, but they are inconsequential enough not to warrant reprinting any of the movements. They are instead enumerated in variant tables. A small number of sources transmit slightly different tempo designations (*Allegro assai* instead of *Allegro* for the first movement, *Allegro non molto* instead of *Allegretto* for the third movement), and give the meter of the first movement as ♩ instead of ♩ . These are possible vestiges of the original Frankfurt version, but cannot be definitively shown to have come from Bach.

The Sonata in B-flat Major, Wq 65/9, was composed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1737 and was revised in Berlin in 1743. As part of this *Erneuerung*, Bach considerably embellished the original slow movement, but left the outer two

3. Peter Wollny, “Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Der Quellenbesitz Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs,” *BJ* (1996): 7–21.

4. Georg von Dadelsen, *Die Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach*, NBA V/4, *Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957), 97.

5. For a discussion of how the new *Andante* middle movement may have derived from the original *Siciliano*, see Berg, “Bachs Umarbeitungen,” 139–43.

movements largely unchanged. As with Wq 65/8, Bach made no further significant changes to the sonata after the initial *Erneuerung*. This is reflected in the fact that the surviving house copy is in the hand of a Berlin copyist, and that Bach's hand on the title page and in a single revision to the music is clearly from his Berlin period. Thus the version presented in the main text of the edition is the Berlin version of 1743; the early slow movement from 1737 is given at the end of the main text. The sonata was included in Anton Huberty's unauthorized print of six sonatas from 1761, albeit in a corrupt form, with variant readings of unknown origins in the outer movements and a completely different slow movement that is not by Bach (see source E 1 in the critical report).

The Sonata in A Major, Wq 65/10, which survives in fourteen sources, was composed in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1738 and is the last sonata listed in CV 1772 and NV 1790 with a Frankfurt origin. Bach moved to Berlin later that year. NV 1790 provides the further information that Wq 65/10 was *erneuert* in Berlin in 1743; it is, in fact, also the last piece in the section *Clavier Soli* that NV 1790 indicates as having been *erneuert*. This would lead us to expect perhaps three versions of the sonata to be represented in the surviving sources, corresponding to the original Frankfurt version, to revisions made in Berlin, and to further revisions made in Hamburg, as we have seen with other sonatas. For Wq 65/10, however, there are no fewer than five distinct states in the sources. One of these—the state represented by the unauthorized Huberty print, and copies made from it—can be dismissed since its variants cannot be plausibly traced back to Bach. That leaves four versions to fit into the usual tripartite model.

The earliest and latest versions can be ascertained fairly easily: the one from 1738 survives in the same manuscript and in the same hand as the Frankfurt version of Wq 65/5 (source B 11), while the house copy preserves Bach's extensive Hamburg revisions. Of the remaining sources, all but one transmit a version that, under "normal" circumstances, could be considered the *erneuert* Berlin version of 1743: the outer movements show light revisions—primarily updating and clarifying the ornamentation—while the middle movement underwent a more elaborate reworking, in which Bach fleshed out the original strict two-part writing and elaborated some of the melodic ideas. And while this version is represented most frequently in the sources—also typical of an *erneuert* version—none of its copies was produced by a scribe who had any known long-term association with Berlin. Most *erneuert* versions of Bach's sonatas survive in copies made by a small group of known and

trusted Berlin scribes. Of the six extant copies of this version, however, two are by unknown scribes who, of course, cannot be ruled out as Berlin copyists, but neither can they be ruled in. The remaining four scribes (Johann Gottfried Müthel, Johann Friedlieb Zillig, Christoph Ernst Abraham Albrecht von Boineburg, and Carl Friedrich Barth)⁶ were all active elsewhere. In fact, the only copyist of any version of Wq 65/10 who was unquestionably active in Berlin is Anon. 301—perhaps Bach's most trusted Berlin copyist—and from his hand two copies of the sonata survive.

This raises the possibility that the sources of non-Berlin provenance transmit an otherwise undocumented revision of the sonata that Bach made sometime between 1738 and 1743 (perhaps shortly after his move to Berlin), and that the two Anon. 301 copies represent the *erneuert* version. This thesis is bolstered by the fact that these two copies were originally virtually identical, with Bach selling or giving away one copy (source B 14), thus preserving its original readings, while he kept the other (source A 5) as his house copy, using it to enter his late revisions. The fact that its *ante correcturam* readings so closely match the other Anon. 301 copy suggests strongly that Anon. 301 was copying the *erneuert* version of the sonata in 1743 at Bach's specific request.

The two Anon. 301 copies contain a wholly new slow movement. The new movement seems not to be newly composed, though, but rather borrowed from an already existing sonata. The evidence for this conclusion is that all of the sources for Wq 65/10 notate the upper staff in treble clef—a strong argument that Bach's original, now lost, autograph was so notated. If Bach were composing a new slow movement to replace the old, he surely would have done so using the same upper-staff clef as in the other movements. But the sources that transmit the new slow movement use upper-staff soprano clef for it, while the outer movements maintain the treble clef. Such mixing of clefs is highly unusual in Bach's keyboard works. But as we have seen in Wq 65/5, Bach did occasionally use pre-existing movements as *Erneuerung* replacements; this indeed could also have been the case in Wq 65/10.

Besides the replaced slow movement, another indication that the Anon. 301 copies transmit the *erneuert* version is a variant in the first measure of the first movement. In all of the sources that contain the original or revised

6. On the identification of Zillig and Barth, see *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach Gesammelte Werke, Klaviermusik I*, ed. Peter Wollny (Stuttgart: Carus, 2009), 167, and Peter Wollny, "Eine Klaviersonate von C.P.E. Bach aus dem Besitz J.S. Bachs," *BJ* (2012): 181–202.

original slow movement (disregarding the Huberty print and its derivatives), the fourth note in the upper staff of the first movement has an ornament, usually a turn, but occasionally a trill. In all of the sources that transmit the replaced slow movement, this ornament has been moved to the fifth note. Both CV 1772 and NV 1790 place the ornament on the fifth note, indicating that the ornament had been moved prior to the late revisions in Hamburg, most likely during the *Erneuerung* process.

For the present edition, then, we will refer to the four versions of Wq 65/10 as “early” (Frankfurt, 1738), “revised early” (Frankfurt or Berlin, between 1738 and 1743), “intermediate” (Berlin, 1743), and “late” (Hamburg, after 1780). The edition presents the late version, based on the house copy (source A 5), and the revised early version, based on a copy by Müthel (source B 6), in their entirety in the main text. The early version of the slow movement differs enough from the revised early version that it is given separately at the end of the main text, based on the Frankfurt source (source B 11). From these seven movements, and the variant tables, all four versions can be reconstructed: for the early version, use the outer movements of the revised early version along with the early version of the slow movement. For the *erneuert* version, use the outer movements of the revised early version and the slow movement from the late version, all the while noting the variant readings listed in the critical report.

We are not the only ones to struggle with the various versions of Bach’s sonatas. In 1791, J.J.H. Westphal, in an ongoing attempt to insure the accuracy of the sonatas in his personal collection of C.P.E. Bach’s works, sent his copy of Wq 65/10, containing the early version of the slow movement, along with six other sonatas to Bach’s widow, in order to have them checked against the house copies. Johanna Maria Bach replied to Westphal in October of that year when she sent the corrected sonatas back to him:

Of the 7 sonatas, the 14th [Wq 65/6] had to be completely recopied because of all of the changes. In the 18th sonata [Wq 65/10] an entirely different *Andante* has been copied in place of yours and has been inserted at the appropriate place, and in the same way an *Allegretto grazioso* replaces your final *Presto* in the 20th sonata [Wq 65/11]. Everything else has been carefully gone through and precisely updated, which is particularly evident in the 18th sonata.⁷

7. Letter from J.M. Bach to J.J.H. Westphal from October 1791, cited in Berg, “Bachs Umarbeitungen,” 134–35: “Von den 7 Sonaten hat die 14te der vielen Veränderungen wegen ganz müssen abgeschrieben werden. In der 18ten Sonate ist an die Stelle des Ihrigen ein ganz anderes

Westphal kept both copies of the slow movement when his manuscript was returned to him.

The Sonatas Wq 65/11–14

The Sonata in G Minor, Wq 65/11, was the first sonata Bach composed after his move from Frankfurt/Oder to Berlin in 1738. It is dated 1739 in both catalogues. There is no *Erneuerung* listed in NV 1790 and the sources reveal a stable text with only one significant change: Bach replaced the original third movement, a *Presto*, with an *Allegretto grazioso* (the discarded *Presto* became the third movement in the revised version of Wq 65/5, transposed to E minor and headed *Allegro di molto*). The tempo designation of the first movement of Wq 65/11 varies among the surviving sources—ranging from no indication, to *Moderato*, to *Allegro*, to *Allegro moderato*, and to *Allegretto*—but the music itself remains essentially the same in all sources. The second movement is *Andante* in all of the sources. In the letter from J.M. Bach to J.J.H. Westphal just quoted, the replacement of the third movement is mentioned, and Westphal’s copy with the original third movement was returned to him with the new movement copied by Michel, as was the case with the new second movement in Wq 65/10. And, similarly, the Westphal copy of Wq 65/11 preserved in Brussels today contains both the old and new movements: the old in Westphal’s hand and the new in Michel’s. The sonata in its final form—that is, with the *Allegretto grazioso* third movement—is given in the main text of the edition, while the original *Presto* is given at the end of the main text. An unauthorized print published by the Berlin music dealer Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab shortly after Bach’s death (source E 2) included Wq 65/11 and contributed to the sonata’s popularity at the end of the eighteenth century, despite Rellstab’s considerable liberties with the text.

The Sonata in G Major, Wq 65/12, was composed in Berlin in 1740. Although there is no indication of an *Erneuerung* in NV 1790, the piece seems to have been revised at least once in Berlin and then again in Hamburg. The sources of the various versions can more or less be distinguished by the tempo designation of the first movement. Those with *Allegro* seem to be the earliest, followed by those with no tempo designation, and finally those with

Andante abgeschrieben, und gehörigen Orts eingehftet worden, und in der 20ten Sonate ist statt Ihres letzten Presto auf eben die Art ein Allegretto grazioso gekommen. Alles übrige ist scharf durchgesehen, und genau geändert worden, welches insbesondere in der 18ten Sonate sehr zu merken ist.”

Allegretto—an autograph addition to the house copy, indicating that the house copy at one time also carried no designation. Apart from the tempo designation, though, the revisions to the first movement are minimal, as is also the case for the third movement. Only the slow movement was revised sufficiently to warrant printing the earlier version here at the end of the main text. In this earlier state, the texture is much thinner and the ornamentation sparser and simpler, even though the musical structure remains the same. The third movement exhibits an unusual form for Bach, and may show him feeling his way towards the concept of the notated varied reprise. As in his later sonatas with varied reprises, both halves of the movement are repeated with variations, but instead of his more common immediate varied repeat of each section (AA'BB'), Bach here provides a literal repeat of each section before varying them (AABBA'A'B'B'), as in what would later be called a set of double variations.

The Sonata in B Minor, Wq 65/13, was composed in the spa town of Töplitz (Teplice, in the Czech Republic) in 1743, where Bach had gone for relief from his gout. It was the first of Bach's unpublished sonatas to be composed after the appearance in print of his "Prussian" Sonatas, Wq 48, and while he was compiling his next set of published sonatas, the "Württemberg" Sonatas, Wq 49 (which most likely appeared in print in 1744). In fact, Wq 65/13 may well have been considered for inclusion in the latter set but was then rejected in favor of another sonata. It exhibits some of the expanded breadth and increased virtuosity that characterize Wq 49 vis-à-vis his earlier sonatas. Bach mentions the circumstances surrounding the composition of the six sonatas that he composed while in Töplitz in a letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel of 10 February 1775:

The 2 sonatas that particularly pleased you and are somewhat similar to a free fantasy, are the only ones of this type I have ever composed. They belong with the one in B minor I sent to you, to the one in B flat that you now also have and to the 2 from the Haffner-Württemberg collection, and all 6 were composed by me on a clavichord with the short octave in 1743 in Bad Töplitz, where at that time I was suffering greatly from the gout.⁸

8. *CPEB-Letters*, 75–76; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:485–88: "Die 2 Sonaten, welche Ihren Beifall vorzüglich haben und etwas gleiches von einer freyen Fantasie haben, sind die einzigen von dieser Art, die ich je gemacht habe. Sie gehören zu der, aus dem H moll, die ich Ihnen mitschickte, zu der, aus dem B, die Sie nun auch haben und zu 2en aus der Hafner-Württembergischen Sammlung, und sind alle 6, anno 1743, im Töpziger [sic] Bade von mir, der ich damahls sehr gichtbrüchig war, auf einem Clavicord mit der kurzen Oktav verfertigt."

The compositional history of Wq 65/13 somewhat resembles that of Wq 65/12; the original version seems to have been slightly revised once in Berlin, even though there is no mention of an *Erneuerung* in NV 1790, and again in Hamburg, but in this case none of the changes are pervasive enough to warrant the printing of any but the latest version. Again, variations in the first movement tempo designations provide the main differentiation among the versions. The sources transmitting the earliest version generally have *Moderato*; the sources of the Berlin revision have no indication, and those of the Hamburg revision have *Poco allegro*. The latest sources also have *Molto adagio* and *Allegro molto* for the second and third movements instead of the *Adagio* and *Allegro* of the earlier sources. The few other variant readings found in the earlier versions are discussed in the commentary.

The Sonata in D Major, Wq 65/14, was composed in Berlin in 1744 and revised in Hamburg, perhaps in conjunction with the preparation of a sales copy. It is the only sonata in the entire volume for which not a trace of autograph material can be found in the sources, and therefore no surviving house copy. The extant sources—including two copied by Bach's known and trusted Berlin scribes Anon. 301 and Anon. 303—are mostly clear and accurate, and consistent with each other, hinting at a very stable early history of the sonata. The revisions that Bach made in Hamburg, which are reflected in the late Michel copies, affected mainly the first movement. This movement has therefore been printed twice: the later version in the main text with the other two movements of the sonata, and the early version at the end of the main text as a single movement.

Performance Practice

The sources used to establish the musical texts for the sonatas in the present edition universally designate "cembalo" as the instrument for which they were written. By the time they were composed, the term was generic enough to allow for performance on a variety of commonly available keyboard instruments—not just harpsichord, but also clavichord or fortepiano—or even on less commonly encountered ones, such as the *Bogenclavier*, or even on the organ. Although Bach discussed the relative merits of the harpsichord and clavichord in his *Versuch*, he would not have wanted to limit his potential audience to performers of just one or the other.

TABLE 3. ORNAMENTS USED IN I/6

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

After the publication of the *Versuch* in 1753, Bach's notation of his ornaments in keyboard music became more precise. The earliest sources that transmit the sonatas in the present volume predate the *Versuch* by as much as a decade, during which time Bach presumably was formulating ideas that would eventually appear in the *Versuch*. Thus, many of these early sources employ a more generic approach to ornamentation, using fewer symbols with less consistency than do sources from after the mid-1750s. In particular, the trilled turn (*prallender Doppelschlag*)—a favorite device in Bach's later keyboard music—is very rarely encountered in sources that predate the *Versuch*. Indications for trills vary from “+” to “l” to “tr” to “✱” to “♭✱” to something resembling

a combination of a turn and mordent. These have been rendered as either *tr* or ✱ in the edition. When ✱ is used in contexts where a mordent is disallowed by the *Versuch*, it has been changed to *tr*. The notated length of appoggiaturas never became entirely consistent even after the *Versuch* (the rather lengthy explanations there still leave much ambiguity, especially with regard to the length of short, or non-variable, appoggiaturas). Some sources follow the practice (which Bach simply describes as the “earlier” practice) of notating all appoggiaturas as eighth notes, while others use a combination of notated lengths, sometimes with little obvious meaning or consistency. Table 3 presents an overview of the ornaments used in the present volume.

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It is with a heavy heart that I acknowledge the contributions made to this volume by Wolfgang Horn, who was scheduled to edit it, but whose untimely passing in 2019 robbed the C.P.E. Bach edition of a world-class scholar and passionate advocate. Our many, often lively, exchanges, both in person and via e-mail, concerning versions, sources, and scribes determined the shape and content of this volume—not an easy task given Bach’s sometimes extensive revisions to his early sonatas. Wolfgang’s command of this complex subject—evident already in his 1988 dissertation—was an indispensable starting point for my work.

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