

INTRODUCTION

General Remarks

The three volumes of CPEB: CW, series VII comprise the two parts of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's treatise, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (hereafter *Versuch*), and a volume of commentary. Series VII is unique within CPEB: CW as it is the only series reproducing predominantly textual works instead of musical ones. The editorial approach, however, remains the same: the text of the original is presented in a critical edition (here the original is German prose rather than musical notation), and the commentary (in part III) is given in English.

The *Versuch* as a bibliographic entity is about as complex as anything produced in the eighteenth century. The two parts were published separately, nearly a decade apart, each initially as a self-publication by the author. *Versuch I* (Wq 254, H 868) originally appeared in 1753, and consisted of two physical components: the text itself, typeset on 135 numbered pages, and a twenty-eight-page engraved supplement, on much larger sheets, containing the musical examples. *Versuch II* (Wq 255, H 870) appeared in 1762, by which time the technology of musical typesetting had advanced sufficiently to allow for the combination of text and music on the same page, thus eliminating the need to print the musical examples in a separate engraved supplement (although Bach did include a single-page *Fantasia*, Wq 117/14, as an engraved sheet at the end of *Versuch II*; see plate 12; plates for parts I and II are in CPEB: CW, VII/3). These three components—*Versuch I*, its musical supplement, and *Versuch II*—were reprinted and expanded, usually independently of each other, throughout Bach's lifetime and beyond. The complete publication history of the *Versuch* is given below.¹

The supplement to *Versuch I* originally consisted of two parts: six pages (called "Tabulae" and numbered I–VI by Bach) of short musical examples that

1. Bach usually referred in the plural to his "Versuche" when discussing both volumes together, and his "first" and "second" *Versuch* when referring to a single volume. We will generally use the term "*Versuch*" to mean the entire bibliographic entity, "*Versuch I*" to refer to the first volume, "*Versuch II*" to refer to the second volume, and "*Versuch* supplement" to refer to the supplemental material.

illustrate specific points raised in the main text, followed by eighteen composed pieces that offer practical demonstrations of the principles espoused in the *Versuch*. Bach referred to these “demonstration” pieces as “Probestücke,” and he grouped the eighteen pieces into six sonatas of three movements each (Wq 63/1–6, published in CPEB: CW, I/3). This resulted in the somewhat cumbersome phraseology on the title page: “with examples and eighteen demonstration pieces in six sonatas” (mit Exempeln und achtzehn Probe-Stücken in sechs Sonaten). In order to provide practice in as many keys as possible, Bach set each of the eighteen “Probestücke” in a different tonality, and therefore none of the six sonatas is tonally closed since the first and third movements are never in the same key. The “Probestücke” also increase rapidly in difficulty—so much so that Bach received complaints that the later pieces were beyond the abilities of all but the most advanced students. This led Bach to compose six new pieces (which he called both “sechs neue Clavier-Stücke” and “VI Sonatine nuove”) that were considerably simpler and that were added to the *Versuch* supplement in 1787. The “sechs neue Clavier-Stücke” (Wq 63/7–12) are also published in CPEB: CW, I/3, and the entire *Versuch* supplement is published in facsimile in CPEB: CW, VII, Supplement. The engraved Fantasia from *Versuch* II (Wq 117/14) is published in CPEB: CW, I/8.1.

Conception

The *Versuch* reflects Bach’s vast experience as a student, a practitioner, and a teacher of keyboard skills, and represents the culmination of his lifelong (and thoroughly enlightened) desire to raise the general level of performance and musicianship. The text, music examples, and “Probestücke” of the *Versuch* follow a methodologically integrated and well-designed conception that is apparent in its systematic outline, in the many examples, and numerous cross-references, as well as in the increasing difficulty of the “Probestücke” that illustrate a large variety of performance issues discussed in the text. The first volume is complete in itself—in fact its first-edition title page makes no reference to its being a volume 1, suggesting that there were no concrete plans for a second volume at the time—but it is only complete with the musical supplement. That later publishers and editors sometimes distributed the *Versuch* without the “Probestücke” or even the examples is therefore unfortunate.

In contrast to Johann Joachim Quantz and Leopold Mozart, C.P.E. Bach did not dedicate his treatise to his royal employer, but instead addressed his audience of musical amateurs and professionals directly in the prefaces to both parts of the *Versuch*. His experiences as a keyboard teacher, as a member of the Prussian court orchestra under Friedrich II, and above all as a student of his father (to whom he gives due credit in the *Versuch* and in his letters) form the background of the *Versuch*. When he introduces a new topic, Bach often emphasizes the significance of experience—an argument that reflects the growing influence of empiricism on the German enlightenment.² Over the years, C.P.E. Bach apparently collected many of the musical examples used in the *Versuch* from actual pieces. In *Versuch* II:3.2, §4 he talks about “peculiar examples that I found” (sonderbare Exempel, die ich gefunden habe).

While one can trust Bach’s remarks that his advice is firmly rooted in practice and oral tradition rather than in books, it is clear that he carefully studied other published treatises; and when he disagreed with their author’s views he reacted in his own book with implicit and explicit criticism. Bach generally held French keyboard music in high esteem,³ and he was, of course, familiar with both Couperin’s famous treatise⁴ and its free translation into German that Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg had recently published.⁵ In fact, Marpurg acknowledged that Bach played a major role in its preparation with regard to fingerings and other matters: “As I took advice from other authors and discussed various subjects with several virtuosos, especially with our famous Bach, small additions have been made to this work in several places. I used the well-founded method of this man [Bach] especially for the fingering in some runs.”⁶ Still,

2. See, for example, *Versuch* I:Einleitung, §8 and §9 (note); I:1, §4 and §97; I:2.1, §13; I:2.2, §1; I:3, §1 and especially *Versuch* II:Vorrede.

3. See, for example, *Versuch* I:Einleitung, §4.

4. François Couperin, *L’Art de toucher le Clavecin* (Paris, 1716).

5. Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Die Kunst, das Clavier zu spielen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1751). Marpurg makes no attempt to hide the liberties he took in his translation: “I should mention here that I didn’t follow this man [Couperin] slavishly word for word. Occasionally my own thoughts and examples have been added.” (Dieses muß ich hiebey erinnern, daß ich diesem Mann [Couperin] nicht durchgängig von Wort zu Wort gefolget bin. Es sind hin und wieder meine eigene Gedancken und Exempel hinzugekommen.) Marpurg, [4].

6. “Da ich auch andere Scribenten zu Rathe gezogen, und mich mit einigen Virtuosen, insbesondere unserm berühmten Bach über einige Punkte unterredet habe: so ist auch hiedurch an

Bach criticizes what he considered awkward fingerings in Couperin, “who is so thorough otherwise” (*Versuch* I:1, §88) and fingerings in certain “keyboard instructions recently published elsewhere” (*Versuch* I:1, §84).⁷ The latter side-swipe probably targets, among others, keyboard treatises by Philipp Christoph Hartung (1735) and Johann Mattheson (1749).⁸ In the *Versuch*, Bach provides not only modern, dexterous fingerings but also the most systematic and flexible treatment of this subject in the entire keyboard literature hitherto. The *Versuch* does pay tribute to Couperin’s and Marpurg’s books in its own title: as a “Versuch” (usually translated as “essay” the word also has the sense of “attempt” or “experiment”) in the “Art” (manner/way) of keyboard playing, its title modestly avoids Marpurg’s proper translation of Couperin’s “art” as “Kunst.” At the same time, “wahre Art” self-consciously implies Bach’s ambition to rectify these and other predecessors.

Bach even took aim, although somewhat covertly, at his colleague Quantz in a long and digressive footnote to §9 of the Einleitung in *Versuch* I.⁹ Probably written shortly before Bach sent his manuscript to the printer, the footnote criticizes Quantz’s remarks on keyboard accompaniment in his own recently

einigen Oertern dem Wercke ein kleiner Zusatz erwachsen. Insbesondere habe ich mich bey der Fingerordnung in einigen Tonläuffen der gegründeten Methode dieses Mannes bedienet.” Ibid. Marpurg dropped this reference to Bach in his later editions, i.e., after Bach had published his own essay on keyboard playing.

7. “. . . in unsern jetzigen Tagen, auswärts heraus gekommenen Anweisungen zum Clavier-Spielen.” See also *Versuch* I:2.4, §30.

8. Hartung’s treatise, which he published in 1749 in Nuremberg under the name P.C. Humano, was entitled *Musicus Theoretico-Practicus* (Nuremberg, 1749). In the second part of this publication, Hartung recommends one fingering (1-2-3-1-2-3-4-5, right hand, ascending) for C major, D major, E major, F-sharp major(!), G major, A major, and B major; and another fingering (1-2-3-4-5-3-4-5) astonishingly for C-sharp major, E-flat major, F major, A-flat major, and B-flat major (see his examples IX and X). Hartung also recommends alternating the second and third fingers in ascending scales (figure XIV), and his exercises nos. XLIX–LI demonstrate rapid exchange of all five fingers in both hands on repeated tones, all of which could have provoked Bach’s mocking remarks. Bach might have acquired a copy of Hartung’s treatise through his close ties to publishers in Nuremberg, where his “Prussian” and “Württemberg” Sonatas, the keyboard concertos Wq 11 and Wq 25, and the trio sonatas Wq 161 had all recently appeared. In his *Kleine Generalbass-Schule* (Hamburg, 1735), 72, Mattheson recommends the fingering 5-4-3-2-3-2-3-2 for descending C major scales in the right hand.

9. If Bach’s use of the spelling “kann” in this footnote (instead of the earlier form “kan” that he uses more frequently in the main text) is indicative, this footnote, as well as his discussion of the mordent (*Versuch* I:2.5), may have been written at a later stage than the rest of the text.

published *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*.¹⁰ As the principal accompanist at court, Bach worked closely with Friedrich II and his flute teacher Quantz, who held a higher position in the ranks and was supposedly the only musician who had the privilege to criticize Friedrich's playing.¹¹

Bach's criticism of outdated rules for playing from unfigured bass lines (*Versuch* II:1 and 35) was a necessary consequence of the refined accompaniment required by the advanced style of contemporary music and its increasing distribution to amateur keyboard players. Aside from differences in taste and technical issues, the *Versuch* reveals Bach's awareness of historical change (see, e.g., *Versuch* I:1.3, §1; II:Einleitung, §10, §18; II:15,§10) to a degree that is exceptional in contemporaneous literature on performance practice.

Publication History

In early 1752, Bach announced his plans to publish the *Versuch* by the end of that year, and issued a call for subscriptions in several north German learned journals:

10. Quantz, Johann Joachim, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752). In order to avoid confusion between Bach's *Versuch* and Quantz's *Versuch*, and to distinguish between Quantz the person and Quantz the treatise, we will hereafter refer to the treatise as "Quantz 1752." Bach also disagrees with Quantz on the "hässliche Nachschläge" (*Versuch* I:2.2, §25, and *Versuch* I:3, §27 vs. Quantz 1752, Hauptstück VIII, §5–6 and the examples in Quantz's Tab. VI—not Tab. IV as in Quantz's erroneous reference), and on the performance of triplets against dotted notes (*Versuch* I:3, §27 vs. Quantz 1752, Hauptstück V, §. 22).

11. A joke said to have been circulating at the time, which the king himself apparently enjoyed, was that Madame Quantz's lap dog was the most powerful creature in the kingdom: Madame Quantz feared the dog, Quantz feared his wife, and the king feared Quantz. Carl Friedrich Zelter recounted the joke in a speech he gave before the Prussian royal family on 17 August 1809—the twenty-third anniversary of the death of Frederick the Great. Zelter attributes the joke to C. P. E. Bach himself. See Ellen Exner, "The Forging of a Golden Age: King Frederick the Great and Music for Berlin, 1732 to 1756" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2010), for an English translation of the speech. The original German is reproduced in Zelter's *Selbstdarstellung*, ed. Willi Reich (Zürich: Manesse, 1955), 136–44. The excerpt describing the joke reads: "So gab er [CPEB] einst einigen Freunden das Räthsel auf: 'Was ist das fürchterlichste Thier in der preussischen Monarchie?'—und da Niemand das Räthsel errieth, sagte endlich Bach: 'Das ist der Schoosshund der Mad. Quanz; er ist so fürchterlich, dass sich sogar Mad. Quanz davor fürchtet, vor dieser aber fürchtet sich Hr. Quanz und vor diesem selbst der grösste Monarch der Erde.' Der König erfuhr diesen Scherz durch den Marquis d'Argens, lachte darüber und sagte: 'Hütet Euch ja, mein lieber Marquis, dass Quanz diese Geschichte nicht erfährt, sonst jagt er uns Alle aus dem Dienst.'"

Treatise on the proper method of playing the keyboard. By C. F. Bach,
Royal Prussian Chamber Musician.

This instructive work is planned for publication in Berlin. In it the author demonstrates the only proper way of fingering, and shows by means of certain symbols the ornaments that are to be added while playing, and everything in such a way that an amateur can understand even without private lessons, and can comfortably play pieces by such masters who do not employ these symbols. He also treats all of the characteristics of keyboard instruments, which he illustrates with examples, and adds six comprehensive sonatas in which various tonalities, note types, metrical changes, and idiomatic passages are presented along with appropriate ornaments and with fingerings on every note. Everything is so clearly arranged, moreover, that even the most difficult movements can be managed with but little effort and can be played on keyboards not exceeding the usual four-octave range. Pre-orders for this treatise will be accepted at 3 Reichstaler until Michaelmas of this year, with the copies to be delivered by Christmas, after which, however, copies will not be available for under 5 Reichstaler.¹²

The *Versuch* was Bach's first work that he published by advance subscription—that is, the money (or at least the promise of payment) that he collected in advance from subscribers was used to underwrite the production costs. He would use the same technique to publish many of his compositions later in his Hamburg period. The *Versuch*, however, was not the first publishing enterprise of this kind that Bach attempted. In 1751 he had advertised in some of the same journals the publication by subscription of his father's *Kunst der Fuge* as a model for teaching counterpoint, even while he was preparing his own instructions on keyboard playing for publication.¹³ If we agree with Peter Schleuning that the *Fantasia* in C Minor (Wq 63/6), the final and most sophisticated of the “Probestücke,” laments the death of J. S. Bach in 1750—a hypothesis supported by Wolfgang Wiemer—Bach's *Versuch* may be his ambitious counterpart in the modern, galant style to his father's legacy in the strict style.¹⁴ The

12. For the original German see plate 13. The text presented here is taken from the *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit*, ed. J. C. Dähner (Greifswald, 7 May 1752), but essentially the same advertisement appeared in other journals as well, including ones in Leipzig and Hamburg, beginning in February 1752. See *Bach-Dokumente* III, 622.

13. See Thomas Wilhelm, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs ‘Avertissement’ über den Druck der *Kunst der Fuge*,” *BJ* 78 (1992): 101–105.

14. Peter Schleuning, *Die Freie Fantasie—Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung der klassischen Klaviermusik* (Göppingen: A. Kümmerle, 1973); Wolfgang Wiemer, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs *Fantasia* in c-Moll—ein Lamento auf den Tod des Vaters?” *BJ* 74 (1988): 163–177.

Kunst der Fuge and the *Versuch* are connected furthermore by the network of subscription agents, knitted together from relatives, friends and colleagues,¹⁵ as well as by the engravers Johann Georg and Johann Heinrich Schübler in Zella, two brothers who were involved in both projects.¹⁶ The engraved plates for the *Kunst der Fuge* had been produced in the Schübler shop in Zella, as were most of the plates for the *Versuch* supplement. The last “Probestück” and the music examples were done, however, by a different, unidentified engraver, whose relationship to the Schübler brothers is unknown. It was probably the engraving of the plates for the supplement that delayed the publication of the *Versuch* until early 1753. J.H. Schübler apparently gave up engraving entirely in early 1753 to become a teacher and organist, which may have necessitated handing the job off to the unidentified engraver to finish the particularly difficult preparation of the C minor fantasia and the music examples.¹⁷

Bach finally published *Versuch* I in early 1753. The court printer Christian Friedrich Henning, who had also prepared Marpurg’s *Kunst das Clavier zu spielen* in 1751, printed the text. Along with it, Bach distributed the six “Tabulae” and the “Probestücke” on separate sheets. Composers such as Kuhnau, Heinichen, Sorge, and J.S. Bach had published their own works before, and C.P.E. Bach was also certainly aware of Telemann’s success in this line of business. By assuming the role of self-publisher, Bach had to hire a printer and an engraver, pay the production costs, advertise the book, store all the copies and organize their distribution. He sold the *Versuch* through his personal and business connections, and kept all copies (like most of his printed music as well) on unbound and untrimmed sheets at his Berlin home. His customers would take their stack of paper to a bookbinder, if they wished to have it bound into a book.

15. These included: CPEB’s stepmother Anna Magdalena in Leipzig; his brother-in-law Johann Christoph Altnikol in Naumburg; his godfather Georg Philipp Telemann in Hamburg; Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim in Halberstadt, some of whose poems Bach set to music; and the Nuremberg printer Balthasar Schmidt, who issued several works by members of the Bach family.

16. Wolfgang Wiemer, “Johann Heinrich Schübler, der Stecher der Kunst der Fuge,” *BJ* 65 (1979): 75–95. Johann Heinrich was the younger brother of Johann Georg Schübler, who had engraved parts of JSB’s *Musikalische Opfer* (BWV 1079) and the “Schübler” chorales (BWV 645–650).

17. See CPEB: CW, I/3, 163–66 for a more detailed discussion of the engraving of the plates.

The fact that a second edition of *Versuch* I appeared already in 1759 speaks for the publication's success. For this second edition another Berlin printer, Georg Ludewig Winter, printed the text, while Bach continued to serve as publisher. Winter compressed the layout, changed the vignettes, and corrected the errors that had already been listed on an errata sheet at the end of the first edition. Bach also used the opportunity of a new edition to make a few tacit changes, e.g. in his instruction on the *Pralltriller* (*Versuch* I:2.3, §30) and the *Schneller* (*Versuch* I:2.8, §8). The new title page identifies the volume as an "erster Theil" (see plate 2), indicating that by this time Bach was committed to bringing out the second part.

Versuch II (Wq 255) appeared in 1762, again published at Bach's own expense in Berlin. It deals with thorough-bass accompaniment and improvisation, i.e. matters of keyboard playing that Bach had explicitly excluded from *Versuch* I.¹⁸ Bach had advertised part two in the spring of 1760, calling for subscriptions and announcing the volume's planned availability for the Leipzig fall book fair.¹⁹ Again, he used the services of Winter, the printer of the second edition of *Versuch* I. But once again delays occurred and Bach's subscribers had to be patient. The imprint of *Versuch* II is finally dated 1762, although both Bach's autobiography and NV 1790 date the publication of the volume to 1761. In 1785, Bach recalled: "Winter was a laggard and printed more or less, depending on whether he had paper or not."²⁰ But the lack of paper for a text almost three times as long as *Versuch* I may have been caused by the Seven Years' War rather than by Winter's laziness. For *Versuch* II Bach was able to make use of the "beautiful invention of musical typography" (die schöne Erfindung der Drucknoten, *Versuch* II: Vorrede), which enabled the printer to place all the music examples directly within the text itself, immediately following the referring paragraph. Although not "invented" by Breitkopf, printing music by means of moveable type first became truly practical around 1755, when Breitkopf introduced his major improvements to the technology.²¹ Since Bach clearly

18. "Es wird hier weder von der Art zu fantasiren, noch von dem Generalbasse gehandelt werden." *Versuch* I: Vorrede.

19. *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und Gelehrten Sachen*, no. 44 (1760); cf. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:106.

20. "Winter war ein Tändelmatz u. machte ungleiche Auflagen, nachdem er Papier, oder keins hatte." Bach's letter to Breitkopf, 23 July 1785, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1081–88; *CPEB-Letters*, 228–32.

21. The first known instance of music typography actually appeared several centuries earlier:

preferred having the musical examples right next to their discussion in the text, the present edition integrates all the examples of *Versuch* I into the text as well.

When he moved from Berlin to Hamburg in 1768, Bach took the entire remaining stock of the *Versuch* with him and advertised it as being for sale at his new home in the Böhmenstraße.²² Despite his statement at the end of his life that he always preferred to sell his works directly to his customers, he began looking for ways to rid himself of the burdens of selling the *Versuch* in this manner. He asked local book dealers, in vain, to sell the *Versuch* on commission.

Bach apparently first asked his longtime reliable business partner Breitkopf to take the *Versuch* off his hands, an offer which Breitkopf turned down. Bach then approached another printer and bookseller in Leipzig, Engelhardt Benjamin Schwickert. Schwickert had contacted Bach in 1778 inquiring about the possibility of publishing something by Bach, and the composer offered him the four *Orchester-Sinfonien*, Wq 183. Before doing so, however, Bach first made sure that Breitkopf would not be upset by his dealings with a Leipzig competitor, and half-heartedly offered the symphonies to Breitkopf, who declined. Despite some initial difficulties with Schwickert during the production of the *Orchester-Sinfonien*, and a delay of nearly a year in bringing them out,²³ Bach was apparently comfortable enough with Schwickert to offer him the rights to the *Versuch* sometime in the first half of 1780. Included in the offer were the entire stock of already printed books, the plates needed to print the supplement, and a promise of new material should Schwickert ever issue a new edition.²⁴ Schwickert accepted, and in late May 1780 a shipment with 257 copies of *Versuch* I, 564 copies of *Versuch* II, 50 copies of the engraved supplement to part I, 500 copies of the engraved Fantasia for part II, and the 27 printing plates for the engraved material (all carefully packed by Bach's Hamburg publisher Herold) left Hamburg for Leipzig.²⁵

Ulrich Hahn's *Missale Romanum* (Rome, 1476), but the technology was not economically viable until Breitkopf presented his improved typesets in 1755.

22. See Wiermann 2000, 147. The ad first appeared in *HUC* (8 June 1768).

23. See the discussion of the publication of Wq 183 in *CPEB: CW*, III/3, xii–xiv.

24. See Bach's letter to Schwickert from 10 April 1780, *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:829–31; *CPEB-Letters*, 159–60.

25. See Bach's letter to Schwickert from 19 May 1780, *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:840–41; *CPEB-Letters*, 162–64. The 27 engraved plates, which were sent in a new, specially built box, consisted of the 20

Schwickert immediately began selling the remaining stock, but naturally with new title pages that reflected the new circumstances. The title pages are dated 1780 and list Schwickert as the publisher, even though what was inside were still the 1759 and 1762 Winter editions, naturally stripped of their original title pages. Such repackaging (“Titelaufgaben” in German) was not uncommon in the eighteenth century and was easy to do because books were stored and sold as stacks of unbound signatures. While the 1780 title pages do correctly identify the two volumes as the second and first editions, respectively (i.e., Winter’s second and first editions), the change of date and publisher on the title pages has caused considerable bibliographic confusion.²⁶ Schwickert announced the availability of the *Versuch* in the catalogue of the Leipzig fall book fair for 1780, which seems to have unleashed a wave of public anxiety, prompting Bach to take out an ad in various newspapers explaining that he had, in fact, sold the *Versuch* to Schwickert, and that the announcement in the book fair catalogue was legitimate.²⁷

By 1787 Schwickert had run out of the original stock of *Versuch* I that he had purchased from Bach seven years earlier. In planning a new edition, he remembered Bach’s offer of new material, and naturally wanted to include it as part of a “new and improved” package (he also wanted to include an engraving of Bach, something that Bach talked him out of, arguing that he had been badly

plates for the “Probestücke,” 6 plates for the music examples to *Versuch* I, and the single plate for the Fantasia in D Major from *Versuch* II.

26. In 1958, Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 345, described the 1780 copies as “third” and “second” editions of *Versuch* I and II, respectively. Helm, 231, calls these copies “reprints” and consequently misidentifies *Versuch* I (1787) as “not a 3rd edn., contrary to the title p.” Wiermann, 267, calls *Versuch* I (1780) a “third edition of part one, that is however, an unaltered reprint of its second edition” (die dritte Auflage des ersten Teils, die allerdings einen unveränderten Nachdruck der zweiten Auflage derstellt). Horn 1994, xiii, attempts to explain the extreme similarity of Schwickert’s 1780 offerings with Winter’s 1759 and 1762 editions by suggesting that Schwickert took great pains to duplicate Winter’s layout exactly (“Druckbildübernahme”), which would have been technically impossible and certainly pointless in 1780. Further confusing the matter is the inclusion in RISM of “1789” editions of *Versuch* I and II. These listings are based on single exemplars in Houghton Library at Harvard University. There, Schwickert’s date “1780” on both parts has been carefully and convincingly changed by hand to “1789,” presumably by an unscrupulous second-hand book dealer attempting to increase their value. Only examination under magnification was able to reveal the altered date.

27. Wiermann 2000, 262.

portrayed often enough).²⁸ Bach already may have been considering some kind of expansion as early as 1753, when he prefaced the text of *Versuch* I by saying: “If reasonable connoisseurs acclaim the present work, I would be encouraged to continue it at some point with several amendments.”²⁹ Likewise, Bach wrote about further material in the preface to *Versuch* II, in particular regarding the last chapter on improvisation.³⁰ Over the years Bach compiled additional notes to both parts, and even had specific plans to publish them himself before he sold everything to Schwickert: “One will be able to see from the additions to my text books that will appear in the future that I included nothing superfluous there, but did not yet say everything.”³¹ The burdens of his official duties may have delayed the project but, as we have seen, he offered Schwickert new material as an inducement to close the sale of the *Versuch* in 1780. He also promised to compose new keyboard compositions for future editions. As Schwickert’s supply of *Versuch* I copies dropped to the point where he needed to start making plans for a new edition, however, Bach seems to have had second thoughts on both accounts. He argued that the new material he had mentioned earlier consisted mainly of attacks on authors of other treatises, and since they were now dead he did not wish to publish attacks on people who could no longer defend themselves.³² As for the promise of new compositions, Schwickert seemed to think what Bach had proposed was another set of sonatas on the

28. See Bach’s letter to Schwickert, 27 January 1786, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1139–42; *CPEB-Letters*, 244–45.

29. “Sollte gegenwärtiges Werck bey vernünftigen Kennern einigen Beyfall finden: so würde ich dadurch angereizt werden, dasselbe mit der Zeit, vermittelst einiger Beyträge, fortzusetzen.” *Versuch* I: Vorrede. This passage has also been interpreted to mean that Bach was already considering the possibility of publishing *Versuch* II, but the phrase “vermittelst einiger Beyträge” more likely refers to additional material for *Versuch* I.

30. Cf. *Versuch* II: Vorrede. In fact, Bach’s single largest addition in the second edition of *Versuch* II is a new paragraph in the last chapter (an addition that is unfortunately lacking in Mitchell).

31. “Aus den Beyträgen zu meinen Lehrbüchern, welche künftig erscheinen werden, wird man sehen, daß ich nichts Ueberflüssiges, sondern noch nicht alles gesagt habe.” Wiermann, 78. The quote is taken from a lengthy letter that Bach had published in *HUC* (12 January 1773), in which he defends himself from charges that the *Versuch* was too rambling and not entirely suitable for beginners, charges that were leveled against him by Georg Michael Telemann in the announcement of his own *Unterricht im Generalbaß-Spielen*. See Wiermann, 79.

32. Bach to Schwickert, 18 February 1783, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:953–61; *CPEB-Letters*, 190–92.

scale of the “Probestücke,” to which Bach now replied that such an undertaking would be far too massive for the audience and for the budget.³³

Schwickert had perhaps irritated Bach somewhat by suggesting not only an expanded new edition of the *Versuch*, but also an improved version. Bach replied bluntly that an improvement “is not possible. The text is as precisely thought through as it can be. The enlargement may be done if you wish.”³⁴ Indeed, Bach did not substantially change any of his earlier views; his corrections in the notation of the *Mordent* and the dotted *Anschlag* are minor exceptions. Eventually Bach and Schwickert worked out the scope and details of the new material (including the extent of the new pieces), and Schwickert was free to begin the production of the new edition.

Most likely Schwickert received Bach’s additions to both *Versuch* I and *Versuch* II in the summer of 1786 (even though at that time Schwickert still had an adequate supply of *Versuch* II on hand). Precise details of the transaction may have been included in two now-lost letters from the summer of 1786, in which Bach wrote to Schwickert about the new edition of the *Versuch*.³⁵ Schwickert had the entire text of *Versuch* I reset (probably by Breitkopf, see below), but included only the newly added musical examples within the text. He continued to distribute the original musical examples and the “Probestücke” as a separate supplement, to which he now added the “Neue Clavier-Stücke,” newly composed by Bach and engraved by an unknown engraver (perhaps Schwickert relied again on Breitkopf for this aspect of production). Schwickert and Breitkopf probably shied away from the complete reorganization of part I that would have been necessary to incorporate all of the musical examples into the text. Since Schwickert had taken over the remaining stock of the supplement as well as the plates from Bach in 1780, he could hand out the remaining sheets and reprint the supplement from the old plates whenever he needed additional copies.

33. Bach to Schwickert, 27 January 1786, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1139–42; *CPEB-Letters*, 244–45.

34. “Diese ist nicht möglich. Der Text ist so scharf, als es seyn kann, durchgedacht. Die Vermehrung kann, wenn Sie wollen, geschehen.” Bach to Schwickert, 18 February 1783. *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:953–61; *CPEB-Letters*, 190–92.

35. Letters from Bach to Schwickert from 9 June 1786, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1157, and 4 August 1786, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1171; *CPEB-Letters*, 248. The general contents of these letters is known from descriptions of them in auction catalogues.

A manuscript containing Bach's additions to *Versuch I* is contained within an exemplar of Schwickert's 1787 edition now in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg (D-Hs, Scrin A 676). The exemplar is not Bach's house copy (as claimed in the catalogue of the antiquarian Hans Schneider) but a galley proof that had been corrected by Schwickert or one of his employees. The manuscript, entitled "Beyträge mit Exempeln zu C.Ph.E. Bachs ersten Theils seines Versuchs," was copied by Michel, Bach's main copyist in Hamburg, with some passages in Bach's own hand (see figure 1).³⁶ This most likely represents a fair copy prepared by Michel from Bach's notes, which Bach then revised himself in the typically shaky handwriting of his late years. A similar manuscript containing Bach's additions to *Versuch II*, which must have existed, is not known to have survived.

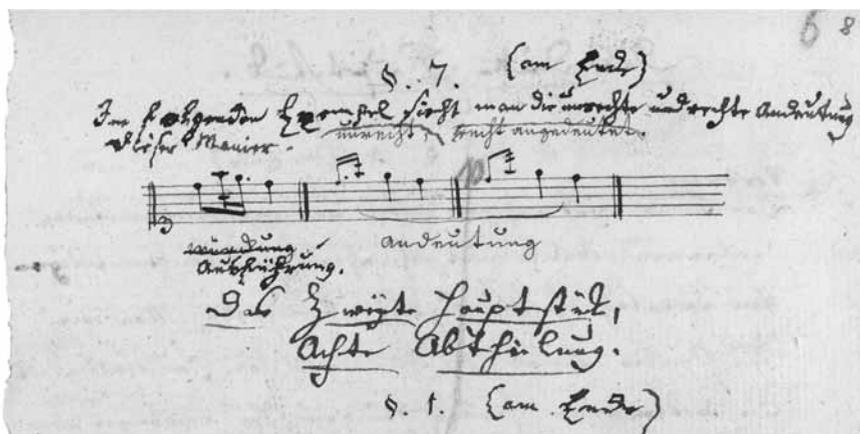


FIGURE 1. D-Hs, Scrin A 676

The notes found in the Hamburg manuscript were largely included by Schwickert in his 1787 edition of *Versuch I*. However, according to Bach's now-lost letter to Schwickert from 17 November 1787, Bach did not proofread this edition himself, and apparently Schwickert overlooked some details.³⁷ The gal-

36. Thus Ernst Schmid's description of the MS is not entirely accurate: "Ein Exemplar der letzteren Aufl. mit des Meisters eigenh. Korrekturen und Anmerkungen und einem hs. Anhang von 23 S. befand sich in Auktion Noel Charavay-Paris, 3. 4. 1925, vorher in Auktion Sotheby." MGG, s.v. "Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel."

37. See *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1242–44; *CPEB-Letters*, 274.

ley proofs confirm that some changes found in the 1787 edition originated in the Leipzig firm.³⁸

When Schwickert finally ran out of his original supply of *Versuch* II in 1797, he contracted with Breitkopf to print the new edition because Breitkopf was more experienced with typeset music examples. It is thus probable that Breitkopf rather than Schwickert printed the 1787 edition of *Versuch* I as well.³⁹ Schwickert's new edition of *Versuch* II also included additional material from Bach, but of course in 1797 Bach was no longer alive, so he was not able to proofread this edition either.

The engraved plates for the supplement seem to have remained in use as long as Schwickert needed them (with the exception of plate no. 20, mentioned above). Certainly none of the exemplars of the *Versuch* supplement inspected for this edition suggest that the plates had been re-engraved after 1780.⁴⁰ Indeed, many extant copies of *Versuch* I dated 1780 and later lack the engraved music altogether. This fact suggests that Schwickert may have been less concerned about the unity of the *Versuch* than Bach, who refused to sell the text without the *Probestücke* and the examples.

Based on the exact figures provided in Bach's letters, it is possible to approximate his sales and profits from the *Versuch*. Since we know how many copies Schwickert received in 1780, and that he had to publish new editions in 1787 and 1797, we can deduce that he must have sold on average respectively 47 and 38 copies per year of *Versuch* I and II after 1780.⁴¹ William J. Mitchell extrapolates from this that between 1,000 and 1,500 copies of each part would have been printed in Berlin.⁴² Although his assumptions can be debated, Mitchell's

38. For example, in *Versuch* I:Einleitung, § 9, the phrase "Festigkeit im Tacte" was written into the proofs by either Schwickert or one of his typesetters. Most likely, it was also Schwickert rather than Bach who modernized the orthography of the 1787 and 1797 editions. For a description of these changes see the critical report of the present edition.

39. It was also Breitkopf who had done the typesetting for Schwickert's edition of Bach's *Orchester-Sinfonien*, Wq 183. It may be, in fact, that Schwickert had no presses of his own and relied on Breitkopf for all matters of production.

40. See David Schulenberg's discussion of watermarks and engraving techniques in CPEB: CW, I/3, 153–66.

41. Annually to 2007, the Bärenreiter facsimile editions sold c. 550 copies of the *Versuch*, c. 500 copies of Quantz's *Versuch*, and c. 450 copies of Mozart's *Violinschule* (pers. comm. to author).

42. Mitchell, 3.

calculation may come close to the facts.⁴³ If Schwickert's sales numbers roughly reflect the general demand for the book on a linear basis, then total sales (Bach's plus Schwickert's) in the eighteenth century might be estimated at 2,350 copies of *Versuch* I and more than 1,440 copies of *Versuch* II.⁴⁴ However, constant sales figures seem unlikely. Certainly Bach distributed relatively more copies to his subscribers right off the press. Still, given that the second edition of *Versuch* I appeared already in 1759—and given the lasting and near-unanimous praise for the *Versuch* coupled with Bach's high reputation, spread even further by the growing musical press and by his published music in the Hamburg years—the demand for the *Versuch* probably tapered off only slightly after the initial printing, and thereafter did not fade much during the remainder of Bach's lifetime. Part two probably sold less well because it is considerably longer, it treats more specialized topics, and it requires part one (but not vice versa), and thus Schwickert only needed to republish it in 1797, well after Bach's death. Due to Schwickert's business connections in the publishing capital of Germany and to Bach's growing network of eventually 153 subscription agents in 66 European cities,⁴⁵ the demand for the *Versuch* probably rose again slightly in the 1780s. In any case, three years after he sold the remaining copies to Schwickert, Bach congratulated his partner on his good sales.⁴⁶ The fact that Bach even bought

43. Bach offered Schwickert 260 copies of part one and 564 copies of part two in a letter dated 10 April 1780. However, according to his letter from 19 May 1780, he sent only 254/560 copies to Leipzig and asked Johann Thielemann Cramer, a dealer in Gotha who had copies on commission, to mail his exemplars to Schwickert.

44. Bach consistently used the term "Kupfer-Platten" (copper plates) when referring to the plates used to print the *Versuch* supplement. It would be unusual, however, to get anywhere near 2,000 impressions from copper plates. Since apparently the same plates were used throughout the eighteenth century (except for the last page of the C-Minor Fantasia, which developed a crack and had to be re-engraved) and Bach says that he did not sell the book without the supplement, it is possible that the engravers used more durable pewter rather than copper plates.

45. Cf. Tobias Plebuch, "Veräußerte Musik: Öffentlichkeit und Musikalienmarkt im Zeitalter Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs" (Ph.D. dissertation, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 1996); Tobias Plebuch and Andrea Castillo: "Der Krieg, die Beamten und die Musik: Daniel Gottlob Türk's Preußisches Publikum," in *Daniel Gottlob Türk—Theoretiker, Komponist, Pädagoge und Musiker*, ed. Kathrin Eberl, Konstanze Musketa and Wolfgang Ruf (Halle: Händel-Haus, 2002), 43–80.

46. Letter from Bach to Schwickert, 18 February 1783, *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:953–61; *CPEB-Letters*, 190–92.

some copies back from Schwickert in order to distribute them in Hamburg confirms the persistent demand for the *Versuch* in the late eighteenth century.

The production costs for part one may have amounted to about eighty Reichstaler.⁴⁷ In addition, Bach had to pay for shipping, perhaps for the censor,⁴⁸ and in particular for the engraving and printing of the supplement. On the other hand, based just on the subscription price of three Reichstaler and the minimum estimate for sales before 1780, Bach may have had revenue of at least 3,000 Reichstaler for *Versuch* I alone before he sold the remaining stock of both parts in 1780 for 180 *Louis d'or* (or 900 Reichstaler). Given his annual salary as Prussian court musician of only 300 Reichstaler (raised in 1755 to 500), the *Versuch* was a lucrative, albeit burdensome, source of income for Bach.

Table I shows the important events in the publishing history of the *Versuch* in the eighteenth century.

Bach's Writing Style

The modernity of the *Versuch* is apparent in its literary as well as its musical style. Bach's prose style reveals him as a man of letters. No other major eighteenth-century composer was so well connected to so many literati. We are lucky that its author acquired a systematic method of presenting his ideas (and those of his father) and that he developed an appealing writing style during his years at the universities in Leipzig and Frankfurt an der Oder, and in the literary circles of the Prussian capital. C. P. E. Bach's writing is less learned and "baroque" than, say, Mattheson's and even quite elegant compared to the majority of eighteenth-century music literature. To be sure, there are contemporary texts on music that are easier to read than the *Versuch*, but very few German authors of the time were able to explain such intricate matters as accurately, comprehensively, and clearly as Bach. At times, he can even be poetic or funny:

47. Based on a calculation in Friedrich Kapp and Johann Goldfriedrich, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (Leipzig: Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels, 1908), 2:507–8.

48. In the early nineteenth century, one German publisher was assessed 8 Reichstaler 8 Groschen by the proofreader and the censor for a 25-signature book (*Versuch* I was printed on 16 signatures, *Versuch* II on 44 signatures). See Friedrich Schulze, *Der deutsche Buchhandel und die geistigen Strömungen der letzten hundert Jahre* (Leipzig: Börsenverein des deutschen Buchhandels, 1925), 95.

TABLE I. PUBLICATION HISTORY OF BACH'S *VERSUCH*

<i>Versuch I</i>				
Date	Edition	Publisher	Printer	Place
1753	First	CPEB	Henning	Berlin
1759	Second	CPEB	Winter	Berlin
1780 ^a	Second	Schwickert	Winter	Leipzig
1787	Third	Schwickert	Breitkopf?	Leipzig
<i>Versuch supplement</i>				
Date	Contents	Publisher	Engraver	Place
1753	T+P ^b	CPEB	Schübler	Berlin
1787?	T+P+S ^b	Schwickert	Schübler + Breitkopf?	Leipzig
<i>Versuch II</i>				
Date	Edition	Publisher	Printer	Place
1762	First	CPEB	Winter	Berlin
1780 ^a	First	Schwickert	Winter	Leipzig
1797	Second	Schwickert	Breitkopf	Leipzig

a. The 1780 "editions" were simply the 1759 and 1762 editions with new title pages.

b. T = Tabulae, P = Probestücke, S = Neue Clavier-Stücke

"Einige Personen spielen klebericht, als wenn sie Leim zwischen den Fingern hätten. [. . .] Andere haben es verbessern wollen, und spielen zu kurz; als wenn die Tasten glühend wären." (*Versuch I*:3, § 6: Some people play stickily as though they have glue between their fingers. [. . .] Others have tried to improve things and play too briefly as though on white-hot keys.) While the language of the *Versuch* reveals the individual mindset of its author, it also reflects general trends in German literature, music, and philosophy of the time. Comparisons of a performer to an orator; calls for simplicity, variety, and for a tasteful distribution of "light and shadow;" warnings against excessive use of ornaments; ideals of a "singing" instrumental style; notions that good playing could improve

even mediocre compositions; admonitions to express the composer's ideas and to be subjectively touched by the musical affects—these are all commonplaces in music literature of the eighteenth century. Even what is possibly the most famous statement of the *Versuch*—"One must play from the soul and not like a trained bird"⁴⁹—is a topos in the discourse on imitation versus expression that reflects ideas of enlightened anthropology.⁵⁰ Bach's prose is also influenced by linguistic societies that were promoting the use of German instead of Latin or Italian expressions: thus his use of *Schreibart* for notation; *Zeitmaß* for tempo; *hart* for Major, *Ausdruck* for expression; *Harfen-Bässe* for arpeggio, *Schleifen* for slurs; *stoßen* for staccato, *Achten* for octaves, etc. Even so, Bach's vocabulary can be highly specialized and sometimes outdated, such that even native German speakers may not easily understand some of his expressions today (thus the commentary provides a glossary of unfamiliar terms).

Influence and Reception

Bach's *Versuch* is arguably the most important treatise of its kind from the eighteenth century. Its widespread influence on keyboard literature in the second half of the century is evident from numerous quotations in other treatises and articles. Such usage often approached (and sometimes crossed) the line of plagiarism, leading to somewhat testy remarks from Bach himself. His complaint about "passages lifted from both parts of my *Versuch*, sometimes credited, sometimes not," (ausgerissene Stellen aus meinen Versuchen bald unter meinem Namen, bald ohne denselben) took aim at books such as Georg Michael Telemann's *Unterricht im Generalbaßspielen* and Georg Simon Löhlein's *Clavier-Schule* that borrowed from and simplified Bach's teachings.⁵¹ However,

49. *Versuch* I:3, § 7: "Aus der Seele muß man spielen, und nicht wie ein abgerichteter Vogel."

50. See Quantz 1752, Einleitung, 8. Dubos, in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, quotes Giovanni Vincenzo Gravina: "vocal music ought to imitate the natural language of the human passion, rather than the singing of canary birds." English translation (London, 1748), 376–78. In Herder's theory of language, the topos of the bird draws the line of distinction between an animal and a human child using his or her reason: "wenn es nicht wie ein Papagei bloß Worte ohne Gedanken sagen soll." Quoted in Peter Müller, ed., *Sturm und Drang. Weltanschauliche und ästhetische Schriften* (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1978), 1:153.

51. See Bach's note in *HUC* (1 December 1773); cf. also Christopher Hogwood, "A Supplement to C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch*: E. W. Wolf's Anleitung of 1785," in *C. P. E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L.

when he claimed in 1753 that beginners following his principles would easily be able to achieve results that they hardly believed possible in a short amount of time (mit besondrer Leichtigkeit in kurtzer Zeit dahin kommen, wo sie kaum geglaubt hätten), he greatly overestimated the musical capacities and ambitions of his average reader. Thus, in 1773, he more cautiously recommended his treatise to professionals and serious amateurs.⁵² In any case, the *Versuch's* influence is noticeable in treatises by Leopold Mozart (1756), Georg Simon Löhlein (1765/81), Michael Johann Friedrich Wiedeburg (1765/75), Johann Friedrich Christmann (1782/89), Georg Friedrich Wolf (1783), Ernst Wilhelm Wolf (1785), Daniel Gottlob Türk (1789), and Johann Peter Milchmeyer (1797/98), as well as in Johann Friedrich Agricola's annotated translation of Pier Francesco Tosi's singing treatise (Berlin, 1757) and Johann Philipp Kirnberger's *Clavierübungen mit der Bachischen Applicatur* (1762/1766). It is well known that Haydn, too, studied Bach's essay thoroughly. Even nineteenth-century treatises such as Jean Jousse's *Lectures on Thorough Bass* (London, 1818) and Johann Nepomuk Hummel's *Anweisung zum Piano-forte Spiel* use material from Bach's *Versuch*.⁵³ Twelve years after Bach's death, when the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* called him "the mediate or immediate teacher of all true keyboard players in Germany,"⁵⁴ Beethoven began to teach Carl Czerny based on the *Versuch*.

Bach's reputation as Germany's leading keyboard performer and teacher seemed unshakable when Christoph Daniel Ebeling, in 1770, praised the *Versuch* I as "the only excellent and absolutely indispensable work" (das einzige vorftreffliche und ganz unentbehrliche Werk) and called *Versuch* II "the most important work on figured bass" (das wichtigste Werk über den Generalbaß) that was able to replace treatises by Fux, Heinichen, Sorge, and Mattheson "because the newer and better taste has introduced a use of harmony that is

Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 142–57; Ernst Suchalla, "Georg Simon Löhleins Clavier-Schule: Ein Ärgernis für Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach?" in *Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts* 47 (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein, 1996), 153–59.

52. "[. . .] diejenigen, deren Hauptwerk die Musik ist, und alle Liebhaber, welche gründlich unterrichtet seyn wollen." *HUC* (12 January 1773).

53. Compare *EX. 1:65* [Tab. III, Fig. LXIV] that Bach quotes from the "Probestücke" (Wq 63/2/iii, mm. 22–23) with Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *Anweisung zum Piano-forte-Spiel*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1838), II.7.§.5 with a different fingering.

54. *AMZ* (12 March 1800).

entirely different compared to former times and that one may learn best and most thoroughly from Bach's work" (da der neuere gute Geschmack einen ganz andern Gebrauch der Harmonie, als vordem, eingeführt hat, welchen man am besten und gründlichsten aus dem Bachischen Werke wird kennen lernen.)⁵⁵ So it does not come as a surprise that Bach was commemorated as the founding father of keyboard playing when he died in 1788:

He was the true father of all good keyboard players and immortalized himself with his *Versuch* and with his excellent compositions that are true masterpieces, especially his keyboard pieces that connoisseurs will regard as beautiful and as models as long as the world exists. O, what a great man, what a great original composer was Bach. One cannot play enough of his keyboard pieces and without him and his excellent essay on keyboard playing all keyboard performers would be groping in the dark, for only He showed how this instrument has to be treated tastefully.⁵⁶

C. P. E. Bach's authority as a musical father figure was eventually succeeded by that of J. S. Bach in the course of the nineteenth century, but even still in 1835, Gustav Schilling called C. P. E. Bach the "true father of our new keyboard playing and of our true romantic music" (wahre Vater unsers neuen Clavierspiels und unserer ächt romantischen Musik.)⁵⁷ When Schilling, in 1852, was looking for a publisher for a new edition of the *Versuch* "in the fashion and according to the needs of our time" (im Gewande und nach den Bedürfnissen unserer Zeit), he predicted it would become again "die Schule aller Schulen."⁵⁸ Published 100

55. *Unterhaltungen* 10/7 (October 1770); cf. Wiermann, 491. See also J. A. Hiller's praise for *Versuch* II in *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend* (Leipzig, 18 July 1768).

56. "Er war der wahre Vater aller guten Clavierspieler, und hat sich durch seinen Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, und durch seine vortrefflich[en] Compositionen welches wahre Meisterstücke sind,—besonders seine Claviersachen, welche gewiß so lange wie die Welt steht bey Kennern schön bleiben, und zu Mustern dienen können,—ganz unsterblich gemacht. O Welch ein großer Mann, Welch ein großer Original-Componist war der unsterbliche Bach. An seinen Claviersachen kann man sich nicht satt spielen, und ohne ihn und seine vortreffliche Anweisung zum Clavierspielen, würden alle Clavierspieler wohl im Finstern tappen, denn, nur Er—hat gezeigt wie dies Instrument mit Geschmack behandelt werden muß." From an obituary by Johann Friedrich Loberecht Zuberbier, an organ builder from Halle, 7 January 1789; MS note in his personal copy of the *Versuch*, D-B, Mus. Fk 10².

57. *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, ed. Gustav Schilling, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1835), 383.

58. Schilling's letter to a Frankfurt publisher, 20 January 1852, Stadtarchiv Stuttgart, Autographensammlung, Mikrophoto 3009. The phrase alludes to the title of the *Méthode des Méthodes de*

years after the first edition of *Versuch I*, Schilling's edition combines both parts into one volume and includes music examples on three attached sheets. His edition presents the texts of Schwickert's 1787 and 1797 editions, heavily modernized and with no indication of where and how Schilling changed Bach's text. As he did not include the "Probestücke" he deleted all references to them and occasionally had to change Bach's line of argument. Not only did he alter Bach's wording frequently; but he also altered Bach's teachings, as if Bach had written the essay for mid-nineteenth-century pianists; other editorial changes show that Schilling simply misunderstood Bach. As one example of Schilling's modernization: he understood that Bach clearly preferred a well-tempered system, but he changed the wording to support an equal temperament on the modern piano:

Weiter müssen beide Arten von Instrumenten gut *und gleichmäßig* temperirt sein, indem man durch die Stimmung der Quinten, Quarten, Probirung der kleinen und großen Terzen und ganzer Accorde, [den meisten] *allen* Quinten besonders so viel von ihrer größten Reinigkeit abnimmt, daß es das Gehör kaum merkt und [man] alle vier und zwanzig Tonarten [gut brauchen kan] *ganz gleich rein erscheinen*. [...] Durch diese neue Art zu temperiren sind wir weiter gekommen als vordem, obschon die alte Temperatur so beschaffen war, daß einige Tonarten reiner waren als man noch jetzt bei vielen Instrumenten antrifft, *aber es herrschte bei ihr doch keine gleichmäßige Reinheit*.⁵⁹

Still, it is remarkable how much of Bach's text survived in Schilling's revision, e.g., the instructions on figured bass accompaniment are given with few cuts, as well as ornaments and fingerings that by the mid-nineteenth century were con-

Piano by Moscheles und Fétis (Paris, 1837). Schilling's edition appeared in 1852 (Herzberg: Franz Mohr). Offprints with changed title pages of other publishers appeared in 1853 (Berlin: Grieben) and 1856 (Berlin: Franz Stage).

59. *Versuch I*: Einleitung, §14 1753 and Schilling 1852. The brackets and italic font have been added by the present editor to indicate Schilling's additions (italic) and deletions (square brackets). If Barthold Fritz is to be trusted, equal tuning may have found approval by Bach in Berlin (bey dem berühmten Hrn. Bach zu Berlin Beyfall gefunden), *Anweisung wie man Claviere, Clavecins, und Orgeln nach einer mechanischen Art, in allen zwölf Tönen gleich rein stimmen könne*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1757), Vorbericht. On the other hand, Bach did not change the wording that calls for a tempered system ("well" instead of "pure"; "most" instead of "all" fifths) when he revised and amended no less than 34 paragraphs of *Versuch I* in 1787. The idea that "if the music of any leading eighteenth-century German composer ought to be performed in equal temperament, C.P.E. Bach is the best candidate" (Mark Lindley in NG^{II}, s.v. "Temperaments") is, in any case, questionable with regard to keyboard music from Bach's Berlin period.

sidered somewhat outdated. Schilling's edition occupies an awkward middle ground: compared to the eighteenth-century originals, it comes close to being a different book under Bach's name; from the point of view of 1852 it is a puzzling, old-fashioned treatise.

In spite of Schilling's claim to restore the *Versuch* as the "school of schools," it was the "critically revised reprint" by the pianist and music historian Walter Niemann in 1906 that initiated the revival of the *Versuch* as a historical document. Many cuts, especially in *Versuch* II, were gradually restored in later issues of Niemann's edition.⁶⁰ It is still available today, as are two facsimile editions: by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht in 1957 and by Wolfgang Horn in 1994. Both facsimiles reprint the Berlin first editions of 1753 and 1762 and, in fact, are reproductions of the same exemplars (D-DI, MB 8° 468 Rara). Many reissues of these editions and several translations of the *Versuch* confirm its continuing popularity and significance as one of the most important sources of eighteenth-century performance practice and music aesthetics.⁶¹

60. *Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu spielen, kritisch revidierter Neudruck nach der unveränderten, jedoch verbesserten zweiten Auflage des Originals, Berlin 1759 und 1762*, ed. Walter Niemann (Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt, 1906); reissued in 1917, 1920, 1925, 1954, 1965, 1972, and 1986.

61. Hoffmann-Erbrecht's facsimile edition was printed in Leipzig (VEB Breitkopf & Härtel, 1957) and Wiesbaden (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1958) and reissued in 1969, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1982, 1986, 1992, and 2005. Horn's facsimile edition was published by Bärenreiter in 1994 and reissued in 2003 and 2008. The *Versuch* has been translated, in part or completely, into French, Italian, Polish, Japanese, Finnish, Russian, and Czech.

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Tobias Plebuch