

# INTRODUCTION

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## Repertoire, Background, and General Chronology

Within the rich repertoire of instrumental trios spanning Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's entire creative life, the sonatas for two treble instruments and bass represent not only the majority but also the composer's point of departure for this genre of composition, going all the way back to the Leipzig years when he was studying with his father. The pertinent repertoire comprises altogether twenty-three trio sonatas, early and alternate versions not included. A twenty-fourth piece, in all likelihood the oldest of the lot, did not survive but is referenced in Bach's estate catalogue (NV 1790, p. 65): "Trio for violin, viola and bass, composed jointly with Johann Sebastian Bach" (Trio für die Violine, Bratsche und Baß, mit Johann Sebastian Bach gemeinschaftlich gefertigt). The phrasing of this entry leaves open the details of the collaboration, but it can be assumed that the trio originated as a product of the instruction the son received from his father and that the teacher took a more stimulating and creative part in the piece rather than limiting himself to the role of correcting his student's efforts. Unfortunately, no date is known for this joint composition, and the loss of all traces of it prevents drawing any conclusions about J. S. Bach's teaching methods or his son's attempts at meeting his father's compositional standards. As the NV 1790 listing indicates, C. P. E. Bach clearly took care in preserving this early work, if only for sentimental reasons; in 1772 the ever more self-critical composer deliberately destroyed all his works written prior to 1731 because he considered them "too youthful" and did not want to be remembered by them.<sup>1</sup>

The lost trio H 566, which in its scoring for violin, viola, and bass departs from the established norm of two treble instruments and bass, demonstrates that J. S. Bach was interested in teaching his son the broader principles of three-part contrapuntal writing. H 566 probably repre-

sented something of an exception and it seems likely that C. P. E. Bach in his early days composed many more trios in the standard format than have survived. That this was indeed the case is confirmed by the later revisions of trios composed in Leipzig (NV 1790, nos. 1–7) whose original versions fell victim to the manuscript burning of 1772. The extant trio sonata repertoire is collected in CPEB: CW, II/2, with volume II/2.1 containing twelve trios for flute, violin, and bass; and volume II/2.2 containing nine sonatas for two violins and bass, plus one trio for two flutes and bass, and two versions of a sonata for bass recorder, viola, and bass. The keyboard trios for clavier and violin, viola da gamba, or flute are included in CPEB: CW, II/3.1 and 3.2.

When Bach and his contemporaries (such as the Graun brothers and other colleagues from the Prussian court *Capelle*) composed trios, they continued a tradition that had begun in late-seventeenth-century Italy when the trio sonata emerged as the most popular genre of chamber music and instrumental musical entertainment. Moreover, trained by J. S. Bach, the younger Bach pursued more specifically his father's interests in trio writing by using three-voiced texture and contrapuntal design and at times by involving the obbligato keyboard in the performance of instrumental trios. Even in his late years C. P. E. Bach appreciated pertinent works by his father. In a letter of 1774 he noted: "The 6 clavier trios [BWV 1014–19] . . . are among the best works of my dear late father. They still sound very good now, and give me much pleasure, despite the fact that they are over 50 years old. There are a few Adagios in them that to this day are unexcelled in their cantabile qualities."<sup>2</sup>

For the first half of the eighteenth century and beyond, the trio—until replaced by the string quartet—generally represented the principal instrumental paradigm of the craft of musical composition. Johann Mattheson makes this point in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), where he notes:

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1. CV 1772 and Christoph Wolff, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Verzeichnis seiner Clavierwerke von 1733 bis 1772," in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke. Aspekte musikalischer Biographie. Johann Sebastian Bach im Zentrum*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 217–35, esp. 222–23.

2. "Die 6 Claviertrio . . . sind von den besten Arbeiten des seel. lieben Vaters. Sie klingen noch jetzt sehr gut, u. machen mir viel Vergnügen, ohngeacht sie über 50 Jahre alt sind. Es sind einige Adagii darin, die man heut zu Tage nicht sangbarer setzen kañ." Letter of 7 October 1774 to Johann Nikolaus Forkel; CPEB-Letters, 67; CPEB-Briefe, 1, 447.

that a trio involves more craft than do many-voiced pieces . . . . Trios are the most difficult of all to create, and need a more skillful master than do other harmonic compositions. For here all three parts, independently, must carry their own fine melodies; and yet at the same time, insofar as possible, emphasize the triadic harmony, as if it were occurring just by chance.<sup>3</sup>

In emphasizing more technical details, Johann Adolph Scheibe specified in his *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig, 1745):

The real character of these pieces, however, is chiefly this, that in all voices, especially however in the upper ones, a proper singing line and a fugue-like treatment must obtain . . . . The main theme, and the accompanying subsidiary themes, must come through well and skillfully throughout. A voice must clearly distinguish itself from the others; but all the voices must operate with equal strength, so that among them none in particular can be recognized as the main one. The bass, or the lower voice, has to present the main and subsidiary themes as well as the upper voices do, and evince throughout a pure and agreeable melody.<sup>4</sup>

These accounts clearly reflect the musical principles and aesthetic premises guiding the writing of trios, and date exactly from the time when the young and ambitious C. P. E. Bach established himself as virtuoso and composer.

The chronological information provided by NV 1790 permits a differentiation of three fairly distinct stages in Bach's involvement with trios for two treble instruments and bass:

1731–35. Six works from a presumably larger output are traceable to this period. Five (Wq 143–147) date from

1731 in Leipzig, and one (Wq 148) from 1735 in Frankfurt an der Oder. These works have survived only in their revised forms, dating from 1747 (Berlin), with the notable exception of Wq 145, for which the early version (BWV 1036) is extant.

1745–49. Altogether eight works originate from these years, all composed in Potsdam: one in 1745 (Wq 149), four in 1747 (Wq 150, 151, 154, 155), one in 1748 (Wq 161/2), and two in 1749 (Wq 161/1 and 162).

1754–56. Seven sonatas belong to this period, all written in Berlin. Four stem from 1754 (Wq 156–158; and H 585), two from 1755 (Wq 153 and 163), and one from 1756 (Wq 160).<sup>5</sup>

Virtually the entire extant trio sonata repertoire falls into an eleven-year time span (1745–56) when Bach served as a member of the Prussian court *Capelle* and principal accompanist of King Friedrich II. Coincidentally, the year 1756 marks the outbreak of the Seven Years War, the events and implications of which distracted the king and brought the regular chamber music evenings at court to a halt. Whether or not there is a direct or indirect connection, Bach appears to have then altogether stopped writing trios for two treble instruments and bass.<sup>6</sup> After 1756, he continued in the trio genre by focusing on keyboard trios with the accompaniment of a single treble instrument. These later works—from 1759, 1763, 1766, 1781, and 1787—show a much more elaborate and idiomatic keyboard part where the right hand of the harpsichord could no longer be substituted by a second treble instrument, wind or string.

## Sources and Scorings

Almost the entire body of Bach's trios has survived in original sources, for the most part in autograph manuscripts, with some also in printed publications by the composer. Therefore, the trio repertoire is particularly well-repre-

3. "daß in einem Trio mehr Kunst stecke, als in vielstimmigen Sätzen . . . . Es sey das Trio unter allen am schwersten zu machen, und wolle einen geschickterern Meister haben, als andre harmonische Sätze. Denn es müssen hier alle drey Stimmen, iede für sich, eine feine Melodie führen; und doch dabey, so viel möglich, den Dreiklang behaupten, als ob es nur zufälliger Weise geschähe." Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), 344.

4. "Das eigentliche Wesen dieser Stücke aber ist überhaupt dieses, daß in allen Stimmen, vornehmlich aber in den Oberstimmen ein ordentlicher Gesang, und eine fugenmäßige Ausarbeitung seyn muß . . . . Der Hauptsatz, und die denselben begleitenden Nebensätze, müssen überall wohl und geschickt hervorrage. Eine Stimme muß sich von der andern durchaus unterscheiden; alle Stimmen aber, müssen mit gleicher Stärke arbeiten, daß man auch darunter keine Hauptstimme insbesondere erkennen kann. Der Baß, oder die Unterstimme, muß so gut, als die Oberstimmen, den Hauptsatz und die Nebensätze hören lassen, und überall eine reine und annehmlische Melodie beweisen." Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig, 1745), 676.

5. While NV 1790 lists Wq 152 and Wq 159 (alternate scorings of Wq 157 and Wq 163, respectively), it does not list H 585, instead giving only its related keyboard trio Wq 74 (dated 1754); though H 585 apparently predates Wq 74, it remains unclear by how much.

6. There is, however, the single exception of the Sonata in D Minor (Wq 160) of 1756, which six years later Bach published in the anthology *Musikalisches Mancherley* (Berlin, 1762–63) without making any changes. He must have had second thoughts about this piece after its publication because he thoroughly re-edited its original autograph score, most likely in the 1770s (see source A 1). This instance then apparently represents his last effort in the trio genre for two treble instruments and bass.

sented by authoritative materials, a nearly ideal situation for establishing principal sources. (For a quick survey, see the overview given at the beginning of the section on sources in the critical report.) The principal sources for the trios invariably include performing parts derived from autograph scores, prepared by C.P.E. Bach's assistants for his own use—copies that often contain autograph annotations and emendations. Bach seems to have kept together scores and parts belonging to individual trios, as his so-called “house copies” for each work. Even after moving in 1768 from Berlin to Hamburg, he generally maintained good order for the trio materials.

Most of the autograph scores—notably the collection gathered in source A 14—represent fair copies. They include the 1747 revisions of earlier trios but, curiously, show no signs of extensive compositional activity. Changes made by the composer in the text of the works are quite rare, but whenever they occur they are conscientiously and carefully executed. In the instance of Wq 160, Bach even made emendations around 1770–75 to an already-published work (from *Musikalisches Mancherley*, 1762–63) some ten years after its publication.<sup>7</sup> The manuscript title page of Wq 160 (see source A 1) includes an autograph note about some changes in the first violin part (“Dieses Trio ist zwar im Musicalischen Mancherley | gedruckt, ist aber in inliegender Partitur | mit der ausgeschriebenen 1sten Violin etwas | verändert worden.”). A rare instance of a composing score seems to be the autograph of the Sinfonia in A Minor, Wq 156 (source A 18).

Several of the trio sonatas for two treble instruments and bass are closely associated with trios for obbligato keyboard and violin or flute, respectively. The majority of these (with the exception of Wq 74) actually represent re-scoring of the trios to be playable for two performers: a keyboard player (whose right-hand part takes over one of the two treble voices) and a violinist or flutist. Table 1 presents a survey of the complete trio repertoire in the order in which it is presented in NV 1790, with additional information regarding the various authentic alternate scorings, the related principal sources, and their use for the four trio volumes of CPEB: CW, II/2 and II/3.

All trios can in principle be executed by different combinations of instruments. Hence, the designation “Trio for . . .” generally refers to the principal scoring of a work

7. See the detailed discussion of this case in Laura Buch, “Considering the Alternative: the Principle of Improvisation in C.P.E. Bach’s Trios,” in *Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Bub’n: Essays in Honor of Christoph Wolff*, ed. Paul Corneilson and Peter Wollny (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing, 2010), 44–50.

and does not necessarily imply that it was definitively “composed for” any particular combination of instruments. For example, on the title page of Wq 161, a published set of two trio sonatas in score format (Nuremberg, 1751), Bach specifically outlines two possible performing modes for each piece (see plate 3). He first gives the principal scorings: for two violins and bass (Wq 161/1) and for flute, violin, and bass (Wq 161/2)—with the bass part to be executed by either two players (usually on violoncello and keyboard) or just one (on keyboard alone). Bach then prescribes a second alternative for each piece in “clavier trio” manner (as he used to call it), with the harpsichord or fortepiano combining the bass and either one of the two treble lines, leaving the remaining treble part to the other instrument.

Scores generally provide an advantage, since they can be shared and read simultaneously by two performers: keyboardist and violinist/flutist. A performance for three or four players, on the other hand, ordinarily requires the use of separate parts. However, this latter practice appears to have been the prevailing performing mode, for the vast majority of sources for Bach’s trios have been transmitted as parts. Indeed, if the order of scorings in NV 1790 (see table 1, column 1) serves as a guide, most pieces appear to have been destined for the three- to four-players option. The clavier trio alternative called for an expert player and was much less customary, but definitely a Bach family and Bach circle specialty.

The surviving sources show a great variety of trio scorings reflecting the existence of one and the same work in multiple guises. Theoretically, all trios lend themselves to varying scorings and performing modes. However, CPEB: CW includes only scorings specifically authorized by the composer as evidenced by either NV 1790 or by the principal sources. Autograph fair copies, autograph notes on house copies, and entries for these works in NV 1790 suggest that C.P.E. Bach ranked *principal* scorings above *alternate* scorings. NV 1790 specifically determines the principal scorings of the works by the order in which they are indicated (see table 1). Accordingly, editorial policy prioritizes scoring variants according to the principal sources.<sup>8</sup> Alternate scorings only mentioned there but not actually executed (as in Wq 161/1 and 2) remain unpublished in this edition, as do alternative settings that would reflect no difference in musical text from the principal scoring (as in Wq 143, 145, and 146; see footnote 28). Alternate scorings from secondary sources are also not published here.

8. For editions of the related keyboard trio scorings, see references to CPEB: CW, II/3.1–3.2 in the last column of table 1.

TABLE I. C.P.E. BACH'S TRIO REPERTOIRE

NV 1790 Entry <sup>a</sup> (pp. 36–42)	Key	Wq	Authoritative Scorings	Principal Sources <sup>b</sup>	CPEB:CW
“No. 1. L. 1731. E. B. 1746. Clavier und Violine.”	D	71	kbd, vn	A-Wgm, XI 36264 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 2. L. 1731. E. B. 1747. Clavier und Violine.”	d	72	kbd, vn	A-Wgm, XI 36308 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 3. L. 1731. E. B. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	b	143	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, I (score) A 11 = B-Bc, 27904 MSM (parts) <sup>c</sup>	II/2.1
“No. 4. L. 1731. E. B. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	G	144	fl, vn, bc	B 1 = B-Bc, 6360 MSM (parts) <sup>d</sup>	II/2.1
“No. 5. L. 1731. E. B. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	d	145	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, II (score) A 12 = B-Bc, 27905 MSM (parts) <sup>c</sup>	II/2.1
		—	kbd, vn	MS, private possession (parts) <sup>e</sup>	II/2.1
“No. 6. L. 1731. E. B. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	A	146	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, III (score) A 13 = B-Bc, 27906 MSM (parts) <sup>c</sup>	II/2.1
“No. 7. L. 1731. E. B. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	C	147	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, IV (score) A 4 = B-Bc, 27897 MSM (parts)	II/2.1
“No. 8. F. 1735. E. B. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	a	148	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, V (score) A 6 = B-Bc, 27899 MSM (parts)	II/2.1
“No. 9. P. 1745. Flöte oder Clavier, Violine und Baß.”	C	149	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, VI (score)	II/2.1
		73	kbd, vn	B-Bc, 27907 MSM (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 10. P. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	G	150	fl, vn, bc	A 19 = F-Pn, Ms. 14 (score)	II/2.1
“No. 11. P. 1747. Flöte, Violine und Baß.”	D	151	fl, vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, XIV (score) A 8 = B-Bc, 27901 MSM (parts)	II/2.1
		83	kbd, fl	B-Bc, 6354 MSM (parts) <sup>f</sup>	II/3.2
“No. 12. P. 1747. 2 Violinen und Baß.”	F	154	2 vn, bc	A 9 = B-Bc, 27902 MSM (parts)	II/2.2
“No. 13. P. 1747. 2 Violinen und Baß.”	e	155	2 vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, VII (score) A 10 = B-Bc, 27903 MSM (parts)	II/2.2
“No. 14. P. 1748. Flöte, Violine und Baß. Ist das 2te der durch Schmidt in Nürnberg gedruckten <i>Trii</i> .”	B $\flat$	161/2	fl, vn, bc	C 1 = <i>Zwey Trio</i> (Nuremberg: Schmid, [1751]) <sup>g</sup>	II/2.1
“No. 15. P. 1749. 2 Flöten und Baß; ist auch für die Flöte und Clavier gesetzt.”	E	162	2 fl, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, VIII (score) A 15 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 241 (parts)	II/2.2
		84	kbd, fl	A-Wgm, XI 36267 (parts)	II/3.2
“No. 16. P. 1749. 2 Violinen und Baß; ist das 1ste der durch Schmidt in Nürnberg gedruckten <i>Trii</i> .”	c	161/1	2 vn, bc	C 1 = <i>Zwey Trio</i> (Nuremberg: Schmid, [1751]) <sup>g</sup>	II/2.2
“No. 17. B. 1754. 2 Violinen und Baß; ist auch für die Flöte und Clavier, imgleichen für die Flöte, Violine und Baß gesetzt.”	G	157	2 vn, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, IX (score) A 20 = MS, private possession (title page) <sup>h</sup>	II/2.2
		85	kbd, fl	A-Wgm, XI 36262 (parts)	II/3.2
		152	fl, vn, bc	A 5 = B-Bc, 27898 MSM (parts)	II/2.1
“No. 18. B. 1754. Sinfonie für 2 Violinen und Baß.”	a	156	2 vn, bc	A 18 = F-Pn, Ms. 13 (score)	II/2.2
“No. 19. B. 1754. Sinfonie für das Clavier und die Violine.”	D	74	kbd, vn	A-Wgm, XI 36265 (parts)	II/3.1
		—	2 vn, bc	B 2 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 900 <sup>i</sup>	II/2.2
“No. 20. B. 1754. 2 Violinen und Baß; ist im Musikalischen <i>Mancherley</i> gedruckt.”	B $\flat$	158	2 vn, bc	C 2 = <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin: Winter, 1762–63) C 3 = <i>Sonata a II. Violini e Basso</i> (Berlin: Winter, 1763)	II/2.2
“No. 21. B. 1755. Baß-Flöte, Bratsche und Baß; ist auch für 2 Violinen und Baß gesetzt.”	F	163	bass rec, va, bc	A 14 = D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, X (score) A 3 = B-Bc, 27896 MSM (score)	II/2.2
	B $\flat$	159	2 vn, bc	A 7 = B-Bc, 27900 MSM (parts)	II/2.2

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

NV 1790 Entry <sup>a</sup> (pp. 36–42)	Key	Wq	Authoritative Scorings	Principal Sources <sup>b</sup>	CPEB:CW
“No. 22. B. 1755. Flöte, Violine und Baß; ist auch für die Flöte und das Clavier gesetzt.”	G	153	fl, vn, bc	A 2 = B-Bc, 27895 MSM (parts)	II/2.1
			kbd, fl	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 574 (parts) <sup>d</sup>	II/3.2
“No. 23. B. 1756. 2 Violinen und Baß; ist im Musikalischen Mancherley gedruckt, aber nachher in der 1sten Violine etwas verändert worden.”	d	160	2 vn, bc	C 2 = <i>Musikalisches Mancherley</i> (Berlin: Winter, 1762–63) A 1 = B-Bc, 25906 MSM (score)	II/2.2
“No. 25. B. 1759. Clavier und Gambe.”	g	88	kbd, vdg	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, XI (score) A-Wgm, XI 36270 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 26. P. 1763. Clavier und Violine.”	F	75	kbd, vn	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, XII (score) A-Wgm, XI 36268 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 27. B. 1763. Clavier und Violine.”	b	76	kbd, vn	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, XIII (score) A-Wgm, XI 36263 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 28. P. 1763. Clavier und Violine.”	B $\flat$	77	kbd, vn	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, XV (score) A-Wgm, XI 36309 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 29. P. 1763. Clavier und Violine.”	c	78	kbd, vn	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, XVI (score) A-Wgm, XI 31767 (parts)	II/3.1
“No. 30. B. 1766. Clavier und Flöte.”	C	87	kbd, fl	F-Pn, W. 3 (6) (score) <sup>j</sup>	II/3.2
“No. 45. H. 1781. Clavier und Violine.”	A	79	kbd, vn	A-Wgm, XI 36269 (score)	II/3.1
				A-Wgm, A 86 (XI 36269) (parts)	
“No. 46. H. 1787. Clavier-Fantasie, mit Begleitung einer Violine. Die 210te Sonate zu einem Trio umgearbeitet.” <sup>k</sup> [p. 65] “Einige vermischte Stücke. <i>Trio</i> für die Violine, Bratsche und Baß, mit Johann Sebastian Bach gemeinschaftlich verfertigt.”	f $\sharp$	80	kbd, vn	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 361 (score) A-Wgm, XI 36266 (score)	II/3.1
			vn, va, bc	= H 566; lost	[II/2.1]

## NOTES

- a. Abbreviations used in NV 1790: E. = erneuert [revised]; L. = Leipzig; F. = Frankfurt/Oder; B. = Berlin; P. = Potsdam; H. = Hamburg. NV 1790, nos. 24 and 31 = Wq 81/1–12 and 82/1–12 (see CPEB:CW, II/5); NV 1790, nos. 32–44 = Wq 90/1–3, 91/1–4, 89/1–6 (see CPEB:CW, II/4).
- b. Unless otherwise noted, all of the sources listed are autographs and house copies from CPEB’s library; source labels are given only for those works that appear in the present volume.
- c. This MS includes an autograph kbd part, and has a note on its title page indicating that three scorings are possible for this trio, though NV 1790 lists only one; additional scorings include kbd and vn, presumably also kbd and fl.
- d. Parts by J.H. Michel; not a house copy.
- e. Only surviving copy of the presumed early version of Wq 145 (= BWV 1036); not a house copy; this scoring, not listed in NV 1790, is mentioned in the autograph annotation in B-Bc, 27905 MSM; see appendix to CPEB:CW, II/2.1.
- f. Parts by J.H. Michel; has an autograph title page that reads “Sonata a Flauto e Cembalo da C. P.E. Bach,” but lacks house copy number; scoring for Wq 83 is not listed in NV 1790, but sanctioned by this title page.
- g. Title page of the 1751 print indicates that both trios may be adapted for kbd and vn or fl.
- h. MS fragment, consisting of an autograph wrapper for Wq 157; not from a house copy. This wrapper may have originally contained the set of parts for Wq 157 presently in source D 101.
- i. Parts by Anon. Itzig 1; not a house copy; this scoring is not listed in NV 1790 but appears in an emendation on the autograph title page of A-Wgm, XI 36265, where CPEB has changed “2 Violini” to “1 Violino”. Based on this autograph evidence, Helm assigned the version for two violins a separate item number, H 585. The autograph score for this version is lost; see source [A 21].
- j. The autograph also includes a 2 kbd arrangement of Wq 87, in F-Pn, W. 3 (7); see appendix to CPEB:CW, II/3.2.
- k. NV 1790, no. 210 = Wq 67 (see CPEB:CW, I/8.1).

Works are generally edited only once, with the exception of three special cases: for Wq 145 and BWV 1036 (II/2.1), and for Wq 159 and 163 (II/2.2), different authorized scorings include major revisions that necessitate separate editions. While Bach's rescoring of Wq 152 (II/2.1) as Wq 157 (II/2.2) results in more subtle variants, the two settings are published separately, with each based upon an individual principal source.

### Trios for Two Violins and Bass and Other Scorings

The present volume complements CPEB: CW, II/2.1 and contains: the eight trios that Bach composed for two violins and bass; a transposed version of the trio Wq 163 for two violins (Wq 159); and one trio each for two flutes (Wq 162) and bass recorder and viola (Wq 163), respectively. All of these works originated in Berlin; none of them go back, not even in part, to earlier versions from the 1730s. According to NV 1790, Wq 154–55 date from 1747, Wq 161/1 and 162 from 1749, Wq 156–158 and H 585 from 1754,<sup>9</sup> Wq 163 from 1755, and Wq 160 from 1756.

The Sonata in F Major for Bass Recorder, Viola, and Bass exists in two versions that are not distinguished as such by their work catalogue listings of Wq 163 and H 588. The original version (source A 14, fascicle X), with the recorder part ranging from f to d'', is referred to in the present edition as Wq 163; the revised version (source A 3), with adjustments to the recorder and viola parts in order to bring the highest note for the recorder down to c'', is identified as Wq 163, alternate version. A note Bach apparently made to himself, which is included in source A 3, reads: "The bass recorder ranges from f to c''; F major, C major, and G major are the most comfortable keys for it."<sup>10</sup> This autograph memo can be interpreted in two ways: either Bach was uncertain of the range of the bass recorder, wrote the recorder part for an instrument that went up to d'', and then had to modify the piece; or he wrote the trio originally for bass recorders of a wider range and then made the adjustment for a specific instrument. However, the wording of the note suggests that the first explanation is more likely. Moreover, a third version of the same work, Wq 159, which scores the piece for a standard trio with two violins and transposes it from F to B-flat major, is essentially based on the revised readings of the alternate version

9. Regarding the date of H 585, see n. 5.

10. "Die Bassflöte geht vom bloßen f bis ins 2gestrichene c; f dur, c dur u. G dur sind die bequemsten Ton Arten darauf."

of Wq 163. The possibility that Wq 159 with its standard scoring represents the original composition and Wq 163 an arrangement commissioned for special instruments can be dismissed, because the ranges of all three voices are atypically high and suggest an adaptation: the violins rarely make use of the g-string and the lowest bass note is F (cf. Wq 158, also in B-flat major).

Unlike the trios for flute, violin, and bass published in II/2.1, many of which have Leipzig and Frankfurt origins, the works in II/2.2 represent genuine creations in Bach's Berlin compositional style. This applies not only to all of the trios for two violins but also to the Sonata in E Major for two flutes; Wq 162 (of 1749) marks a particularly exemplary case of Bach's mature sonata style, with its sophisticated approach to finely chiseled melodic phrases, highly differentiated rhythmic figures, daring harmonic progressions, and balanced formal design. In addition, the Sonata in C Minor for two violins, Wq 161/1 (from the same year but published in 1751) indicates with its explanatory preface Bach's musical and aesthetic intentions regarding the expressive dialogue conducted between two characters, "Sanguineus" and "Melancholicus." (For a full transcription and English translation of the preface, see pp. 31–33.) This work also shows Bach's didactic purpose and relates to the overall intellectual climate in which music flourished at the Prussian court around 1750—a climate that fostered the kind of discourse about the expressive powers of instrumental music represented in the writings of Bach and his closest colleagues from Berlin court circles, including Johann Joachim Quantz, Johann Friedrich Agricola, Christoph Nichelmann, and Johann Philipp Kirnberger.<sup>11</sup>

### Sonata and Sinfonia: Issues of Genre

The vast majority of Bach's trios represent three-movement sonatas with the prevailing movement sequence fast–slow–fast. Fugal or imitative entries are a typical feature of sonata style, especially for opening fast movements.

11. A trio sonata in G major by Bach's colleague Johann Gottlieb Graun (Graun WV, A:XV:11) bears the designation "Melancholic[us] et Sanguin[eus]" in a manuscript from the Sara Levy collection (D-B, SA 3686). A similar title is found in the catalogue of the collection of Bernhard Itzig, Sara Levy's brother; see Graun WV, I:63. Bach published this piece—without any reference to its programmatic nature—in his anthology *Musikalisches Vielerley* (Hamburg, 1770), 130–46. As Christoph Henzel (Graun WV, I:62) suggests, Graun's trio may be significantly older than the surviving sources indicate; Bach may have known the work when he composed his trio in 1749 (Peter Wollny, personal communication).

In general, Bach's sonata style displays subtle polyphonic devices and textures throughout all movements. Virtually all of his trios follow this steady pattern, with two exceptions—Wq 156 and H 585. These works, nos. 18 and 19 in NV 1790 (see table 1), are specifically designated as “sinfonias”. In source A 18, the autograph title of Wq 156 reads “Sonata o vero Sinfonia” and the caption title reads “Sinfonia.” The title and caption heading for H 585 in the principal source, B 2 (a substitute for the lost autograph [A 21]), originally also read “Sinfonia.” This is neither a coincidence nor does it reflect inconsistency, because the stylistic makeup of these two trios differs markedly from Bach's typical sonata. In both sinfonias, the first movements open with simultaneous non-imitative entries of the two violins, and the final movements are marked “Tempo di minuetto”—a tempo designation that does not appear in any other of the trio sonatas. Polyphonic elements are absent throughout as both sinfonias demonstrate a deliberate change from typical sonata style, instead borrowing devices and textures from orchestral composition. This is not to say that these two works are meant to be performed by more than one player to a part; but they clearly represent a conscious departure from the stylistic norm adhered to in Bach's sonatas.

The finale of the Sinfonia in A Minor, Wq 156, bears the nickname “La Coorl”. This movement was re-used by Bach in 1759, arranged as the closing movement of a keyboard sonata in the same key (Wq 65/33), where it is also named “La Coorl” (see CPEB: CW, I/6.4). This character title alludes to Christian Friedrich Carl Fasch, Bach's junior colleague and former assistant who in 1791 founded the Berlin Sing-Akademie. According to an anecdote reported by Fasch's student, successor, and biographer Karl Friedrich Zelter, the Austrian-born Berlin concertmaster Höckh used to call the young Fasch “Monsieur Coorl” (pronouncing the name “Carl” in Viennese dialect).<sup>12</sup> Bach's musical portrayal of Fasch resembles that of other members of his circle of friends in quite a few little character pieces for keyboard within the collection

Wq 117,<sup>13</sup> but it seems to be the only instance of an identifiable ensemble character piece.

Although not indicated by titles, two further trio movements are related to character pieces for solo keyboard. In 1756, Bach arranged the “Tempo di minuetto” finale of H 585 as “La Louise” (Wq 117/36) as well as the closing movement (“Allegro”) of Wq 159/Wq 163 as “La Sophie” (Wq 117/40). In neither case can the title be identified as referring to a specific person.<sup>14</sup>

### Dedications, Dissemination, and Reception History

Towards the end of his autobiography, C.P.E. Bach reports: “Among all my works, especially those for keyboard, there are only a few trios, solos and concertos I have composed with complete freedom and for my own use.”<sup>15</sup> Even though he does not identify the pertinent works, the wording clearly indicates that the majority of the trios were not primarily composed for his own use. In consideration of the decade 1746–56 in which most of the trios for two treble instruments and bass originated, it seems plausible that the bulk of the repertoire related to Bach's employment as Prussian court musician and was written primarily for the regular—at times daily—royal chamber music.

The sources provide evidence, however, that at least some of the works were dedicated to, and perhaps also commissioned by, aristocratic patrons. The autograph caption title of the Sinfonia in A Minor, Wq 156 (source A 18; see plate 1), reads “per il Conte Schaffgotsch,” indicating that this trio was composed for a member of the Silesian noble family Schaffgotsch. The person in question is apparently Johann Nepomuk Gotthard Graf von Schaffgotsch (1732–1808), a court official (“Wirklicher Geheimer Staatsminister & Prussian Oberstallmeister”) and an active member of the “Musikübende Gesellschaft zu Berlin” who also maintained an ensemble of musicians at his residence.<sup>16</sup>

12. The spelling of Carl (with “C” or “K”) is inconsistent in 18th-century German. Zelter, *Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch* (Berlin, 1801), 8: “Der Konzertmeister Höckh . . . , der unweit Wien geboren war, hatte einen österreichischen Dialekt, dem zufolge er den jungen Fasch, der Karl hieß, immer Monsieur Koorl nannte.” In a related footnote, Zelter refers to Wq 65: “Unter C.P.E. Bachs Charakterstücken ist eins: La Coorl, überschrieben, welches sich auf diesen Umstand bezieht.” See also Hans-Günter Ottenberg, “C.P.E. Bach and Carl Friedrich Zelter,” *C.P.E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 185–216, esp. 193–95.

13. See CPEB: CW, I/8.2, esp. xiv–xvii.

14. For Wq 117/36 and 117/40, see CPEB: CW, I/8.2, 37–39 and 43–45. The minuet from H 585 also appears without title as the concluding movement in Wq 74 (CPEB: CW, II/3.1) and in Wq 102 (CPEB: CW, III/12.2).

15. “Unter allen meinen Arbeiten, besonders fürs Clavier, sind blos einige Trios, Solos und Concerte, welche ich mit aller Freyheit und zu meinem eignen Gebrauch gemacht habe.” See *Autobiography*, 209.

16. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1754), 409 and 507.

Similarly, an explanatory note on the autograph title page (source A 20; see plate 2) of the Sonata in G Major, Wq 157, suggests that this sonata was written for Franz Wilhelm von Happe (1687–1760), minister in King Friedrich II's cabinet;<sup>17</sup> the note reads: "NB. Is from the hand of Mr. C. Bach [who went by the first name of Carl] and made by him for the late Mr. State Minister von Happe, from whose estate I received it. Behmer" [= Böhmer, writer of the note].<sup>18</sup> The connection may have arisen at the time when Happe's two sons were students at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder and C.P.E. Bach directed the *collegium musicum* there.<sup>19</sup> Source A 20 implies yet another link with the Prussian university town because, according to Böhmer's note, the trio moved from Happe's estate into the possession of a member of the Böhmer family—most likely Johann Samuel Friedrich Böhmer, who was first a student and later a professor of law at the University of Frankfurt, and a reformer of penal law in Prussia,<sup>20</sup> or possibly one of his brothers, also former students in Frankfurt.

The Sonata in F Major for Bass Recorder, Viola, and Bass, Wq 163, due to the extremely rare requirement of a bass recorder, is likely to be a commissioned work as well. Although it remains unknown for whom this work was written, Bach's music library contained a similarly scored "Trio a Violino, Violoncello o Flauto Basso e Basso" by Johann Gottlieb Graun (GraunWV, A:XV:5).<sup>21</sup> Presumably both works were commissioned by, or dedicated to, the same person—most likely a patron from the Berlin music scene and perhaps a bass recorder player.

The very large number of eighteenth-century copies of Bach's trios still extant today evidences a wide dissemination of this repertoire. While the four published trios (Wq 161/1–2, 158, and 160) were, of course, generally available to the public, the majority of the pieces remained in manuscript. There is no indication whatsoever that the trio sonatas, all of which originated in Bach's Berlin period, were written and initially reserved for performances at the

Prussian court. On the contrary, the works apparently spread quickly and broadly in Berlin and the immediate vicinity of the Prussian capital, probably coinciding with the growing interaction of the Prussian court musicians with the Berlin bourgeoisie after 1756. The fact that a number of early manuscript copies (sources B 3–5, C 1a, and D 29, 38, 95–99, 106, 107, 114, 117, 118) were prepared by Berlin copyists closely connected with the composer (for instance, Johann Friedrich Hering and Anon. 404) as well as the presence of autograph figures in circulating copies (sources A 16 and A 17) indicates that from the beginning Bach himself was actively and directly—initially perhaps even exclusively—involved in managing the distribution of sales and gift copies. This is indicated not only by the copy of BWV 1036, the early version of Wq 145, from the collection of a member of the circle of J. S. Bach and dating from around or before 1740 (see II/2.1 appendix), but also by various manuscripts written by or for members of the Bach family. An exemplary case is a copy of Wq 154 in the hand of C.P.E. Bach's brother-in-law Johann Christoph Altnickol, dating from c. 1750–51, which also contains the trios BWV 1014–1019 and 1030 by J. S. Bach (source D 20). From about the mid-1750s, however, the dissemination of the materials began to broaden.

For commercial distribution, Bach later enlisted his friend, the Leipzig publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, in whose manuscript sales catalogue several trios (Wq 148, 149, 151, 158, and 163) appear in 1763.<sup>22</sup> After moving to Hamburg in 1768, Bach apparently involved the music dealer Johann Christoph Westphal, with whom he conducted business; at least two trio manuscripts suggest Westphal provenance (see sources D 21 and D 43). Distribution from the composer's house may even have continued after Bach's death in 1788, for NV 1790 specifically invited interested parties to purchase music from his widow.

Several musical societies, individual literary and musical salons, and various venues for public concerts emerged during the second half of the century in Berlin, a city that in many ways set the pace for developments elsewhere in Germany. According to a contemporary report, "There are numerous concerts and for the most part there is no shortage of performers, for besides the court orchestra and the various establishments maintained by other members of the Royal Family, Berlin can boast a great many private musicians and connoisseurs of music."<sup>23</sup> As the multiplic-

17. Heinrich Miesner, "Graf v. Keyserlingk und Minister v. Happe, zwei Gönner der Familie Bach," *BJ* (1934): 101–15.

18. "NB. ist des Hr. C Bach | eigene Hand, u. vor | den seel. Hr. Etats Minister | v. Happe von ihm verfertigt, | aus dessen musicalischen | Nachlaß ich es erhalten. Behmer".

19. Ottenberg, 34.

20. Ottenberg, 24; this is the person referred to in the title of Bach's character piece "La Böhmer" (Wq 117/26); see CPEB: CW, I/8.2, xvii and 4.

21. See BA 1789, 69 (lot 155); see also Klaus Hofmann, "Gesucht: ein Graun'sches Trio mit obligater Baßblockflöte. Ein Ermittlungsbericht—mit Seitenblicken auf ein Trio Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *Tibia*, 17 (1992): 253–62.

22. See Cat. Breitkopf, cols. 92, 104, 111.

23. Friedrich Nicolai, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam . . .* (Berlin, 1769), 404; translated in Ottenberg, 63.



ity of surviving sources demonstrates, opportunities were not lacking, neither for aristocratic and bourgeois nor for professional and amateur music making.

Members of the immediate Bach circle were, of course, familiar with C.P.E. Bach's trios. His half-brother Johann Christoph Friedrich of Bückeburg had access to them (see source D 33) and so did one of J.S. Bach's last pupils, Johann Gottfried Mützel, whose career brought him to Riga, Lithuania (see source D 21). Johann Philipp Kirnberger, another J.S. Bach pupil and capellmeister to Princess Anna Amalia (1723–1787), sister of King Friedrich II, functioned as a key figure next to the Bach son in Berlin; Kirnberger held several trio manuscripts (sources D 17–19). Another active musical place was the residence of Otto Carl Friedrich Count von Voss and his family in Buch near Berlin (see, for example, source D 52).<sup>24</sup> Sara Levy (1761–1854), an accomplished keyboard player, a student of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, and the great aunt of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, established in the 1780s a major center in Berlin for regular performances of music from the Bach family. Her musical salon drew both professional and amateur musicians, as well as music lovers, particularly from Berlin's intellectual elite; more than a dozen trio sonata manuscripts can be traced to her extensive music library (sources D 53, 61, 62, 65, 66, 71, 77, 79–85).<sup>25</sup> These selected names are merely representative; they are complemented by a larger number of additional intermediaries, mostly nameless, who together carried on for about two generations a strong and stable transmission and performance pattern for the Bach trios, that by and large reached its end before 1800—an end to coincide with that of the traditional genre of trio sonata.

### Basso Continuo Issues

For six of the trio sonatas—Wq 149, 150, 159, 161/1–2, and H 585—figures are lacking in the principal sources. The autograph scores of Wq 149 and 150 are unfigured, and so is the 1751 print of Wq 161/1–2; the same pertains to Bach's house copy of the parts for Wq 159, as well as to the principal source for H 585, a trio without an extant house copy. As Wq 161/1–2 were published as scores, where harmonies are implied by the notation of the upper voices, no figured

bass was actually needed. For the purpose of consistency, however, this edition provides figures for all trios, employing sources for comparison.<sup>26</sup>

In the case of Wq 161/2, autograph figures are transmitted in the manuscript source A 17. For Wq 150, 159, 161/1 (see plate 5), and H 585, figures are taken from three sources (B 5, B 3, and C 1a, and B 4, respectively) that were prepared at least in part by Johann Friedrich Hering, a Berlin copyist working for Bach in the 1750s and 1760s. The manuscript B 6 serves as a source for the figures in Wq 149. Source D 52, a manuscript teaching manual prepared by Otto Carl Friedrich von Voß, a student of Bach's associate Hering, provides an instructive example for continuo realization in the Bach circle.

Wq 151 presents an informative case regarding the aesthetics of continuo playing because its sources transmit three different sets of autograph figures. The three manuscripts (A 14, A 8, and A 16) all date from the mid-1750s but were figured by C.P.E. Bach at different times: A 16 around 1755, and the house copies A 14 (score) and A 8 (parts) after 1775. The earlier and later figurations, independent from one another, show different approaches to harmonizing three-part texture and clearly indicate that Bach exercised much flexibility in his execution of figured bass. The continuo part from source A 16 (see II/2.1 appendix) is more sparsely figured, makes different use of suspensions and dominant sevenths, and contains some “tasto solo” unharmonized passages (movement iii, mm. 41–43, 173–76) not evident in the other two manuscripts. The later figuration style (in sources A 14 and A 8) reflects a more detailed harmonization with less improvisatory flexibility.

Three relatively rare figured bass symbols that Bach describes in his *Versuch* appear in his trio sonatas. The “Telemannischer Bogen” (a half-circle set over a continuo figure) indicates that the realized harmony should be limited only to the precise pitches indicated by the figures (see *Versuch* II: *Vorrede*, 3; and 4, §3). The symbol  $\hat{6}_4$  indicates that the sixth over the bass should be doubled, rather than the bass note (*Versuch* II:6.1, §9). The symbol / indi-

24. J.F. Hering was the music instructor for Count Voß, who prepared the continuo realizations in the manuscript source D 52 under Hering's guidance.

25. See Wollny 2010, 78, 80–82.

26. Regarding the absence of continuo figures in the sources for some pieces, the following passage from a letter of 7 October 1791 by Bach's widow to J.J.H. Westphal provides useful information: “Zu den Trii No. 1, 2 und 7 ist keine Baßbezeichnung vorhanden, und es ist keine Nachlässigkeit des Notisten, daß sie unterlassen ist.” See Manfred Hermann Schmid, “Das Geschäft mit dem Nachlaß von C.Ph.E. Bach: Neue Dokumente zur Westphal-Sammlung des Conservatoire Royal de Musique und der Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brüssel,” in *Hamburg* 1988, 495–96.

TABLE 2. TRIOS LISTED IN HELM NOT PUBLISHED IN CPEB: CW

H	Key	Scoring	Remarks
540	E	kbd	ornamented kbd part for single movement, probably by Schaffrath (Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 204)
541	F	kbd, va	lost; sonata in F major for kbd and va or vdg, attributed to CPEB in Cat. Priege, lot 186
542	A	kbd, vn	alternate scoring of H 570 (Wq 146); set of parts includes autograph kbd part; see source A 13
542.5	g	kbd, vn	= BWV 1020; not published in NBA; see discussion in CPEB: CW, II/3.2
543	B $\flat$	kbd, vn	alternate scoring of H 587 (Wq 159)
544	E	kbd, vn	by Kirnberger <sup>a</sup>
545	E $\flat$	kbd, fl	= BWV 1031; published in NBA, VI/5; see discussion in CPEB: CW, II/3.2
546	C	kbd, vn, bc	= JCB, op. 10, no. 2 (Warburton B 3, p. 25; Helm attributes work to JCB)
547	G	kbd, vn, bc	= JCB, op. 10, no. 3 (Warburton B 4, p. 26; Helm attributes work to JCB)
589	F	bn, bass rec, bc	alternate scoring of H 588 (Wq 163); cf. source D 22
590.5	G	fl, vn, bc	= BWV 1038; published in NBA, VI/5; also cf. BWV 1021 and 1022
591	E	2 vn, bc	by Schaffrath (see D-B, Am. B. 497/VI; autograph)
592	c	fl, vn, bc	movements i and iii by Carl Friedrich Abel <sup>b</sup>
593	E $\flat$	fl, vn, bc	"Dell Sign. Graun" in D-B, Mus. ms. 8295/53 (Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 204)
595	G	fl, vn, bc	from reference in Bitter, 1:17 and 2:326, perhaps duplicating H 574 (Wq 150)
596	d	fl, vn, bc	alternate scoring of H 503 (Wq 72); see source D 41 in CPEB: CW, II/3.1
597	F	fl, vn, bc	= JCB (Warburton YB 40, p. 500)

## NOTES

a. See Peter Wollny, review of *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, by E. Eugene Helm, *BJ* 77 (1991), 219.

b. See Bettina Faulstich, "Über Handschriften aus dem Besitz der Familie von Ingenheim," in *Acht kleine Präludien und Studien über Bach: Georg von Dadelsen zum 70. Geburtstag am 17. November 1988* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1992), 51–59; also see Walter Knappe, *Bibliographisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Kompositionen von Karl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787)* (Cuxhaven: Walter Knappe, 1971), 169.

cates that the right hand should play the chord belonging to the following note in the bass line (*Versuch* II:1, §76 and II:39, §3).

### Doubtful and Spurious Works

Helm includes a number of entries for trios or related scorings that are not published in CPEB: CW.<sup>27</sup> Also, a few of the trios included in this edition are listed more than once in Helm, with additional variant scorings catalogued under separate Helm numbers. A concordance of Helm and Wotquenne numbers for all trios published in CPEB: CW appears at the end of the present volume. Table 2 accounts for the remaining trios in Helm and shows that some of the variant scorings to which Helm assigned separate numbers are authoritative, while others are not. In a few

other cases, Helm omitted scorings that are sanctioned by autograph evidence.<sup>28</sup> Several items listed in table 2 have been identified as works by other composers, either by Helm himself (e.g., H 546 and 547) or subsequently by others (e.g., H 540, 544, 591–93, and 597). In general, the extent of the authentic repertoire of Bach's trios can be readily established by NV 1790 and corroborated by the extant original sources.

H 590.5 (= BWV 1038) is transmitted in a set of parts written by J. S. Bach. Its authenticity was first questioned on stylistic grounds in 1957 by Ulrich Siegele, who considered it a work possibly composed by C.P.E. Bach.

28. For instance, Helm assigns a separate number (H 542, "possibly authentic") to Bach's authorized alternate scoring for Wq 146, but omits numbers for the two parallel cases of Wq 143 and 145. The house copies for all three trio sonatas include an obbligato keyboard part in Bach's hand, authorizing the keyboard and violin scoring. (None of these authorized variants for keyboard and violin are published separately in CPEB: CW, since the necessary keyboard parts may be easily adapted—as Bach himself shows in his added obbligato parts—by combining the flute and basso lines.)

27. See Helm, "Chamber music with a leading keyboard part" (502–41 = "Authentic"; 542–44 = "Possibly Authentic"; 545–47 = "Spurious"); and "Trio Sonatas" (566–90 = "Authentic"; 590.5–94 = "Possibly authentic"; 595–97 = "Doubtful").

However, as there are no objective criteria for attributing BWV 1038 to a composer other than J. S. Bach, the work was included in NBA VI/5 (ed. Klaus Hofmann, 2006). H 542 is an alternate scoring of Wq 146 that may well have been authorized by Bach, but that is not listed in NV 1790. The same applies to H 596, an alternate scoring of Wq 72 for flute, violin, and bass not considered for inclusion in CPEB:CW. H 595 most likely represents an instance of a double reference to one and the same work (Wq 150).

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complex and challenging task of dealing with a large body of materials that as a whole had never before been systematically surveyed, let alone researched.

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