

‘Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s Revisions of His Keyboard Sonatas’, by Darrell Berg, from *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 74 (1988), pp. 123–61, translated and revised by the author

At various times in his life and for various reasons Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach felt obliged to revise his keyboard sonatas and to create new versions, partly to suit the requirements of a growing clientele of keyboard players, partly, perhaps, to satisfy his own changing standards. An examination of his revisions affords a glimpse of some stages in the evolution of his style and permits inferences about certain aspects of his compositional process.

The earliest surviving account of Bach’s revisions can be found in the catalogue of his musical estate, the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* published by his widow in 1790.¹ It is highly probable that Emanuel Bach prepared the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* himself in his last years; he is in any case its virtual author, for the information contained in it can be shown to derive from his records.² The *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* lists instrumental compositions in chronological sequence within each work category, establishing for most items a year of origin and designating for a few a year of alteration. The *Nachlaß* account of Bach’s alteration in his keyboard sonatas is corroborated by another catalogue compiled around 1810 by Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal (1756–1825), an organist in Schwerin, as a record of his collection of Emanuel Bach’s works.³ Westphal amplified some of the information in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*—he cites notices of publication and critiques of Bach’s works through the year 1809—but his account of the keyboard sonatas and the alterations in them is essentially in agreement with the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*. There is much evidence that the Westphal catalogue, like the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*, is based on Emanuel Bach’s records, for in the 1780s Bach corresponded with the Schwerin organist.⁴ After Bach’s death Westphal continued to acquire materials for the collection in consultation with the surviving members of Bach’s family. Advice to Westphal about his project can be found in a series of letters written to him by Emanuel’s widow, Johanna Maria, and daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina.⁵

Until recently neither the alterations reported by the *Nachlaß* and Westphal catalogues nor the sources that attest these alterations received much attention.⁶ A complete list of sources could not be obtained from either of the early catalogues, since each records only the materials in a single collection. It was not until 1952 that a survey of sources of the keyboard sonatas appeared: in the catalogue appended to his dissertation, ‘Die Klaviersonaten Philipp Emanuel Bachs’

1 NV (a list of abbreviations and bibliographic sigla follows at the end of this chapter).

2 See Darrell M. Berg, ‘Towards a Catalogue of the Keyboard Sonatas of C. P. E. Bach’, *JAMS*, 32 (1979), pp. 280–85.

3 Category no. 3 under the general heading *Claviersachen* in ‘Catalogue thématique des oeuvres de Charles Philippe Emmanuel Bach’, Ms. II 4140 in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er} (B-Br) in Brussels. Westphal drew up two catalogues of Bach’s works prior to the compilation of the catalogue cited in this essay. These two early catalogues, included in a manuscript titled ‘Besammelte Nachrichten’, B-Br 4133, are discussed in Rachel W. Wade, *The Concertos of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), pp. 9–12.

4 See Miriam Terry, ‘C. P. E. Bach and J. J. H. Westphal: A Clarification’, *JAMS*, 22 (1969), pp. 106–15, and Erwin Jacobi, ‘Five Hitherto Unknown Letters from C. P. E. Bach to J. J. H. Westphal’, *JAMS*, 23 (1970), pp. 119–27, and ‘Three Additional Letters From C. P. E. Bach to J. J. H. Westphal’, *JAMS*, 27 (1974), pp. 119–25.

5 I am grateful to Frau Lotte Schmid of Augsburg for allowing me to inspect a valuable collection of unpublished letters from C. P. E. Bach’s widow and daughter to Westphal and for permission to publish excerpts from these letters.

6 A few studies of C. P. E. Bach’s works in other genres undertake to list all sources: Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und seine Kammermusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1931); Ernst Suchalla, *Die Orchestersinfonien Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs* (Augsburg: Blasaditsch, 1968); Wade, *The Keyboard Concertos*.

(Göttingen, 1952), Erich Beurmann undertook to list all sources of each sonata and to identify variants. Beurmann's listing has been more recently augmented by information in Eugene Helm's newly published catalogue: *A New Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987).

The present surge of interest in Emanuel Bach's works and the preparation of a *Gesamtausgabe* now demand collation of the various versions of the sonatas with the information contained in the two early catalogues. In the *Nachlaß* and Westphal accounts of the keyboard sonatas, three categories of alteration are noted:

1. Revision: each of the sixteen sonatas composed between 1731 and 1738 (and also the suite Wq 65/4) is designated as 'revised' (*erneuert*) in either 1743 or 1744 (the list of revisions in Bach's early sonatas should probably be extended to include at least two, perhaps four, early Berlin sonatas not designated by either the *Nachlaß* or Westphal catalogue as 'revised').⁷
2. Variation: two later sonatas, Wq 65/32 and Wq 51/1, are described as 'afterwards varied' (*nachher verändert*).⁸
3. 'Embellishments and variations': an item at the end of the section in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* containing instrumental works lists a collection of 'Embellishments and variations to some sonatas and concertos for students' (*Veränderungen und Auszierungen über einige Sonaten für Scholaren*).⁹

The difference between the second and third categories of alteration is largely one of degree rather than of process and is reflected by the manner in which each is preserved, as well as by the syntactical difference in their designation. Both kinds consist in decoration of melody and texture with no essential change in periodicity or harmonic progression, and the versions that display these two categories are represented in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* as alternatives rather than replacements. The 'varied' versions exist as discrete sonatas apart from the original versions on which they are based. The 'embellishments and variations' are strewn about pages containing the original versions or collected on separate pages as scattered embellishments to be entered, if needed, in original versions. This third category of alteration has been examined at length in another study.¹⁰ It is with Emanuel Bach's 'revisions' and, marginally, with his 'variations' that the present study is concerned. A list of the sonatas designated by the *Nachlaß* and Westphal catalogues as 'revised' or 'varied', together with some revised sonatas for which the two catalogues do not list alteration, is found in Table I ("Tabelle I" on pp. 151–59 of the original German).

It appears that one important difference between Bach's 'revisions' (*Erneuerungen*) and his other alterations is that the 'revised' versions were intended as replacements for the earlier ones. A letter that Bach wrote on 21 January 1786 to Johann Joachim Eschenburg in Braunschweig announcing the burning of 'a ream and more' of early works lends support to this inference.¹¹ It seems very likely that early versions of keyboard sonatas designated in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*

7 NV, pp. 1–4.

8 NV, pp. 14 and 16.

9 NV, p. 53.

10 See D. M. Berg, 'C. P. E. Bach's "Variations" and "Embellishments" for his Keyboard Sonatas', *JM* 2 (1983), pp. 151–73.

11 Quoted in Schmid, *Bach und seine Kammermusik*, pp. 76–77.

as *erneuert* were among the works that Bach destroyed, and it is not surprising that for each of five early sonatas listed in the *Nachlaß* and Westphal catalogues as ‘revised’ only one version survives. But neither is it surprising that variants exist for eleven of the sixteen early sonatas designated as *erneuert* and for four early Berlin sonatas not listed as *erneuert* (see Table I). By 1786 it was obviously beyond Bach’s power to suppress all sources of the early versions of these works. Perhaps the designation *erneuert* in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* was intended to notify collectors who owned the early versions that improved versions were available.

The chronology of the versions

A casual inspection of the early sonatas suggests that the most elaborate versions are the latest ones, the plainest versions the earliest. In most cases this inference is confirmed by bibliographical evidence. The elaborate versions are found in sources that may be assumed with reasonable certainty to contain Bach’s revised versions: (1) two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels (B-Bc 5881 and 5883) compiled by J. J. H. Westphal under Emanuel Bach’s supervision in the late 1780s and emended with advice from Bach’s widow and daughter; and (2) two published anthologies of keyboard music each of which contains an altered version of one of Bach’s early sonatas: *Nebstunden der Berlinischen Musen in kleinen Clavierstücken*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1762) and *Clavierstücken mit einem practischen Unterricht*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1763).

For sonatas that survive in only two versions there is no need of further bibliographical evidence to establish priority once the finality of a particular version has been demonstrated; obviously, the versions that differ from the final ones are the earlier ones. Yet it is useful to note that a certain kind of bibliographical evidence can also be cited in support of the priority of certain versions: the circumstance of association with sources of other early works. Many early versions are written by copyists whose activity can be traced to the early part of Emanuel Bach’s career. Some sources of early versions are found in large manuscript bundles containing a preponderance of early works and early versions.

One such example of association can be found among the sources of Wq 65/9 and Wq 65/10 (see Examples 1 and 2).¹² It is strikingly apparent that for each group of sources of Wq 65/9 an identical or closely corresponding group can be found among the sources of Wq 65/10: (a) comprising the Müthel and Homilius manuscripts (B-D, P 367 and P 368 respectively; hereafter references to the ‘P’ manuscripts in Berlin will omit the preceding ‘B-D’), the collection numbered VII 437xx in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and the manuscripts from the Prieger collection in the Library of Congress; (b) comprising the unauthorized Huberty print (1761) and P 673 (probably a copy of this print); (c) containing manuscripts from J. J. H. Westphal’s collection of sonatas unpublished in Bach’s lifetime (B-Bc 5883, probably begun in the 1780s), manuscripts from a collection (P 369) made for the Hamburg music dealer J. C. Westphal, and two manuscripts (P 775 and P 772) bearing Emanuel Bach’s corrections.

12 Sources of the incipits shown in Example 1 are as follows (unattested: D-B Thu, 54): (a) Beurmann no. 15, from *Six Sonates pour le Clavecin Composées par Mr C. P. E. Bach* (Paris: Huberty, 1761), pp. 20–24; and D-B, P 673 (probably a copy of the Huberty print). (b) Beurmann no. 15a, from A-Wgm, VII 43748; D-B, P 367 (Müthel); P 368 (Homilius); and US-Wc, M23.B13.W.65(9)b. (c) Beurmann no. 15b, from B-Bc, 5883 (Michel); D-B, P 369; D-B, P 370 (An 401); and P 776 (An 311, rev. CPEB). The sources for the incipits shown in Example 2 are: (a) Beurmann no. 16, from A-Wgm, VII 43749; D-B, 367 (Müthel); P 368 (Homilius); and US-Wc, M23.B13.W.65(10)b. (b) subsumed by Beurmann under no. 16, *Six Sonates* (Huberty print, 8–11); D-B, P 673. (c) Beurmann no. 16a, from B-Bc, 5883 (Westphal, Michel); D-B, P 369; and D-B, P 772 (An 301, rev. CPEB).

Example 1. Incipits of the three versions of Wq 65/9

Beurmann no. 15
Moderato *Larghetto*

Presto

Beurmann no. 15a
Moderato *Adagio*

Presto

Beurmann no. 15b
Moderato *Adagio*

Presto

Detailed description: The image shows three sets of musical notation for the incipits of three versions of Wq 65/9. Each set consists of two staves. The first set, 'Beurmann no. 15', shows a 'Moderato' movement in 3/4 time and a 'Larghetto' movement in 3/4 time. The second set, 'Beurmann no. 15a', shows a 'Moderato' movement in 3/4 time and an 'Adagio' movement in 3/4 time. The third set, 'Beurmann no. 15b', shows a 'Moderato' movement in 3/4 time and an 'Adagio' movement in 3/4 time. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings like 'tr' (trill) and '2' (second ending).


One component of the chronology of each of these two works can be postulated immediately: the sources in group c belong to collections containing Bach's latest and preferred versions of his sonatas. Stylistic features—elaborate melodies and refined textures—confirm this postulate; there is no reason to doubt that the versions in the c sources represent Bach's final revisions. The sequence of the other two versions of Wq 65/10 also seems fairly clear. The unauthorized Huberty print (b group) contains an embellished version of the *Andante* found in the a sources. Whether or not Bach himself was the author of the embellishments in the print, the plainer version of the *Andante* undoubtedly preceded it.

The establishment of a chronological sequence for the two earliest versions of Wq 65/9 is somewhat more complicated. Beurmann based his chronology on the assumption that the *Larghetto* in the Huberty print is the earliest middle movement and that it was replaced by the plain version of the *Adagio*, which was subsequently embellished for the final version (Beurmann numbers the Huberty version 15, the version with the unornamented *Adagio* 15a). Yet the association of the sources of Wq 65/9, containing the plainer version of the *Adagio*, with sources containing the earliest version of Wq 65/10 suggests that this *Adagio* is the earliest middle movement. For Wq 65/9 the establishment of a chronological sequence for the various versions does not depend entirely upon the association of sources. The sequence a–b–c is borne


Example 2. Incipits of the three versions of Wq 65/10

Beurmann no. 16

Andante




Presto




(included under no. 16 by Beurmann)

Allegro moderato

Andante




Presto




Beurmann no. 16a

Poco allegro

Andante



Presto



out by another sort of evidence: the presence in the b and c sources of small refinements in the first movement that are lacking in the a sources.

Embellished versions

What methods of revision do Emanuel Bach's sonatas of the 1730s display? The most pervasive is the embellishment that was a fundamental aspect of his technique and one of his greatest accomplishments. In some binary movements, embellishment does not extend much beyond the opening statement of each of the two sections and the recapitulation of the statement in the tonic when it occurs. Bach follows this scheme of embellishment consistently in the first movement of the Sonata in F Major Wq 64/1, altering the principal melodic idea in its initial statement and treating it similarly whenever it occurs (see Example 3). In the revision of the last movement of the Sonata in D Major, Wq 64/5, an early varied reprise movement, each of the two main structural sections has been embellished throughout. The varied reprises of these sections, on the other hand, have not been changed at all (Example 4).

In many early sonatas Bach elaborated and refined melodies and lightened textures to make a sort of *style brisé* or aerated texture. By this process the style of the early versions, a style

Example 3. Early and late versions of Wq 64/1/i (after P 1001 and P 776, respectively)

Allegro (after P 1001)
m. 1

Allegro (after P 776)

(after P 1001)
m. 30

(after P 776)

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system compares the beginning (m. 1) of the early version (after P 1001) and the late version (after P 776). Both are in 2/4 time with a key signature of one flat. The early version starts with a quarter note G4, while the late version starts with a quarter note A4. The second system compares measure 30 of the early version with the late version. The early version features a trill on G4, while the late version has a more complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth notes and a trill on G4.

Example 4. Incipits of the early and late versions of Wq 64/5/iii (after P 789 and B-Bc 5881, respectively), with the varied reprise that begins at bar 17

(after P 789)
Allegro ma non troppo

Beurmann 9a (after B-Bc 5881)
Allegro ma non troppo

(after P 789 and B Bc 5881)
m. 17

The image shows three systems of musical notation in 2/4 time with a key signature of two sharps. The first system shows the incipit of the early version (after P 789). The second system shows the incipit of the late version (Beurmann 9a, after B-Bc 5881), which begins with a trill on G5. The third system shows a varied reprise (m. 17) that is shared by both early and late versions, featuring a complex rhythmic pattern with sixteenth notes and a trill on G5.

Example 5. Alterations in texture in the *Erneuerungen* of two sonatas (two versions, respectively, Wq 65/9/ii and Wq 65/6/iii)

Two versions of Wq 65/9/II
Adagio

Two versions of Wq 65/6/III

patently derived from the solo sonata with continuo, was transformed to a style more suited to the keyboard (Example 5).

In the embellishments that Bach composed as revisions of the early sonatas, he usually adhered rather strictly to the harmony and periodic structure of the originals. But among these early works are a few interesting exceptions to his practice of applying decoration over an unchanging framework. In Example 6 (from Wq 65/12, an early Berlin sonata), Bach sought to eliminate a prosaic repetition inflicted on the melody by the harmonic sequence in bars 44–47.¹³ The new melody, beginning with the displaced g on the last beat of bar 45, demands some changes in harmony. To Bach melody was obviously of greater importance here than the original harmonic sequence, which he has abandoned in order to accommodate the contours of the new

¹³ In Example 6, top staff, bar 48, a quarter note (b-flat) was inadvertently omitted on the second beat in the original German version of this essay. Its presence in the sources confirms the prosaic character of the sequence.

Example 6. Early and revised versions of Wq 65/12/ii

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the second movement of Wq 65/12. The top system, labeled 'early version' and 'm. 44', shows a melody in the right hand consisting of simple, blocky chords and single notes. The bottom system, labeled 'revised version', shows a more complex melody in the right hand, featuring a sinuous line with grace notes and a fermata. The bass line in both versions is simple and accompanimental.

melody. This sinuous melody seems to invite linear expansion, although Bach has contrived to merge it with the original version and to end its phrase without the addition of a single bar. In this instance Bach's process of embellishment seems to become independent of the framework by which it is normally controlled.

Exchanges of movements

A second method of revision was the replacement of entire movements, most of them slow middle movements, with new or borrowed ones. In the group of six works labeled 'sonatinas' (Wq 64), this replacement seems to have consisted in transfers of middle movements as shown in Table II ("Tabelle I" on p. 160 of the original German). Although the early versions of Wq 64/2 and Wq 64/3 have not survived,¹⁴ it is reasonable to infer that the pattern of replacements among all six of the sonatinas was symmetrical, that each transfer was reciprocated, as in Sonatinas 1 and 6, and that each of the sonatinas originally had all three of its movements in the same key. These reciprocal exchanges would have replaced suite-like cycles redolent of the Baroque with more modish cycles of movements in contrasting keys.

Among Bach's early Berlin sonatas are two unrecorded substitutions. The Sonata in G Minor, Wq 65/11, for which the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* provides no record of revision, survives in two three-movement versions (Example 7). In his catalogue of the keyboard sonatas, Beurmann implies that the *Allegretto grazioso* is the earlier, the *Presto* the later, third movement. Yet stylistic evidence militates against such a chronological sequence: the *Presto* is shorter, with melodies that are rather primitive and angular; the *Allegretto grazioso* is longer, with more refined melodies and textures. It was noted above that the manuscripts in Westphal's collection in the Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique in Brussels may be generally assumed to contain the latest and preferred versions of most of Bach's early unpublished sonatas. In the case of Wq 65/11, however, the Brussels source does not provide an unequivocal answer; B-Bc 5883 includes both third movements—four movements altogether—and appears to contain a four-movement sonata (compare Example 7 and Figure 1).¹⁵

14 *Author's note* (2015): These versions were subsequently discovered by Miklós Spányi in D-Mbs, Ms. 6333; Wq 64/3 is also found in the library of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (D-B, SA 4779).

15 A four-movement edition of Wq 65/11 by the Belgian pianist Émile Bosquet based on this manuscript was, in

Example 7. Incipits of both versions of Wq 65/11

The image displays four staves of musical notation. The first two staves are for 'Beurmann no. 18', with the first staff labeled 'Moderato' and the second 'Andante'. The last two staves are for 'Beurmann no. 18a', with the first staff labeled 'Moderato' and the second 'Presto'. The 'Presto' movement includes trills (tr) and a fermata. The notation includes treble clefs, a key signature of one flat, and various time signatures (2/4, 3/4, 3/8, 6/8).

Fortunately, the confusion surrounding the chronology of the various versions of this sonata can be resolved by a letter dated August 1791 from Emanuel Bach's widow Johanna Maria to Westphal. In the following excerpt from this letter Frau Bach discusses a shipment of manuscripts to the Schwerin organist clearly intended to emend his collection:

The 14th of the 7 sonatas had to be copied on account of the many alterations. In the 18th sonata a completely different *Andante* was copied in place of yours, and in the 20th sonata an *Allegretto grazioso* has likewise replaced your final *Presto*. Everything was meticulously looked over and carefully altered, which is particularly evident in the 18th sonata.¹⁶

In referring to these sonatas, Johanna Maria Bach uses the numbers assigned them in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*:

14th = NV no. 14 / Wq 65/6 ('had to be copied')

18th = NV no. 18 / Wq 65/10 ('completely different *Andante*')

20th = NV no. 20 / Wq 65/11 ('*Allegretto grazioso*')

fact, published in 1922 by the firm of Senart in Paris.

¹⁶ Letter of August 1791 in the collection from Bach's widow and daughter to Westphal (see note 5): 'Von den 7 Sonaten hat die 14te der vielen Veränderungen wegen ganz müssen abgeschrieben werden. In der 18ten ist an die Stelle des Ihrigen ein ganz anderes Andante geschrieben, und gehörigen Orts eingehftet worden, und in der 20ten Sonate ist statt Ihres letzten Presto auf eben die Art ein Allegretto grazioso gekommen. Alles übrige ist scharf durchgesehen und genau geändert worden, welches insbesondere in der 18ten Sonate sehr zu merken ist.'

Figure 1. Incipits of the movements of Wq 65/11 as they appear in B-Bc 5883



It is evident from this letter that the longer, suaver *Allegretto grazioso* is the later movement and the preferred one. The handwriting in Figure 1 confirms the evidence provided by Johanna Maria Bach's letter. The *Allegro*, *Andante*, and *Presto* are in Westphal's hand; the new movement is in the hand of Bach's Hamburg copyist Michel, who remained in Hamburg for several years after Bach's death and continued to copy music for his widow and daughter.¹⁷ It may be inferred that Bach borrowed the *Presto* (which also serves as a final movement of the Sonata in E Minor Wq 65/5 of 1735), transposed it to G minor, and appended it temporarily to Wq 65/11 until he could furnish this sonata with its own third movement.

Bach appears to have borrowed another movement from Wq 65/5 for the early version of the Sonata in D Major Wq 62/3 (composed at almost the same time as Wq 65/11): the middle movement, titled *Siciliano*, which was transposed to D minor to provide a middle movement for Wq 62/3. Unlike the early version of Wq 65/11, this putative early version of Wq 62/3 cannot be traced directly to Bach or to Westphal; all surviving copies containing this version are of uncertain provenance. Yet here once more the aspect of association might be considered. Two of these copies belong to large manuscripts whose remaining contents include accurate and reliable sources of Emanuel Bach's keyboard sonatas.¹⁸ It seems likely that the version of Wq 62/3 in these copies and in the library of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (see Table I) is genuinely by Emanuel Bach, and that for the version of this early Berlin sonata published in Marpurge's anthology of 1763 Bach once again provided a new movement to replace a borrowed one.

It is instructive to consider Johanna Maria Bach's reference to the other two sonatas. Figure 2, containing incipits from the Brussels manuscript of the sonata described as 'the 18th' (Wq 65/10), also shows four movements (Figure 2). The *Andante* at the bottom of the page, in the hand of Michel, is identical to the *Andante* above, in Westphal's hand; evidently the Schwerin organist already owned a copy of the movement describe as 'a wholly different *Andante* [*ein ganz anderes Andante*]'. Perhaps Westphal had learned from the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* that this sonata had been revised and, believing that his copy of the sonata contained the earlier *Andante* (see Example 2), had requested the 'wholly different *Andante*' from Bach's widow. If the designation *erneuert* for the sixteen earliest sonatas in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* was intended to induce owners of earlier versions to order new ones, it seems to have served its purpose.

The sonata that Johanna Maria Bach calls 'the 14th' is Wq 65/6, in the hand of Michel in the Brussels manuscript (see Figure 3). Some of 'the many changes' to which Frau Bach refers, most of them in the third movement, *Allegro*, are illustrated in Figure 4. In this manuscript the first and second movements (not shown here) contain an already revised version of the 1740s in Michel's early hand. The third movement also contains the same revised version, over which Bach's autograph erasures, corrections, and additions appear. This source not only contains evidence of Bach's habitual decoration of melody and texture but also provides a vivid illustration of a third method of revision: expansion. In the third movement, expansion occurs primarily at the end of

17 Concerning Michel, see TBst 1, p. 24. Michel, Bach's principal copyist in Hamburg, is listed as a singer in a printed copy of the oratorio and serenade performed in Hamburg on 10 September 1767 (I am grateful to Walter Steffani for directing me to this source). According to the archives of the Petrikirche in Hamburg, Michel was one of five singers who were receiving pensions from the churches after 1793. By 1814 his name disappears from the list of pensioners. *Author's note* (2015): Michel has subsequently been identified as Bach's main copyist in Hamburg, Johann Heinrich Michel.

18 D-B, P 368, a manuscript that includes copies by Bach's contemporary, the Dresden Kreuzkantor Gottfried August Homilius (who matriculated at the University of Leipzig in 1735 and was a pupil of J. S. Bach); and D-B, P 774, which contains copies by Michel and the Greifswald lawyer J. H. Grave, a friend of C. P. E. Bach (see Schmid, *Bach und seine Kammermusik*, p. 65, and C. H. Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder* (Berlin, 1868), vol. 2, pp. 303f.).

Figure 2. Incipits of the movements of Wq 65/10 in B-Bc 5883



each section of the binary structure and might be described as cadenza-like embellishment of the harmony. Bach has extended a moment on the dominant of the dominant from a bar and a half (at the beginning of the crossed-out portion of Figure 4) to two and a half bars (at the beginning of the added portion), and a moment on the dominant from half a bar (the trill in the second bar of the crossed-out portion) to three and a half bars (beginning with the upbeat to the third bar of the added portion). A similar and even greater expansion is evident at the end of the second section (not shown here).

Figure 3. Incipits of the movements of Wq 65/6 in B-Bc 5883

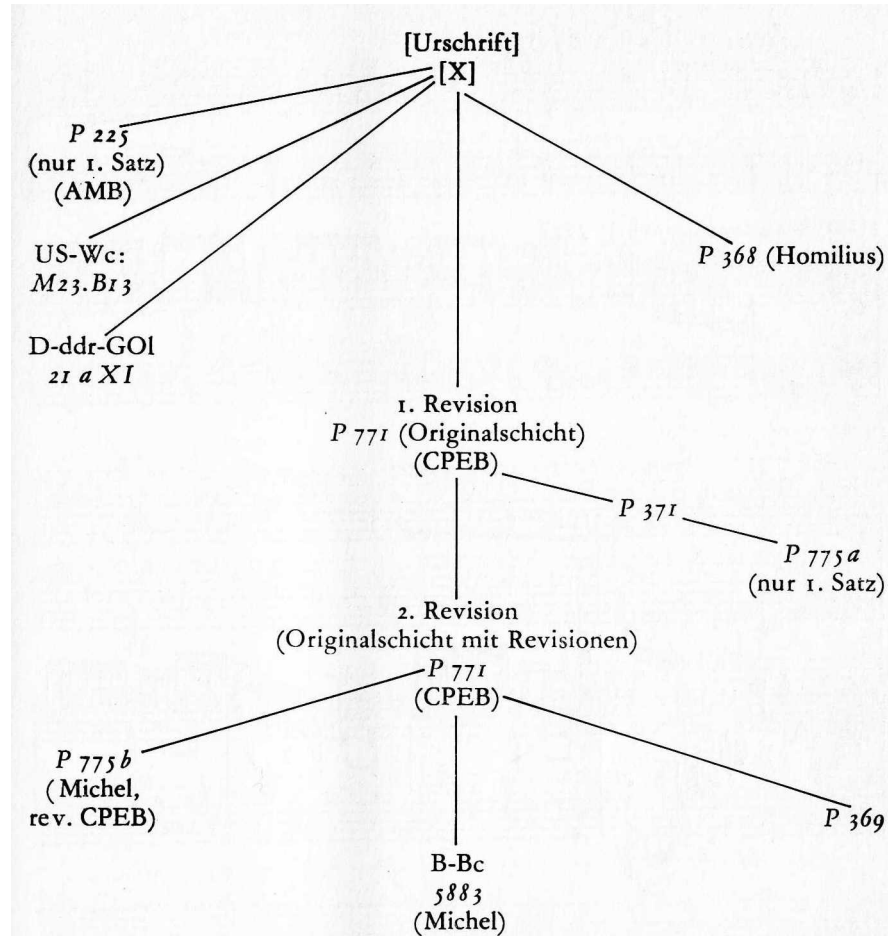
The image displays three sections of handwritten musical notation for the incipits of movements from Wq 65/6 in B-Bc 5883. Each section consists of two staves.

- Top Section:** Labeled *Un poco Allegro. Cembalo solo.* The notation is in treble clef with a 2/4 time signature. It begins with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, followed by a triplet of eighth notes.
- Middle Section:** Labeled *Adagio di molto.* The notation is in treble clef with a 7/8 time signature. It features a complex, flowing melodic line with many beamed notes.
- Bottom Section:** Labeled *Allegro.* The notation is in treble clef with a 2/4 time signature. It starts with a series of eighth notes, followed by a more active melodic passage.

Figure 4. Beginning of the third movement of Wq 65/6 in the hand of Michel, with revisions in the hand of C. P. E. Bach, in P 772



Example 8. Sources of the Sonata in E-flat Major Wq 65/7 (stemma)



Further expansions

Two other examples of expansion in Bach's early keyboard sonatas occur in the first two movements of the Sonata in E-flat Major Wq 65/7 (the complicated history of surviving sources is shown in Table III ("Tabelle III" on p. 160 of the original German). If one considers that manuscripts 21a/XI and P 775a are distinguished by numerous scribal errors and scarcely represent different, let alone authorized, versions (see columns 1 and 3 in Table III), it seems probable that there were really only three clearly distinct versions (see the stemma in Example 8). Whatever the number of different versions actually composed by C. P. E. Bach, it is clear that both ms. P 371 and the original layer of P 771 display the first substantial revision of Wq 65/7. Bach's sparse revision of the third movement, *Vivace* (not shown here), is typical of the alterations in many of his works: melody and texture have been embellished in a somewhat random manner over a harmonic and periodic framework that remains intact; yet this embellishment is not so abundant as to obscure the identity of the original *Vivace*. The revision of the middle movement of this sonata also includes embellishment of melody and texture. But here decoration is applied so lavishly that the original *Siciliano*, which Bach has renamed

Andante, is no longer immediately recognizable. Bach has also extended this movement from 21 to 32 bars (Example 9). Expansion takes place at A (bar 5): the beginning bar of modulation; at B (bar 7): the first measure in the dominant; at C (bar 12): the cadence confirming the dominant key, followed by a retransition to the tonic; at D (bar 14): the attainment of the tonic key; at E (bar 15), a rising sequence; and at F (bar 19): a deceptive cadence in the tonic key; G bar 20): the beginning of the final cadence.

In choosing points for expansion Bach amplifies the ends of sections (cadences at bars 12 and 20), a method that Charles Rosen describes as typical of the high Baroque.¹⁹ Bach also extends the central modulation and other moments of harmonic tension (bar 5; the remainder of bar 12; and bar 15), a method that Rosen considers peculiar to the Classical style. Finally, Bach expands a few moments (bars 7, 14, 19) that do not belong in either of these categories.

Some of these expansions seem to derive from the same linear process of embellishment that produced the expansion in Figure 4 and also the part of Wq 65/6/iii not shown in this study. Yet other points of expansion in this *Siciliano* (Wq 65/7/ii) have become more than mere cadenza-like moments that mark time harmonically. The tonicisation of C minor at bars 5–8 of the *Andante* (bars 5–6 of the *Siciliano*) acquires a harmonic impetus of its own; the retransition to the tonic in bars 17–20 of the *Andante* displays harmonic inflections that are not present in the *Siciliano* (bars 12–13). At bars 21–22 of the *Andante* Bach has added a recapitulation, giving an emphasis to the return to the tonic that the *Siciliano* (bar 14) does not have.

The first revision of Wq 65/7 also includes the expansion of the opening movement, *Allegro*, from 62 to 74 bars. Here Bach directed his attention primarily to the development and recapitulation sections. His addition to the development (eight bars) consists mostly of sequences. Although these do not produce a new harmonic profile, they nevertheless add consequence to the development sections simply by providing harmonic variety and extra length.²⁰ Bach's expansion of the recapitulation of this movement holds greater interest for the study of his compositional process because it reflects a concern for harmonic symmetry on the broadest level. In the earliest surviving version (see Example 10) the phrase that introduces the recapitulation (bars 43–46, with the preceding upbeat) seems to promise such symmetry; this four-bar phrase affirms the tonic and even contains the reference to the subdominant area that serves, in many eighteenth-century sonata movements, to balance the move to the dominant in the exposition. But the following eight bars (47–54, with the preceding upbeat), which emphasize the dominant of the dominant, nullify the balancing effect of the subdominant by threatening to modulate in a direction more appropriate to the exposition of a movement in sonata form, and the junction of these bars with the closing of the movement (bars 54–62) is awkward.

19 Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 87.

20 The only distinctive harmonic addition to this section is a Neapolitan harmony in bar 49, three bars before the cadence in G minor that concludes the section.

Example 9. Two versions of Wq 65/7/ii (after D-B, P 368 and PL-Kj, P 771 respectively)

Siciliano (after P 368)

Andante (after P 771)

1 2 3 4

5 6 7 8

9 10 11 12

13 14 15 16

Musical score for measures 13-16. The score is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The upper system consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line has notes: 13 (G4), 14 (A4), 15 (Bb4), 16 (Bb4). The piano accompaniment features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the right hand and chords in the left hand. Dynamic markings *pp* and *f* are present in the lower system.

Musical score for measures 17-20. The upper system shows the vocal line with notes: 17 (A4), 18 (Bb4), 19 (Bb4), 20 (Bb4). The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern. The lower system shows the piano accompaniment with more complex rhythmic figures and dynamics.

Musical score for measures 21-24. The upper system shows the vocal line with notes: 21 (A4), 22 (Bb4), 23 (Bb4), 24 (Bb4). The piano accompaniment continues with a similar rhythmic pattern. The lower system shows the piano accompaniment with more complex rhythmic figures and dynamics.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a piece in G minor. The first system (measures 25-28) features a melodic line in the upper staff and a more active line in the lower staff. The second system (measures 29-32) shows a retransition and the beginning of a recapitulation. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, trills, and dynamic markings.

In his first revision of this movement, Bach replaced these bars of dominant implication with ten bars (preceded by an upbeat) that establish the tonic key more securely (see Figure 5, first system, beginning with the upbeat to the sixth bar at the top of the page). Bach seems not to have been completely satisfied with his changes in the recapitulation of the first movement of Wq 65/7. At some time after this revision, probably after his move to Hamburg, he made another revision of the movement.²¹ The new revision appears in the lower right-hand corner of Figure 5. Here Bach has created a retransition and expanded the moment of return to the tonic. This final expansion of the movement begins with a four-bar retransition, designed to follow the G minor cadence (the first crossed-out bar at the top of the page) that ends the development section. The revision at the bottom of the page continues with an expansion of the first phrase of the recapitulation from four to eight bars (the first revision of the original recapitulation begins with the upbeat to the second crossed-out measure at the top of the page; the second revision of the recapitulation begins on the upbeat to the last measure of the first system in the lower right-hand corner).

²¹ In this correction to P 771 Bach's handwriting displays the pronounced tremor that characterizes much of his late handwriting.

Example 10. Wq 65/7/i (bars 43–58) after P 368, containing the earliest surviving version of Wq 65/7/i

With the expansions in this opening *Allegro* and in the *Siciliano* Bach has, to some extent, grasped the dialectic of the Classical style; he elevates moments of dissonance to a higher level and achieves more dramatic structural articulation. Yet not all of the expansions in this sonata contribute to dramatic cogency; the perfunctory four-bar retransition in the lower right-hand corner of Figure 4 and the redundancy of some expanded sections of the *Siciliano* (Example 9) suggest that expansion was a process that did not come easily to Emanuel Bach. It is the embellishment of the second movement, *Siciliano*, that is the most attractive and successful aspect of its revision.

Figure 5. C. P. E. Bach's autograph of Wq 65/7: PL-Kj, P 771



Late alterations

Embellishment, or, more specifically, variation applied to an unchanging structure, was the procedure by which Bach most frequently altered his keyboard sonatas. He revised several Berlin sonatas of the 1740s and 1750s in this way, tacitly replacing earlier versions with embellished ones. The only kind of alteration that the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* records for the sonatas of Bach's maturity is variation over an unchanging structure: the 'Embellishments and Variations ... for Students' (see note 9) and the variations of two other published sonatas. It might be suggested that Emanuel Bach, as the architect of the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*, had a mercenary motive for recording the existence of multiple versions of Wq 65/32 (Wq 70/1) and Wq 51/1, that he wished to encourage keyboard players to purchase all versions of each sonata that could be found among the materials to be inherited by his widow and daughter. But without acquitting Bach of attempting to derive the greatest possible financial gain from his oeuvre, it might also be suggested that he had another reason for noting the existence of altered versions of these two works: to call attention to his elegant and inexhaustible technique of variation.

The first of the two 'varied' (*verändert*) sonatas, Wq 65/32 (Wq 70/1), exhibits several aspects of the variation process. Although this work has only two distinct versions, Bach seems to have composed it in three stages. In its first stage (the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* gives 1758 as the date of origin) the sonata may have been intended for a group of organ sonatas that Bach allegedly composed for Princess Amalia of Prussia.²² In the second stage, as preparation for publication in Part IX of Haffner's *Oeuvres mêlées* in 1762–63, a few embellishments were added to the last movement. In the third stage, occurring 'after' [*nachher*] the appearance of the Haffner anthology (see Table I), Bach created a second distinct version by providing a florid varied reprise for each main section of the first movement and adding some embellishments to the second movement.

From the first stage the principle of variation dominates the last movement, a rondo with almost unrelieved symmetry of phrase structure. Most of the material for the movement is provided in the first four bars (a¹) of the refrain. This four-bar melody, varied, also begins the second phrase of the refrain (bars 9–12) and the third and fourth phrases (bars 17–20 and 25–28 respectively) and, transposed to the dominant key, invades the two couplets (B and B'; see Example 11). The melody that opens the movement is varied in some way in each of its subsequent appearances so that it never recurs in its original form (Example 12).

The most striking display of C. P. E. Bach's variation technique is found in Wq 65/35 and Wq 65/36, the two sonatas based on Wq 51/1. In each movement of these two unpublished works, the harmony and periodic structure are precisely the same as in the corresponding movement of Wq 51/1. As a result of Bach's unyielding adherence to the framework of the original structure, the identity of this framework is recognizable in each varied version. Yet each possesses a texture and a character that stamp it as an individual. In these two sonatas identity and difference are experienced simultaneously.

²² *Author's note (2015)*: The origin of this (1758) version of the sonata has been clarified in the author's article in JAMS, 51 (1998), 477–519: 'C. P. E. Bach's Organ Sonatas: a Musical Offering for Princess Amalia?'

Example 11. Schematic representation of the structure of Wq 65/32/iii (Wq 70/1/iii); 'v' = variation

A				B			A'	
a ¹	a ²	a ^{1v}	a ^{2v}	b	a ^{1/a²}	c	a ^{1vv}	a ^{2vv}
T. 1-8	9-16	17-24	25-32	33-40	41-48	49-56	57-64	65-72
Tonarten: A-Dur				→ E-Dur			A-Dur	
(v bedeutet verändert)								
B'			A''			Coda		
b	a ^{1vvv/a²}	c	a ^{1vvvv}	a ^{2vvv}	d	d ^v	a ^{1vvvvv}	
73-80	81-88	89-96	97-104	105-112	113-116		117-120-124	
→ E-Dur			A-Dur					

Example 12. Incipits of the opening melody of Wq 65/32/iii (Wq 70/1/iii) and its variants

The image displays five staves of musical notation, each representing a different variant of the opening melody. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 3/8 time signature. The staves are labeled with measure numbers: m. 1, m. 9, m. 17, m. 25, m. 41, m. 57, m. 65, m. 81, m. 97, m. 105, and m. 120. The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, with some variations in phrasing and ornamentation across the different versions.

For three sonatas composed in 1766 Bach made substantial revisions that were not recorded in the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*. He added varied reprises to the first movement of Wq 65/44, removed the middle movement, *Largo*, and, to repair the rent made by the elimination of this movement, composed for the end of the first movement a short transition to the third. Two circumstances suggest that the alterations in Wq 65/44 were made around 1784: (1) the *Largo* extracted from this sonata became the middle movement of Wq 59/3, a sonata for which the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* records 1784 as the date of origin; and (2) the composing copy that contains the varied reprises and transition for the first movement, PL-Kj, St 258b, exhibits the extreme tremor characteristic of Bach's script in many manuscripts of this last decade.

In PL-Kj, St 258b, which contains *only* alterations without their intended context, there are varied reprises for each of the outer movements of another sonata of 1766: Wq 65/46. The similar appearance of these alterations indicates that they were probably made around the same time as the ones for Wq 65/44. There is nothing abnormal or surprising about Bach's alterations in these two sonatas. Written-out varied reprises appear in many movements of sonatas from 1734 until the end of his career; transitions connecting movements grow frequent in sonatas composed in Hamburg. But the transfer of the *Largo* is more unusual, as is the replacement of the final movement of Wq 65/45 with a new one. Both final movements of the latter sonata are found in a large composite manuscript (*Konvolut*), PL-Kj, P 771, in a single individual manuscript containing the first two movements and a third, a 6/8 *Allegro*, all in the hand of Michel. The title page of this manuscript bears an inscription in the hand of C. P. E. Bach: 'No one has it yet [*hat noch niemand*]' . These words are still appropriate to describe the situation of the 6/8 *Allegro*, which is an unicum. Although P 771 was housed in the Prussian State Library until the mid 1940s, it never received much attention and only recently came to light when the sources in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków became available for examination. There is evidence that Bach tried to improve the 6/8 *Allegro* before discarding it. At the end of the movement he has written two discrete additions, each to be inserted as a measure of echo in one of the two main sections. But he was clearly not satisfied with this *Allegro*.

Tucked between the two pages of the 6/8 *Allegro* is a bifolio containing the more familiar 3/8 *Allegretto* in Bach's trembling late script and bearing on the cover the following penciled note in an unknown hand: 'This leaf was attached to the foregoing one. Thus Bach wants the 3/4 [*sic*] (autograph) movement to be played instead of the 6/8 *Allegro* of the enclosing movement.'²³ The extreme tremor in Bach's script suggests that he composed the *Allegretto* around the same time as the alterations for Wq 65/44 and Wq 65/46. For each of these three sonatas, there is only one source containing the early version (see Table I), and it may be inferred from this fact, as well as from Bach's remark on the title page of Wq 65/45, that none of the three was well known. The search for a middle movement for Wq 59/3 around 1784 may have called Bach's attention to these three neglected sonatas of 1766 and stimulated him to revise them. It is possible that these works belong to the group of '6 completely unknown and intended for publication [*6 ganz unbekannt und dem Druck bestimmt*]' of which Bach's widow writes in her letter of 5 September 1789 to Sara Itzig Levy in Berlin.

* * *

23 'Dieses Blatt war auf das vorige aufgeheftet [*sic*]. Bach will also, daß statt des 6/8 Allegro der umstehende [autographe] Satz (B-dur 3/4) [*sic*] gespielt wird.'

Certain aspects of Emanuel Bach's alterations of his sonatas remain enigmatic, but we can nevertheless make some assessment of the significance of these alterations. We can form some hypotheses about the pointed reference in the *Nachlaß* and Westphal catalogues to the revision of the sixteen sonatas composed between 1731 and 1738 and the silence of these two catalogues regarding other substantial revisions. The style of the four earliest Berlin sonatas, for example, does not differ appreciably from that of the first sixteen, and the revisions of three of these Berlin works (Wq 65/11, Wq 62/3, and Wq 65/12) are as extensive as the recorded revisions. The most obvious and likely explanation of the selectivity of the *Nachlaß* record of Bach's revisions is that he regarded the first sixteen sonatas as student works. The early Berlin sonatas were composed *after* Bach had left the university in Frankfurt an der Oder and had attached himself to the band of musicians around Prussian Crown Prince Frederick. Bach's professional career had thus begun, albeit modestly, and it would seem that when he prepared his records for the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*, he wished to make a distinction between the works of his student years and those written in Berlin.

Bach's choice of the years 1743 and 1744 for the revision of the early sonatas was a logical one. He had recently published the six 'Prussian' Sonatas (Wq 48) and was completing the sonatas of the 'Württemberg' collection (Wq 49). Movements in these sonatas are, generally, longer than in the previous sonatas, and there is greater contrast within each cycle of movements. Melodies are more elaborate and fluent; textures are more graceful. It might be suggested that Bach's revisions in his early sonatas—decoration of melodies, lightening of textures, expansion of movements, rearrangement of movements to produce cycles in contrasting keys—represent an attempt to raise the early works to the new level of competence that he had attained in the published collections of the 1740s.

According to the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis*, it was the later student sonatas that Emanuel Bach reworked first: 1743 is given as the date of all but one (Wq 65/7) of the Frankfurt sonatas, 1744 for the other early sonatas. Perhaps Bach believed that these works, composed after he had left the parental home and no longer had the benefit of his father's advice, needed revision more urgently than did the Leipzig sonatas. The surviving early versions of the Frankfurt sonatas reflect a search for a new and individual style, and indeed contain much that is awkward.

Although the *Nachlaß-Verzeichnis* records only the systematic program of revision in the mid-1740s, Bach made other substantial revisions in his keyboard sonatas. Two transfers of entire movements took place in Hamburg, probably in the last four or five years of his life. It may have been the stresses of his position in Hamburg that prompted him to take a middle movement from a sonata of 1766 (Wq 65/44) and relocate it in a work to be published in the fifth volume of the prestigious *Kenner und Liebhaber* series (Wq 59/1–6). Bach also made a substitution of movements in Wq 65/45 probably around the same time, replacing a somewhat prosaic movement with a capricious and witty one. At some time after the move to Hamburg, he expanded movements of two early sonatas (Wq 65/6 and Wq 65/7), displaying a partial grasp of the kind of dramatization that characterizes the Classical style, but often dissipating energy and losing direction. It appears from the surviving sources of the keyboard sonatas that when Bach wanted movements of greater length, he found it easier to discard old ones and write new ones. The method of revision in which Bach had the most frequent, and apparently the most comfortable, recourse in the keyboard sonatas was embellishment: variation over a fixed bass or elaboration of a single harmony. Bach's elaboration of harmonies occasionally seems to promise expansion in a linear direction, and such expansion does occur in the rondos of the *Kenner und Liebhaber* collections. But on the whole his embellishment of sonata movements is vertical. For

Emanuel Bach, binary form existed to be decorated, rather than expanded or dramatized. There is no trend to expansion in the lengths of movements of Bach's sonatas throughout his career, as there is in movements of the sonatas of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Bach's preferred method of revision—variation over an unchanging structure—employed the same process that produced the other kinds of alteration mentioned in the two early catalogues, the same process that produced the varied reprises in many of Bach's sonatas. It was a conservative process, a staple of the Baroque, and Bach's contemporaries perceived that he was not a progressive. Recognizing that his melodies, textures, and expressiveness of style were unique, they regarded him as an original and designated him an 'original genius'.²⁴

²⁴ This article grew out of a paper that was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in Vancouver, B.C. in November 1985 under the title 'Revision in C. P. E. Bach's Keyboard Sonatas'.

Abbreviations and Sigla

A-Wgm	Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde
AMB	Anna Magdalena Bach (handwriting)
An	Anonymous copyist
An 3xx	Anonymous copyist working for C. P. E. Bach
An 4xx	Anonymous copyist working for the Amalienbibliothek
B-Bc	Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royale de Musique
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1 ^{er}
Beur	Erich Beurmann, <i>Die Klaviersonaten Ph. E. Bachs</i> , diss. (Göttingen, 1952); pp. 118–45: catalogue of keyboard sonatas
CPEB	Carl Philip Emanuel Bach (handwriting)
D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz
D-Bthu	Berlin, Thulemeier Collection, now in D-B
D-BP	Pretlack Collection, now in D-B
D-GOI	Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek
D-KII	Kiel, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek
D-LEb	Leipzig, Bach-Archiv
D-LEm	Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt
D-Mbs	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
D-SWI	Schwerin, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek
Gorke Slg	Gorke collection, now in D-LEb
JAMS	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
JM	<i>Journal of Musicology</i>
NV	<i>Verzeichnis des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeisters Carl Philip Emanuel Bach</i> (Hamburg, 1790); facsimile edition, ed. R. Wade (New York, 1981)
PL-Kj	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellńska
TBSt	Georg Dadelsen, <i>Bemerkungen zur Handschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs, seiner Familie und seines Kreises</i> (Trossingen, 1958) (<i>Tübinger Bach-Studien</i> , ed. Walther Gerstenberg; vol. 1)
US-Wc	Washington, D.C, Library of Congress
Wq	Alfred Wotquenne, <i>Thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke von Carl Philip Emanuel Bach</i> , Leipzig, 1905 (reprint: Wiesbaden, 1964)