

INTRODUCTION

This volume presents all independent sets of keyboard variations known to have been composed by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. In addition to the sets of variations listed by Alfred Wotquenne as Wq 118/1–10, this edition includes the Arioso in A Major with 5 Variations (an early keyboard version of the Trio in A Major, Wq 79) and, as a work of uncertain authorship, the Arioso in A Major, H 351, in versions with six and eight variations.

The importance of variation in performances of eighteenth-century keyboard music is evident in the famous words from the preface to Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (Berlin, 1760): "Varying repetitions is indispensable these days. One expects it from every performer. . . . One wants to see nearly every idea varied in the repetition."¹ Although these words were written about keyboard pieces with varied reprises, this statement referred to performance practice in the broadest sense, as can be seen in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*:

To every succession of harmonies or chords one can compose several melodies all of which are correct according to the rules of harmonic syntax. Therefore if a melody is varied by singers or players, it can be sung or played the second time altogether differently from the first time without breaking the syntactical rules; but experienced composers from time to time produce over a single harmony several melodies that more or less keep the character of the first. In both cases one uses the word "variation" that we express with *Veränderung*. . . . Little melodies for instruments, such as courantes, sarabandes, and other dance pieces are too short to be played several times in succession without variation. That is why various famous composers have provided such pieces with many varied melodies that always fit the harmonic progression. The best variations in this manner, which one can praise as models, are those of Couperin and the great J. Seb. Bach. In an even higher class of wholly varied melodies are the Sonatas with Varied Reprises. Herr C. P. Em. Bach published six of them which he dedicated to Princess Amalia of Prussia.

1. "Das Verändern bey dem Wiederholen ist heut zu Tage unentbehrlich. Man erwartet solches von jedem Ausführer. . . . Man will bey nahe jeden Gedanken in der Wiederholung verändert wissen." See CPEB: CW, I/2 for the complete preface.

The preface to this work contains some useful remarks about the art of varying.²

Nevertheless, variation cycles play but a small role within Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's vast oeuvre for keyboard instruments. The present volume contains those works that have been transmitted as independent keyboard cycles. Bach subsumed these compositions under "solos" for keyboard; in the context of their original publications, two further sets of variations were labeled "sonata." The latter term applies to the Sonata in C Minor, Wq 50/6, from the *Sechs Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen* (a single movement that can be described either as a rondo or as a set of double variations on two related themes, one in the major mode, one in the minor mode);³ and also to the Variations in C Major for keyboard with violin and a violoncello accompaniment, the last piece in the trios Wq 91 (see CPEB: CW, II/4), which later served as the basis for the keyboard variations Wq 118/10. Additionally the small number of variations in cyclical works needs to be mentioned: these comprise the final movements of several early solos for flute

2. "Man kann zu einer Folge von Harmonien, oder Accorden mehrere Melodien setzen, die alle nach den Regeln des harmonischen Sazes richtig sind. Wenn also eine Melodie von Sängern, oder Spielern wiederholt wird, so können sie das zweytemal vieles ganz anders, als das erstemal singen oder spielen, ohne die Regeln des Sazes zu verletzen; geübte Tonsetzer aber verfertigen bisweilen über einerley Harmonien, mehrere Melodien, die mehr oder weniger den Charakter der ersten bey behalten: für beyde Fälle braucht man das Wort Variation, das wir durch Veränderungen ausdrücken. . . . Kleine Melodien für Instrumente, als Sarabanden, Couranten und andre Tanzstücke, sind zu kurz, um ohne Veränderung etlichemal hintereinander gespielt zu werden. Daher haben verschiedene berühmte Tonsetzer dergleichen Stücke mit mancherley veränderten Melodien gesetzt, die immer auf dieselbe Folgen von Harmonien passen. Die besten Veränderungen in dieser Art, die man als Muster anpreisen kann, sind die von Couperin, und von dem grossen J. Seb. Bach. Eine noch höhere Gattung von ganz veränderten Melodien, sind die Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen. Hr. C. P. Em. Bach, hat deren sechs für Clavier herausgegeben, die er der Prinzessin Amalia von Preußen dedicirt hat. Der Vorbericht zu diesem Werk enthält einige nützliche Anmerkungen über die Kunst zu verändern." *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste. Zweyter Theil von K bis Z*, ed. Johann Georg Sulzer (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1774), 1206–8, here 1206f., s.v. "Veränderungen, Variationen. (Musik)."

3. Elaine Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 154f.

(Wq 123, 124, and 126) and oboe (Wq 135) and the sonata for keyboard “a due tastature” (Wq 69). It should be noted that Bach did not restrict variations to two-part textures, be it either for the right and left hands of a keyboard instrument or for a solo instrument and bass; he also wrote two sets of ensemble variations: the Arioso with Variations in A Major, Wq 79, for keyboard and violin; and the aforementioned keyboard trio, Wq 91/4. Both also survive in authentic versions for keyboard alone, and these are included in the present volume.

Heinrich Christoph Koch describes variation technique in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1802 in more detail than it had been in Sulzer’s *Theorie der Schönen Künste*:

Variationen, Variazioni: By this one understands immediate repetition, several times, of a short musical piece in which the melody is varied each time through diminution of the main notes and the connecting and secondary notes without altogether eliminating the similarity to the main melody.⁴

Bach’s Variation Cycles

Bach’s cyclical keyboard variations spread almost evenly over a period of more than forty-five years, and at first sight seem not to follow any standardized procedures. They differ greatly with respect to the number of variations and their technical demand; approximately half of the sets are based—as far as we know—on pre-existing melodies, while the other use themes of Bach’s own invention. A closer look at the construction of the cycles and their transmission shows that four distinct groups can be distinguished.

The first group includes the typical sets of variations for beginners on the keyboard, comprising a newly invented theme and five to seven variations. The use of variations for pedagogical purposes was generally known, as Hans Adolf Friedrich von Eschstruth acknowledged in the announcement of a planned publication of his variations on “Mein Leipzig, mein Marburg etc. lebe wohl”:

The easiest way to achieve a certain degree of proficiency on an instrument and secure oneself in technique as well as in rhythm is indisputably through variations. Everyone can

4. “Variazioni, Variazioni. Man versteht darunter eine mehrmalige unmittelbare Wiederholung eines kurzen Tonstückes, wobey die Melodie jedesmal durch Verschiedenheit der Zergliederungen ihrer Hauptnoten und der damit in Verbindung gebrachten durchgehenden und Nebennoten verändert wird, jedoch ohne dabey die Aehnlichkeit mit der Hauptmelodie ganz zu vermischen.” Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: August Herrmann, 1802), cols. 1629f., here 1629.

experience this themselves. Yet we Germans have few good sets for the clavichord, excepting those of C. P. E. Bach, Fasch, Forkel, the Gotha composers, Haydn, Rust, and Vogler.⁵

Each variation of a given set displays a certain technical aspect of keyboard playing;⁶ the variations are presented in progressive difficulty, but rarely require more than a limited level of proficiency. Judging from the number of surviving copies, the sets of variations Wq 118/4 and 118/5 were among Bach’s most successful keyboard compositions and remained in use until the early nineteenth century; they were also well-received outside Berlin. From a musical standpoint the Variations on a Minuet in C Major, Wq 118/3, composed in 1745, fall into the same category; curiously, almost no copies survive that can be shown to stem from Bach’s Berlin circle.⁷ It seems significant in this respect that a revised, expanded, and fingered version of

5. “Der leichteste Weg, auf einem Instrument einen gewissen Grad Fertigkeit zu erlangen, und sich sowol in der Applicatur als in der Mensur fest zu setzen, sind unstreitig Variationen. Jeder kann die Erfahrung selbst machen. Dennoch haben wir Deutschen ausser denen von C. P. E. Bach, Fasch, Forkel, den Gothaischen Tonkünstlern, Haydn, Rust und Vogler wenig gute vor das Clavichord.” See Wiermann, 487. On the song, used as a farewell with the names of various places, see Max Friedländer, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1902), 2:335. Friedländer was not able to locate the melody; Eschstruth’s variations remained unpublished and are believed to have been lost.

6. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, in his *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen, der schönern Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäß entworfen* (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1755), 43, explains the genesis of variations accordingly: “Along with ornamentation, the so-called cadenzas are created the same way as improvised variations, with which one is accustomed to embellish a piece on the spot. When one takes a particular harmonic pattern with such embellishments, and with each repetition of it a different embellishment is played, from that comes the so-called variations.” (Mit [den] Setzmanieren werden die sogenannten Cadenzen ingleichen die willkührlichen Veränderungen gemacht, mit welchen man aus dem Stegereif ein Stück auszuzieren pfeget. Wenn ein gewisser Klangfuß bei dergleichen Auszierungen angenommen, und bey jeder Wiederholung eines dazu gemachten Stückes derselbe mit einem andern abgewechselt wird: so entstehen daraus alsdenn die sogenannten Variationen.)

7. The common bond among these three sets of variations (Wq 118/3–5) is corroborated by Breitkopf offering them as three “Partite” (analogous to the two sets of six sonatas that immediately follow) in his 1763 catalogue *Catalogo de soli, duetti, trii, terzetti, quartetti e concerti per il cembalo e l’harpa che si trovano in manoscritto nella officina musica di Breitkopf in Lipsia. Parte IVta* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1763), 2; cf. Cat. Breitkopf, col. 116. It is unclear where Breitkopf obtained his model sources. Likely candidates for Breitkopf sales copies are: A-Wgm, VII 43764 and VII 43765 (Wq 118/3 and 118/4, respectively); A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 5018 (Wq 118/4 and 118/5); D-KII, Mb 55:1 and Mb 56:1 (Wq 118/3) and Mb 55:2 (Wq 118/5). As is well known, C. P. E. Bach did not regard Breitkopf copies as authorized sources: “Die geschriebenen Sachen, die Breitkopf von mir verkauft, sind theils nicht von mir, wenigstens sind sie alt u.[nd] falsch geschrieben.” See *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:433; translation in *CPEB-Letters*, 62.

H 351—a work whose authorship is not yet verified—was included, apparently to the dismay of the composer, in a keyboard treatise, namely Georg Simon Löhlein's remarkably successful *Clavier-Schule* of 1765 (see below).

Diverging from the tradition of keyboard variations in South Germany and Austria, where the sets almost invariably consist of six or twelve variations (fully established by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart from c. 1774 on), early sets of variations in North and Central Germany typically have an odd number of variations. This apparently resulted from French traditions where variations were regarded as “doubles” of the theme: “VARIATIONS. Under this name is understood all ways of embroidering and doubling an air, whether by diminutions or by passages or other embellishments that ornament and figure this air.”⁸ Thus the theme itself is counted among the variations and, consequently, the entire set consists of six or (rarely) eight individual sections. This may also explain some confusing headings like “XII Variationes,” found more than once, for example, in copies of the anonymous Variations in A Major, H 371.⁹ that served as the starting point for Bach's Ariette with Variations, Wq 118/2. These copies contain—according to our modern understanding—the theme and eleven variations, which sometimes, though not always, are numbered 1 to 11, respectively.

The second group of Bach's variations includes cycles such as the 21 Variations on a Minuet by Locatelli, Wq 118/7; the 12 Variations on “Les Folies d'Espagne,” Wq 118/9; and the Variations on an Arioso in C Major, Wq 118/10, an elaboration with varied reprises of the keyboard part of the trio Wq 91/4. These works clearly aim at the professional musician. This is evident from a report in the second volume of Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*; Reichardt had visited Bach in Hamburg in the summer of 1774, and several times had heard Bach play his *Silbermannisches Clavier* (clavichord):

I have not yet told you anything about this master's splendid fantasias. The complete calm and, one should almost say, the lifelessness of his body amply demonstrate that in them his entire soul is engaged. For in fantasias he holds the position

8. “VARIATIONS. On entend sous ce nom toutes le manières de broder & doubler un Air, soit par des Diminutions, soit par des passages ou autres agremens qui ornent & figurent cet Air.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: Duchesne's widow, 1768), 531, s.v. “VARIATIONS.” See also Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Clavierschule oder Anweisung zum Clavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende* (Leipzig and Halle: author, 1789), 399.

9. See D-B, Mus. ms. anon. 811 and Mus. ms. 11544.

and gesture that he adopts as he begins for hours long without moving. Here he shows quite clearly the great knowledge of harmony and the immeasurable richness of rare and unusual turns of phrase that mark him as the greatest original genius. He even showed me once the great variety of his ideas in variations on the delightful, last movement* [footnote: *] It is headed Allegro moderato mà innocentemente.] of the third sonata of his 6 Sonatas with Varied Reprises. I believe that there were more than thirty variations on it that he played for me.¹⁰

Reichardt could not know, however, that Bach's playing was less spontaneous than he may have assumed. Besides the version in the 1760 print, two elaborations of the sonata movement Wq 50/3/iii have been transmitted in manuscript. These contain altogether almost a dozen variations on the main theme, so that what may have appeared as an improvisation was at least partly fixed.¹¹ These sets of variations are markedly longer than the ones for beginners; they are lessons not only in keyboard playing, but also in compositional technique. Given the length of the pieces, it is almost unavoidable that the overall difficulty increases towards the end. Nevertheless, they are associative and do not build to a final climax. The small number of copies—almost all of which are associated directly with the composer—make it clear that Bach did not intend dissemination of these works, but may have used them from time to time as *paradeurs* or show-pieces to impress visitors like Reichardt.¹²

10. “Ich habe Dir noch nichts von den vortreflichen Phantasien dieses Meisters gesagt. Seine ganze Seele ist dabey in Arbeit, welches die völlige Ruhe, und fast sollte man sagen, Lebllosigkeit seines Körpers satt-sam anzeigt. Denn die Stellung und Geberde, die er annimmt, indem er anfängt, behält er bey stundenlangen Phantasien unbeweglich bey. Hier zeigt er erst recht deutlich die grosse Kenntnis der Harmonie, und den unermeßlichen Reichthum an seltnen und ungewöhnlichen Wendungen, die ihn zum größten Originalgenie bestimmen. Auch zeigte er mir einmal seine grosse Mannigfaltigkeit an Gedanken in Veränderungen über das allerliebste, naive letzte Stück* [footnote: *] Es ist überschrieben Allegro moderato mà innocentemente.] aus der dritten Sonate seiner 6 Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen. Ich glaube, daß es mehr als dreyßig Veränderungen waren, die er mir darüber vorspielte.” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend. An seine Freunde geschrieben, Zweyter Theil* (Frankfurt and Breslau, 1776), “Erster Brief,” 1–22, here 15f.

11. Helm recognizes only one of these elaborations as a revision of Wq 50/3 (H 138); the other is erroneously listed as a work of spurious authenticity (H 334) although the source (D-LEm, Ms. R 12) is partly in Bach's hand.

12. Cf. Bach's letter to Johann Heinrich Grave, 28 April 1784: “Das Concert C mol war vor diesem eines meiner Paradörs. Das Rezit. ist so ausgesetzt, wie ich es ohngefehr gespielt habe.” (CPEB-Briefe, 2:1009). This concerto can be identified as the Concerto in C Minor, Wq 31.

The third group of Bach's variations includes several shorter cycles for connoisseurs, in which Bach pursues the innovative ideas of character variation on the one hand and expansion of harmony on the other. In the latter case he not only overcomes the inherent harmonic uniformity of variation cycles by occasionally setting variations in the relative minor or major, but also sets entire variations in other keys than the main one, typically using third relationships. The progression of keys in the Arioso in A, Wq 79, for example—both in its keyboard and its ensemble versions—is: A major (theme and variations 1–2), A minor (variation 3), F major (variation 4), and A major (variation 5). Similarly the Arioso in C Major, Wq 91/4, and its revision as Wq 118/10, include some modulating extra measures to introduce the eighth and penultimate variation in E major.

A different way of achieving variety is found in the “variazioni caratterizzate,” a term used and perhaps invented by Johann Wilhelm Hertel in Schwerin.¹³ In this type of variation the harmonic scheme of the theme is re-interpreted in the form of various dance movements, such as Tempo di Minuetto, Alla Polacca, or Siciliano, with varying meters and tempo indications. Still, Bach—unlike Mozart—never used adagio variations in order to prepare for a brilliant final variation. The character variation differs from the melodic variation encountered elsewhere, where variety is sought mainly in the successive transformation of the melodic shape of the theme. One example of character variation is the “einige noch unbekannte Veränderungen” on the widely known theme “Ich schlief, da träumte mir” from Wq 118/1, which Bach published in his *Musikalisches Vielerley* in 1770. The latter have little in common with the earlier set on the very same tune in the 1761 *Musikalisches Allerley* and should not be regarded as a mere sequel, but as an independent set in their own right (see below). Their novelty was recognized in a review of the *Musikalisches Vielerley* in an issue of the *Unterhaltungen*:

Variations on the song “Ich schlief da träumte mir” by Herr Kapellmeister Bach, which are continued in the 28th issue. It is pleasing to hear how a song becomes a menuet, a polonaise, a siciliano without losing its principal features.¹⁴

13. Hertel did not refer to Bach, but to compositions of his own. See his “Villanella, onorata da due Dozzine di Variazioni caratterizzate, da Giov. Gugl. Hertel,” i.e., Variations on “Ich schlief, da träumte mir.” The autograph manuscript has been preserved in Brussels (B-Bc, 6069 MSM, 62–80); see RISM online (ID no. 704002579).

14. “Einige Veränderungen des Liedes: Ich schlief da träumte mir, von Herrn Kapellmeist. Bach, welche im 28sten Stück fortgesetzt werden. Es ist angenehm zu hören, wie ein Lied zur Menuet, zur Polonoise, zum Siciliano wird, ohne seine Hauptzüge zu verlieren.” *Unterhaltungen*, 10.1 (July 1770), 73–74; quoted in Wiermann, 172.

Another example of this new type of variation is the set of twelve variations on the French romance “Colin à peine à seize ans,” Wq 118/6, of 1766.

The fourth group of Bach's variations includes sets for which multiple composers contributed to a large-scale variation work. There seem to be no precedents for such pasticcio variations, which appeared in Berlin in the 1750s and early 1760s.¹⁵ In Wq 118/2, Bach and his colleague Carl Friedrich Fasch expanded an anonymous setting of what was then a popular (instrumental) arietta;¹⁶ their variations were published as a continuous set in the *Musikalisches Allerley*.¹⁷

Variations on the song “Ich schlief, da träumte mir” were fashionable in Berlin throughout the second half of the eighteenth century; reconstructing their genesis and reception is a major challenge. Individual sets in F major for keyboard are known to have been composed by C. P. E. Bach (Wq 118/1), Johann Philipp Kirnberger (Engelhardt no. 68), and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, but the sequence and number of variations differs from one manuscript to another. Several sources contain compilations of variations by more than one composer, often without indicating the composer's name, and sometimes interspersed with further variations which have not yet been traced in concordant sources bearing plausible attributions. No documents elucidate the specific historic conditions under which these pasticcio variations originated; perhaps they are a musical side-result of the Seven Years' War, which virtually eliminated the music culture at the Berlin court from 1756 to 1763 and forced the court musicians to seek entertainment (and perhaps also financial compensation) in private circles.

On the whole, Bach's sets of variations conform remarkably well with the few discussions of variation in eighteenth-century treatises in Germany. Heinrich Christoph Koch, for example, describes three essential aspects of variations in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1802 (cols.

15. For later Berlin sets of pasticcio variations see Ulrich Leisinger, “Noch einmal die Arietta variata—Carl Fasch und die Berliner Pasticcio-Variationen,” in *Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (1736–1800) und das Berliner Musikleben seiner Zeit. Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz am 16. und 17. April 1999 im Rahmen der 6. Internationalen Fasch-Festtage in Zerbst*, ed. Internationale Fasch-Gesellschaft e.V. Zerbst (Dessau: Anhaltische Verlagsgesellschaft, 1999), 123ff.

16. See Kurt von Fischer, “Arietta variata,” in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H. C. Robbins Landon (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), 224–35, and Leisinger, “Noch einmal die Arietta variata,” 114–29.

17. Bach's autograph also contains his own copies of the Fasch variations in the same order as in *Musikalisches Allerley*.

1629ff): the choice of a suitable theme, the necessity of variety among the variations, and the postulate of coherence. According to Koch the theme should be song-like (cantabel), memorable, and by itself sufficiently interesting. A set of variations achieves coherence if the theme remains recognizable in each variation, even though the variations should display a great variety with respect to their “special character” (besonderer Charakter).

Catalogues

Two contemporary sales catalogues contain references to variation cycles by Bach. The Westphal catalogue¹⁸ was apparently issued almost immediately following Bach’s death, since it is mentioned in a letter of 29 May 1789 from the Hamburg music dealer Johann Christoph Westphal to Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal in Schwerin. The catalogue lists on fol. 4r “1 Arioso mit 7 Variationen, F dur” [price: 1 Mark] (Wq 118/4) and “Canzonette: Ich schlief, da träumte mir, mit 15 Variationen, F dur” [price: 1 Mark] (Wq 118/1). No copies are known to be extant that can be related with certainty to Westphal’s offer. The Breitkopf catalogue¹⁹ lists on p. 2 of “Raccolta I”: “III. Partite di C. P. E. BACH, per il Cembalo Solo.” These can be identified as Wq 118/3, 118/4, and 118/5. Several copies have been preserved that are either Breitkopf’s sales copies or directly dependent on those copies; for details, see commentary.

On the Individual Works

Minuet in G Major by Pietro Locatelli with Variations, Wq 118/7

In 1735 C. P. E. Bach wrote twenty-one variations on a minuet by Pietro Locatelli (1695–1764). The minuet is the final movement of sonata no. 10 of *XII Sonate à flauto traversiere è basso, opus 2*, that had been published only a few years before, in 1732, in Amsterdam.²⁰ The minuet movement served there as the basis of seven variations. The purpose of C. P. E. Bach’s set of variations, technically among the most demanding that he ever wrote, remains unclear.²¹ It should

18. For a transcription see *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spiegel seiner Zeit. Die Dokumentensammlung Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphals*, ed. Ernst Suchalla (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993), 213ff.

19. See Cat. Breitkopf, cols. 115ff.

20. See Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 182–83. For Locatelli’s variations see Arlette Leroy-Biget, ed., *Pietro Antonio Locatelli: XII Sonate à flauto traversière solo e basso, opus 2* (Amsterdam: author, 1732); RISM A/I/5, L 2602. A facsimile is available (Courlay: J. M. Fuzeau, 1993).

21. Unusual features include chords requiring a hand span of a ninth

be noted that Wq 118/7 predates J. S. Bach’s “Goldberg” Variations, published as part IV of his *Clavier-Übung*, by several years. The only known eighteenth-century source of C. P. E. Bach’s variations is a manuscript in the hand of J. J. H. Westphal in Schwerin, which was copied from a manuscript (now lost) obtained from Bach himself or his family. Westphal’s manuscript includes not only the theme, but also the first two of the original variations by Locatelli, before Bach’s contributions. Bach’s variations were published (cf. Wq 269)—as were the variations on “Les Folies d’Espagne,” Wq 118/9 (cf. Wq 270) and Handel’s 62 Variations on a Chaconne in G Major, HWV 442—by Johann Traeg in Vienna in 1803; Traeg did not, however, include Locatelli’s variations.²²

Minuet in C Major with 5 Variations, Wq 118/3

Wq 118/3 originated in Berlin in 1745.²³ Bach appears to have prevented its distribution: although an autograph manuscript exists in a hand that confirms the early date of composition, only one other manuscript survives that can be proven to date from the composer’s Berlin years.²⁴ The paucity of manuscripts from these years does not seem to indicate that Bach considered this composition as a juvenile work to be destroyed or kept secret, for the revisions he made were slight, confined only to the addition of inner voices in the final variation. It seems likely, therefore, that Bach wrote the piece for the exclusive use of one of his

(mm. 121 and 381), three-part counterpoint (variations 3, 10, 17, and 18), broken chords in violinistic tessitura (variation 7), and intricate rhythmic patterns (variation 21). That Bach himself valued the variations can be seen from the fact that they are listed as no. 2 in CV 1772.

22. A lukewarm review of this print appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 6 (1804–1805), no. 15, cols. 242–44: “The two works mentioned above [Wq 118/7 and Wq 118/9] do not belong to the composer’s best variations; yet it is obvious that such a master does not publish anything bad.” (Obige beide Werke gehören nicht unter die besten der E. Bachischen Variationen; doch versteht es sich von selbst, dass ein solcher Meister nichts schlechtes bekannt macht.) Praising Bach’s unsurpassed “fantasies and rondos, both single pieces and those from the collection *für Kenner und Liebhaber*” (Phantasien und Rondos, wie man sie Theils einzeln, Theils in den Sammlungen ‘für Kenner und Liebhaber’ hat), the author concludes with the remark: “But whoever wants to learn how to play Bach’s larger compositions—how they must be played—can take the smaller works, such as the present variations, as good preparation.” (Dem aber, der E. Bachs größere Kompositionen spielen lernen will, wie sie gespielt werden müssen, können die kleinern, wie die angezeigten Variationen, als gute Vorübung dienen.)

23. Despite the considerable chronological separation, Wq 118/3 and 118/4 are placed next to each other as nos. 51 and 50 in CV 1772.

24. Fascicle III in D-DI, 3029-T-17 (Anon. 303).

Berlin keyboard students, perhaps a member of the nobility. The theme shares the opening measures with a minuet attributed to Johann Nikolaus Tischer (1707–74), an organist in Schmalkalden in Thuringia whose published keyboard works were known by Bach.²⁵

Arioso in F Major with 7 Variations,
Wq 118/4

Wq 118/4 originated in Berlin in 1747. The early distribution suggests that this set was conceived with five variations; only at a later point was it expanded by adding the final two variations. The revision cannot, however, be securely dated. A final revision took place only during Bach's Hamburg years. The large number of manuscript copies indicates the popularity of the work during the second half of the eighteenth century. The Arioso was issued—without Bach's knowledge—in its intermediate version by Anton Huberty in Paris in the 1760s, in *Six Sonates pour le clavecin* [. . .] *Oeuvre 1* (RISM A/I/1, B 95 and B 95a–b); in this unauthorized edition it follows the first movement of the Sonata in F Major, Wq 65/18, replacing the sonata's original second and third movements.

Allegretto in C Major with 6 Variations,
Wq 118/5

The variations Wq 118/5, composed in Berlin in 1750, were also widely disseminated, often together with copies of Wq 118/4. Two sources—in Vienna and Gotha—omit variation no. 6; since both seem to depend on Breitkopf's offerings, it cannot be determined whether this version results from an inadvertently incomplete *Stammkopie* or whether it might indicate an early version with five variations (in accordance with Wq 118/3 and what is likely to be an early version of Wq 118/4). A late revision by the composer includes only minimal melodic changes.²⁶

“Ich schlief, da träumte mir” with Variations,
Wq 118/1

The earliest datable record for the song “Ich schlief, da träumte mir,” by an anonymous author, is in the so-called Crailsheimsche Liederhandschrift.²⁷ As discussed by Max

Friedländer, this manuscript—supposedly assembled by Count Albert Ernst Friedrich von Crailsheim (1727–94) in Rügland near Ansbach in Middle Franconia between 1747 and 1749—contains the text (fourteen stanzas), but not the music.²⁸ The tune was very popular in Germany and is often found in private keyboard tutorials or collections of easy instrumental pieces; the song also enjoyed some fame in England, where it was sung in the late eighteenth century in a variant version, with the text *Farewell Ye Green Fields and Sweet Groves* by William Blake (1757–1827).²⁹ Typical for a folksong in oral tradition, the text varies from source to source; particularly widespread was a version with five stanzas. Bach composed variations on this tune in 1752; if a note on the title-page on a musically reliable source (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach 365; source B 5) is correct, they were written “at the request of His Majesty the Elector” (per ordine di S. A. M. E.). Since it is unlikely that the King of Prussia, Frederick II, as Margrave of Brandenburg, would have been referred to as Prince-Elector, Frederick August II of Saxony (1696–1763) is the most likely candidate. No other documents, however, confirm a connection to the Dresden court during the early 1750s.³⁰ With respect to the musical text these variations pose major problems; the manuscripts vary greatly in the number of variations, and—to a lesser degree—their order. Although some manuscripts contain only thirteen variations, a strong transmission in reliable sources suggests that a widely disseminated version with the theme and fifteen variations is authentic.³¹

It looks as if this set was only expanded to seventeen variations for publication in the *Musikalisches Allerley* (“41stes Stück,” dated 28 November 1761). The newly com-

ars of German studies owing to its mixture of gallant poetry and fairly explicit adult content. On this collection in general and on “Ich schlief, da träumte mir” in particular see Arthur Kopp, *Deutsches Volks- und Studenten-Lied in vorklassischer Zeit, im Anschluß an die bisher ungedruckte von-Crailsheimsche Liederhandschrift der königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin, quellenmäßig dargestellt* (Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz 1899), 42.

28. Max Friedländer, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert. Quellen und Studien*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1902), 2:73–75.

29. Friedländer, *ibid.*, gives the melody and bass as transmitted in the MS appendix to D-B, Mus. ms. 38046, fol. 33v.

30. An engagement for the Saxon court seems rather unlikely, given the infamous role that the Saxon Prime Minister Heinrich Count von Brühl played in promoting Gottlob Harrer (1700–55) when C.P.E. Bach and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach applied for the succession of their father as Thomascantor in Leipzig.

31. The variations were published in this form in England in unauthorized editions by Hummell and Welcker in the 1760s and 1770s (RISM A/I/1, B 395–396).

25. The minuet seems to be the third movement of Tischer's first partita in his first collection of *Sechs leichte und dabey angenehme Clavier-Partien*. See RISM online (ID no. 301003312).

26. A unique copy of central German origin, now preserved in Vienna (A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 5018), which has five instead of the regular six variations, is not sufficient proof to postulate a shorter, early version.

27. D-B, Department of Manuscripts, Ms. germ. qu. 722 (*olim* Lit. germ. A 975e). The collection enjoys a dubious reputation among schol-

posed variations display contrapuntal techniques despite the underlying folk-like tune: variation 16 makes use of diminution, and variation 17 employs fugal techniques (two imitative upper voices and an accompanying bass part). Also the technical demands are quite challenging. In the final variation the repetitions are written out, although they serve as “prime volte” and “seconde volte” rather than as varied reprises in the Bachian sense.³² These two additional variations could hardly have been possible without J.S. Bach’s “Goldberg” Variations as a model, and they deserve a special rank within the Berlin variation repertoire of the eighteenth century, as can be seen from Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*:

The highest type of variation is indisputably that in which, within each repetition, new imitations and canons in double counterpoint occur. In this category we have, by J. Seb. Bach, thirty such variations for keyboard on an aria, and the very same type on the melody *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, which we may regard as the highest in the art of variation.³³

For the print Bach revised the set of variations in many ways. His major concerns were to reduce the large number of cadences resolving in open octaves in two-part textures, and to avoid total standstill at the caesuras between the phrases of the song by elaborating the left-hand part. These changes can be derived from the discussion of the early version in the commentary.

Whether Bach was the first Berlin composer to write variations on “Ich schlief, da träumte mir” is unknown. A significant number of manuscripts contain Bach’s variations together with those of Kirnberger; two collections additionally contain some variations by Marpurg.³⁴ The settings by Quantz (QV 1:98; copy in D-B, Mus. ms. 18024; for flute, transposed from F major to G major because of that instrument’s compass) and Johann Wilhelm Hertel in Schwerin cannot directly be linked to the early transmission of Bach’s variations.

32. Varied reprises within a set of variations are, however, found in Wq 118/1 (variation 17), Wq 118/2 (variation 14), and Wq 118/5 (variation 5).

33. “Die höchste Gattung von Veränderungen ist unstreitig die, da bey jeder Wiederholung andere auf den doppelten Contrapunkt beruhende Nachahmungen und Canons vorkommen. Von J. Seb. Bach hat man in dieser Art eine Arie für das Clavier mit dreyßig solcher Veränderungen; und eben dergleichen über das Lied, *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her*, die man für das Höchste der Kunst ansehen kann.” Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie*, 2:1207.

34. D-B, Mus. ms. 30201 and Mus. ms. 30382.

As mentioned before, Bach later returned to the theme, publishing “Einige noch unbekannte Veränderungen vom Herrn Capellmeister Bach in Hamburg, über folgendes bekannte Lied: Ich schlief da träumte mir etc.” in the “27. Stück” of his *Musikalisches Vielerley*. These variations are an independent set and do not seem to take the earlier set as a point of departure, particularly since the version of *Musikalisches Allerley* with its seventeen variations and its final climax is rounded off and does not suggest a continuation. The sources strongly corroborate this view: the few copies combining the earlier and the later variations in one individual manuscript all stem from collectors such as J.J.H. Westphal in Schwerin and Johann Heinrich Grave in Greifswald who were in personal contact with Bach in the 1780s; their copies seem to derive from the original prints rather than the composer’s house copies. None of the copies have both parts in the same clef: the early variations are written in soprano clef, the later in treble clef, in accordance with the respective prints.

The high regard for Bach’s variations is confirmed by Carl Friedrich Cramer, who in his *Magazin der Musik* defended Friedrich Wilhelm Rust against criticism by “F-I” (possibly Johann Nikolaus Forkel):

To my way of thinking, besides Bach’s variations on the song “Ich schlief da träumte mir,” there are clearly none in print that surpass these by Rust in the pleasing character of their melody and in variety and astuteness of invention.³⁵

Ariette in A Major with Variations,
Wq 118/2

The first of the editorial problems concerning Wq 118/2 is the anonymous model for this set of pasticcio variations. The original print in *Musikalisches Allerley* bears the simple heading “Clavierstück mit Veränderungen”; only from the “12te Veränderung” on are author’s names given. Variations 12, 15, and 16 are attributed there to “C. Fasch” (Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch); variations 13, 14, and 17 are attributed to “C.P.E. Bach.” A manuscript in Bach’s own hand containing only these six final variations attests that they belong together. The theme and variations nos. 1–11

35. “Meiner Empfindung nach sind ausser Bachs Veränderungen auf das Lied: Ich schlief da träumte mir etc. etc. nicht leicht auf irgend eins welche unter uns im Druck erschienen, die diese rustischen übertröfen, an Angenehmen des Gesangs, und Mannigfaltigkeit und Gedachtem der Erfindung.” The review refers to Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, *Vier und zwanzig Veränderungen für das Clavier, über das Lied: Blühe, liebes Veilchen* (RISM A/I/7, R 3242); Cramer, *Magazin der Musik* (4 April 1783), 457ff, here original footnote to p. 457; see Wiermann, 487.

have a complex history predating the publication in the “5ites Stück” of *Musikalisches Allerley* in 1762; at least three slightly different versions are known to be extant.

The earliest datable source is a print titled “Arietta | con XI Variazioni” in *Opere scielte d’alcune sonate ed altre pezzi di galanteria*, a collection of anonymous keyboard pieces published by Johann Ulrich Haffner in 1756 (this version was apparently Bach’s immediate model and is therefore given in the appendix). The piece enjoyed great popularity in central and southern Germany. Copies without author attribution have been preserved in Berlin (D-B, Mus. ms. anon. 811), Karlsruhe (formerly Donaueschingen; D-KA, Don. Mus. Ms. 1946; 13 variations), and Leipzig (D-LEB, Go.S. 656; 20 variations, originally attributed to Wagenseil, but the author’s name was later erased).³⁶ The work is also included in the so-called *Nannerl Notenbuch*, the keyboard tutorial that Leopold Mozart started for his eight-year-old daughter Maria Anna in 1759 (A-Sm, N.N.; 12 variations) and in another Salzburg keyboard collection of the time.³⁷ Related to this branch of transmission, in all likelihood, are copies that were offered by Breitkopf in Leipzig in 1767 as “Arietta con XI. Variazioni di ANONYMO.”³⁸ Manuscripts, some of which are no longer extant, had also been attributed to “Bach” (D-B, Mus. ms. 38049, fols. 36–49), “Hayden,”³⁹ “Kellner,”⁴⁰ and “Wagenseil.”⁴¹ It can be assumed that the

piece originally circulated without an author’s name, and that the names of then-famous keyboard composers were not assigned to the work until the 1760s or 1770s. Only a few of the surviving manuscripts share the readings of the early Haffner print in all details, but in general they agree with it. The version published in *Musikalisches Allerley* is, however, quite distinct. The theme has been elaborated, as have many of the variations. NV 1790 offers information that Bach himself improved the anonymous set for inclusion in *Musikalisches Allerley*. The pertinent entry in NV 1790 reads:

No. 121. B. 1760. *Petites Pieces*, containing: an Allegro, followed by a Polonoise and some variations on an Italian arietta; these variations are published together with the arietta in *Musikalisches Allerley* and *Musikalisches Vielerley*. The arietta itself, along with its Italian variations, have been changed to German style where necessary.⁴²

The wording makes it clear that the theme and variations 1–11 are not of Bach’s invention. Eugene Helm rightly assigned a number to the anonymous early version (H 371.7) different from the setting in *Musikalisches Allerley* (H 155).⁴³ The incipit accompanying the entry in NV 1790 is from the *Allegro für eine Spieluhr*, Wq 116/21, and makes it possible to identify the “Polonoise” as Wq 116/22, since the au-

36. This manuscript stems from the collection of Thaddäus Baron Dürni[t]z in Munich. See August Scharnagl, *Freiherr Thaddäus von Dürniz und seine Musikaliensammlung mit Wiedergabe des handschriftlichen Katalogs* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1992), and Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorke: Bachiana und andere Handschriften und Drucke des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1977), 14, referring to p. 8, no. 23 of the MS catalogue.

37. Petrus Eder, “Nannerl Mozarts Notenbuch von 1759 und bisher unbeachtete Parallelüberlieferungen” in *Mozart-Studien* 3, ed. Manfred Hermann Schmid (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1993), 37–67, esp. 42–43 and 63–67. A facsimile edition with commentary by Ulrich Leisinger is available: *Nannerl Notenbuch. Vollständiges Faksimile aller erhaltenen Teile der Handschrift* (Munich: Strube, 2010), 62–68.

38. Cat. Breitkopf, col. 284.

39. Hob XVII:A1. Recorded in the Sigmaringen catalogue (*CATALOGUS Über die Sämtliche Musicalische Werck, . . . 1766*); cf. Barry S. Brook, *Thematic Catalogues in Music. An Annotated Bibliography* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1972), 257 (no. 1216). Perhaps Hob XVII:A3 is also related to this arietta.

40. D-B, Mus. ms. 11544, 32–33, as *XII Variationes di Kellner* and in a slightly different order.

41. Helga Scholz-Michelitsch, *Das Klavierwerk von Georg Christoph Wagenseil* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1966), no. 96. *Allegretto con XII Variazioni*, until World War II in the Darmstadt Library, Mus. ms. 132.

42. NV 1790, 16: “No. 121. B. 1760. *Petites Pieces*, enthaltend: ein Allegro, worauf eine Polonoise, und einige Veränderungen auf eine italienische Ariette folgen, welche letztern im Musikalischen Allerley und Vielerley der Ariette beygedruckt sind. Die Ariette selbst, mit ihren italienischen Veränderungen ist, wo es nöthig war, verdeutschet.”

43. The wording in NV 1790 does not support Helm’s interpretation (p. 40) that the music was notated according to German convention. In his list of sources for H 155 and H 371.7 Helm still confuses the two versions. The following manuscripts contain only H 371.7 and are not related to Bach’s contributions: D-B, Mus. ms. 38049 and D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 367. Unrelated in every respect are settings by Joseph Riepel (for violin and bass; US-Wc, M. 221.A2R; see Leisinger, “Noch einmal die Arietta variata,” 118, fn. 20); Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch (for fortepiano, “ARIETTE Pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte Avec Quatorze Variations,” Amsterdam, 1782; RISM A/1/3, F 118); and Bendix Friedrich Zinck (for violoncello and fortepiano, “XIV Variazioni per il Cembalo e Violoncello”; based on Fasch’s version of the theme; D-B, Mus. ms. 23618/13). No copy has been traced of the “Premier Recueil des petits Airs choisis, par SIEBER, a Harpa, Parigi,” advertised by Breitkopf in 1775 (Cat. Breitkopf, col. 582) which, according to the incipit given in the Breitkopf catalogue apparently opened with (variations on?) the arietta for harp in G major. The print cannot be identified in the Sieber catalogues; the most likely candidate is a lost set in the section “Pour Harpe” with the title “Recueil Ir varie pr. Bach” first advertised in 1771. See Cari Johansson, *French Music Publishers’ Catalogues of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1985), plate no. 102.

tograph manuscript, Mus. ms. Bach P 742, contains both compositions (cf. CPEB:CW, I/8.2, source A 3). From the paper type it seems unlikely, however, that Bach's copy of his and Fasch's contributions to *Musikalisches Allerley* (D-B, SA 4512; source A 8) ever formed part of a collection in Mus. Ms. Bach P 742; in any event no autograph of Bach's revision of the anonymous set of variations is known to survive.⁴⁴ Since the 51st and 52nd issues of *Musikalisches Allerley*, containing the complete set of variations, were not issued until 17 and 24 July 1762, it seems possible that Bach undertook the revision of the anonymous setting explicitly with the publication in mind. This might explain why not entirely reliable copies exist that combine the new variations by Bach and Fasch with the unrevised version of the Arietta with 11 Variations, H 371.7 (for details see the commentary). The genesis of the piece that still has not been satisfactorily explained has no bearing on the text of the present edition, since there is no evidence that Bach had any part in the early version, H 371.7.

The edition follows the authorized print in *Musikalisches Allerley*; it contains a total of seventeen variations, not just Bach's and Fasch's newly composed contributions but also the anonymous *Arietta con XI variazioni* in a version revised—apparently by Bach—according to the German (or rather *vermischter*, mixed) “Geschmack.”⁴⁵ For comparison and evaluation of Bach's arrangement, the anonymous set of variations is given in the appendix in the form in which it appears in *Opere scielte di alcune sonate*.

As in the case of the variations on “Ich schlieff da träumte mir,” Bach provided “Einige noch unbekannte Veränderungen vom Herrn Capellmeister Bach in Hamburg . . .” for Wq 118/2 in *Musikalisches Vielerley* (“29. Stück”). Though these five variations are technically more demanding than the ones published in *Musikalisches Allerley*, they do not belong to the new genre of character variation. Exactly when they were composed, and whether they should be

regarded as an independent cycle or were meant to serve as an addition to the earlier set, cannot be determined.⁴⁶

“Colin à peine à seize ans” with 12 Variations,
Wq 118/6

The French romance “Colin à peine à seize ans” was comparatively new when Bach wrote his set of variations Wq 118/6. In a review of the lyric anthology *Porte-feuille d'un homme de goût* in August 1765 the *Mercure de France* presented the text, an Anacreontic poem, with the heading “Premier leçon d'Amour.”⁴⁷ This poem was sung as a parody to the Noël “Où s'en vont ces gais bergers”; although its origin has not been established, the melody can be traced back to the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴⁸ In the same year, 1765, the romance was published with the melody (in C major) in a lyric anthology.⁴⁹ A discussion of the French “Noël” by an anonymous author, in all likelihood Marpurg, in the *Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung* of 1793 surprisingly sheds some light on the genesis of Bach's set of variations. After an introduction which reproaches the frivolous (*leichtfertige*) French nation for its weakness for leaping melodies (*springendlustige Melodien*) and spiritual pranks (*geistliche Schwänke*), the author writes about the use of noëls as themes for keyboard variations:

We have a printed collection of these with the title *Bible des Noëls*, and various organists, e.g., *le Begue*, *Dandrieu*, *Corette*, have had such things published with variations for the harpsichord and the organ. These are, indeed, not variations of the kind Sebastian Bach has given us on the German Christmas song *Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*. But what organ composer ever dreams of doing the same as this great artist, or even coming close to imitating him? Even his estimable son Emanuel, who at the inducement of a French lady who was staying in Berlin in the year 1761, composed many variations on the French Noël *Où s'en vont ces gais bergers* was content to do it in the simplest way, without immersing himself in

44. In the house copy whose readings are preserved only by a late copy (A-Wn, Mus.Hs. 19035; source B 1) the foreign contributions were apparently eliminated, reducing the entire set to the theme and eight variations.

45. In his manuscript copy of Wq 118/2 J.J.H. Westphal in Schwerin identifies “Agricola” as the author of the theme and “Steffan” as the author of variations 1, 3, and 4. There is no clue to Westphal's source of this information. Johann Friedrich Agricola and Joseph Anton Steffan are not mentioned elsewhere in conjunction with the piece. The early transmission makes it unlikely that the eleven original variations were composed by different people making it a set of pasticcio variations right from the beginning.

46. The fact that A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 19035 contains variations 18–22 immediately following Bach's contributions to *Musikalisches Allerley* without a restatement of the theme suggests that these variations are a later addition rather than a separate set of variations of its own.

47. Abbé Joseph de Laporte, ed., *Porte-feuille d'un homme de goût ou esprits des nos meilleure poëtes*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam and Paris, 1765); new editions were issued in 1770 and 1785. The review appeared in *Mercure de France*, August 1765, 60–77, here 68.

48. See Betty Bang Mather, Gail Gavin, and Jean-Jacques Rippert, *The French Noel: with an Anthology of 1725 Arranged for Flute Duet* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 4.

49. *Anthologie française ou chansons choisies depuis le 13e siècle jusqu'à present*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1765), 22–24.

exhausting canons at all intervals, in similar and contrary motion, in augmentation and diminution, etc. But presumably he didn't want to say everything that could be said with his subject.⁵⁰

We may accept at face value the information that C.P.E. Bach wrote his variations at the behest of a French lady; this would explain the limited transmission of the piece which apparently did not circulate until the 1780s. It seems unlikely, however, that Marpurg's thirty-year-old recollections were reliable enough to cast doubt on the traditional date of composition, given as "Berlin 1766" in both CV 1772 (no. 147) and NV 1790 (p. 19, no. 159); it is evident from the essay that Marpurg himself did not own a copy of the music:

The original of the French Noël that Emanuel varied, written in his own hand, is presumably to be found among his papers in the home of his widow in Hamburg, and it is to be wished that it will be accessible to a musical connoisseur. Unquestionably a copy of it has come into the possession of Herr Hering the elder, a venerable musician of Berlin and a very scrupulous and keen collector and discerning admirer of Bachian works. Because his large and first rate music library is undoubtedly at the service of every discerning music lover who returns the musicalia given to him to the proper person, one can hope that he will, of his kindness, gladly allow him to make a copy of it.⁵¹

No copies of the set of variations from the collection of Johann Friedrich Hering (1724–1810) or Marpurg are

50. "Man hat eine gedruckte Sammlung derselben unter dem Titel *Bible des Noëls*, und verschiedene Organisten, z. B. *le Begue*, *Dandrieu*, *Corette* haben solche mit Veränderungen für den Flügel und die Orgel drucken lassen. Dies sind nun zwar keine Veränderungen von der Art, als uns *Sebastian Bach* über das deutsche Weihnachtslied: *vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*, mitgetheilt hat. Aber welcher Orgelkomponist lässt sich auch jemals einfallen, diesem grossen Künstler es gleich thun zu wollen, oder ihm nur *per approximationem* nachzuzahlen? Sein würdiger Sohn *Emanuel* selbst, der auf Veranlassung einer im Jahre 1761 sich in Berlin aufhaltenden französischen Dame, den französischen Noël: *Où s'en vont ces gais bergers*, mit vielen Veränderungen ausarbeitete, hat sich begnügt, solches auf die simpelste Art zu thun, ohne sich in athemlose Canons in *allen Intervallen*, in gleicher und ungleicher Bewegung, durch die Vergrößerung und Verminderung u. s. w. zu vertiefen. Er wollte aber auch vermuthlich nicht alles von seinem Subjecte sagen, was gesagt werden konnte." [Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg], "Eine musikalische Reliquie aus den christlichen Zeiten Frankreichs," in *Berlinische musikalische Zeitung*, 48. Stück, ed. Carl Spazier (14 December 1793), 189f. Marpurg refers to the recently published *La bible des noëls: Anciens et Nouveaux*, edited by Pierre Toussaint, Paris 1790. On the document see Peter Wollny, "Die Wittwe Bach wußte hiervon nicht. Überlegungen zu einem Berliner Bach-Dokument aus dem Jahre 1793," *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung* (2004), 22–31.

51. "Das Original des von Emanuel veränderten franz.[ösischen] Noëls, von seiner eigenen Hand geschrieben, wird sich vermuthlich noch

known to be extant; Marpurg was apparently satisfied to announce where connoisseurs were likely to obtain a copy and apparently did not bother—at seventy-five years of age—to request the piece from Hering or Bach's widow in Hamburg for his personal use.

J.J.H. Westphal in Schwerin came across the article and asked Bach's widow for further information. Johanna Maria responded to Westphal on 13 February 1795:

As to the French chanson, I have asked Herr Hering, with whom I correspond, about it. He knows nothing about this chanson, except that the information you gave me was in the *Musikalische Zeitung*. Probably it is an error, for otherwise such an old and close friend of my late husband could surely have given us information about it.⁵²

The answer was negative because neither she nor J.F. Hering were able to identify the variations. Apparently they did not know that "Colin à peine à seize ans" was sung to the melody of "Où s'en vont ces gais bergers," and the date 1761 turned out to be misleading.

"Les Folies d'Espagne" with 12 Variations,
Wq 118/9

The 12 Variations on "Les Folies d'Espagne," Wq 118/9, form in many respects a Hamburg counterpart to the variations on "Colin à peine à seize ans," Wq 118/6. "La folia" is arguably the tune—or harmonic scheme—that has most often in music history served as the basis of variations. Variations on this tune reached a peak around 1700 with important sets composed by Arcangelo Corelli in 1700; Marin Marais in 1701; Alessandro Scarlatti in 1710; Antonio Vivaldi, in his opus 1, no. 12 of 1705; and Fran-

unter den Papieren desselben, bei seiner Frau Wittwe in Hamburg finden, und es ist zu wünschen, dass es einem Tonkenner zu Theil werde. Unstreitig ist eine Abschrift davon Hr. Hering dem ältern, einem musikalischen Veteranen Berlins und gar sorgsamem, eifrigen Sammler und ausschliesslichen Verehrer[r] Bachischer Produkte, in die Hände gerathen. Da desselben zahlreiche und auserlesene musikal. Bibliothek ohne Zweifel jedem diskreten Liebhaber, der die ihm mitgetheilten Musikalien wieder richtig an die Behörde liefert, zu Dienste stehet, so kann man von seiner Gefälligkeit hoffen, dass er einem solchen mit Vergnügen erlauben wird, eine Copie davon zu nehmen." [Marpurg], "Eine musikalische Reliquie," 189f.

52. "Was den französischen Chanson betrifft, so habe ich mich deswegen bey Herrn Hering, mit dem ich in Briefwechsel stehe, befragt. Er weiß nichts von diesem Chanson, aber wol, daß in der musikalischen Zeitung, die mir von Ihnen gemeldete Nachricht gestanden hat. Vermuthl.[ich] ist es ein Irrthum, denn sonst würde allerdings ein so alter und besonders vertrauter Freund meines seel.[igen] Mannes uns haben Auskunft darüber geben können." For her letter to Westphal see *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1323 and Leisinger/Wollny, 32, fn. 36.

cesco Geminiani, in his Concerto Grosso no. 12. Among the numerous settings, Corelli's variations were the most highly regarded:

In this way the fugues of the French composers d'Anglebert, likewise various works of Froberger, Johann Krieger, also, the excellent 12 violin solos and the Folie d'Espagne of the famous Corelli deserve to be mentioned as models.⁵³

At the time of Bach's composition the theme may have been regarded as somewhat old-fashioned; the composer entirely ignored the historical connection to the sarabande (still recognizable in George Frederick Handel's keyboard Suite in D Minor, HWV 437, of 1727, for example). In Wq 118/9 the tune is given in a very plain version, both with respect to melody and to rhythm. The autograph has not been preserved; the odd appearance of some of the sources directly based on models in Bach's estate makes one wonder whether the autograph started with the theme. In one important copy, the theme does not appear until after variation 2; possibly the theme was only notated at the bottom of the first page of music and was erroneously not moved to its proper place at the beginning of the piece when the scribe started his copy.⁵⁴ The Wq 118/9 variations were published in 1803 by Johann Traeg in Vienna (cf. Wq 269) and thus may have influenced Antonio Salieri's orchestral variations on "La folia" published in 1815.

*Arioso in A Major with 5 Variations,
Wq 79*

Wq 79 is commonly known as a set of variations for violin and keyboard (see CPEB: CW, II/3.1). From the sources we can assume, however, that the piece was originally conceived for solo keyboard. The autograph keyboard part served as Bach's house copy and bears the entry "No. 188." This would place the work as a keyboard solo in the period around 1781, slightly before the Variations on the Canzonetta of the Duchess of Gotha, Wq 118/8, whose autograph bears the numbers "(190.)" and "194." Two further copies of the variations as a work for keyboard solo have come to light in the holdings of the Berlin Sing-Akademie,

53. "In dieser Art verdienen auch die Fugen des französischen Tonsetzers d'Anglebert, ingleichen verschiedene Arbeiten eines Frobergers, Johann Kriegers, deßgleichen aus den fürtrefflichen 12 Violinsolo, und die folie d'Espagne des berühmten Corelli, als Muster angeführt zu werden." *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste*, 2:1207–8.

54. For an addendum of this kind see the opening page of Bach's autograph manuscript of *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* where the introduction was squeezed in the lower margin; a facsimile of this page is given in "Er ist Original!," p. 74, plate 58a.

confirming that the composition circulated prior to or independently of its revision as a trio. The revision did not affect the keyboard part, but consisted only of an added violin part; it is no wonder that this part is rather subordinate, since the original keyboard composition was fully self-contained.

A puzzling situation needs to be mentioned here: the manuscript copy in the Berlin Sing-Akademie (D-B, SA 4143) is in the hand of Anon. 303, a Berlin scribe closely associated with Bach in the 1750s and 1760s. Aside from this manuscript, no copies by Anon. 303 of any work by Bach from his Hamburg period have come to light. Other manuscripts by this copyist are found in the Amalienbibliothek and reflect the conservative taste of Anna Amalia of Prussia and her music director Kirnberger, but do not help to reveal how long Anon. 303 was active as a copyist. Although it is tempting to date Wq 79 back to the 1750s on the basis of the scribe,⁵⁵ the style of the theme and the entire setting, as well as the handwriting of the autograph and its absence from CV 1772, make it unlikely that the autograph numbering "188" was added by mistake to the manuscript of the keyboard version. Further study of the development of the handwriting of Anon. 303 is needed to settle the question; it should be taken into account that the mature handwriting of trained copyists often shows little variety over extended periods of time. Furthermore, there may have been little need for Anon. 303—who devoted himself mainly to keyboard and chamber music—to copy any works of Bach after the composer had moved to Hamburg in 1768, since the overwhelming majority of Bach's recent works in these genres were disseminated in print in large quantities.

*Canzonetta in F Major by the Duchess of Gotha
with 6 Variations, Wq 118/8*

In 1781 a collection was printed by the Gotha publisher Ettinger with the title *Canzonette fürs Clavier, von einer Liebhaberin der Musik, mit Veränderungen von verschiedenen Tonkünstlern* (see RISM B/II, 121). It contained variations on a single theme by six composers: Georg Anton Benda (1722–95), Johann Tobias Cramer (1713–93), Johann Gottfried Golde (dates unknown), Johann David Scheidler (c. 1748–1802), Johann Valentin Scherlitz (1732–83), and Anton Schweitzer (1737–87). All of these composers were active at, or related to, the Gotha court. C.P.E. Bach did not, as is sometimes erroneously stated in the literature, contribute directly to this collection, but wrote

55. On this assumption see Enßlin, 334.

an independent set of variations on this theme.⁵⁶ The entry in NV 1790 partly clears up the mystery of the anonymous amateur who had written the instrumental canzonetta that inspired Bach and the “Gothaische Tonkünstler,” as they are referred to in a contemporary report.⁵⁷ The entry on p. 24 of NV 1790 reads: “No. 190. H. 1781. Canzonette der Herzogin von Gotha mit meinen 6. Veränderungen.”

The Duchess of Gotha is usually identified as Luise Dorothea von Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg (1710–67), a born princess of Sachsen-Meiningen who married Frederick III of Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg in 1729.⁵⁸ The Gotha library at Friedenstein Castle houses a single manuscript ascribed to “Madame la Duschesse | de Saxe-Gothe,” an “Anglaise” in G major (D-GOl, Mus. 4° 39b/5). Although angloises are sometimes found in keyboard suites of the first half of the eighteenth century, the country dance did not become really popular in central Germany until the 1770s. The style of this angloise suggests that it was not composed until that time; therefore it is more likely that the traditional attribution to Luise Dorothea is incorrect, and that Charlotte von Sachsen-Meiningen (1751–1827), wife of Duke Ernst II from 1769, should be regarded as the true author of this angloise and, consequently, also the canzonetta. Perhaps the collection was meant as a tribute by the Gotha musicians to the Duchess on her thirtieth birthday on 11 September 1781, rather than as a memorial to Duchess Luise Dorothea, whose death had been mourned almost fifteen years earlier.

*Arioso in C Major with 9 Variations,
Wq 118/10*

Bach concluded two printed collections of keyboard music, Wq 50 and Wq 91, with extended sets of variations which

he labeled “Sonata.” In Bach’s day this would not have been regarded as a misleading title, since “sonata” as a generic term also included instrumental works with a single movement in the chamber style, and did not imply the use of sonata form for any of the movements. Like the violin in the Arioso in A Major with 5 Variations, Wq 79, the violin and violoncello mainly add color to the set of variations Wq 91/4, but they do not contribute essentially to the work. Bach used as a theme for these variations the first of his “Sechs leichte kleine Clavier-Stücke,” Wq 116/23, which according to NV 1790 (p. 22, no. 175) had been composed slightly earlier, in Hamburg in 1775 (see CPEB: CW, I/8.2, xix and 154–55, source A 6).

Sometime after the publication of his second set of accompanied sonatas with violin and violoncello in 1777, Bach reworked the variations by adding varied reprises. In this form the work is listed among the “Kleinere Stücke” on p. 53 of NV 1790: “Variations zur 4ten Sonate des 2ten Theils der Trii. H.” The entry in NV 1790 is obviously derived from the house copy (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 358; source A 2) which contains only the varied reprises and instructions about how to construct a coherent set of variations from an annotated exemplar of the print and the autograph. These instructions indicate that all repeat signs were to be omitted since the repeats were to be written out as varied reprises; that all sections were to follow according to the numbers entered in a now-lost copy of the print and the autograph manuscripts, and were to be concluded by simple barlines; that second endings were to be omitted; and that it was not necessary to repeat the changes in the key signatures a second time for the varied reprises (for a transcription and translation of the note see source A 2; see also plate 8).

The annotated exemplar of the original print of Wq 91 apparently could no longer be found in Bach’s estate. When J.J.H. Westphal received a manuscript copy of the variations from Hamburg (B-Bc, 5896 MSM, fascicle II, in Michel’s hand), it contained only the varied reprises, identical to the house copy. The original sources and the entry in NV 1790 therefore do not exclude the possibility that the revised version was also intended for keyboard trio. Not even the lack of newly written string parts would contradict this claim, since the revised versions of several of the sonatinas for keyboard and accompaniment also contain varied reprises in the revised keyboard parts, for which Bach saw no need to change the accompaniment (see CPEB: CW, III/11).

Fortunately, one source, a fair copy in the hand of an unidentified scribe, transmits the variations as a complete set

56. Pace Helm and Berg, Bach’s variations are not included in the set, not even as an anonymous contribution. The copy of the print at B-Bc, 14380 was consulted. This is confirmed already by J.J.H. Westphal, who wrote accordingly to Hoffmeister & Kühnel on 4 July 1805; see Leisinger/Wollny, 43. In this letter Westphal provides further information on the context of the piece: “G. Benda, Cramer, Golde, Schuster, Schweizer, etc. have contributed variations on this canzonetta, which was published in Gotha in 1781. The present variations by Bach have not been made public.” (Zu dieser Canzonetta haben G. Benda, Cramer, Golde, Schuster, Schweizer etc. Variations gemacht die zu Gotha 1781. gedruckt sind. Diese Bachschen Variat. sind nicht bekannt worden.)

57. See the aforementioned review by Eschstruth; see also Wiermann, 487.

58. See Heinrich Miesner, “Graf v. Keyserlingk und Minister v. Happe, zwei Gönner der Familie Bach,” *BJ* 31 (1934): 101–15, esp. 111f. Bach is likely to have met the duchess in person during his stay in Gotha in 1754; cf. Leisinger 1993, 11.

(D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 1000).⁵⁹ It must have been directly copied from the materials in Bach's possession and is likely to have originated during the composer's lifetime or soon after the publication of NV 1790. The manuscript stems from the collection of Sara Levy, whose signature on the title page (Sara Levy, née Itzig) suggests that she did not own the manuscript prior to her marriage to Samuel Solomon Levy on 2 July 1783. The wording of this manuscript, "Sonata Arioso | Variations. | Da: C: P: E: Bach," is specific enough to justify the inclusion of this set of variations in the present volume and not to place it in an appendix to the Sonata in C Major, Wq 91/4, in CPEB: CW, II/4. The sources give no date for the elaboration; obviously it cannot predate the publication of the simpler version for keyboard published in the summer of 1777. Since the exact date cannot be determined, these variations have been placed at the end of the present volume, after the datable compositions.

Further Variations Attributed to Bach

A small number of variation cycles attributed to C.P.E. Bach or simply to "Bach" are extant; their authenticity is not proven by reliable sources. Three of them are briefly discussed below. Two additional sets of variations have been uniquely transmitted in sources of limited reliability and need not be discussed in any detail.⁶⁰

Minuet in E-flat Major with 5 Variations, H 375

Helm lists as H 375 a "Menuetto mit v Variationen" in E-flat major.⁶¹ The movement can, however, be traced to the

59. Although Westphal had received only the varied reprises, it is evident from his letter to Hoffmeister & Kühnel of 4 July 1805 that he fully understood the assembling instructions: "These variations are really excellent. When they are to be used, each part of the printed exemplar must be inserted appropriately; thus these parts are also identified with red crayon. Actually these are varied reprises to the printed variations." (Diese Variations sind ganz vortrefflich. Wenn hievon Gebrauch gemacht werden soll, so muß aus dem gedruckten Ex.[emplar] jeder Theil gehörig eingeschaltet werden, daher sind diese Theile auch mit Röthel signirt. Eigentlich sind dies veränderte Reprisen zu den gedruckten Variationen.). See Leisinger/Wollny, 42. Westphal assembled the variations and their varied reprises himself in his fair copy of Wq 118/10 (source B 2, 168–177).

60. A "giga con variazioni," H 395, and an "alla polacca con variatio," H 396, transmitted in a collective manuscript only later attributed as a whole to "Bach (C. Ph. E.)," in US-Wc, M23.B13 have apparently nothing to do with C.P.E. Bach; see RISM online (ID no. 000141527) and CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 185f. (source D 69).

61. The manuscript has been preserved at D-KII, Mb 62:3.

last of the Six Sonatas, op. 1 by Johann Gottfried Eckard (1735–1809) published in Paris in 1763, where it serves as the final movement. With this strong conflicting evidence, similarities to Bach's style should not be overrated, particularly since Eckard is known to have regarded Bach as his model.⁶²

Minuet in F Major with 7 Variations, H 375.5

Similarly the theme of the variations in F major subsumed as entry no. 3 in H 375 can be traced to a published set of variations by Friedrich Ernst Benda; no copy of the print is known to be extant, but two manuscripts copied from (or based on) the print have been preserved, one in the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, the other in Brussels.⁶³ A closer look reveals that these variations use the same theme but are not identical to the "Menuetto del Sgr. Bach" in the *Clavier-Buch der Rosina Elisabetha von Münch* (D-B, Mus. Ms. 30327, 112ff.). The *Clavier-Buch* contains several pieces from *Musikalisches Vielerley*, including the Alla Polacca in G Major, Wq 116/8; the Fantasia in G Major, Wq 117/11; and the Fantasia in F Major, Wq 117/12; as well as a Minuet and Trio in F Major by "[Johann Christoph Friedrich] Bach," H 375.5.⁶⁴ Not a single authentic piece by C.P.E. Bach is found in the entire volume, however, that has a manuscript-only transmission. It therefore almost certainly can be ruled out that the Minuet with Variations from H 375.5 has anything to do with C.P.E. Bach.

Allegretto in A Major with 6 Variations, H 351

The situation is entirely different regarding H 351. Six copies represent these variations under the name of "Bach." Several manuscripts are transmitted in the hands of the same scribes, together with variations whose authenticity is beyond a doubt. A collection of fascicles in this category, written by Anon. 303 and now preserved in Dresden, deserves particular attention.⁶⁵ Although stylistic analysis

62. Paul von Stetten the younger, *Kunst-, Gewerb- und Handwerks-Geschichte der Reichs-Stadt Augsburg* (Augsburg, 1779), 1:556.

63. D-LEB, Go.S. 49; see Schulze, 24, and B-Bc, 5927 MSM, see RISM online (ID no. 705000180).

64. A second volume from Rosina Elisabeth von Münch's collection, labeled *Oden und Lieder von verschiedenen Componisten Ao, 1770.*, has also been preserved in Berlin (D-B, Mus. ms. 40302).

65. D-DI, 3029-T-17, contains a large selection of character pieces, followed by the variations Wq 118/3, Wq 118/4, Wq 118/5, and H 351 in individual fascicles in the hand of Anon. 303 (see commentary, source D 48, and CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 162f., source B 12).

obviously does not lead to conclusive results in the case of short sets of variations, this piece is substantial enough to regard it as a possibly authentic composition by C.P.E. Bach.⁶⁶ Why the piece, if authentic, does not appear in CV 1772 is a mystery; although there are a few other precedents for this situation, most notably the Fantasia in E-flat Major, H 348 (see CPEB: CW, I/8.1, xviii). Since the initials “C.P.E.” are found only occasionally on such sources, one cannot rule out the possibility that the piece was composed by another member of the Bach family; in this case Johann Christian Bach, who followed his brother to Berlin in 1750 and remained there until 1755, would be the most plausible candidate.

Adding to the complicated transmission of this piece, a revised and expanded version of the variations is included as the last and most demanding of the “Anfangsstückchen” that Georg Simon Löhlein (1725–81) published in chapter eight of his *Clavier-Schule* in 1765.⁶⁷ Here the theme and all variations have fingering, and the number of variations is enlarged from six to eight by the addition of two new variations and changes in the order of some of the inner variations.

Early Version (Transmitted in MS)	Later Version/Differences (Leipzig and Züllichau, 1765)
[Theme]	[Theme] / slightly elaborated
Var. 1	Var. 1 / slightly altered
[—]	Var. 2
Var. 2	Var. 3
Var. 5	Var. 4 / voice leading improved and open fifth avoided in m. 50 (early version = m. 70, later version)
[—]	Var. 5
Var. 3	Var. 6
Var. 4	Var. 7 / parallel fifths avoided in m. 96 (early version = m. 156, later version)
Var. 6	Var. 8

Only a few of the examples in Löhlein’s treatise were transmitted elsewhere in manuscript copies, but, typically, they have no conflicting attribution.⁶⁸ It might therefore be pos-

66. In two instances the variations display apparent compositional mistakes: in m. 96 there are obvious parallel fifths; in m. 50 there is an unpleasant open fifth. Interestingly, both compositional errors have been improved in the later version of the piece.

67. Georg Simon Löhlein, *Clavier-Schule, oder kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie durchgehends mit practischen Beyspielen erkläret* (Züllichau, 1765). The keyboard treatise was well received and was reprinted several times into the early nineteenth century.

68. The keyboard pieces from Löhlein’s *Clavier-Schule* listed in RISM

sible to regard Löhlein himself as the real author of the variations; Löhlein’s authorship does not, however, explain the existence of many early sources attributed to “Bach.” At least some of these were clearly written before the publication of the revised version in 1765, but not a single source of the early version under Löhlein’s name is currently known. A cryptic remark in Bach’s letter to Engelhard Benjamin Schwickert of 18 February 1783, regarding a new edition of the *Versuch*, sheds only a little light on the relationship between Bach and Löhlein, aside from proving that they had met more than once during Löhlein’s years in Prussia and that Bach saw reason to feel offended by Löhlein’s behavior:

You want an expansion in the new edition? And emendations? These are not possible. The text is as precisely thought through as it can be. The enlargement may be done if you wish. For the past eight days I have, dispassionately and with the greatest concentration, read the notes which I willingly promised you and for which you so persistently importune me. I wrote all of them in disagreement with three of my adversaries and with a biting and angry pen. All three adversaries have now gone to rest without having done my book great harm. The ungrateful Löhlein had angered me most with his *Clavierschule*. I had done him much good in Potsdam, etc.; I reminded him amicably; he answered me rudely. Enough!⁶⁹

Bach pretended to have suppressed these remarks, “so that after my death not the slightest trace of animosity may be found among in my writings” (damit nach meinem Tode unter meinen Schriften auch nicht die geringste Spur von Feindseligkeit überbleiben möge).⁷⁰ Bach had published

online (ID no. 450003984) under the name of Johann Baptist Vanhal in a collection of keyboard pieces in the Stadtarchiv Konstanz are not attributed to any author in the source; among the anonymous compositions, the collection also contains pieces that can securely be attributed to Joseph Anton Steffan.

69. “Sie wünschen bey der neuen Auflage eine Vermehrung? Und eine Verbeßerung? Diese ist nicht möglich. Der Text ist so scharf, als es seyn kann, durchgedacht. Die Vermehrung kann, weñ Sie wollen geschehen. Die Anmerkungen, welche ich Ihnen freywillig versprach, und worauf Sie so sehr dringen, habe ich seit 8 Tagen mit kaltem Blute und aller Aufmerksamkeit durchgelesen. Sie sind alle von mir gegen 3 meiner Gegner mit einer beißenden und sehr aufgebrachten Feder aufgesetzt. Alle 3 Gegner sind nun schlafen gegangen, ohne meinem Buche großen Schaden gethan zu haben. Der undankbare Löhlein mit seiner Clavierschule hatte mich am meisten aufgebracht. Ich hatte ihm in Potsdam viel gutes getan etc. etc.; ich erinnerte ihn freundschaftlich; er antwortete mir grob. Basta!” Cf. *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:953. Biographical information on Löhlein is sparse; it is likely that he left Prussia and the Prussian army in which he had been forced to serve for many years after the nearly-fatal injuries he suffered during the battle of Kollin in 1757.

70. *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:954; *CPEB-Letters*, 191.

an extended statement about foreign keyboard tutorials several years earlier, in the *Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*.⁷¹ Without mentioning any names, he warned potential buyers about tutorials that plagiarized his *Versuch* or quoted him without sufficiently observing the proper context.⁷² No mention is made there of pirated editions of his compositions. From the current state of knowledge Bach's authorship cannot be ruled out for the early version of the Allegretto with variations, H 351; the adaptation and expansion for Loehlein's *Clavier-Schule*, on the other hand, is unlikely to have been undertaken or authorized by Bach. The two versions of H 351 are presented as *incerta*, for the sake of completeness.

Issues of Performance Practice

We have no report that Bach ever played or improvised any of his sets of variations in public. The Hamburg newspapers indicate only performances of concertos on the fortepiano, and rarely of chamber music. Most of Bach's variations can be played on any keyboard instrument with a compass of five octaves.⁷³ The variations Wq 118/7, 118/3, and 118/5 (and also the Arioso in A Major, H 351) have no dynamic markings at all; the few *f* and *p* signs in variation 5 of Wq 118/4 are missing in several early sources. The texture and voice leading suggest the use of a two-manual harpsichord for Wq 118/7 (see especially mm. 82, 208, and 363). The variations Wq 118/1 and 118/2 (including the variations from *Musikalisches Vielerley*) can also be played successfully on a two-manual harpsichord, where occasional dynamic shadings (like a sudden *pp* in m. 122 of Wq 118/1) can be realized by the use of appropriate stops.⁷⁴

71. HUC 7 (12 January 1773); see Wiermann, 77–79.

72. Bach's wording, "Alle 3 Gegner sind nun schlafen gegangen," might suggest that his adversaries had passed away at the time of writing. Barbara Wiermann has, however, convincingly shown that besides Löhlein (1727–81) Georg Michael Telemann (1748–1831) must have been one of Bach's targets; see Wiermann, 79. The third adversary remains yet to be determined; a likely candidate is Michael Johann Friedrich Wiedeburg, *Der sich selbst informirende Clavierspieler, oder deutlicher und leichter Unterricht zur Selbstinformation im Clavierspielen*, 3 vols. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1765–78), whose sumptuous tutorial is largely a compilation from various sources.

73. The lower range is not always exploited, and depending on the key of the piece, the note *f'''* is often avoided. The earliest sets of variations, Wq 118/3 and Wq 118/7, do not exceed *d'''* (with the highest note only being used in the final variation of Wq 118/7). Wq 118/4 is largely restricted to *C–d'''*. The note *f'''* is used only in variation 6, which is likely to be an afterthought.

74. It is therefore probably no transmission error that Bach reduces the number of parts to one, even though some sources add one or more

Even the late variations Wq 118/6 (1766), Wq 118/9 (1778), and Wq 118/8 (1781) contain only occasional *p* and *f* marks.

The later sets of variations contain dynamic markings that go beyond the capacities of the harpsichord; they often make use of elaborate ornaments like the "prallender Doppelschlag" () on unstressed notes, which implies a touch-sensitive keyboard instrument.⁷⁵ The implication of a touch-sensitive keyboard instrument is particularly true in the case of the variations Wq 118/10, for they have a dynamic range of *pp*, *p*, *mf*, *f*, and *ff*. It is significant that Reichardt apparently heard Bach play variations (the final movement of the sonata Wq 50/3) on his "Silbermannisches Clavier" (see above).

Most variation themes are constructed in binary or ternary forms with repeat signs between the first and second sections. Indications for *prima* and *seconda volta* (Wq 118/3; Wq 118/1, variation 11) imply that each part should be repeated in performance. Obviously no repetition is intended if the reprises are varied (Wq 118/10; Wq 118/1, variation 17; Wq 118/2, variation 14; Wq 118/8, variation 5). The French chanson "Colin à peine à seize ans" and also the instrumental "Folies d'Espagne" have no repeat signs within each variation. Bach came up with two different solutions: he consistently placed repeat signs at the end of the individual variations, suggesting that each variation should be played twice (Wq 118/6); or he ended all variations with simple or thin-thin barlines, i.e., without any repeat signs (Wq 118/9). Only a few sources for Wq 118/4 bear an instruction that the theme should be repeated at the end of the cycle: D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 726 and Mus. ms. Bach P 734 read "Arioso da Capo et poi il Fine." From these isolated instances no general rule can be inferred that the theme should be restated at the end of a variation cycle.

The following is a list of the ornament symbols used in the present volume:

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)
	Trill from above (Triller von oben; see <i>Versuch</i> I:2.3, § 27, and Tab. IV, Fig. XLI)

upper voices that are not strictly implied by the texture and voice leading of this variation.

75. On the use of the clavichord as the preferred instrument for variations, see Eschstruth's advertisement (above).

- ♯ Short trill (halber Triller, Pralltriller; see *Versuch* I:2.3, § 30–36, Tab. IV, Fig. XLV–XLVIII, and Tab. V, Fig. XLIX)
- ∞, 2 Turn (Doppelschlag; see *Versuch* I:2.4, § 1–26, and Tab. V, Fig. L–LXII)
- ∞ Trilled turn (prallender Doppelschlag; see *Versuch* I:2.4, § 27–36, and Tab. V, Fig. LXIII–LXX)
- ♯ Mordent (Mordent; see *Versuch* I:2.5, § 1–15, and Tab. V, Fig. LXXII–LXXV)

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