

# INTRODUCTION

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Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's trios for two treble instruments and basso continuo are among the most influential and artistically most demanding of the composer's Berlin period. In these highly experimental works, Bach gradually achieved the transformation from the baroque trio sonata to the accompanied keyboard sonata and the classical keyboard trio. At the same time, his first surviving contributions to the genre rely at least partially on older material from the time of his beginnings as a composer. The first seven works of the trio section in NV 1790 (the two keyboard trios Wq 71 and 72, as well as five trio sonatas Wq 143–147) are based on pieces written in 1731 in Leipzig, while the eighth work (the trio sonata Wq 148) originated in 1735 in Frankfurt. All eight trios were revised ("erneuert") in 1747 in Berlin.

## Overview of the Sources

The scores of five of the six trio sonatas published in the present facsimile edition are found in the large composite MS in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357. It contains the autographs of altogether sixteen works composed or revised between 1745 and 1763. These scores were assembled by Georg Poelchau, who probably had acquired them—along with numerous other manuscripts—from the collection of Bach's student Casper Siegfried Gähler. Poelchau's extensive collection was bought by the Royal Prussian Library (now D-B) from his heirs in 1841. The individual fascicles in P 357 were bound together probably in the second half of the nineteenth century (when a continuous pagination was also added). They have recently been unbound for preservation purposes, and the individual bifolios are now kept in single folders in a large box. On a wrapper (now also kept separately) Poelchau added: "(Sechzehn Trios) | Acht Trios für Flöte, Violine u Bass | Ein Trio für 2 Flöten u Bass | Zwei Trios für 2 Violinen u Bass | Ein Trio für Clavier und Gambe | Vier Trios für Clavier und Violine | (33 Bg.) | von | Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach | in | eigenhändiger Partitur. | (Nach dem Bachschen Catalog N<sup>o</sup> 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 11. 13. 15. 17. 21. 25. 26. | 27. 28. 29.)". An unknown hand added later lot and page numbers from NV 1790 and wrote a separate entry for Wq 163, which Poelchau

had counted among the trios for flute, violin and continuo. P 357 includes the autograph scores of the trios Wq 143, 145–149, 155, 84, 157, 163, 88, 75, 76, 151, 77, and 78.

The fascicles pertinent to this volume are described below, along with the autograph score and parts for Wq 144. The original parts of the trio sonatas were not acquired by Poelchau. The provenance of the parts for Wq 143, 145–148, and several other trios can be summarized as follows: C.P.E. Bach's estate—C.S. Gähler—Theodor Avé-Lallemant—Arrey von Dommer (c. 1855)—Kirchhoff & Wigand—Guido Richard Wagener (1872)—B-Bc (1902). The autograph score and parts of Wq 144 were also with the other sets of parts until they were acquired by Friedrich Chrysander around 1855, then it passed to his heirs until it was sold by Sotheby's London on 8 June 2021 to the Bach-Archiv Leipzig (D-LEB). Critical editions of the six trios along with detailed source descriptions are published in CPEB: CW, II/2.1.

This facsimile edition presents all surviving original sources for the trios Wq 143–148 including pages with no musical notation. (Only the verso folios of title pages that do not have any transcriptions have been omitted.) Since it would be confusing and unpractical to reproduce the actual sequence of pages of the frequently used *Auflagebogen* (a bifolio, in which, in order to avoid page turns, the pages have to be read in the order 4, 1, 2, 3), all fascicles are arranged in continuous, musical order.

### *Trio in B Minor, Wq 143*

#### SCORE

D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, fascicle I (pp. 1–4)  
One *Auflagebogen*; upright format (34.5 x 23 cm). Watermark: crowned eagle; no countermark. Caption heading: "Sonata a 1 Flauto Trav. 1 Violino e Basso di CPEBach." The basso continuo line is figured.

#### PARTS

B-Bc, 27904 MSM  
Set of four MS parts in the hands of Bach and Anon. 301, with entries by Bach; 22 pp., upright format (33.5 x 21.5 cm).  
The parts include:

“Flauto Traverso e Basso” (2 bifolios, p. 1 with title: “H. moll. | Sonata | a | 1 Trav. | 1 Violino | e | Basso | di | CPEBach. | No. 3” [originally “2”]; watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle)

“Flauto Traverso” (1 *Auflagebogen*)

“Violino” (1 *Auflagebogen*)

“Basso” (1 *Auflagebogen*), figured

A single folio of blue paper (watermark: crowned double-headed eagle with letters “FR” on breastplate), originally attached to the violin part, reads: “Sonata | a | Flauto Traverso | Violino | e | Basso. | dell | Sige: C.P.E. Bach. | No. 3.” The “No. 3” was added by Bach, and Anna Carolina Philippina Bach also added the partially erased numbers “(4.” and “(3.)” There is also a later autograph annotation: “ist 2 mahl da, einmahl in Partitur, wobey die | Flöte u. der Baß übereinander ausgeschrieben sind, | und einmahl mit allen 3 ausgeschrieben Stimen. | Weñ die Violinstiñe aus der Partitur geschrie- | ben wird: so sind 3 Exemplare von diesem | Trio complet.”

#### *Trio in G Major, Wq 144*

##### SCORE

D-LEb, Rara I, 18

One *Auflagebogen*; upright format (36.5 x 28 cm). Watermark: human figure (bishop?) with letters “HMN” below. Caption heading: “Sonata a 1 Fl. Trav. 1 Violino e Basso. di CPEBach.” The basso continuo line is unfigured. In front of the first system of the score Bach specified, late in his life, the instruments (“Flauto”; “Violino”; “Basso”). The word “Violino” is written over a faint pencil note, which reads “wird | ausgeschrieben” that was apparently an instruction to the copyist of the violin part (see below).

The score and parts are kept in a blue wrapper (36.5 x 27 cm; watermark: unclear, probably coat of arms with post horn); p. 1, in the hand of the copyist Frankfurt/Oder 1, has the following title: “G #. | Suonata | â 3 Stromenti. | Flauto Traverso. | Violino. | Con Cembalo ô Violoncello. | da me C.P.E. Bach.” Bach later added “No. 4.” [corrected from “3”], and the annotation: “Weil [corrected from “Wenn”] zu diesem Trio die Violinstimme aus der Partitur | geschrieben ist [corrected from “wird”], so ist es 2mahl complet da.” A.C.P. Bach added the number “(4.)”, which she repeated (without parentheses) at the bottom of the page.

##### PARTS

D-LEb, Rara I, 18

Set of two MS parts in the hands of Bach and an anony-

mous Hamburg copyist; 8 pp., upright format (33 x 21 cm).

The parts include:

“Flauto Traverso e Basso” (1 bifolio; watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle). The basso line was originally figured only in passages where the upper part is not playing; at a later point, however, Bach added figures throughout.

“Violino” (1 bifolio; watermarks: a) Hollandia; b) crowned letter GR)

#### *Trio in D Minor, Wq 145*

##### SCORE

D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, fascicle II (pp. 5–12)

One *Auflagebogen* and one bifolio; upright format (34.5 x 21 cm); watermark: 1) the *Auflagebogen* seems to be the same as fascicle I; 2) the bifolio is crowned Zittauer eagle. Caption title: “Sonata a 1 Fl. Trav. 1 Violino e Basso di CPEBach.” The basso continuo line is figured.

##### PARTS

B-Bc, 27905 MSM

Set of four MS parts in the hands of Bach and Anon. 337, with entries by Bach; 20 pp., upright format (33.5 x 21.5 cm). W (“Flauto Traverso e Basso”); remaining parts without recognizable watermark

The parts include:

“Flauto Traverso e Basso” (2 bifolios; watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle); p. 1 with title: “D. b. | Sonata | a | 1 Flauto Trav. | 1 Violino | e | Basso | di | CPEBach. | No. 6” [originally: “5”]; with Bach’s annotation: “Weñ die Violinstiñe dieses Trios aus der Partitur | oder von der ausgeschrieben Violinstiñe abgeschrieben | wird: so sind 3 Exemplare davon complet da.”), and A.C.P. Bach’s number “(5.)”

“Flauto Traverso” (1 *Auflagebogen*)

“Violino” (1 *Auflagebogen*)

“Basso” (1 folio, p. 1 with title: “Sonata a | Traverso | Violino | e | Basso. | del | Sige: CP:E. Bach.”). At the end of movements ii and iii, the copyist added the number “7” (meaning unclear).

#### *Trio in A Major, Wq 146*

##### SCORE

D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, fascicle III (pp. 13–16)

One *Auflagebogen*; upright format (34 x 21 cm). Watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle. Caption heading: “Sonata a 1 Fl. Trav. 1 Violino e Basso. di CPEBach.” The basso continuo line is figured.

## PARTS

B-Bc, 27906 MSM

Set of four MS parts in the hand of Bach and Anon. 337, with entries by Bach; 20 pp., upright format (33 x 21 cm).

The parts include:

“Flauto Traverso e Basso” (2 bifolios; watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle); p. 1 with title: “A# | Sonata | a | 1 Flauto Trav. | 1 Violino | e | Basso | di | CPEBach | No. 7” [originally: “6”]; with Bach’s annotation: “Weñ von diesem Trio die Violinstiñe noch einmahl | abgeschrieben wird: so sind 3 Exemplare complet” and A.C.P. Bach’s number “(6.)” “Flauto Traverso” (1 *Auflagebogen*). At the end of movements i and iii, the copyist added the numbers “4” and “14” respectively.

“Violino” (1 *Auflagebogen*). At the end of movements i and iii, the copyist added the numbers “10” and “14” respectively. “Basso” (1 bifolio, p. 1 with title: “[Incipit, m. 1] | Sonata a | Traverso | Violino | e | Basso. | del | Sigl C:P:E: Bach”), figured. At the end of each movement, the copyist added the numbers “4”, “10”, and “14” respectively.

*Trio in C Major, Wq 147*

## SCORE

D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, fascicle IV (pp. 17–20)

One *Auflagebogen*; upright format (34 x 21 cm). Watermark: eagle? Instrument designations are given at the beginning of movement i (“Fl. Trav.”; “Violino”; “Basso”). Caption heading: “Sonata”. The basso continuo line is figured. The ink color and the handwriting suggest that the figures were added at a later point; they do not seem to be in Bach’s hand throughout. At the top of the score an unknown hand added “N. 7” (referring to the numbering in NV 1790).

## PARTS

B-Bc, 27897 MSM

Set of three MS parts in the hand of Schlichting, with entries by Bach; 16 pp., upright format (33.5 x 21.5 cm). All parts have the watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle.

The parts include:

“Flauto Traverso” (1 *Auflagebogen*); with instrument designation in Bach’s hand.

“Violino” (2 nested bifolios); with instrument designation in Bach’s hand.

“Cembalo ou Basso” (1 *Auflagebogen*), with figures by Bach.

A separate wrapper contains on p. 1 the following autograph title: “Sonata | a | 1 Flauto Trav. | 1 Violino | e | Basso

| di | C.P.E. Bach. | [incipit] | No. 8.”, with an incipit added by an unknown hand and A.C.P. Bach’s number “(7.)”

*Trio in A Minor, Wq 148*

## SCORE

D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 357, fascicle V (pp. 21–26)

One separate leaf and one bifolio; upright format (34 x 21 cm). Watermark: crowned Zittauer eagle. Caption heading: “Sonata a 1 Fl. Trav. 1 Violino e Basso di CPEBach.” The basso continuo line is figured. The score has pagination in Bach’s hand. At the bottom of p. 3 (after the end of movement ii) Bach added the cipher “No. 5” (corrected from “No. 4”).

## PARTS

B-Bc, 27899 MSM

Set of three MS parts in the hand of Anon. 337, with entries by Bach; 12 pp., upright format (33.5 x 20.5 cm). All parts have the same watermark: eagle?

The parts include:

“Flauto Traverso” (1 *Auflagebogen*); the word “Flauto” was added later by Bach.

“Violino” (1 *Auflagebogen*)

“Basso” (1 bifolio), with figures by Bach.

The first page of the basso part contains the following title: “No. 5 | Sonata per il | Traverso | Violino | e | Basso | Del Sigl C: P E Bach”, with A.C.P. Bach’s number “(8.)”

### The Autograph Scores

Bach seems to have written down the scores of the six trios during a relatively short time span. The handwriting, although being somewhat variable, can easily be associated with the year 1747, mentioned in NV 1790 as the date for the renewal of the pieces. The watermark found in the paper shows the Prussian double-headed eagle with the letter Z (for “Zittau”) on a breastplate. The handwriting is not strictly calligraphic, but it is not sketchy either. Bach certainly knew what he wanted to write down; for although the scores show an abundance of corrections of musical details, traces of significant compositional changes are extremely rare. It is thus factually impossible to find in the autograph scores any traces of the original versions from 1731.

There seems to be only one exception, a large revision in the first movement of Wq 144: in mm. 14–16 we can detect the earlier readings that were removed by an extensive erasure (see example 1). It becomes clear that Bach had

EXAMPLE 1. Wq 144/i, mm. 14–16, *ante correcturam* readings

designed the passage in mm. 7–9, where all three voices play together for the first time, in invertible counterpoint. While the bass enters with the main chromatic subject, the flute takes over the line first played by the violin, while the violin plays the original bass line. The polyphonic potential of the combination of voices is so striking, it is obvious that the movement was first conceived according to the strict principles of the Bachian school and that further permutations of the combination of the three parts were originally intended. It is quite likely that the movement originally had much larger dimensions, and that in 1747 Bach cut it significantly and largely removed elements that were reminiscent of his father's style of composing. It is easy to draw a connection to a remark by Johann Nikolaus Forkel on the formative years of the two eldest Bach sons: "Both of the eldest sons, by the way, confessed frankly that they had been necessarily obliged to choose a style of their own because they could never have equaled their father in his style."<sup>1</sup>

Apart from this revealing case, Bach's process of "renewing" his early trio sonatas from 1731 seems to have consisted of basically the same radical steps as can be found in the early keyboard concertos Wq 2 and Wq 3. Bach did not even try to preserve the original versions intact; instead, he took them apart, and, with the help of one-line continuity drafts, completely formed anew and reassembled them—in other words, "revised" them from the ground up. The original thematic and motivic material was changed to a

great extent in the reworked versions, and completely new musical associations were created. Thus, for most movements almost nothing remained from the original conception of the works. Evidence of Bach using a one-line continuity draft may be found in the rearrangement of the upper parts at the beginning of the second movement of Wq 147.

### The Parts and Their Scribes

The most striking feature in the sets of parts for four of the sonatas (Wq 143–146) is the existence of an autograph part combining the flute and the bass line. Bach labelled these combination parts "Flauto Traverso e Basso." The fact that they contain continuo figures only for passages in which the flute is pausing indicates that these are in fact obligato keyboard parts, intended for a performance variant with two instruments only (violin and cembalo).<sup>2</sup>

"Flauto Traverso e Basso" parts are missing for the sonatas Wq 147 and 148, but the transmission of these two works in early sources from Berlin scored for violin and cembalo suggests that Bach originally also prepared obligato keyboard parts for those two sonatas. An alternate version for violin and cembalo also exists for the trio sonata in C major Wq 149 (Wq 73), but here the two original parts (B-Bc, 27907 MSM) stem from Bach's Hamburg period, and there are no early secondary sources. The same is true for the trio "Sinfonia" Wq 74, which originally in 1754 was composed as a work for two violins and continuo, but rescored for violin and cembalo apparently only in Hamburg. Thus after creating the performance alternative for the six trio sonatas Wq 143–148, Bach apparently returned

1. *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. and enlarged by Christoph Wolff (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 458; Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister & Kühnel, 1802), 44: "Beyde älteste Söhne gestanden übrigens offenerzig: sie hätten sich nothwendig eine eigene Art von Styl wählen müssen, weil sie ihren Vater in dem seinigen doch nie erreicht haben würden."

2. See Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny "Altes Zeug von mir': Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs kompositorisches Schaffen vor 1740," *BJ* (1993): 127–204, esp. 181–82.

to composing chamber music for violin and obbligato keyboard instrument only with the four great sonatas Wq 75–78 of 1763.

It is noteworthy that the four “Flauto Traverso e Basso” parts are all written on the same paper as the six scores. Thus, Bach apparently prepared them immediately after finishing the revised versions in 1747. This indicates that the two alternate performance parts—for flute, violin, and basso continuo, or violin plus cembalo obbligato—were already part of the original conception.<sup>3</sup>

Surprisingly, the parts for the trio sonata versions are not uniform at all, but show a large variability of paper types and copyists. The following scribes can be discerned:

*Anon. 301 (Wq 143)*

This scribe worked for Bach primarily in the mid-to-late 1750s.<sup>4</sup> Although he copied many earlier works, his consistent, and almost uniform handwriting suggests that the chronological center of his activities for Bach was around or after 1755, when he prepared the house copy of Wq 65/29 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 359, fascicle IX). At the same time, he copied most of Bach’s character pieces into the composite MS, D-B, Mus. ms. 38050. (On this important source, see CPEB: CW, I/8.2, source A 6.) The latest datable trace of his hand is in the original set of parts for the keyboard concerto Wq 36 (D-B, St 530; composed in 1762). His parts for the trio sonata Wq 143 thus probably date from between 1755–60.

*Anon. D-B 129 (Wq 144)*

This copyist evidently started working for Bach during his years at Frankfurt an der Oder. He is responsible for four fascicles (nos. 7, 9, 10, and 11) of the compound volume D-Hs, ND VI 3191.<sup>5</sup> These fascicles contain some juvenile works, apparently going back to Bach’s Leipzig years (before 1734), as well as the original versions of two sonatas composed in Frankfurt in 1735 (Wq 65/5) and 1738 (Wq 65/10). That these fascicles were indeed written in

Frankfurt is documented by the watermark found in the paper, which shows the coat of arms of the city.

The same copyist is found in four sets of parts from Bach’s library, containing three orchestral works and one secular cantata by Johann Sebastian Bach: D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 81 (BWV 211); PL-Kj, St 148, fascicle II (BWV 1043); D-B, St 153, fascicle II (BWV 1068); and D-B, St 155 (BWV 249/1–2). While the parts for the double concerto BWV 1043 show handwriting characteristics similar to the pieces in D-Hs, ND VI 3191, the remaining three works display an apparently later stage of this copyist’s hand. This later stage is also found in the wrapper of Wq 144.

Contrary to my former claim that all the above-mentioned manuscripts belong to Bach’s time in Frankfurt an der Oder,<sup>6</sup> I would now opt for the possibility that the later stage of this copyist’s hand may be connected with Bach’s first years in Berlin. It is thus possible that the wrapper for score and parts of Wq 144 date from the early 1740s and represent the only remnant of the early version of this work.

*Anon. 337 (Wq 145, 146, 148)*

In addition to the three trio sonatas mentioned above, the copyist Anon. 337 is found in the original sets of parts for the trio sonata Wq 154 (B-Bc, 27902) and for the double concerto Wq 46 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 362). He also prepared parts for three keyboard concertos (Wq 2, Wq 12, and Wq 17) found in Library of Congress (US-Wc, M1010.A2 B 13.W2, M1010.A2 B 13.W12, and M1010.A2 B 13.W17) as well as for the trio symphony Wq 156 (US-Wc, M312.A2 B13.W156), where he worked together with Johann Friedrich Hering. Since the three concertos contain owner’s marks by Friedrich Wilhelm Rust, who studied in Berlin in 1762/63, and since Hering’s script in the parts for Wq 156 shows the mature stage of his handwriting, which emerged around 1765, Anon. 337 is securely documented as having been active in the first half of the 1760s. However, it is likely that his work for Bach dates from before that time. His string parts for the double concerto Wq 46 still show the early version of the first movement (see CPEB: CW, III/10, xi–xiii). We thus tentatively assume that Bach hired Anon. 337 to write out the parts for Wq 46 and for the trio sonatas Wq 145, 146, and 148 around 1755.

3. It is probably no coincidence that around the same time that Bach wrote out the obbligato keyboard parts for his trios, he also had copies made of his father’s six sonatas for violin and harpsichord, BWV 1014–1019 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 463–468).

4. For a preliminary list of copies in the hand of Anon. 301 see Wolfgang Horn, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Frühe Klaviersonaten: Eine Studie zur “Form” der ersten Sätze nebst einer kritischen Untersuchung der Quellen* (Hamburg: Wagner, 1988), 177.

5. On this volume see Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 142–63, and Peter Wollny, “Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Der Quellenbesitz Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs,” *BJ* (1996): 7–21.

6. Wollny, “Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 8–9.

### *Schlichting* (Wq 147)

The Berlin copyist known under the name Schlichting wrote numerous house copies for Bach; in addition, his hand has been recorded in copies of symphonies by Carl Heinrich Graun. His name is mentioned by Kast and frequently in the *Kritische Berichte* of the NBA, but no source has ever been found which connects his handwriting with his name. He participated in preparing the first set of parts for Bach's *Magnificat* (1749) that were used for the performance in the Leipzig Thomaskirche in March 1750. Even earlier seem his parts for the keyboard concerto Wq 6 (D-B, SA 2581). The latest traces of his hand are the original sets of performance parts for the two keyboard concertos Wq 31 (D-B, St 524) and Wq 32 (D-B, St 534), which both were composed in 1753.

Schlichting's handwriting looks quite old-fashioned. Possibly he was an elderly man by around 1750. This fits well with the fact that his hand is found in a miscellany for the Prussian princess Louisa Ulrika compiled in 1735 by two scribes (D-B, Am.B. 485). The handwriting found in the parts for the trio sonata Wq 147 shares many characteristics with that found in the parts for Wq 31 and Wq 32. It is thus likely that these parts were written out in the early 1750s.

### *Unknown Hamburg Copyist* (Wq 144)

Except for the autograph "Flauto Traverso e Basso" part, no original parts for the trio sonata Wq 144 from Bach's Berlin period survive. Instead there is a separate violin part, written on Dutch paper by a copyist who worked for Bach in his Hamburg years. This scribe, who as yet does not have a copyist siglum, can also be traced in a few other house and sale copies. His hand is found in the house copy of Wq 84 (A-Wgm, XI 36267) as well as in sale copies of the same work (D-B, St 478) and of Wq 72 (D-B, Mus. ms. anon. 1587), both apparently made for J. F. Hering. He also wrote a set of parts for the violin sonata Wq 76 (US-AAu, M219.B114.S76.17-), for which he evidently used Bach's original parts.<sup>7</sup> It is thus evident that the violin part of Wq 144 is a later addition, prepared in order to create a complete set of performance materials.

The surprising result of our examination of the copyists is that—except perhaps for the wrapper of Wq 144—only the autograph scores and the autograph keyboard parts

7. The parts for Wq 76 from Bach's library (A-Wgm, XI 36263) are in the hand of two Hamburg copyists. Judging from the shaky script, Bach's additions on the title page of the keyboard part, which are exactly reproduced in the US-AAu parts, probably date from around 1785.

stem from the year in which Bach "renewed" the early versions. All the parts belonging to the trio sonata versions were added in later years.

We can only speculate about the fate of the original sets of performance materials that must have been prepared in 1747. Perhaps Bach sold them or gave them away; perhaps the trio sonatas Wq 143–148 are the outcome of a commission from an unknown patron, who received the now lost first sets of parts.<sup>8</sup> The characteristic notes on the title pages that Bach added in his Hamburg period (probably some time during the 1780s) indicate that no parts have been lost since then.

## Numberings

Bach seems to have kept an accurate account of his own works from early on in his professional career. Even the earliest extant autographs from the Berlin period (such as those of the sonatas Wq 65/8 and Wq 65/13, both dating from 1743) contain numbers, apparently referring to a work list.<sup>9</sup> Numbers are also found mostly on the wrappers or in the caption titles of the six trio sonatas presented in this facsimile edition. They show the characteristic traces of multiple revisions also found in other work groups. From these changes it becomes obvious that Bach, at various stages of his life, revised his work catalogue and rearranged the chronological sequence of his compositions. Table 1 gives an overview of the numbers found in the original sources of all Bach's trio sonatas revised or composed up to 1747.

The earliest layer of the numbering points to a group of five sonatas with the consecutive numbers 2–6. These numbers were later changed to 3–7 and supplement with sixth piece (Wq 147), carrying the number 8. It is obvious that Wq 147 was added to this group. What happened to the original no. 1, and why was the numbering changed?

This draws our attention to the first two works of the trio section in NV 1790, the keyboard trios Wq 71 and Wq 72, which according to NV 1790 were originally composed in 1731 in Leipzig and revised in 1747 in Berlin. Chronologi-

8. Cf. the individually transmitted autograph title page of the trio sonata Wq 157 (D-LEb, Kulukundis I.3-6), which contains the following note: "NB. ist des Hr. C. Bach eigene Hand, u. vor den seeligen Hr. Etats Minister v Happe von ihm verfertigt. aus dessen musicalischen Nachlaß ich es erhalten. Behmer".

9. Numbers are missing in the concerto autographs from the early 1740s (all found in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 352). This absence is probably due to the fact that the original wrappers for these pieces (containing scores and parts) are not preserved.

TABLE I. NUMBERING OF C.P.E. BACH'S EARLIEST TRIOS

Work	Number and Date in NV 1790	Numbering by ACPB	CPEB Revised (c. 1775–85)	CPEB Original (c. 1747)
Wq 71	No. 1. L. 1731. E. B. 1746.	(1.)	No. 1	
Wq 72	No. 2. L. 1731. E. B. 1747.	(2.)	No. 2	
Wq 143	No. 3. L. 1731. E. B. 1747.	(3.)	No. 3	No. 2
Wq 144	No. 4. L. 1731. E. B. 1747.	(4.)	No. 4	No. 3
Wq 145	No. 5. L. 1731. E. B. 1747.	(5.)	No. 6	No. 5
Wq 146	No. 6. L. 1731. E. B. 1747.	(6.)	No. 7	No. 6
Wq 147	No. 7. L. 1731. E. B. 1747.	(7.)	No. 8	
Wq 148	No. 8. F. 1735. E. B. 1747.	(8.)	No. 5	No. 4
Wq 149	No. 9. P. 1745.	(9.)	No. 9	No. 8?
Wq 150	No. 10. P. 1747.	(10.)	No. 10	No. 11
Wq 151	No. 11. P. 1747.	(11.)	No. 11	No. 10
Wq 154	No. 12. P. 1747.	(12.)	No. 13	[score lost]
Wq 155	No. 13. P. 1747.	(13.)	No. 14	No. 12

Key: L. = Leipzig; E. = *erneuert* (revised); B. = Berlin; Frankfurt/Oder; P. = Potsdam

cally they thus form a group with the first five trios in this volume. The transmission of their original sources, however, is notably different. Bach kept in his library only sets of performance parts (A-Wgm, XI 36364 and XI 36308), while the scores were already missing some time before his death. The autograph note “Ohne Partitur” on the title pages of the keyboard parts probably stems from the 1770s.

### The Genesis of Wq 71 and 72

Stylistically, the trio Wq 71 stands apart from the subsequent works. Only its first movement displays a genuine trio texture, while the second movement seems to originate from an earlier model for one melody line (violin) and continuo. The treble part of the keyboard is rhythmically and melodically completely dependent on either the violin part, which it frequently doubles in thirds, or the continuo part, which in two instances it reinforces in upper tenths (mm. 36 and 40). The third movement displays the style of a passionate slow aria with a highly expressive melody line (violin), an ostinato figure in the bass, and a motivically elaborated accompaniment in the right hand of the keyboard. The fourth movement, finally, is a minuet with trio, a unique feature in the trio repertoire.

The opening of Minuet I consists of a melody line that is strangely distributed between the violin and the right hand of the keyboard. It is reminiscent of the Minuet in the flute sonata BWV 1033, a work that at least in part goes

back to a sonata by Christoph Förster. The only surviving source for BWV 1033 is a copy in the hand of the young C.P.E. Bach (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 460), which attributes the work to J.S. Bach; it can be dated on the basis of the paper and characteristics of Bach's handwriting to the year 1731. This date and the stylistic similarities make it possible that BWV 1033 served as a direct model for the first minuet of Wq 71. Minuet II is virtually identical with the trio of Wq 189/4. Altogether, the trio Wq 71 makes the impression of a pasticcio, assembled from different sources.

The house copy of Wq 71 dates from Bach's early years in Hamburg. Its copyist (Anon. 310) also wrote the calligraphic score of Bach's first Hamburg keyboard concerto Wq 41 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 353, fascicle III), composed in 1769. In addition, the hand of Anon 310 can be found in the original parts of the symphony Wq 176 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 235), the keyboard concerto Wq 38 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 540), and the Sonatina Wq 102 (D-Hs, ND VI 34720, fascicle III). All these materials also date from Bach's first years in Hamburg.

The only source of Wq 71 that predates the house copy is a set of parts (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 262) from the collection of countess Friederike Wilhelmine Albertine of Schaumburg-Lippe-Alverdissen (1736–63). The source is dated 1758 and, particularly in the minuet, shows a significant number of different readings. It remains unclear whether the dates given in NV 1790 are correct or whether

they refer only to portions of the work. The genesis of Wq 71 requires closer inspection, but one conclusion is inevitable: Bach added the piece into his catalogue of trios only at a significantly later point.

The house copy of Wq 72 is in the hand of the Berlin copyist Anon. 303. This scribe can be identified (on the basis of two letters) as the organist of the Neue Kirche, Johann Friedrich Kaufmann (c. 1728–98).<sup>10</sup> Kaufmann worked for Bach probably only for a short span of time in the late 1750s; later on he apparently dealt with manuscript music. There is only one source that permits insight into the early history of Wq 72. A set of parts in the hand of the Berlin violinist August Kohne (1732–1801), now in US-Wc, M422.A2 B13, transmits the work with a scoring identical to that of the trios Wq 143–148 (“Flauto Traverso | Violino | con | Basso e Cembalo”). Although this manuscript itself dates from the time after 1768 (Bach’s name appears with the title “Mæstro di Capella | a | Hambourg”), it is an important piece of evidence as Kohne notes on the title pages some information about his exemplar: “ex partibus Monsr: Kauffman.”<sup>11</sup> This note certainly refers to J.F. Kaufmann, as Kohne was the violin teacher of Kaufmann’s son Johann Carl Kaufmann (1766–1808).<sup>12</sup>

We may then assume that Kaufmann, probably during the time he worked for Bach, had access to a now-lost earlier version of Wq 72. This was most likely not the original Leipzig trio of 1731, but the “renewed” version of 1747. We may thus assume that the trio sonata version of Wq 72 (= H 596) is the now-missing no. 1 in Bach’s work list.<sup>13</sup>

### A Collection of Six Trios?

A collection of six works, all in the same genre and scored for the same instruments, invites speculation about an opus intended for publication. In 1747, Bach had published two sets of highly ambitious keyboard sonatas (the “Prussian” and the “Württemberg” Sonatas, Wq 48–49, respec-

tively) as well as one representative keyboard concerto (Wq 11); aiming at distinguishing himself as a composer experienced in a wide array of genres, he must have had an interest in documenting his skills to a wider audience, particularly his mastery of the intricate genre of strict contrapuntal trio composition. We do not know why these plans were never realized.<sup>14</sup>

We can also only speculate why the trio H 596 was later removed from this series and why the apparent original scoring was given up. One reason is obvious: it must have been unsuitable to have two pieces in the key of D minor in the set (H 596 and Wq 145). In addition, H 596 (like Wq 71) shows undeniable traces of having been pieced together from various sources.

Hitherto unnoticed, an early version of the first movement of H 596 (Wq 72) survives as the trio in D minor for organ H 352/Wq n.v. 66 (see example 2). Two of the three surviving copies of this piece are in the hand of J.F. Kaufmann (D-B, Am.B. 505 and P 1151); the third was copied by Carl Volkmar Bertuch, organist of the Petrikirche in Berlin (D-B, SA 3479). If we assume that H 352 was originally a presumably early genuine organ work by Bach, this would explain why the composer did not destroy it immediately after he had incorporated a revised version into a trio sonata in 1747, but in fact consented in its distribution. Even more striking is the observation that the second movement of H 596 represents a thoroughly revised and varied version of the second movement of BWV 1036, which also served as a model for Wq 145/i (see example 3). Some melodic features from BWV 1036/ii are also found in H 596/iii and Wq 145/iv.<sup>15</sup> Thus H 596 and Wq 145 not only share the same key, they are also partly derived from the same model. The stylistic and source-critical evidence presented here in the shortest possible form yield wide-reaching consequences for our understanding of Bach’s revisions of his early Leipzig works.

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10. I discuss the identity of Anon. 303 in my article, “Zur Identifizierung des Berliner Kopisten Anonymus 303,” forthcoming in *BJ* (2022). For Kaufmann’s biography, see Curt Sachs, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Berlin bis zum Jahre 1800* (Berlin: Paetel, 1908): 183 and 212–13.

11. On Kohne and this source see Peter Wollny, “On Miscellaneous American Bach Sources,” in *Bach Perspectives* 5, ed. Stephen Crist (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002): 131–50, especially 149–50.

12. See Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1812–14), vol. 3, col. 22–23.

13. The trio sonata version of Wq 72 (H 596) is published in CPEB: CW, VIII/8. The final version of Wq 72 differs not only in instrumentation but also in its exchange of the two fast movements.

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14. Perhaps the trios nos. 8–13 (Wq 149–155) were originally intended to form a second collection of six works (four for flute and violin, and two for two violins).

15. On the relation of BWV 1036 and Wq 145, see Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 176; see also Christoph Wolff, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Trio in d-Moll (BWV 1036/Wq 145),” *BJ* (2009): 177–90.

Adagio

Organo

Adagio ma non troppo

Violino

Cembalo

5

EXAMPLE 2. Comparison of H 352 and Wq 72/i, mm. 1-8

BWV 1036/ii

Allegro

Vn

Cemb

H 596/ii

Allegro moderato

Vn

Fl

Bc

EXAMPLE 3. Comparison of BWV 1036/ii and H 596/ii, mm. 1–5

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*Peter Wollny*