

C.P.E. Bach's Instrumental "Recompositions": Revisions or Alternatives?

By Leta Miller

In 1760 Georg Ludwig Winter published C.P.E. Bach's *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen*, designed, as the composer notes in his preface, to provide performers

with a simple means of gaining the satisfaction of adding some alterations (*Veränderungen*) to the pieces they perform, without needing to invent such alterations themselves or rely on others to write something that they will learn only after a great deal of effort. . . .¹

Bach provided extensively varied reprises for ten movements in the collection: the outer two fast movements of the first four sonatas, the opening movement of the fifth sonata, and each section of the single-movement, multisectional sixth sonata.² His alterations read less like ornamental surface decoration than like variations over a given harmonic/melodic structure (example 1).

Even after publishing these instructional *Veränderungen*, however, Bach was not content to let them be. (As we shall see, he was rarely content to let any of his works remain in their original form, published or not.) Some years later he returned to his sonatas with varied reprises to emend nine of the sixteen movements—three that already contained variations in the

¹ C.P.E. Bach, *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (Berlin: Winter, 1760), n.p. The sonatas appeared simultaneously in French and German editions. From the German prefatory material: "Ich habe ihnen bey der Leichtigkeit zugleich auf eine bequeme Art das Vergnügen verschaffen wollen, sich mit Veränderungen hören zu lassen, ohne daß sie nöthig haben, solche entweder selbst zu erfinden, oder sich von andern vorschreiben zu lassen, und sie mit vieler Mühe auswendig zu lernen." The French reads: "J'ai voulu leur procurer les moyens aisés de se procurer & aux autres la satisfaction d'accompagner de quelques changemens les Pièces qu'ils exécutent, sans qu'ils ayent besoin pour cela de les inventer eux-mêmes, ou de recourir à d'autres qui leur prescrivent des choses qu'ils n'apprendroient qu'avec une extrême peine."

² The last movement of the fifth sonata, a minuet, is not a strict two-reprise form with varied repeats. Bach does present varied renditions of the opening theme, however, which recurs after intermediary modulating interludes. The sixth sonata is a single movement in the form ♯a ♯b ♯c ♯d ♯a ♯b ♯c ♯d ♯a ♯b ♯.

Example 1. *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (H. 140), VI: mm. 141–48 and the varied repeat in mm. 149–56

first statement:

Musical score for the first statement, measures 141–148. The score is written for piano in G major, 3/4 time. The treble clef part begins with a melodic line starting on G4, moving through A4, B4, and C5, with various rhythmic patterns including eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass clef part provides harmonic support with chords and single notes. A fermata is placed over the final measure (148) in both staves.

varied repeat:

Musical score for the varied repeat, measures 149–156. The score is written for piano in G major, 3/4 time. The treble clef part features a more complex melodic line with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and includes several fermatas. The bass clef part continues with harmonic accompaniment, including some chords with fermatas. The piece concludes with a final note in the bass clef.

print (Sonatas no. 3/III, no. 4/III, and no. 5/I), all five slow movements, and the finale of Sonata no. 5. The emendations appear in autograph manuscripts and annotations to two copies of the Winter print. Bach's most prolific and dependable Hamburg copyist, Michel, also prepared a clean copy of all the changes (with a few additional ones as well).³

The very existence of Michel's careful copy suggests that Bach's changes were more significant than just performance alternatives. Indeed, the alterations appear to be revisions intended to replace the originals: the most extensive changes (in the finale of Sonata no. 3) emend not only the repeat of each section, but also the initial statement as well. Furthermore, all of the slow movements (none of which contains repeated sections) underwent extensive emendation.

The situation is considerably complicated, however, by two republications of the sonatas in 1785, three years before Bach's death. In both an unauthorized print by Rellstab and a composer-sanctioned one by Breitkopf, the sonatas again appear in their original printed form.

The convoluted history of various versions of the *Reprises-Sonaten* has given rise to a variety of theories regarding both the dating and the func-

³ The two prints containing autograph emendations are a copy with French prefatory material in London (GB Lbm, K. 10.a.28) and a copy with German prefatory material in Paris (F Pn, A. cp. 682-4, R. 24.389). The former contains alterations to these sonata movements: no. 3/II and III; no. 4/II and III; no. 5/I, II, and III. The print with German prefatory material contains alterations to no. 5/III only. The chart in Howard Serwer, "C. P. E. Bach, J. C. F. Rellstab, and the Sonatas with Varied Reprises," in *C. P. E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 236 fails to note the variations to no. 5/III in the French print; they are, however, listed by Darrell Berg in "C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments' for his Keyboard Sonatas," *Journal of Musicology* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 151-73 and given in Eiji Hashimoto's edition of the work (n.p.: Zen-on Music Co., 1984). A minor addition should be added to Berg's chart in Table 1, p. 155: the oblong insert to B-Bc 5885 contains, in addition to the variants listed there, some for sonata no. 5/III.

The autograph manuscript D-ddr Bds, P1135 contains alterations to Sonatas no. 1/II and no. 2/II. The manuscript D-ddr LEm, M8 R12 (at least partially in Bach's hand) contains a complete copy of Sonata no. 3/III (see Serwer, *ibid.*). The Michel manuscript (B-Bc 5885), which contains all of the alterations, was part of the collection of J. J. H. Westphal. For more details, see Manfred Hermann Schmid, "Das Geschäft mit dem Nachlaß von C. Ph. E. Bach": Neue Dokumente zur Westphal-Sammlung des Conservatoire Royal de Musique und der Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brüssel," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 493 and 494 (note 6). Two of these manuscripts also preserve alterations to sonatas in the collections that followed the *Reprises-Sonaten*, namely the *Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (1761) and the *Zweyte Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (1763). See the editions of these collections by Hashimoto, and references in Berg, *ibid.* A later manuscript in Brussels (Bc 14,885) entitled "C.P.E. Bach. Sätze aus Concerten u. Sonaten von ihm selbst verändert," contains clean copies of all of the sonata movements (complete) in their altered form.

tion of Bach's alterations. Because of the 1785 publications, Etienne Darbellay dates the revisions within the last three years of Bach's life and considers the emended versions to be Bach's preferred rendition.⁴ He assumes that Bach was in some sense dissatisfied with his original compositional solutions—that rather than providing alternatives, he was tinkering with the earlier composition in a more fundamental way. His edition therefore presents the later alterations as the primary text with the earlier printed renditions given in small notes above.

Darrell Berg, however, sees the later emendations as performance alternatives. Based on the use of the terms "Veränderungen" and "Auszierungen" in the Michel copy and in Bach's *Nachlassverzeichnis*,⁵ she concludes that

it seems appropriate to . . . adopt C.P.E. Bach's terminology 'variations' and 'embellishments' for the changes he made in the sonatas . . . for the evidence indicates that Bach intended them to serve as alternatives rather than replacements. . . . Perhaps some were substituted for familiar passages to 'reflect honorably' on the performer after the printed varied reprises had grown familiar. Others were used, perhaps, to embellish repetitions in sonatas for which no written out varied reprise existed. Surely, in any case, they were to be applied at the pleasure of the performer and not to be regarded as mandatory alterations.⁶

⁴ See Etienne Darbellay, ed. *Sechs Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen* by C. P. E. Bach (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1976). Unfortunately Darbellay seems to have been unaware of the manuscript sources, thus missing the alterations to the slow movements of Sonatas no. 1 and no. 2. These alterations are contained in Hashimoto's edition, which presents the original printed version as primary and the alterations as *ossia* above the staff or as appendices at the end of the volume.

⁵ The Michel copy is entitled "Veränderungen und Auszierungen über einige Sonaten für Scholaren." The notation in the *Nachlassverzeichnis* reads: "[I]n einem Exemplar des 1sten Theils der Reprisen-Sonaten sind hin und wieder Veränderungen eigenhändig eingeschrieben." Rachel W. Wade, ed., *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, Hamburg 1790* (New York and London: Garland, 1981), 53. Hereafter cited as *NV*.

⁶ Berg, "C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments'" 171. Berg (pp. 168–69) distinguishes among three different appellations for revisions: (1) *erneuert*: versions with "changes in the structure of movements or substitution of entire movements" intended as replacements; (2) *variirt*: "versions . . . clearly intended to serve as alternatives"; and (3) *Veränderungen* and *Auszierungen*: "variations over an unchanging structural framework . . . not incorporated into the sonatas for which they are intended, but . . . collected separately or entered as additions to printed texts." Berg takes issue with Darbellay's dating of the alterations; if they were intended as alternatives rather than replacements, she argues, the republication of the sonatas in their original form has no bearing on their dating.

Considering the alterations exclusively as alternatives presents problems. Although some of them conceivably could be "substituted for familiar passages . . . after the printed varied reprises had grown familiar," or "embellish repetitions for which no written out varied reprise existed," most of them apply to unrepeated passages: the throughcomposed slow movements or the first statements of thematic material in the fast movements. On the other hand, the existence of the publication obviously blocked any attempt by Bach to permanently replace his earlier versions. Unlike his unpublished compositions, it was not so easy to suppress originals he deemed less than ideal.

Still a third explanation for the emendations has been proposed by Howard Serwer, who suggests that Bach revised the sonatas in order to frustrate Rellstab's unauthorized republication by rendering the original versions obsolete. According to this theory, Bach ultimately abandoned this idea and approved of Breitkopf's publication for economic reasons: he apparently still had some three hundred copies of the original printing in hand; endorsing a revised edition would have rendered these copies useless.⁷ If the alterations to the *Reprisen-Sonaten* were made for the express purpose of frustrating Rellstab's publication rather than from some inherent dissatisfaction with the original, the issue of Bach's own preferences becomes even more pressing. Did he consider these late emendations improvements or, as Berg suggests, merely equally viable alternatives?

The question of "composer intention" in the face of multiple versions of a particular work is hardly unique to the *Reprisen-Sonaten*. In fact, this is not the only case in which Bach altered published compositions. The *Nachlassverzeichnis* (hereafter *NV*) of 1790 (which repeatedly has been shown to reflect his own records)⁸ notes several compositions that were "gedruckt, aber nachhero verändert."⁹ A case in point are three sonatinas for cembalo

⁷ Serwer, "C.P.E. Bach, J.C. F. Rellstab, and the Sonatas with Varied Reprises," 233-43.

⁸ That the catalog is based on records kept by Bach himself is clear from remarks contained therein and from correlations between the catalog's numbering system and that on many of Bach's manuscripts. For further information, see Rachel W. Wade, ed., *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, Hamburg, 1790* (New York and London: Garland, 1981); and Darrell Berg, "Towards a Catalogue of the Keyboard Sonatas of C.P.E. Bach," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 2 (summer 1979): 276-303.

⁹ Among the published works that were later revised are three sonatinas (discussed below), the Trio Sonata H. 590, and a number of keyboard works. One of the most interesting of these last is the Sonata H. 150, which was revised twice (see remarks in the concluding section of this essay). For the Trio Sonata H. 590, Bach altered the first violin part after publication; the changes are preserved in B-Bc 25, 906. (The note accompanying this item in E. Eugene Helm, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989] is incorrect.) It is possible that Bach also intended to alter the second

concertante, flutes, and strings, published by Winter in 1764–66. The revisions, which survive in fair copies, show substantial changes from the prints: horns are added to the ensemble, timbral contrasts are enhanced by the elimination of much of the doubling between the keyboard and the violins and/or flutes, and six of the nine movements are provided with varied reprises featuring idiomatic and sometimes virtuosic keyboard figuration (example 2). In this case, however, we know Bach's own evaluation of the two versions. Even though the *NV* here uses the term "verändert" rather than "erneuert" (which is used elsewhere to indicate revisions), there is no doubt that Bach considered the later versions improvements over the published ones. In a letter to Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal on 5 March 1787 he noted, "I've made my three published sonatinas much better and more brilliant."¹⁰

It is true that the revisions to the sonatinas are more fundamental than those in the *Reprises-Sonaten*: while the alterations in the *Reprises-Sonaten* enhance the dynamic propulsion by roulades or ornaments, those in the sonatinas alter the instrumentation and add varied reprises. Nevertheless, Bach's expressed preference for the later version of his sonatinas supports the evidence suggesting he would have preferred the altered versions of his sonatas as well. In fact, the two possibilities—alteration as revision or alteration as alternative—need not be mutually exclusive, for Bach could at once have preferred his emended versions without categorically rejecting his original solutions.¹¹

violin part of this sonata, as some of the changes in violin 1 raise that line so high that it would sound more than an octave above violin 2. Manuscript 25,906 also contains minor revisions to the bass part.

¹⁰ "Die 3 gedr. Sonatinen habe ich sehr verbeßert u. brillanter gemacht." The letter is transcribed in Rudolph Angermüller, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachiana: Briefe, die bei Ernst Suchalla nicht veröffentlicht wurden," in *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1985/86): 129–30.

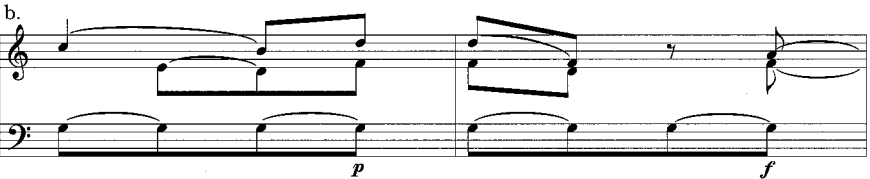
¹¹ The *NV*'s differing treatment of the sonatinas and the *Reprises-Sonaten* actually supports such an interpretation. The listing of the sonatinas disguises, as much as possible, the fact of their publication. Like the unpublished works in the catalog, each of the three sonatinas is given without publication information and with an incipit (although a summary statement at the end of the section does note that three of them were published but later revised). For the *Reprises-Sonaten*, incipits are lacking (as with other published material) and reference is made to publication. (In addition to the publications by Winter [1760], Rellstab [1786] and Breitkopf [1785/6], the sonatas were also printed by John Walsh [1763] and William Randall [1770]). The later alterations are indeed acknowledged, but not along with the listing of the sonatas, as in other cases in which published works were subsequently revised (e.g., H. 150, H. 590). Rather, they are noted much later in the catalog under the heading "Kleinere Stücke."

Example 2. Sonata, H. 458 and revised version, H. 460 (transcribed from the Winter print of 1764 [H. 458] and B-Bc 6352 [H. 460])

a. Varied repeat of the first phrase as it appears in the revision, H. 460 (left hand is identical to print)*



b. Original phrase as it appears in print, H. 458



* In H. 460, the keyboard plays the figured bass line alone the first time, while the instrumental ensemble plays the simple version as given in H. 458. On the repeat the ensemble plays the unadorned version pianissimo.

Whether or not works were published, it was hardly unusual for Bach to revise them. In fact, he seems to have been driven by a compulsion to continually modify his earlier works. In the 1740s in particular he systematically dusted off and updated his old keyboard sonatas, concerti, trio sonatas, and obbligato sonatas, all of which bear double dates in the *NV*: the year of original composition and that in which they were *erneuert*. Many of these works were subjected to still further revision during his Hamburg years, as a comparison of Hamburg and Berlin manuscripts shows.

We might well question the reasons for such an elaborate process of revision. Why not merely destroy unwanted juvenilia and start anew? Indeed, given that Bach himself admitted to burning a ream of his compositions,¹² one wonders how many early works he totally discarded, how many appear in no form at all in the *NV*. Those that he did revise must have held some inherent value for him, some potential for excellence. For unpublished works the task of suppressing the unwanted early version was, of course, quite simple, as long as not too many copies had been made and distributed: one merely destroyed the originals, a task at which Bach was (unfortunately) singularly successful.

Occasionally, of course, we can identify what appears to be an earlier version of a work that escaped Bach's conflagrations. Such may well be the case with the sonatina H. 449, for which Helm lists a variant source "without horn parts, varied, and condensed through elimination of the written-out varied repeats."¹³ In view of the known revisions of the three published sonatinas, is it not possible that this variant manuscript, although lacking the authority of an autograph, represents the original version instead of a later condensation?

Such may also be the case with a previously unrecognized variant source for the earliest of Bach's trios, the sonata for violin and obbligato keyboard, H. 502. One surviving manuscript of this sonata (D-brd B St. 262) preserves a version radically divergent from other sources that bear Bach's imprimatur. Among the latter is a Vienna manuscript with a title page in Bach's hand, which is virtually identical (even to the details of page layout) to a Brussels copy in the hand of Michel.¹⁴ The Brussels copy, part of

¹² Bach's letter to J. J. Eschenburg of Braunschweig dated 21 January 1786, in which he refers to having recently burned a ream of old compositions, has been often cited. See, for example, Berg, "C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments'" 168 n. 19.

¹³ According to Helm, *Thematic Catalogue*, D-ddr LEm, PM 5216.

¹⁴ A-Wgm XI 36264 and B-Bc 6354. Substantially the same version is also preserved in D-brd B St. 562. The Brussels manuscript is listed as "missing" in Helm, *Thematic Catalogue*. However, manuscript B-Bc 6354 contains copies in Michel's hand of all fifteen sonatas for flute or violin with obbligato keyboard: H. 502–509, 511–15, and 535–36. Helm lists six of these sonatas (H. 502, 503, 512, 513, 535, and 536) as "missing" from this manuscript; one sonata (H. 508) is

a complete set of Bach's trio and obbligato sonatas, comes from the extensive collection of Westphal, who corresponded with Bach during the 1780s and obtained from him (and, after his death, from his widow or daughter) a comprehensive library of his music.¹⁵ Thus the Westphal collection tends to reflect the state of Bach's compositions in the last few years of his life.

According to the *NV*, H. 502 was composed in 1731 and revised ("erneuert") in 1746. The divergent manuscript St. 262 is a rather elegant copy dated 1758—twelve years after the apparent revision date (see figure 1). Nevertheless it is unlikely to represent a second revision. If it did, surely the Brussels copy, dating from the 1780s, would reflect this reading rather than that of the Vienna manuscript, and the *NV* would be unlikely to list the revision date as 1746. Rather, 1758 appears to represent the copying date of a manuscript that may actually preserve the earliest surviving version of H. 502.

If so, how can we explain the manuscript's genesis? The copy was evidently prepared for Wilhelmine Friederike Albertine (1736–63) of Schaumburg-Lippe (see figure 1), the unmarried sister of Philipp Ernst (1723–87, ruler of the region from 1777–87), and second cousin of Count Wilhelm (1724–77), who ruled the area in the year in which the manuscript was copied.¹⁶ In 1750 Emanuel's half-brother, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, was appointed chamber musician in Wilhelm's court in Bückeburg. Shortly before this appointment, Wilhelm had visited Potsdam, where he met Emanuel, who was extremely influential in securing the position for his brother.¹⁷ In fact, Emanuel dedicated to Wilhelm two published trio sonatas, composed in 1748–49.¹⁸ Might Wilhelm have acquired a manuscript of H. 502 during his visit to Potsdam, or might J. C. F. Bach have had the manuscript in his possession when he moved to

listed as being at the Bibliothèque Royale; for three sonatas (H. 506, 507, and 514) no Brussels copy is listed. In spite of this information, all the sonatas are contained in Manuscript 6354. (These works are discussed in my article "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," *Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 2 [Spring 1993]: 203–49. In footnote 43 I noted, following Helm, that H. 508 was not at the conservatory library; in fact, however, it is included in their collection.)

¹⁵ Westphal's manuscript catalog of his collection of C. P. E. Bach works is currently in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier (Manuscript Fétis 5218). The collection itself was purchased by Fétis for the Conservatory library.

¹⁶ For information on Friederike, Philipp Ernst, Wilhelm, and the rest of the Schaumburg-Lippe family, see Helge Bei der Wieden, *Schaumburg-Lippische Genealogie* (Bückeburg: Grimme, 1969). Wilhelm reigned from 1748 to 1777. The information on Friederike is found on pp. 34–35.

¹⁷ See, for example, Hannsdieter Wohlfarth, *Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach* (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1971), 59.

¹⁸ H. 578 and 579, published by Balthasar Schmid, Nuremberg, 1751.

Figure 1. Title page of D-brd St. 262, an alternative version of the sonata for violin and keyboard, H. 502. Reproduced with the permission of the Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

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TRIO in D. Dur.

CEMBALO OBLIGATO
VIOLINO & FLAUTO TRV.

C. P. E. Bach

Friderique Wilhelmine Albertine
Comtesse de Schaumbourg Lippe
Allverdisen 1758.

Bückerburg? However the manuscript reached Bückeberg, it is clear that for some reason a presentation copy was prepared for Friederike in 1758. It would have been a logical year to honor her, in fact, for in June Count Johann Ludwig von Rechteren-Almelo asked for her hand.¹⁹

St. 262 varies little from the other manuscripts in the first three movements, although it lacks the wealth of French ornaments present in the Brussels copy. The finale, however, is vastly altered: St. 262 contains a "minuet 3" not present in the other sources, as well as substantial variants in minuets 1 and 2 (example 3). When he revised the sonata, Bach apparently abandoned the rather uninspired third minuet.²⁰ In the first minuet he replaced the jarring interjection of sixteenth-note motion with a more unified rhythmic figuration (see m. 5ff. and parallel places in the second half) and relieved the relentless parallelism between violin and keyboard by introducing a more varied texture (e.g., minuet 1, beginning of the second half). He also reversed the parts, giving the keyboard the upper line, a practice consistent with several of his other obbligato sonatas from the late 1740s (e.g., H. 506 and 507).

If St. 262 reflects the original (or at least an earlier) version of H. 502, it also indicates that Bach at first conceived of the sonata with the option of flute as well as violin (see the title page in figure 1).²¹ Indeed, the key is one of the best for the baroque flute and the range stays above d' (the

¹⁹ Four months later she turned him down. He subsequently married her sister Juliane. Friederike died unmarried and childless.

²⁰ Its opening theme bears some relation to that of the keyboard sonata H. 32.5/I (1743).

²¹ The figuration in minuet 1 of H. 502 closely resembles the keyboard figuration in the last movement of the C major flute sonata, BWV1033, also a minuet. This puzzling work, which survives only in a copy by C. P. E. Bach (D-brd B St. 460, ca. 1731, the same year as H. 502!) is scored for flute and continuo except in the first minuet, which, for unexplained reasons, has an obbligato keyboard part. The rudimentary continuo part in this sonata is highly uncharacteristic of J. S. Bach, one factor casting doubt on the work's previous attribution to him. Robert Marshall has postulated that Sebastian composed the work as an unaccompanied flute sonata several years earlier and then assigned Emanuel the task of writing a bass for it ("J.S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 3 [Fall 1979]: 463-98; revised and reprinted as chapter 12 of *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* [New York: Schirmer Books, 1989]). If Marshall's hypothesis is correct (and evidence points to it being so), it is not unreasonable to suppose that Emanuel might have also tried his hand at writing an obbligato part for the minuet movement. When he then composed his own sonata for violin (or flute?) and keyboard around the same time, he might well have drawn upon ideas he had explored for BWV1033. (Marshall suggests that J. S. Bach's original flute line was the line now preserved as the keyboard right hand, arguing that the flute part appears to have been derived from the keyboard line (*ibid.*, 205). However, the opposite is equally plausible; i.e., that the present right hand part was derived from the present flute line by filling in the longer notes with diminution.)

Example 3. Sonata for violin/keyboard, H. 502, last movement
a. Version from D-brd B, St. 262

Minuet 1

violin

keyboard

5

10

15

tr

Example 3a (cont.)

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system (measures 20-23) features a flute line with a melodic line and a piano accompaniment with a rhythmic pattern. The second system (measures 24-27) continues the flute melody with a *p* dynamic and includes a trill in the final measure. The third system (measures 28-31) features a *f* dynamic and concludes with a trill in the flute line.

flute's lowest note) except, interestingly, in one place in the unique minuet 3 (see example 3a, minuet 3, m. 4). Even this spot does not present much of a problem, however, as the flute's range is easily accommodated by raising most of the measure an octave, as shown in dotted brackets. In other trio sonatas that have the option of flute or violin, Bach indicated such necessary octave transpositions by placing long slurs above the notes in question.²²

²² For example, in the G-major Trio Sonata H. 581/583, Bach wrote at the top of the manuscript: "Sonata a 2 Violini e Basso[.] Wenn die 1ste Violin mit der Flöte soll gespielt werden, so müssen die Noten, worüber ein langer Bogen stehet, ein Octav höher gesetzt werden." For a facsimile of the beginning of this manuscript, see Miller, "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," 224.

Example 3a (cont.)

Minuet 2

The musical score for Minuet 2 is presented in three systems. The first system consists of a treble clef staff with a melody and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a piano accompaniment. The second system features a first ending (marked '1.') and a second ending (marked '2.') in the treble staff, with corresponding piano accompaniment. The third system is labeled 'Minuet 1 da capo' and shows the beginning of the first minuet, also in treble and grand staves.

There is little doubt that the alterations to the finale of H. 502 were spurred by an attempt to improve the composition. In other cases, however, Bach's motivation may have been less the reparation of flaws or shortcomings than an attempt at modernization or a reconsideration of formal organizational strategies. For the keyboard sonata H. 16, three versions survive (1736, 1744, and a Hamburg revision from the 1770s).²³

²³ For details on this work and other early keyboard sonatas, see Wolfgang Horn, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Frühe Klaviersonaten* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K. D. Wagner, 1988), especially pp. 232–40. Horn speculates that the first movement of H. 16 might have been composed in 1734 and the other two movements added in 1736. In addition to the alterations to the first movement discussed in this article, Bach also made substantial changes to the second and third movements, expanding the early 21-measure *siciliano* to a 32-measure *andante* and rhythmically enlivening the finale.

Example 3a (cont.)

Minuet 3

The musical score for Minuet 3 is presented in three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece in D major, 3/4 time. The flute-like phrase in the first system is marked with an asterisk and dotted brackets. The second system shows a first and second ending. The third system shows the beginning of the first ending, marked "Minuet 1 da capo".

* Phrase in dotted brackets would need to be raised an octave for performance on the flute.

In his first revision Bach reconfigured the first movement's phrase structure to conform to his other compositions from the 1740s (figure 2): four- and eight-measure phrases now predominate in the first reprise and the development has been dramatically prolonged.²⁴ The Hamburg version adds a brief retransition and an expanded recapitulation.

²⁴ Similarly, in H. 15, alterations to the finale in Bach's later wavering hand transform an 8 + 12 measure first reprise and an 8 + 10 measure recapitulation into a more balanced 8 + 16 measures in both cases. For further information on H. 15, see Berg, "Bachs Umarbeitungen seiner Claviersonaten," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1988): 123–61. In a recent paper at the American Musicological Society annual meeting in Montreal (1993), Pamela Fox traced the development of Bach's "wavering hand" which resulted from a well-documented hand tremor.

Example 3. Sonata for violin/keyboards, H. 502, last movement
 b. Version from A Wgm, XI 36264; B-Bc, 6354; and D-brd B, St. 562

Minuet 1

The musical score for Minuet 1 is presented in four systems. Each system consists of three staves: a violin staff at the top, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) for the keyboard. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The violin part features a melodic line with several trills (tr) and ornaments (tr with a flourish). The keyboard part provides harmonic support with a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The score includes repeat signs and first/second endings.

According to Fox, isolated examples appear as early as the 1740s, but Bach's hand was steadier in the 1750s. The tremor becomes more pronounced after 1765 and there is a decided escalation of the problem after 1775. (Pamela Fox, "Toward a Comprehensive C. P. E. Bach Chronology: *Schriftchronologie* and the Issue of Bach's 'Late Hand.'")

Example 3b (cont.)

Musical score for Example 3b (cont.). It consists of three staves: a single treble clef staff at the top, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) below. The key signature is one sharp (F#). The top staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and a first ending (1.) followed by a second ending (2.). The grand staff provides harmonic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes in the bass and chords in the treble.

Minuet 2

Musical score for Minuet 2. It consists of three staves: a single treble clef staff at the top, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) below. The key signature is one flat (Bb). The top staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and a first ending (1.) followed by a second ending (2.). The grand staff provides harmonic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes in the bass and chords in the treble.

Continuation of the musical score for Minuet 2. It consists of three staves: a single treble clef staff at the top, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) below. The key signature is one flat (Bb). The top staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and a first ending (1.) followed by a second ending (2.). The grand staff provides harmonic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes in the bass and chords in the treble.

Musical score for Minuet 1 da capo. It consists of three staves: a single treble clef staff at the top, and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) below. The key signature is one flat (Bb). The top staff contains a melodic line with trills (tr) and a first ending (1.) followed by a second ending (2.). The grand staff provides harmonic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes in the bass and chords in the treble.

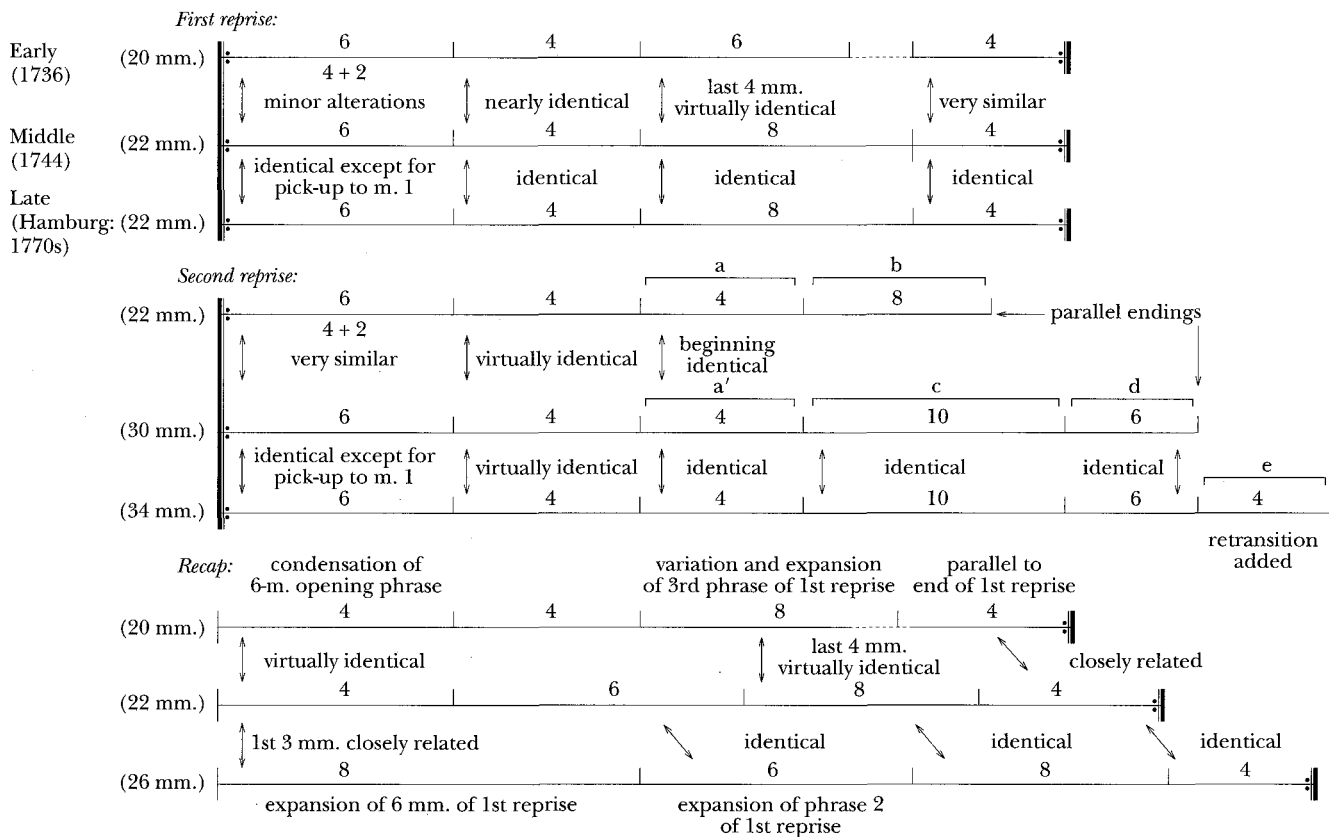
The expansion of the development section, by far the most important alteration to the movement, is effected by the interpolation or substitution of discrete modules, as shown in figure 2. Phrase c is substituted for phrase b, which probably suggested the alteration to the end of phrase a (example 4a). For the 1744 version, phrase d was interpolated between c and the recapitulation, echoing at its conclusion the end of the old phrase b (figure 2). A second interpolation, the retransition phrase e, was added in the Hamburg revision (example 4b); its melodic material foreshadows the alteration Bach made to the opening theme, where the rhythmic momentum is increased by the substitution of four descending scalar thirty-seconds for the original two ascending triadic sixteenths.

The development's expansion disrupts the balance of the early version, in which all three sections were virtually the same length (figure 2). Attention is increasingly focussed on the center of the movement, whose inherent instability is reinforced by the rhythmic and harmonic language of the new material (example 4c): the momentum of phrase c builds to a continuous flow of sixteenth-note triplets and a typically Classical half cadence (mm. 45–46), which ushers in an astonishing chromatic divergency marked piano and cut off in midstream by a rest in the right hand and a two-octave downward thrust in the left (mm. 47–48). The language of these interpolated phrases is remarkably Mozartian, particularly in comparison to the Baroque rhetoric of the original version. (Note, for example, the upward resolving appoggiaturas in mm. 39 and 41, the octave leaps in mm. 38 and 40, and the approach to the half cadence in octaves in mm. 45–46.)

In H. 16 (as in H. 502 and the sonatinas), Bach's alterations were clearly revisionary, designed as replacements. He used the same type of interpolative compositional procedure, however, in works designed specifically as alternatives. Alternative versions are legion in nearly every genre in which Bach composed. Trio sonatas frequently admit multiple performance options, including scoring as obbligato (duo) sonatas. Keyboard concerti were arranged for keyboard solo, while solo keyboard works were orchestrated as "sonatinas" (cembalo concertato, horns, flutes, and strings) or as septets (two clarinets, two flutes, two violins, and bass). And six keyboard concerti survive in equally authentic versions for flute, cello, and/or oboe.

The creation of these alternative versions frequently served as a catalyst for compositional reconsiderations as well. While Bach was probably motivated to make such arrangements by the availability of particular performers or the demands of a particular occasion or patron, the arranging process often generated alterations of a more fundamental nature as well. A case in point is the A major concerto for flute, cello, or keyboard and

Figure 2. Keyboard sonata, H. 16, mvt. I. Comparison of the phrase structure in early, middle, and late versions



Example 4. Keyboard sonata H. 16, mvt. I

Early version (1736; transcribed from D-brd-B P 368)

Middle version (1744; transcribed from D-ddr-Bds P371 and D-brd-B P775A)

Late version (1770s; transcribed from D-brd-B P775)

a. Phrase a

Early version

30

a

b

35

Detailed description: This musical score shows the early version of phrase 'a' in measures 30-35. It is written for piano in G minor (two flats). The right hand starts with a triplet of eighth notes (F4, G4, A4) in measure 30, followed by a quarter note (Bb4) and a half note (C5). Measure 31 continues with a quarter note (Bb4), a quarter note (A4), and a half note (G4). Measure 32 has a quarter note (F4), a quarter note (E4), and a half note (D4). Measure 33 features a quarter note (C4), a quarter note (B3), and a half note (A3). Measure 34 has a quarter note (G3), a quarter note (F3), and a half note (E3). Measure 35 begins with a quarter note (D3), a quarter note (C3), and a half note (B2), followed by a triplet of eighth notes (B2, A2, G2) in the final measure.

Middle and late versions

32

a'

c

35

Detailed description: This musical score shows the middle and late versions of phrase 'a' in measures 32-35. It is written for piano in G minor. The right hand starts with a triplet of eighth notes (F4, G4, A4) in measure 32, followed by a quarter note (Bb4) and a half note (C5). Measure 33 continues with a quarter note (Bb4), a quarter note (A4), and a half note (G4). Measure 34 has a quarter note (F4), a quarter note (E4), and a half note (D4). Measure 35 features a quarter note (C4), a quarter note (B3), and a half note (A3), followed by a triplet of eighth notes (B2, A2, G2) in the final measure. The bass line in both versions is identical to the early version, providing harmonic support with chords and moving lines.

Example 4. Keyboard sonata H. 16, mvt. I
b. Retransitions

Early version b

Musical score for the early version of the retransition, measures 40-42. The score is in G minor (three flats) and 3/4 time. It features a treble and bass clef. The treble staff contains a triplet of eighth notes (B4, C5, D5) followed by a triplet of eighth notes (E5, F5, G5) and a trill on G5. The bass staff contains a quarter note (G3), a quarter note (F3), and a quarter note (E3). Measure 42 begins with a quarter rest in the treble and a quarter note (G3) in the bass.

Recapitulation

Musical score for the recapitulation of the early version, measures 43-45. The treble staff begins with a quarter note (G4), followed by quarter notes (A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5). The bass staff contains a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note (G3) and a quarter note (F3). Measure 45 begins with a quarter rest in the treble and a quarter note (G3) in the bass.

Middle version d

Musical score for the middle version of the retransition, measures 50-52. The treble staff contains a triplet of eighth notes (B4, C5, D5) followed by a triplet of eighth notes (E5, F5, G5) and a trill on G5. The bass staff contains a quarter note (G3), a quarter note (F3), and a quarter note (E3). Measure 52 begins with a quarter rest in the treble and a quarter note (G3) in the bass.

Recapitulation

Musical score for the recapitulation of the middle version, measures 53-55. The treble staff begins with a quarter note (G4), followed by quarter notes (A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5). The bass staff contains a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note (G3) and a quarter note (F3). Measure 55 begins with a quarter rest in the treble and a quarter note (G3) in the bass.

Late version d

Musical score for the late version of the retransition, measures 50-57. The treble staff contains a triplet of eighth notes (B4, C5, D5) followed by a triplet of eighth notes (E5, F5, G5) and a trill on G5. The bass staff contains a quarter note (G3), a quarter note (F3), and a quarter note (E3). Measure 57 begins with a quarter rest in the treble and a quarter note (G3) in the bass.

Recapitulation

Musical score for the recapitulation of the late version, measures 58-60. The treble staff begins with a quarter note (G4), followed by quarter notes (A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F5, G5). The bass staff contains a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note (G3) and a quarter note (F3). Measure 60 begins with a quarter rest in the treble and a quarter note (G3) in the bass.

Example 4. Keyboard sonata H. 16, mvt. I
c. Phrases c and d

Middle and late versions only (does not appear in early version)

The musical score is presented in three systems, each consisting of a treble and bass clef staff. The first system, labeled 'c', begins at measure 38 and features a treble staff with a series of triplets and sixteenth-note patterns, and a bass staff with a steady eighth-note accompaniment. The second system, labeled '(c concluded)' and 'd', starts at measure 45. It continues the triplet patterns in the treble staff while the bass staff has rests followed by chords. A dynamic marking 'p' (piano) is present in the treble staff at measure 48. The third system, labeled '(d concluded)', starts at measure 50 and shows the final resolution of the phrases, with a dynamic marking 'f' (forte) in the bass staff at measure 51.

orchestra (H. 437/438/439). Two versions of the keyboard concerto survive: a simpler one in a Library of Congress manuscript, which corresponds more closely to the flute and cello versions of the work, and a more elaborate, clearly later, version in a Brussels copy.²⁵ The cello and both keyboard versions contain passages not present in the flute version, suggesting that the flute concerto was the original. In the last movement, a twenty-nine measure solo passage identical in the keyboard and flute versions is expanded to thirty-nine measures for the cello. In a later solo section both the earlier and later harpsichord versions contain additional material—four measures of idiomatic keyboard figuration not present in either the flute or cello versions.

Internal evidence suggests that the cello version postdated the earlier keyboard version, for in numerous places the early keyboard version follows the flute version while the cello version is altered.²⁶ It appears, then, that Bach first composed the flute version, following it with the simpler keyboard version, in which he inserted, among other changes, an extra four-measure module in the finale. When he later composed the cello version, he abandoned those four measures of keyboard figuration but drastically revised and extended another section of the last movement. Finally—possibly during his Hamburg years—he returned to his keyboard concerto to add more virtuosic figuration.²⁷

²⁵ Variants are found only in the first and third movements. My thanks to Jane Stevens for sharing unpublished research on this concerto.

²⁶ For example, in movement 3, mm. 81–85 and 253–58. Furthermore, of the two interpolations in the finale, the cello insertion appears to be later than the keyboard one, for Bach not only expanded the section in question but also revised its entire harmonic underpinning: the orchestral parts as well as the solo part are rewritten, harmonies are prolonged, an ascending chromatic bass line is extended, and a pedal point is expanded. Though conceivable, it is hard to imagine that after altering and intensifying the flute version so radically to create the cello version Bach would return to his original scheme for the harpsichord version.

²⁷ The B \flat Major Concerto H. 434/435/436, which also survives in versions for flute, cello, or keyboard, may have undergone similar expansion. The cello concerto is preserved in a clean copy by Michel in the Brussels library (Bc 5633) in a version which corresponds closely to the flute and keyboard concerti. However, two early-twentieth-century prints preserve a version quite different from that shown in the Michel copy. One print is decidedly unreliable: the Klengel edition of 1931. The version presented by Walter Schulz, however (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1938), appears to be more authoritative. Unfortunately, neither edition cites its source. In places where the two editions disagree, the Schulz version seems to reflect a more authentic reading (e.g., in movement I: 150, Klengel shows virtuosic triple stops in the solo part while Schulz shows the soloist doubling the violins). However, for several crucial variants from the Brussels manuscript, the two versions are in full agreement. One notable instance occurs in two separate passages in the finale, where a two-measure figure in the other versions consistently appears as a single measure in these published

Alterations in other concerti for keyboard, flute, or cello were naturally occasioned by the capabilities of particular instruments, as in example 5a from the A minor concerto (H. 430/431/432); here the upward thrust of the flute line in measure 201, beat 2, seems to have been dictated by the instrument's range: Bach clearly needed to raise the flute line an octave in the next measure so that the cadential passage would not dip below the instrument's lowest note (d').

Example 5. Concerto in A minor for flute, cello or keyboard (H. 430/431/432).

a. I: 201–203

cello version

flute version

keyboard version

b.

I: 87

cello version

flute version

keyboard version

cello editions; that is, alternate measures are excised. While it is possible that the editors altered the concerto, the excision of every other measure in both publications seems an unlikely editorial decision. The reduction makes the phrase less dramatic and the cello part less virtuosic (precisely the opposite motivation from what one might expect in an early-twentieth-century edition). Instead it appears possible that the editors were working from an exemplar of the cello concerto which, like many of Bach's manuscripts, is now lost or in private hands. If so, then it appears that there was a variant earlier version of the cello concerto, which Bach subsequently expanded by interpolation.

Example 5b (cont.)

II: 93-95

cello version

flute version

keyboard version

III: 42-46

cello version

flute version

keyboard version

Such alterations can provide essential indicators of filiation where evidence is otherwise lacking. Example 5b, for instance, suggests that the flute version of the A minor concerto may have postdated either the cello or the keyboard version (or both). Indeed, if one postulates for the mo-

ment that the flute version was a later arrangement, a number of variants can be explained as responses to the demands of the instrument. Those in the flute line in example 5b allow the performer to conveniently avoid leaping to or holding the instrument's rather unresponsive high *f'''*. Furthermore, if the flute were to follow the shape of the cello line in II: 93, thus rising to its highest octave, it would be forced, at the end of measure 94, into the unsatisfactory *d'''-e'''* trill (which is extremely narrow). By the same token, if the flute followed the cello/keyboard in III: 42 and III: 44, leaping to the upper octave, measures 45–46 would become extremely awkward.²⁸ Unlike H. 16 and H. 502, Bach's motivation in these concerti was clearly to provide alternatives rather than replacements. In the process, however, he made compositional revisions at times dictated by the capabilities of the new medium and at times reflective of his own stylistic evolution.

In other cases, Bach adopted a revision as part of a new composition without in any way rejecting the older one. The earlier work (with which he was apparently satisfied) was neither suppressed nor arranged. Instead it was transformed or excerpted to form the basis for a new, quite independent, yet related work. Prime examples of this process are two flute/continuo sonatas from 1746–47, H. 560 and 561. As table 1 shows, Bach's enthusiasm for the flute/continuo medium cooled soon after his appointment to Frederick the Great's court in 1738, leaving a six-year hiatus in which he composed no works in this genre. His interest in the solo flute sonata was rekindled in the late 1740s, however—the very same period in which he was busy revising six early trio sonatas for flute, violin, and continuo.²⁹ It is hardly surprising that when he again began composing flute *solis* he would draw upon movements from his earlier flute sonatas for inspiration.

Nor is it surprising that the first sonata he chose to transform was H. 552 in B \flat major, an attractive yet somewhat awkward work because of its key, low tessitura, and passages of rapid articulated notes in the low octave. The first two movements of H. 560 are new, but the finale is an adaptation, in close to its original form, of the last movement of H. 552. The two sonatas are listed independently in the *NV* with no reference to a relationship between them.

²⁸ Elias N. Kulukundis has discussed the priority of versions of these concerti in a series of unpublished papers, among them "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Concerto in A Minor; Priority of Versions," in which he reaches a different conclusion. I am very grateful to the author for sending me his papers as well as copies of the manuscripts of several of these concertos.

²⁹ I discuss possible causes for the hiatus in Bach's production of flute sonatas as well as for the renewal of his interest in the instrument in the late 1740s in my article "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," 211–12.

Table 1
C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute

Sonata	Date	Scoring	Key	Alternate Versions
<i>1735-37, Frankfurt:</i>				
H. 550	1735	fl/continuo	G maj.	—
H. 551	1737	fl/continuo	E min.	—
<i>1738-40, Berlin:</i>				
H. 552	1738	fl/continuo	B♭ maj.	—
H. 553	1738	fl/continuo	D maj.	—
H. 554	1739	fl/continuo	G maj.	—
H. 555	1740	fl/continuo	A min.	—
H. 556	1740	fl/continuo	D maj.	—
H. 548*	undated	fl/continuo	G maj.	—
<i>1746-47, Berlin:</i>				
H. 560	1746	fl/continuo	B♭ maj.	<i>Last movement is a transformation of the finale of H. 552</i>
H. 561	1747	fl/continuo	D maj.	<i>Second movement is a transformation of the second movement of H. 556</i>
H. 562	1747	fl alone	A min.	<i>Last movement is based on H. 556 and H. 558 (a gamba sonata)</i>
<i>1747-49, Postdam:</i>				
H. 505	1747	fl/obbl. keybd	D maj.	fl/vn/cont (H. 575)
H. 578	1748	fl/obbl. keybd	B♭ maj.	fl/vn/cont; vn/keybd
H. 506	1749	fl/obbl. keybd	E maj.	2 fl/cont (H. 580)
<i>1754-55, Berlin:</i>				
H. 508	1754	fl/obbl. keybd	G maj.	fl/vn/cont (H. 581) 2 vn/cont (H. 583)
H. 509	1755	fl/obbl. keybd	G maj.	fl/vn/cont (H. 586)
<i>1766, Berlin:</i>				
H. 515	1766	fl/obbl. keybd	C maj.	—
<i>1786, Hamburg:</i>				
H. 564	1786	fl/continuo	G maj.	—

* For a discussion of the dating of H. 548, see Miller, "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," *Journal of Musicology* II, no. 2 (spring 1993): 228-30.

The first reprises of the two movements are nearly identical, except for the contraction of an 8 + 13 measure pattern in H. 552 to a more balanced 8 + 12 pattern in H. 560 (figure 3).³⁰ The omitted measure, a little diversion to the minor mode shown in brackets in example 6a, is a typical Emanuel Bach parenthetical interpolation. Here, as in many of Bach's early works, the irregular phrase structure of H. 552 seems to have arisen from a symmetrical structure that has been distorted by an insertion that could conceivably be simply lifted out of the composition (a process I have referred to elsewhere as "structural ornamentation" and have shown to be related to Bach's own instructions for composing fantasies in his *Versuch*).³¹ In fact, the portion in brackets in H. 552 could be totally bypassed without destroying the harmonic or melodic flow of the passage. Bach did just that in his revision for H. 560.³²

Alterations to the development section parallel the type of revisions he made to the keyboard sonata H. 16: the central section of the movement is expanded from twenty-three measures to thirty by an asymmetric insertion (seven measures) including a virtuosic passage of thirty-second notes (example 6b), which is then followed by a new retransition. As in H. 16, he

Example 6a. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 552 (1738) and H. 560 (1746) (transcribed from B-Bc 5517 [H. 560] and 5518 [H. 552])

The image displays two musical staves for comparison. The top staff is labeled 'H. 552' and shows a melodic line in 3/8 time. It begins at measure 16 with a sixteenth-note triplet. Between measures 18 and 20, there is a section enclosed in brackets, which is a parenthetical interpolation. The bottom staff is labeled 'H. 560' and shows the same melodic line but without the bracketed section, resulting in a shorter phrase. Both staves include bass line accompaniment with fingerings (e.g., 6, 5, 4, 4+, 5, 6) and ornaments (trills) indicated above notes. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major) and the time signature is 3/8.

³⁰ It is also interesting to recall, in this regard, the first minuet of H. 502 (revised in 1746, see example 4) which appears to have been regularized in its revision from $\text{♩} 8 \text{♩} 12 + 8 \text{♩}$ to $\text{♩} 8 \text{♩} 8 + 8 \text{♩}$.

³¹ Leta Miller, "Structural Ornamentation in C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Flute and Continuo," in *The Creative Process, Studies in the History of Music*, vol. 3 (New York: Broude, 1992), 107–28.

³² A similar excision may have been made in the trio sonata H. 573. The autograph shows an extra measure near the end of the finale, which has been crossed out. The addition of this excised measure extends an eight-measure phrase to nine.

Example 6b. End of the development sections

H. 552

H. 560 39

H. 552

H. 560 43

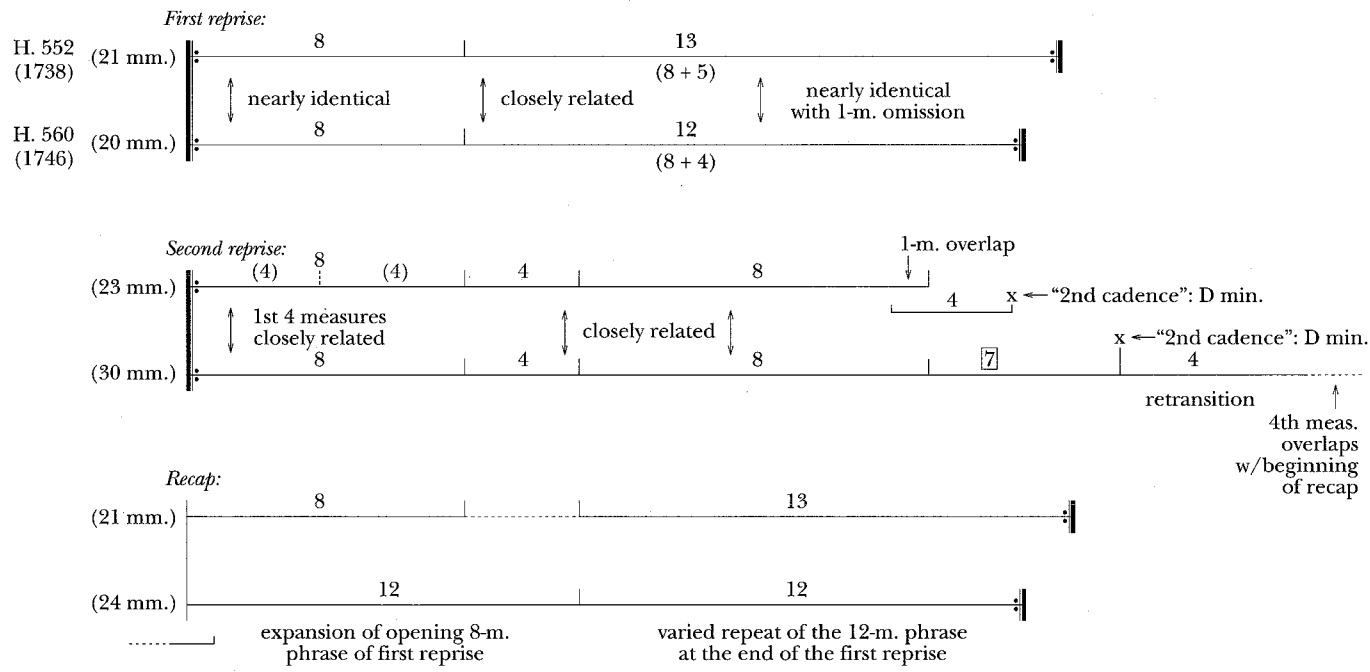
H. 552 44

Recapitulation

H. 560 47

retransition

Figure 3. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 552 and H. 560, mvt. III: Comparison of the phrase structures



“irregularized” the phrase structure and strengthened the arrival of the second cadence by rhythmic acceleration, structural asymmetry, and harmonic instability. While he removed a parenthetical insertion from the first reprise, he added one—and an extended one at that—to the development.

While the second flute/continuo sonata from this period (H. 561) also draws from previous *solis*, it is, at the same time, more independent from its models. As in H. 560, Bach composed a new opening slow movement. For the middle movement he transformed the central movement of H. 556 (1740), retaining only the beginning and ending of each half (figure 4 and example 7, the first two measures and the last six measures). The old-fashioned *Fortspinnung* of H. 556 is replaced by a more *à la mode* Lombard motive (m. 9ff.); but at the same time, Bach retained a basic compositional strategy of the earlier sonata: the use of a distinctive second theme that begins in the minor dominant and ends in the major dominant (m. 19ff.). As in H. 560, the later work has a more regularized first reprise (the unbalanced 8 + 10 + 8 + 6 pattern of H. 556 becomes 6 + 12 + 6 + 6; see figure 4), a development section highlighting an irregular seven-measure phrase immediately before the second cadence, and a somewhat longer retransition, which preserves the melodic and harmonic outlines of its model during its first ten measures, but replaces the earlier sonata’s awkward ending (example 8).

The finale of H. 561 draws its opening theme directly from the gamba sonata H. 558 (1745), but also may have been inspired by the finale of the same sonata from which it derived its second movement, H. 556 (example 9a). The playful opening motive of H. 556 suggests the anachronistic, if apt, image of an old car stuttering on a cold morning, twice stalling before reaching the first corner (a half cadence) where it fails yet a third time. The opening of the gamba sonata tells much the same story: the stall is yet more abrupt (a one-measure rather than a two-measure motive) but is counterbalanced by connecting passages in the bass. In H. 561 the humorous effect is enhanced by sharpening the triplets to a dotted rhythm and imitating the total silences of H. 556. But the biggest stall is yet to come: in m. 16 of H. 556 the ensemble encounters a major obstacle (an augmented sixth chord), which prompts a startled silence (example 9b). In H. 558 Bach tried a written-out ritard to achieve a similar effect (note that mm. 31–32 are really just an expansion of an expected quarter-eighth rhythm). By H. 561 the retardation has been embellished with fermatas and the silence of H. 556 reestablished.

In this discussion of the finales of H. 552/560 (which are virtually identical for much of the movement), the central movements of H. 556/561 (in which only the beginning and ending of each half is identical),

Example 7. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 (1740) and H. 561 (1747), mvt. II
(transcribed from B-Bc 5517)

H. 556 *Allegro*

H. 561 *Allegretto*

H. 556

H. 561

H. 556

H. 561

Example 7 (cont.)

H. 556 19

H. 561 19

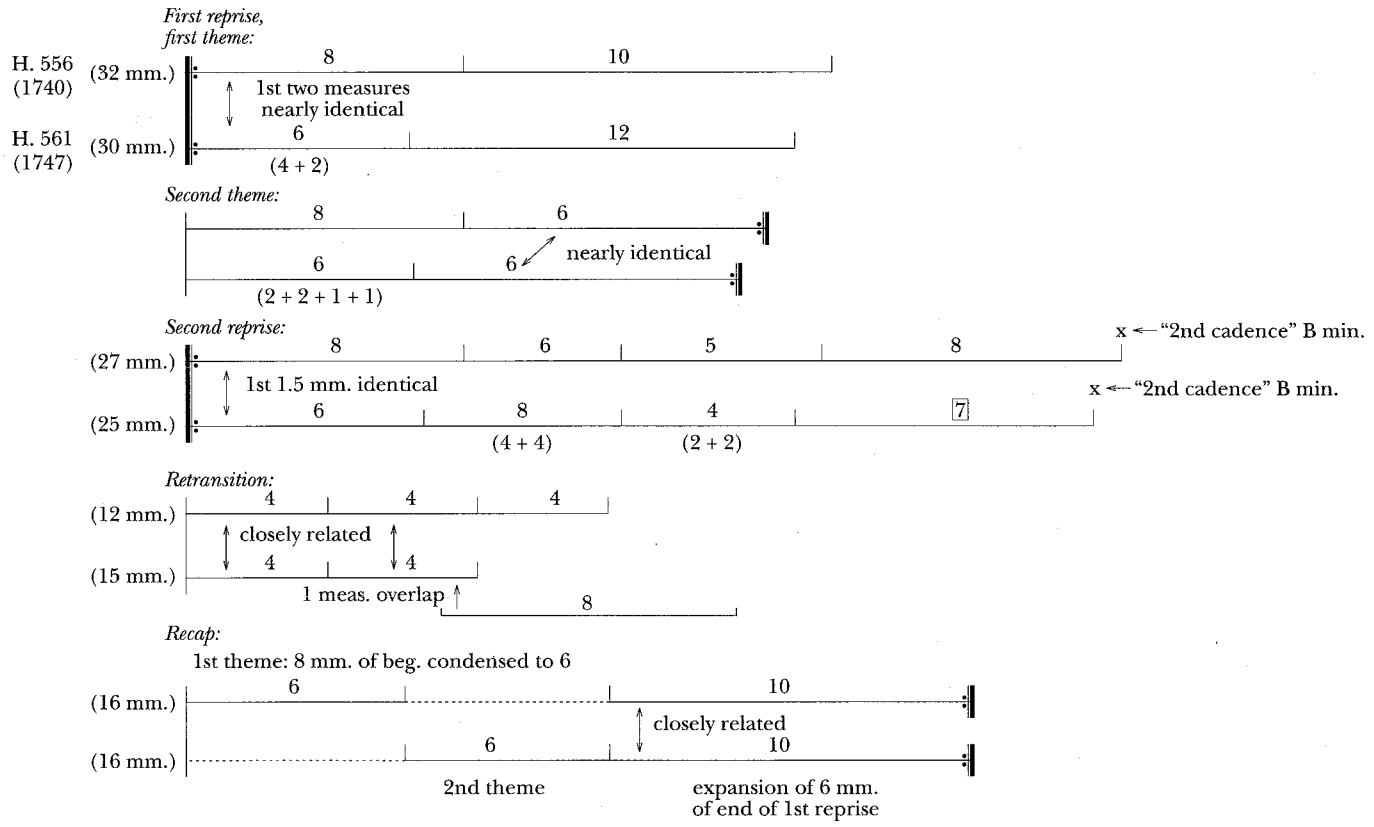
H. 556 23

H. 561 23

H. 556 30

H. 561 30

Figure 4. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 and 561, mvt. II: Comparison of the phrase sturture



Example 8. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 and H. 561 (1747), mvt. II: retransitions

H. 556 59 retransition

6 9 #7 6 5 #7 6 5

H. 561 55

6 #7 5 5 #7 6 5

H. 556 63

6 4 6 7 5_b 6 5_b 7 5_b 6 5_b

H. 561 59

6 7 6 7 5_b 6 5_b

H. 556 67

6 4 6 4 2 #7 6 5 6 6 6+

H. 561 63

6 #6 6 #6

Example 8 (cont.)

H. 556 ⁷¹_{tr}

recap: 1st theme

H. 561 ⁶⁷

recap: 2nd theme
(1st theme omitted)

Example 9. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 and H. 561 and sonata for viola da gamba and continuo, H. 558, mvt. III. (transcribed from B-Bc 5517 and 5634)

a. Opening phrases

H. 556 (flute/continuo)

and the finales of H. 558/561 (in which only the main theme, which appears at the opening of both halves and the recapitulation, is adopted), we have clearly moved from a case of revision to one of "thematic reference." Here, of course, the question of dependency becomes increasingly tenuous. Are the perceived relationships conscious or merely fortuitous? The answer, of course, depends on the length of the quotation, the degree of similarity between the versions, and the distinctiveness of the motives themselves. Certain figurations, such as the opening of H. 561 mvt. III, for instance, crop up repeatedly (example 10). Not surprisingly, similar resemblances can be found throughout Bach's oeuvre.

Example 9a (cont.)

H. 558 (viola da gamba/continuo)

H. 561 (flute/continuo)

Example 9b. Endings of the first reprise

H. 556 (flute/continuo)

H. 558 (viola da gamba/continuo)

* A written-out retardation of the expected single measure ♪♪, which expands an eight-measure phrase to nine.

H. 561 (flute/continuo)

Example 10. Variants on the theme of H. 561, mvt. III

Keyboard sonata, H. 39, mvt. III (1744)

Sonata for flute/continuo, H. 561, mvt. III (1747)

Keyboard sonata, H. 184, mvt. I (1765)

Keyboard sonata, H. 240, mvt. I (1769)

* * *

Bach's assertion that he had "made [his] three published sonatinas much better and more brilliant" is hardly surprising: we might expect most composers, given a choice near the end of their lives, to endorse the revised version of a particular work, even in cases in which they also admitted the viability of earlier compositional solutions. From the composer's point of view, the authority of revisionary alterations may supersede even an accurate and authorized print that received special attention as it was readied for publication. As we have seen, the fact of publication hardly forecloses the possibility of future revision, although it admittedly makes the task more difficult.

The revision process may even generate several alternatives that in the composer's view are equally viable. A case in point is the keyboard sonata H. 150 from Bach's *Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (a sequel to the *Reprises-Sonaten* but without varied reprises). The sonata underwent two revisions after publication (example 11).³³ The first (H. 156) reads like Bach's earlier published varied reprises: the harmonic underpinning and formal structure remained unchanged, while the melody underwent elaborate alteration. The second revision (H. 157) is a more radical departure from H. 150, although the movement is the same length and the cadential points occur in the same places. Both revisions are preserved in clean Michel copies prepared in Hamburg; there is no reason to believe that Bach rejected his first alteration in favor of the second one. He seems, in fact, to have produced, through revision, two authoritative alternatives.

By the same token, the preparation of an alternative version—though presumably designed by the composer as an equally viable option to the original—may serve as a catalyst for more fundamental changes that create a quite different composition. The new alternative might even constitute an “improvement” in the composer's (or audience's) opinion even though it does not invalidate the original.

With the existence of so many alternative renditions of Bach's works, we need to question the possibility of arriving at *any* “authoritative version” from the viewpoint of either the editor or the performer. The search for such an “authoritative version” would obviously weigh in favor of composer preference. But even in cases in which it is possible to ascertain such preference, can we count on the composer in all instances to be the best judge of his/her own compositions? Can we assume, in fact, that future generations will necessarily concur with the composer's judgment of revisionary alterations? The new varied reprises in Bach's sonatas, with their virtuoso keyboard displays, surely made the works “more brilliant,” and the addition of horns to the ensemble rendered them more up-to-date, perhaps even more fashionable; but whether they are really “better,” as Bach asserts, or whether they merely reflect a later reconsideration of the genre is far less clear.

More importantly, should we be searching for an “authoritative version” in the first place or is such a search predicated on an unwarranted

³³ The NV notes: “No. 119 . . . ist die Iste Sonate der Isten Fortsetzung der Reprises-Sonaten. Diese Sonate ist nachhero 2 mal durchaus verändert,” 16.

Example 11. Keyboard sonata, H. 150, mvt. I and its two later revisions, H. 156 and 157
(transcribed from *Fortsetzung von sechs Sonaten . . .* Winter, 1761 [H. 150], D-brd-B P776 [H. 156 and 157])

H. 150

H. 156

H. 157

belief in the inviolability of a work of art as a “finished” product?³⁴ In fact, the commitment to finding a single acceptable (or even preferred) version throws us immediately into an unresolvable dilemma. To accept the original version—even for published works—not only ignores the composer’s later reconsiderations but also elevates the initial conception to a position of unwarranted authority. To suppress it in favor of a later version, however, is to obscure the compositional process. By doing so, we might even bury a masterful work the composer eschewed as outmoded or unfashionable, but that later generations would prize as equally (or even more) valuable than the newer form. Clearly the latest version of any of Bach’s compositions is merely that: the latest version on a continuum of constant alteration. Though in his view it may be the most “authoritative” version, potentially it, too, might have been subjected to further alteration had he lived a few years longer. In the face of these conflicting considerations, modern scholars and performers are best served by an editor who clearly presents the alternatives and reserves evaluation for the prefatory material.

The problem is even more vexing for performers. To what extent does Bach’s facile revision and alteration process give us license to alter his scores in performance? Half of the trio sonatas survive in authorized duo versions (the keyboardist taking on one of the solo lines); do these existing duo versions provide authority for arranging the remaining trio sonatas in the same way? Indeed many surviving unauthorized manuscripts from the period do just that. By the same token, shouldn’t flutists feel free to play H. 502 even though Bach apparently reconsidered the flute/violin alternative in his later revision?

More problematically, if modern performers were truly to imitate Bach’s models for “varying the reprises” in his keyboard sonatas, the result would be alterations far more extensive than contemporary players customarily hazard in performance, much less in recordings. Bach’s didactic *Veränderungen* admit considerably more flexibility than we are wont to apply. Indeed, these models, which provide (presumably unimaginative) performers “the satisfaction of adding alterations to the pieces they perform,” invite us to partake actively in a collaborative role with the composer.

³⁴ The situation is even more problematic in the case of Bach’s vocal works, particularly those from his Hamburg period. Many of the larger compositions from this period are actually “pasticcios” including movements borrowed from other composers as well as reworkings of his own older compositions. Here the question arises as to whether the works should even be included in a “C. P. E. Bach edition” at all; but that is the subject for another article.

At the same time, however, there is the downside risk of burying Bach's intentions under those of our own invention. Bach was surely aware of this danger; nevertheless he chose to publish his variation models. In an era in which the concept of a fixed unalterable text did not exist, Bach could only hope to provide *Veränderungen* so successful that they would discourage those of shallow technical showmen, whom he derisively likened to "trained birds." Although his varied reprises were models, they were also statements of what he considered the best type of alteration. As he himself notes in the *Versuch*, "many variants of melodies introduced by executants in the belief that they honor a piece actually occurred to the composer, who, however, selected and wrote down the original because he considered it the best of its kind."³⁵

ABSTRACT

C. P. E. Bach was seemingly obsessed by a compulsion to rework his compositions, devising either replacements or alternatives for earlier versions—categories that prove to be far from discrete. This article explores the function of such "recompositions," citing examples from instrumental genres in which he wrote.

In cases of intended replacement, Bach made a concerted effort to destroy earlier versions, an effort that unfortunately proved highly successful, for few of them survive. Occasionally, however, a stray copy escaped Bach's conflagrations, such as a formerly unidentified variant of his earliest "trio," the violin and keyboard sonata H. 502. At times Bach's motivation appears to have been improvement; at other times it was apparently modernization, as in the keyboard sonata H. 16, which he successively altered by interpolating distinct modules at crucial points. Even publication did not prevent revision, as changes to his sonatinas or *Reprise-Sonaten* show. In such cases, it may be difficult to determine which version Bach himself would have preferred.

The creation of alternative versions often served as a catalyst for compositional changes of a more fundamental nature, as in the concerti for flute, cello, or keyboard and orchestra. In still other cases, Bach incorporated sections of early compositions into later works without rejecting former compositional solutions. The same interpolative process seen in the sonata H. 16 frequently appears in these alternative versions as well.

³⁵ Quoted from the translation by William Mitchell: C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1949), 165.

In weighing the validity of alternate versions, the composer's preferences clearly constitute one factor, but not necessarily the deciding one. The latest version (though probably Bach's preference) is merely one stage on a continuum of change, itself subject to invalidation. Finally, the extent of Bach's revisions/alterations/variations should make us take a new look at the role of the performer as collaborator in the compositional process.