

Introduction: Beyond the Solfeggio in C Minor

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was born in Weimar on 8 March 1714. He was the third child and second son of Johann Sebastian Bach. C.P.E. Bach studied music with his father, and had an extraordinarily long career, writing music up to his death in December 1788.¹ He was probably the most famous Bach at the end of the eighteenth century, but his music did not enjoy a revival in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, in spite of the efforts of a few devoted scholars.² This is in stark contrast to his famous father, J.S. Bach, who has had successive advocates, beginning with Johann Nikolaus Forkel's pioneering biography in 1802, and featuring such landmarks as the performance of the St. Matthew Passion at the Berlin Sing-Akademie under Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in 1829, the erection of the monument near the Thomaskirche in Leipzig in 1843, the publication of Philip Spitta's two-volume biography in 1873–80, and the completion of the Bach-Gesellschaft's edition of his music (1851–99). J.S. Bach's music has continued to be "reinvented" in the twentieth century by such proponents as Albert Schweitzer, Pablo Casals, Leopold Stokowski, Glenn Gould, Leonard Bernstein, Yo-Yo Ma, and others.³ C.P.E. Bach has had his admirers, including

1. His last completed work, a St. Matthew Passion, H 802, was only performed posthumously, during Lent 1789. Until the recovery of the Berlin Sing-Akademie archive in 1999, this was the only complete Passion music that survived. For a summary of the importance of this collection, see Christoph Wolff, "Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al. a Preliminary Report on the Music Collection of the Berlin Sing-Akademie," *Notes* 58/2 (2001): 259–71. See also Enßlin.

2. In this list I would include Carl Hermann Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Wilhelm Müller, 1868); Heinrich Schenker, *Ein Beitrag zur Ornamentik als Einführung zu Ph. E. Bachs Klavierwerken, mitumfassend auch die Ornamentik Haydns, Mozarts, Beethovens, etc.* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1908); Ernst Fritz Schmid, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und seine Kammermusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1931); Gudrun Busch, *C.P.E. Bach und seine Lieder* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1957); Rachel W. Wade, *The Keyboard Concertos of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); David Schulenberg, *The Instrumental Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984); Stephen Lewis Clark, "The Occasional Choral Works of C.P.E. Bach" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984); and Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Leipzig: P. Reclam, 1982), English trans. Philip J. Whitmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). For a survey of literature on C.P.E. Bach through 1999, see Doris Bosworth Powers, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: A Guide to Research* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

3. The Bach revival is recounted in a recent book by Paul Elie, who

Johannes Brahms, Heinrich Schenker, and Peter Schickele (whose alter ego P.D.Q. Bach seems modeled in part on C.P.E.), but no one has championed his music as individuals have championed Antonio Vivaldi (Ezra Pound), Johann Stamitz (Hugo Riemann), or Joseph Haydn (H.C. Robbins Landon).

C.P.E. Bach's best-known work is probably the Solfeggio in C Minor, often reprinted in anthologies and album notes as the "Solfeggietto."⁴ In fact, the work (Wq 117/2; H 220) was first published in 1770 in the *Musikalisches Vielerley* (Musical Miscellany), a collection that Bach himself edited, and it was reprinted after his death by E.H.G. Christiani in Berlin.⁵ From the mid-nineteenth century to the present the Solfeggio in C Minor has been a staple in keyboard anthologies, learned or at least attempted by generations of piano students. But C.P.E. Bach's music was much admired by his contemporaries, including Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.⁶ In short he was hardly the "one-

traces the relationships between these performers and their subject in *Reinventing Bach* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012). For a view of C.P.E. Bach on the 200th anniversary of his death in 1988, see William H. Youngren, "Ups and Downs: An Almost Great Composer and His Curious Place in History," *Atlantic* 263/1 (1989): 105–7.

4. Although this corruption was exposed years ago by John A. Parkinson, "The 'Solfeggietto,'" *The Musical Times* 105 (1964): 839, it continues to be mistitled.

5. There are three main catalogues of C.P.E. Bach's works: NV 1790, Wotquenne (Wq), and Helm (H). Bach's estate catalogue, NV 1790, was the first published thematic catalogue devoted to the work of a single composer. It has been published in three facsimile editions, the most recent with an introduction by Peter Wollny (Los Altos: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2014). Wotquenne remains the most familiar, though it is based almost entirely on the Westphal collection in Brussels and therefore lacks some of the vocal music. Helm is the most complete and scholarly of the three, but it was compiled before the recovery of the Sing-Akademie archives in 1999 (see fn. 1). Wotquenne assigned the Solfeggio in C Minor two numbers: 117/2 and 271. For an explanation of the idiosyncrasies of Wotquenne's thematic catalogue, see Helm's introduction to his *Thematic Catalogue*.

6. Haydn (as reported by Georg August Griesinger): "I did not come away from my clavier till I had played through them [Wq 48], and whoever knows me thoroughly must discover that I owe a great deal to Emanuel Bach, that I understood him and have studied him diligently." Mozart (as reported by J.F. Doles, Leipzig, 1789): "He is the father; we are the boys. Those of us who know anything at all learned it from him ..." Beethoven (letter to Breitkopf & Härtel, 15 October 1810): "In addition I would like to have all the works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, which have been published by you . . ."

hit wonder” that musical history has too often made him out to be. The new critical edition now under way, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works* (hereafter CPEB: CW), addresses this problem.⁷

C.P.E. Bach was renowned as an improviser, as were his father and elder brother, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784). Burney’s description of his playing at the clavichord in 1772 is justly famous and worth quoting here:

After dinner, which was elegantly served, and cheerfully eaten, I prevailed upon him to sit down again to a clavichord, and he played, with little intermission, till near eleven o’clock at night. During this time, he grew so animated and possessed, that he not only played, but looked like one inspired. His eyes were fixed, his under lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance

His performance to-day convinced me of what I had suggested before from his works; that he is not only one of the greatest composers that ever existed, for keyed instruments, but the best player, in point of *expression*; for others, perhaps, have had as rapid execution: however, he possesses every style; though he chiefly confines himself to the expressive. He is learned, I think, even beyond his father, whenever he pleases, and is far before him in variety of modulation; his fugues are always upon new and curious subjects, and treated with great art as well as genius.⁸

Other writers also emphasized Bach’s keyboard skills, so it is no wonder that his keyboard music and treatise have received more attention than his vocal music.

C.P.E. Bach has always been known primarily as a keyboard player and theorist. His *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Essay on the true manner of playing the keyboard) set the standard on figured bass accompaniment and embellishment since it was first published in 1753–62.⁹ The earliest surviving keyboard works by

C.P.E. Bach are found today in the second *Clavierbüchlein* of Anna Magdalena Bach, begun in 1725 but with entries as late as the 1740s.¹⁰ Judging from the early handwriting, C.P.E. Bach wrote or copied his pieces into the volume by around 1732, and thus these are works of a teenager. J.S. Bach did not compile a *Clavierbuch* for C.P.E. Bach, as he did for Wilhelm Friedemann, but according to Charles Burney, book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* was prepared by his father for him.¹¹ Some time after compiling his list of works for solo keyboard in 1772, perhaps at the request of Burney, C.P.E. Bach decided to destroy his earliest attempts at composition, for being “too youthful.”¹² Aside from four short pieces in the *Clavierbüchlein*, the only other keyboard work that we have from his time in Leipzig is a *Menuet pour le Clavessin*, Wq III, that the young composer engraved himself (see plate 3 in CPEB: CW, I/8.2). More recently, the autograph score of a hitherto unknown cantata dating from c. 1734, *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande*, was discovered in a parish church in Mügeln, Saxony.¹³

C.P.E. Bach’s estate catalogue (NV 1790) gives priority to his solo keyboard music, with 210 items spanning more than fifty years, from the Sonata in B-flat major, Wq 62/1 (1731, rev. 1744) to the Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 67 (1787). Next come the 52 concertos, mostly for keyboard, dating from 1733 (Wq 1) to the last year of his life, 1788 (Wq 47).¹⁴ Many of the 46 trios include obligato keyboard (and even the trio sonatas for two treble instruments and bass could be played on keyboard),¹⁵ and there

Plebuch in CPEB: CW, VII/1–3. See also David Schulenberg, “Printing the Probestücke: An Eighteenth-Century Music Publication by C.P.E. Bach,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 24/3 (2013): 81–103.

10. A facsimile of the music book for Anna Magdalena Bach is available, edited by Georg Dadelson (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988).

11. Burney 1775, 2:273.

12. CV 1772 is published in facsimile in Christoph Wolff, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Verzeichnis seiner Clavierwerke von 1733 bis 1772,” in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke. Aspekte musikalischer Biographie. Johann Sebastian Bach in Zentrum*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 217–35. See also Ulrich Leisinger and Peter Wollny, “Altes Zeug von mir: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs kompositorisches Schaffen vor 1740,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1993): 127–204.

13. See CPEB: CW, V/5.2; a facsimile of the autograph with an introduction by Peter Wollny is also available (Los Altos: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2011).

14. Some of the concertos were written for a different solo instrument then arranged for keyboard (e.g., Wq 170 and probably Wq 171 and 172 were written for violoncello and later arranged for keyboard, as Wq 26, 28, 29, respectively).

15. Title page of *Zwey Trio*, Wq 161 states that “however both can be played [as a trio] with one of the upper voices in the harpsichord” (bey-

7. Each volume of the Edition includes full commentary on each work, with descriptions of surviving sources and lists of editorial emendations and variant readings. I have written a series of articles on CPEB: CW, including: “Organizing the Complete Works of C.P.E. Bach,” *Early Music* (forthcoming 2014); “C.P.E. Bach and the Challenge of Breaking into the Canon,” *Die Tonkunst* (2014): 15–24; (with Laura Buch, Jason B. Grant, Mark W. Knoll), “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works,” *Fontes artis musicae*, 58/2 (2011): 127–136; “Tracking the Sources for Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s Complete Works,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 18/1–2 (2008): 33–36; “The C.P.E. Bach Edition and the Future of Scholarly Editions,” *Music Reference Services Quarterly* 8/1 (2001): 27–37.

8. Burney 1775, 2: 269.

9. The *Versuch* remained in print throughout C.P.E. Bach’s lifetime, and has seen new editions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including translations into English, Italian, French, etc. For further background, see the introduction to the critical edition by Tobias

are also a dozen “Sonatinas” for one or two keyboards with accompaniment. The Quartets (Wq 93–95) and some of his other chamber music also include keyboard. His more than 250 songs all have keyboard accompaniment, and can be played and enjoyed without a vocalist (see figure 6 for the preface to the “Gellert” songs). Nevertheless, Bach published some of his vocal music and this too is an important though less well-known aspect of his output. Some of his sacred music is clearly indebted to his father, but like his instrumental music, it displays his own unique voice.

Unlike Beethoven, C.P.E. Bach did not assign opus numbers to his publications.¹⁶ Burney included a list of his publications through 1772, because “The works which he produced, during his residence at Berlin, are so numerous, and, in general, so unknown in England, that I shall specify the principal of them here, for the satisfaction of those who may wish to procure them.” There follows a list of fourteen works, including the “Prussian” and “Württemberg” Sonatas, Wq 48 and 49; the Zwey Trio, Wq 161; three keyboard concertos Wq 11, 25, 14 (in that order); the *Versuch* and “Probestücke” Sonatas, Wq 63; twelve miscellaneous sonatas (in Wq 62); the “Gellert” songs, Wq 194; the “kleine Stücke” Wq 81; Sonatas with Varied Reprises, Wq 50, 51, 52; and *Oden mit Melodien*, Wq 199.¹⁷ The German translation of Burney’s travels is even more extensive and mentions that Bach had just finished a set of six string symphonies (Wq 182).¹⁸

Like his father before him, C.P.E. Bach published much music at his own expense and risk (im Verlag des Autors), including the first edition of the *Versuch* (1753–

den aber die eine von den Oberstimmen auch auf dem Flügel gespielt werden kan). See figure 5 and further discussion in CPEB: CW, II/2.

16. Elaine Sisman, “Six of One: The Opus Concept in the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Century of Bach and Mozart*, ed. Sean Gallagher and Thomas Forrest Kelly, 79–107 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008). C.P.E. Bach’s younger half-brother Johann Christian Bach assigned opus numbers to his published works.

17. Burney 1775, 265–66, concludes: “He has likewise composed a great number of simphonies, many of which have been printed separately. The whole of his works, include thirty trios for the harpsichord, and other instruments; eighteen solos, for different instruments; twelve sonatines, of which some are for two harpsichords, with accompaniments; forty-nine concertos for the harpsichord; a hundred and seventy lessons for d̄. besides smaller pieces, and single fugues.” The *Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato* (Wq 43) had just been published when Burney visited Bach in Hamburg.

18. In the *Autobiography*, 207, the Wq 182 symphonies are included as item 34 in Bach’s list of works: “1773, habe ich auf Verlangen, sechs vierstimmige Sinfonien gesetzt.”

62).¹⁹ The hypothetical list below includes all the music Bach published during his lifetime, either at his own risk or by contract with a publisher. It does not include individual works that were published in anthologies or “kleine Stücke” (little pieces) like Wq 81–82 and 113–114; I assume that C.P.E. Bach, like Beethoven, would have reserved his opus numbers for more substantial works.²⁰ Bach treated the three Sonatinas, Wq 106–108, as separate works, but these are given one opus number below as if they were a set of three. On the other hand, the list includes a few works that were only published posthumously (e.g., the Magnificat and *Passions-Cantate*) as well as a few works that were probably intended for publication (enclosed in square brackets below). Had C.P.E. Bach lived a few more years, he might have published his set of three quartets for flute, viola, and keyboard, Wq 93–95 (1788), as well as his Concerto in E-flat Major for harpsichord and fortepiano, Wq 47 (1788).²¹ It is clear that Bach published some of his music in order to help support his wife and daughter after his passing,²² and some of the overstock of printed music is listed in NV 1790, along with his musical instruments and portrait collection. The following list of publications is not meant to replace Wq or H numbers, but rather show his major works in chronological order.

19. Stephen L. Clark, “C.P.E. Bach as a Publisher of His Own Works,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Musik für Europa. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 8. März bis 12. März 1994 im Rahmen der 29. Frankfurter Festtage der Musik an der Konzerthalle “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach” in Frankfurt (Oder)*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt an der Oder: Konzerthalle “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” 1998), 199–211. For more specialized studies, see Hans-Günter Ottenberg, “Die Klaviersonaten Wq 55 ‘im Verlage des Autors’: Zur Praxis des Selbstverlages bei Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Beiträge zur Leben und Werke*, ed. Heinrich Poos (Mainz: Schott, 1993), 21–39, and Peggy E. Daub, “The Publication Process and Audience for C.P.E. Bach’s Sonaten für Kenner und Liebhaber,” in *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 2: Bach and the Breitkopfs, ed. George B. Stauffer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 65–83.

20. See Robert Nosow, “Beethoven’s Popular Keyboard Publications,” *Music & Letters* 78 (1997): 56–76.

21. Peter Wollny, “Ein förmlicher Sebastian und Philipp Emanuel Bach-Kultus”: Sara Levy und ihr musikalisches Wirken (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel, 2010). See also Wollny, “Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin,” *The Musical Quarterly* 77 (1993): 651–88.

22. Ernst Suchalla, “‘Hiermit beschliesse ich meine Arbeiten fürs Publikum und lege die Feder nieder’: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach an Johann Hieronymus Schroeter—Ein wiederaufgefundener Brief aus dem Jahr 1787,” *Concerto: Das Magazin für alte Musik* 12/100 (1995): 19–23. English translation in *CPEB-Letters*, no. 136.

Hypothetical Opus Numbers
Assigned to Publications of C. P. E. Bach's Music

1. "Prussian" Sonatas, Wq 48 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, c. 1742), dedicated to Friedrich II
2. "Württemberg" Sonatas, Wq 49 ("OPERA II^{da}"; Nuremberg: Johann Wilhelm Windter, c. 1744), dedicated to Prince Carl Eugen
3. Concerto in D Major, Wq 11 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1745)
4. [Magnificat, Wq 215 (1749; rev. 1779); piano-vocal score (Bonn: Simrock, c. 1829)]
5. *Zwey Trio*, Wq 161 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1751), dedicated to Count Wilhelm
6. Concerto in B-flat Major, Wq 25 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1752)
7. "18 Probestücken in 6 Sonaten," Wq 63/1–6 (Berlin: the author, 1753); published with 1st ed. of *Versuch I*
8. "Gellert" Lieder, Wq 194 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1758)
9. Symphony in E Minor, Wq 177 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1759)
10. Sonatas with Varied Reprises I, Wq 50 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1760), dedicated to Princess Anna Amalia
11. Concerto in E Major, Wq 14 ("Concerto III"; Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1760)
12. Sonatas with Varied Reprises II, Wq 51 ("Erste Fortsetzung"; Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1761)
13. *Oden mit Melodien*, Wq 199 (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1762)
14. Sonatas with Varied Reprises III, Wq 52 ("Zweyte Fortsetzung"; Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1763)
15. Sonata in A Minor for Solo Flute, Wq 132 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1763)
16. Sonata in B-flat Major for Two Violins and Bass, Wq 158 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1763)
17. "Gellert" Anhang, Wq 195 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1764)
18. Sonatinas I, II, III, Wq 106–8 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1764–66)
19. *Clavierstücke verschiedener Art*, Wq 112 ("Erste Sammlung"; Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1765)
20. "Leichte" Sonatas, Wq 53 (Leipzig: B. C. Breitkopf, 1765)
21. *Phyllis und Thirsis*, Wq 232 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1766)
22. *Die Wirth und die Gäste*, Wq 201 (Berlin: G.L. Winter, 1766)
23. "Damen" Sonatas, Wq 54 (as "Oeuvre premier," Amsterdam: J.J. Hummel, 1770), dedicated to Princess Anna Amalia
24. [*Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 (1770); piano-vocal score (Hamburg: Herrmann, 1789)]
25. *Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato*, Wq 43 (Hamburg: the author, 1772), dedicated to Princess Anna Amalia
26. [Six Symphonies, Wq 182 (1773), commissioned by Baron van Swieten]
27. "Cramer Psalmen," Wq 196 (Leipzig: the author, 1774)
28. *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq 238 (Hamburg: the author, 1775)
29. Accompanied Sonatas, Wq 89 (London: R. Bremner, 1776; as "Oeuvre Second," Amsterdam: J.J. Hummel, 1778)
30. Accompanied Sonatas I, Wq 90 ("Erste Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1776)
31. Accompanied Sonatas II, Wq 91 ("Zweyte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1777)
32. Double-choir Heilig, Wq 217 (Hamburg: the author, 1779)
33. Kenner & Liebhaber I, Wq 55 ("Erste Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1779), dedicated to Mme Zernitz
34. "Sturm" Lieder I, Wq 197 (Hamburg: J.H. Herold, 1780)
35. Kenner & Liebhaber II, Wq 56 ("Zweyte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1780), dedicated to Prince Friedrich Heinrich
36. *Orchester Sinfonien*, Wq 183 (Berlin: Winter, 1780), dedicated to Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm
37. Kenner & Liebhaber III, Wq 57 ("Dritte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1781), dedicated to Baron van Swieten
38. "Sturm" Lieder II, Wq 198 ("Zweyte Sammlung"; Hamburg: J.H. Herold, 1781)
39. Kenner & Liebhaber IV, Wq 58 ("Vierte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1783)
40. *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste*, Wq 239 (Leipzig: the author, 1784)
41. Kenner & Liebhaber V, Wq 59 ("Fünfte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1785), dedicated to Peter Friedrich Ludewig
42. Sonata in C Minor, Wq 60 (Leipzig and Dresden: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1785)
43. *Zwey Litaneien*, Wq 204 (Copenhagen: A. F. Stein, 1786)

44. *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Wq 240 (Hamburg: Breitkopf, 1787)
45. Kenner & Liebhaber VI, Wq 61 (“Sechste Sammlung”; Leipzig: the author, 1787), dedicated to Maria Theresia
46. “Sechs neuen Clavier-Stücken,” Wq 63/7–12 (Leipzig: E.B. Schwickert, 1787); published with 3rd ed. of *Versuch I*
47. *Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern des neuen Hamburgischen Gesangbuchs*, Wq 203 (Hamburg: Herold, 1787)
48. *Neue Lieder-Melodien*, Wq 200 (Lübeck: C.G. Donatius, 1789)
49. [Quartets for keyboard, flute, and viola, Wq 93–95 (1788)]
50. [Concerto in E-flat Major for fortepiano and harpsichord, Wq 47 (1788)]

In general, C.P.E. Bach has been given short shrift in music history textbooks. One published index of anthologies lists eighteen works (or individual movements) by C.P.E. Bach.²³ Of these eighteen, only five multi-movement works have been published complete: Wq 48/1 (in *Analytical Anthology of Music*, 1984), Wq 49/1 (in *Schirmer Scores*, 1975), Wq 55/6 (in *Music in the Classic Period*, 1979), Wq 177 (in *Music of the Bach Family*, 1955), and Wq 183/3 (in *The Development of Western Music*, vol. 2, 1991). Also included as representative pieces of C.P.E. Bach are three fantasias, two songs, one “character piece,” and several separate movements from keyboard sonatas or trios. The anthology accompanying *A History of Western Music* contains only a single movement by C.P.E. Bach, the *Poco adagio* from the Sonata in A Major, Wq 55/4, offered as an example of the “empfindsam style.”²⁴ Two of the most recent anthologies—*Music in the Eighteenth Century*²⁵ and *Music in Western Civilization*, volume B, *The Baroque and Classical Eras*²⁶—include the same piece by C.P.E. Bach: his Fantasia in C Minor, Wq 63/6/iii. Even the most gen-

23. Sterling E. Murray, *Anthologies of Music: An Annotated Index*, 2nd ed. (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), items 878–895. The same index lists more than 250 pieces by J.S. Bach (items 921–1174). The anthologies surveyed were published between 1946 and 1991; the list includes two German anthologies that were translated into English.

24. Text by J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, 8th ed. (W.W. Norton, 2010), 519–20.

25. Ed. John A. Rice (W.W. Norton, 2013), 70–74; the music is reprinted from CPEB:CW, I/3.

26. Ed. Craig Wright and Bryan R. Simms (Independence, Kentucky: Cengage Learning, 2005), 828–31.

erous of the anthologies, *The Anthology of Classical Music*, includes only eight works by C.P.E. Bach (out of 76 selections in total) but only two complete works: the Sonata in B Minor, Wq 55/3 and the Rondo in G Major, Wq 57/3.²⁷ To be sure, all anthologies are selective, but taken altogether these present only about 1–2% of C.P.E. Bach’s total output of more than a thousand works. But is C.P.E. Bach underrepresented because his music is unpopular, or is his music unpopular (not well known) because he has been underrepresented?²⁸

This collection of C.P.E. Bach’s “greatest hits” attempts to redress this problem, bringing together some of the best of his music in the principal genres for which he composed: solo keyboard music, chamber music, symphony, concerto, and vocal music. The works are arranged here by genre and roughly chronologically within each section, corresponding to the organization of the new complete works edition, CPEB:CW. In choosing the works for this collection, I have tried to select works that C.P.E. Bach himself would have considered his best, rather than only choosing the best-known works today. It is no coincidence that most of them come from this list of works published in his lifetime. Some will be quite familiar, like the Solfeggio in C Minor, but many are not. Certainly, some of the music is difficult, and will only be appreciated by connoisseurs, as it was in his own day. But most of it is as accessible and as great as Haydn’s symphonies, Mozart’s concertos, and Beethoven’s sonatas. If this anthology of “greatest hits” leads to further interest in less-well-known works of C.P.E. Bach, it will have served its purpose.

27. Ed. Philip G. Downs (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992). The other pieces by C.P.E. Bach are: the first movement of the Trio Sonata in B-flat Major, Wq 161/2; the first movement of the Sonata in D Minor, Wq 65/3; first and second movements of the Sonata in C Major, Wq 65/16; the first and second movements of the Symphony in D Major, Wq 183/1; the first movement of the Sonata in D Major, Wq 61/2; and the first movement of the Sonata in C Minor, Wq 65/49. In his book, *Classical Music: The Era of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), Downs discusses C.P.E. Bach’s music and career in some detail, but his summing up (on p. 361) is not too favorable: “Like his father before him, Emanuel died still attached to a style that had fallen from favor.”

28. Eugene K. Wolf was fond of saying “We know what we like, and we like what we know.” In a self-selected survey of readers of the AMS-List, I asked people to describe C.P.E. Bach’s music in a few words or a phrase. The half-dozen responses included: “dynamic, inventive, underestimated”; “transitional”; “C.P.E. Bach represents all the wonderful things that are threatened by over-focus on Vienna as the home of the so-called classic style”; “the Liszt of the 18th century”; “C.P.E. Bach’s voice leading is exquisite, his harmonies can be innovative, and his melodies are stirring.”

* * *

In the brief discussion that follows, I give some basic background to the pieces in the anthology without attempting exhaustive analysis. For more information on particular works or repertoires, readers should consult the introductions to volumes in CPEB: CW, available on the website www.cpebach.org (under Organization of the Edition). A complete list of the surviving sources and commentary on the music is found in volumes of CPEB: CW. The series *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* has published a number of source catalogues on libraries and collections in Austria (Blanken), the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (Enßlin), and Brussels (Leisinger/Wollny).

SOLO KEYBOARD MUSIC

Sonata in F Major, Wq 48/1

The six sonatas dedicated to Friedrich II (Frederick the Great) are known today as the “Prussian” Sonatas. If Bach had given his works opus numbers, this collection would have been his opus 1. The first keyboard sonata, Wq 48/1, is a special piece, already exhibiting some of the advanced qualities that made Bach a forward-looking composer. This taste for *galant* music was no doubt encouraged by the music-loving king. Bach was among the first to join the royal kapelle—he first appears on the payroll in 1741—and he says that he accompanied the newly crowned monarch in his first concert at the palace at Charlottenburg.²⁹ But

29. *Autobiography*, 199–200: “Als ich 1738 meine akademischen Jahre endigte und nach Berlin ging, bekam ich eine sehr vortheilhafte Gelegenheit einen jungen Herrn in fremde Länder zu führen: ein unvermutheter gnädiger Ruf zum damaligen Kronprinzen von Preussen, jetzigen König, nach Ruppin, machte, daß meine vorhabende Reise rückgängig wurde. Gewisse Umstände machten jedoch, daß ich erst 1740 bey Antritt der Regierung Sr. preussischen Majestät formlich in Dessen Dienste trat, und die Gnade hatte, das erste Flötensolo, was Sie als König spielten, in Charlottenburg mit dem Flügel ganz allein zu begleiten.” Burney, who provided a shortened paraphrase of the autobiography in English (Burney 1775, 2:260–66), renders this: “In 1738 he went to Berlin, not without expectation that the prince royal of Prussia, who was then secretly forming a band, would invite him to Ruppington; he was not disappointed, the fame of his performance soon reaching this prince’s ears, his royal highness, sent for him to his court, and heard him with so much satisfaction, that he afterwards frequently commanded his attendance; but from the circumscribed power of the prince at that time, he did not take him into actual service till his accession to the throne, in 1740, and then M. Bach had alone the honour to accompany his majesty upon the harpsichord in the first flute-piece that he played at Charlottenberg, after he was king.”

Friedrich had first heard Bach perform several years earlier and wrote to his sister Wilhelmine about him: “Right now we have here a son of Bach, who plays the clavichord quite well and is a good composer, too, but his taste is not fully formed.”³⁰ It is remarkable that Friedrich already knew of J.S. Bach, who must have been familiar enough to him and his sister that he didn’t have to explain that “Bach” was cantor in Leipzig. Presumably, Friedrich heard the birthday cantata that C.P.E. Bach wrote for the crown prince in Frankfurt/Oder in 1735 (see appendix to CPEB: CW, V/5.2), and perhaps also one of Bach’s early keyboard concertos. In any event, Bach himself seems to have agreed that his earliest compositions needed revision, because virtually all such works included in his estate catalogue were “erneuert” (i.e., thoroughly revised).³¹ But the “Prussian” Sonatas were among the earliest works of his Berlin period and reflected his new, improved taste.

The Sonata in F Major is in three movements: *Poco allegro* ($\frac{3}{4}$), *Andante* (C), *Vivace* ($\frac{3}{8}$). The first movement starts like a two-part invention, but has all the characteristics of sonata form in a 31-measure exposition. The main disruption is the abrupt shift to C minor in m. 18, just as Bach is establishing the new key on the dominant. Then in the closing group (mm. 24–26) he adds a third voice to his invention. The development section (mm. 32–55) features an inversion of his theme and modulates through several keys, eventually settling on D minor (submediant) before pivoting back to the tonic recapitulation in m. 56. Bach shifts to the tonic minor (F minor, in m. 68), parallel to the move to C minor in the exposition, before ending in the tonic major.

The middle movement is remarkable for introducing two passages of untexted recitative (mm. 4–8 and 12–14), something Beethoven used rhetorically in his Ninth Symphony before introducing a human voice. Composers were wrestling with meaning in instrumental music in this period (see Wq 161/1 below), and the angular gestures of simple recitative were already well known to Bach’s contemporaries, not only through Italian opera (the Berlin Court Opera opened on Unter den Linden the same year

30. “il ya a present un fils de Back, ici qui joue tres bien du Clavesin il est tres fort dans la Composition mais son gout n’est pas formé.” Quoted in Rashid-S. Pegah, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Kronprinz Friedrich in Preußen: Die erste Begegnung?” *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2008): 328–332, at 329.

31. See for example his first keyboard concerto, Wq 1, published in CPEB: CW, III/9.1 in both the early version (1733) and later revised version (1744). These two versions are published in CPEB: CW Offprints, no. 3.

the “Prussian” Sonatas were published) but also in German sacred vocal music (cantatas, Passions, oratorios). Using recitative in his sonata gave Bach license to modulate rapidly from F to B major and back to F in the space of a few measures. He also allows for a cadenza in the penultimate measure, giving the performer an opportunity to improvise. The third movement, like the first, is in rounded binary form, and features a rising chromatic scale in the bass with sequential counterpoint in the treble voices (mm. 17–24; repeated *piano*, mm. 25–32). As Daniel Hertz points out, this sonata recalls works of his father—such as Prelude 24 of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, book I, and the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue—but also looks ahead to works by Mozart, Haydn, and Brahms.³²

Fantasia in C Minor, Wq 63/6/iii

Following the lead of his Berlin colleague Johann Joachim Quantz, who published a flute treatise in 1752,³³ C.P.E. Bach decided to write a treatise on keyboard playing, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (see CPEB: CW, VII/1–3, ed. Tobias Pleblich). The first part, concerning ornaments and proper embellishment, was completed and published in 1753; the second part, on realizing a figured bass, followed in 1762. As a supplement to part I of his text, Bach published engraved “Exempel” (musical examples) and “Probestücke” (literally, test pieces), eighteen movements divided into six sonatas. At the end of part II, Bach included a figured bass in an example and provided a realization in the form of a fantasia; see figures 1 and 2 on p. 9.

These “Probestücke” are not unified compositions, but rather illustrate various aspects of different types of keyboard music.³⁴ The last of the eighteen movements is a Fantasia in C minor, and as such represents a freer form of composition. Indeed, fantasias were meant to be improvisatory, and it may represent how Bach went about improvising. As is typical of Bach’s fantasias, this one mixes measured and unmeasured music, freely modulating to remote keys. In this case a *Largo* follows a long preamble, and although Bach includes his recommended fingering for virtually every note, there is much opportunity for the

32. See Daniel Hertz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 395–406.

33. Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752); trans. with an introduction by Edward R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute*, 2nd ed. (London: Faber and Faber, 1985).

34. See Richard Kramer, “Probestück,” in *Unfinished Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 111–28.

player to realize the embellishment, especially the arpeggios (though a few are written out, in mm. 1e and 22d).

The poet Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg later arranged this fantasia as an accompaniment for two speeches: Hamlet’s “To be or not to be” soliloquy and the dying monologue of Socrates.³⁵ Although C.P.E. Bach did not endorse this experiment, it shows the urge for writers to tease out the meaning of instrumental music and provides clues to eighteenth-century performance practice. Bach’s own words on the subject are worth quoting:

A musician cannot move others unless he too is moved. He must of necessity feel all of the affects that he hopes to arouse in his audience, for the revealing of his own humor will stimulate a like humor in the listener. In languishing, sad passages, the performer must languish and grow sad. Thus will the expression of the piece be more clearly perceived by the audience. Here, however, the error of a sluggish, dragging performance must be avoided, caused by an excess of affect and melancholy. Similarly, in lively, joyous passages, the executant must again put himself in the appropriate mood. And so, constantly varying the passions he will barely quiet one before he rouses another. Above all, he must discharge this office in a piece which is highly expressive by nature, whether it be by him or someone else. In the latter case he must make certain that he assumes the emotion which the composer intended in writing it. It is principally in improvisations and fantasias that the keyboardist can best master the feelings of his audience.³⁶

L’Aly Rupalich, Wq 117/27

Bach grouped his “character pieces” with other short pieces labeled “Petites Pièces” in his estate catalogue. These seem to have been of particular interest to him in the 1750s, when he and his colleagues attempted to portray individuals or particular characters in music. Whether Bach was attempting to create musical portraits of some of his friends or was just amusing himself is impossible to say for sure. But he did have a life-long interest in collecting portraits of

35. Published in *Flora. Erste Sammlung. Enthaltend: Compositionen für Gesang und Klavier*, ed. C.F. Cramer (Kiel and Hamburg, 1787). A facsimile of the print is published in CPEB: CW Offprints, no. 5. See also Eugene Helm, “The ‘Hamlet’ Fantasy and the Literary Element in C.P.E. Bach’s Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 58/2 (April 1972): 277–96, and Tobias Pleblich, “Dark Fantasies and the Dawn of the Self: Gerstenberg’s Monologues for C.P.E. Bach’s C Minor Fantasia,” in *CPEB-Studies* 2006, 25–66.

36. *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, trans. William J. Mitchell (New York: W.W. Norton, 1948), 152; cf. CPEB: CW, VII/1, pp. 144–45.

musicians, and at the time of his death he had more than 400 portraits in paintings, drawings, engravings, and silhouettes (see CPEB: CW, VIII/4, ed. Annette Richards). Burney estimated that about 150 of these were in frames and hanging on his wall when he visited Bach's home in October 1772.

Curiously, the character piece known as "L'Ally Rupalich," Wq 117/27, originally had the heading "La Bach," which was at some point crossed out and replaced by the more fanciful heading indicating a trickster. Bach's piece is a "murky" with an ostinato bass in octaves underpinning the rhythmic chords in the treble. (In Tom Beghin's recording, *Pièces de caractère*, it sounds like a disco piece for clavichord.) It was published in the *Musikalisches Mancherley* (an anthology published by G.L. Winter in Berlin, 1762–63), and although no editor is named, it is possible that C.P.E. Bach assisted the publisher. It is a humorous piece, with its caesuras (mm. 58 and 145) followed by shifts to unexpected keys (e.g., from G to E major in m. 59), and it even has a "development" section with an ascending chromatic passage in the bass from C to G (mm. 118–31). It is an excellent foil to all the pieces he wrote in minor keys.

Sonata in C Minor, Wq 50/6

This sonata concludes Bach's first collection of *Reprisen Sonaten* (sonatas with varied reprises).³⁷ Bach wrote a preface to the collection explaining how he wanted to show keyboard players how to embellish repeats in sonatas and other pieces.

While composing these Sonatas I thought especially of beginners and of those amateurs who, on account of their years or of other business, have neither patience nor time enough to practice much. Apart from giving them something easy I wanted to provide them with the pleasure of performing alterations without having to resort to either inventing them themselves or getting someone else to write them and then memorizing them with much difficulty. Finally, I have indicated clearly everything that belongs to a good performance, so that these pieces can be played with all possible freedom even by those who have no special disposition.³⁸

37. See Kramer, "The Ends of Veränderung," in *Unfinished Music*, 47–70, esp. 53–55. For a more general discussion of Bach's procedures, see Darrell M. Berg, "C.P.E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments' for His Keyboard Sonatas," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983): 151–73.

38. The preface, dated July 1759, was published in German and French by Winter, and these texts, along with an English translation, are given in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Sechs Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen* (1760), ed. Etienne Darbellay (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1976), xiii.

Unusually, the sonata is a single movement with two sections, both of which have two themes that are reprised several times with increasingly florid embellishments. (The sonata is diagrammed in table 1.) Naturally, the contrast between C minor and C major is striking. Bach provides a catalogue of potential embellishments for the material, and performers today who want to learn how to introduce their own embellishments for *da capo* arias and repeats in general would do well to study these sonatas. Elaine Sisman claims that this work is "The most important predecessor for Haydn's alternating [variation] procedures."³⁹

The middle movement of Mozart's overture to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (which is also used as the head motive in Belmonte's first aria but in major mode) bears a striking resemblance to the first theme (a) in Bach's sonata (see example 1). Leopold Mozart specifically offered Breitkopf a set of sonatas with varied reprises as a sequel to C.P.E. Bach's collections (Wq 50–52).⁴⁰ Mozart scholars use the term "double variation" to refer to Mozart's sonatas with varied reprises (e.g., K 309 and 311) which are actually based on C.P.E. Bach's models.

Solfeggio in C Minor, Wq 117/2

The term "solfeggio" denotes an untexted piece of music, usually associated with vocal music, meant to teach a singer how to sing intervals accurately; the most famous piece in the repertory today is the "Solfeggio" by Richard Strauss. Bach's solfeggios for keyboard are clearly intended to exercise the fingers of the player, to ensure technical facility in playing arpeggios and passagework. (When I asked a pianist recently what music she knew by C.P.E. Bach, she confessed that she only knew the Solfeggio in C Minor and played it to test her arthritis.) Indeed, the Solfeggio in C Minor is an excellent pedagogical piece, and shares the impassioned affects of some of C.P.E. Bach's other music.

One can find a dozen or more recordings of this famous Solfeggio on iTunes, including "straight" performances on piano or harpsichord as well as arrangements for jazz en-

39. Sisman, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 153–54.

40. On 6 October 1775, Leopold wrote to Breitkopf and offered to send him some of his son's compositions, and specifically asked whether Breitkopf would like sonatas "with varied reprises" in the style of C.P.E. Bach's Wq 50. Leopold also asked for a list of all works by C.P.E. Bach that Breitkopf had in stock. See *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, trans. Emily Anderson, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1985), 265; *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 1:527.

TABLE I. DIAGRAM OF WQ 50/6

	Section I				Section II			
Themes	a		b		c		d	
Mm.	1-8	9-16	17-32	33-48	49-56	57-64	65-78	79-92
	93-100	101-8	109-24	125-40	141-48	149-56	157-70	171-84
	185-92	193-200	201-16	217-34				
Keys	c	>E \flat	>G	>c	C>G	G>C	G	>C



EXAMPLE I. Mozart, opening measures of the *Andante* to the Overture to *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782)

semble (Bob Malone; Vernizzi Jazz Quartet; Bach to the Future), electric guitar (At Vance; Shir Nash), Latin style (Joshua Edelman), and even voice (the Swingle Singers on “Anyone for Mozart, Bach, Handel, Vivaldi”). My favorite is a New Age arrangement by Dino Kartsonakis (on Classical Peace), which begins with a thunderstorm accompanied by the Solfeggio in C Minor, followed by J.S. Bach’s Prelude in C Major from book I of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, as the storm passes and birds start to sing again. That C.P.E. Bach’s Solfeggio has entered popular culture is a tribute to its enduring fame. The piece has depth and character, and it is appealing, in the same way the études of Chopin and Paganini continue to appeal to performers and audiences.

Concerto in C Major, Wq 112/1

The Concerto in C Major for solo keyboard was originally conceived as a Concerto in D Major for keyboard with orchestra. There are sketches of the first movement, and Bach wrote about a page and a half before abandoning it as an orchestral piece (see appendix to CPEB: CW, I/8.1). It is not entirely clear why he didn’t finish it; maybe he didn’t need a piece for orchestra but rather decided to use it as a solo concerto to open his collection of *Clavierwerke*

verschiedener Art (keyboard pieces in different styles), Wq 112. As its title suggests, this collection includes a variety of pieces: a concerto (no. 1), a sonata (no. 7), a sinfonia (no. 13), three fantasias (nos. 2, 8, 15), three solfeggios (nos. 4, 10, 18), three songs (nos. 6, 12, 14), minuets and polonaises (nos. 3, 5, 9, 11, 16, 17), and a fugue (no. 19). It is not unlike his father’s *Clavierübung* publications with the French and English Suites, an “Italian” Concerto, and the 30 Variations on an Air in G Major (the “Goldberg” Variations). Each can be seen as a primer for young musicians, demonstrating how to approach various types of keyboard works both as performer and composer. Perhaps the collection was written and compiled to encourage C.P.E. Bach’s own three children in their studies. More likely, they were an attractive collection for other keyboard teachers to use as lessons.⁴¹

Wq 112/1 is very similar to Bach’s keyboard concertos with orchestra; indeed, the *Sei concerti*, Wq 43 were published in a form that could be played on solo keyboard

41. Peter Wollny, in his introduction to CPEB: CW, I/8.1, has suggested that C.P.E. Bach might have planned a second collection, consisting of works he later published in the *Musikalisches Vielerley* (Hamburg, 1770): a sonata, Wq 62/23; a symphony, Wq 122/5; three fantasias Wq 117/2-4; three solfeggios, Wq 117/11-13; a song, Wq 202/D; minuets and polonaises, Wq 116/3-8; plus the unpublished concerto, H 242.

as well as with orchestral accompaniment (see below). Wq 112/1 is certainly virtuosic as a solo keyboard piece, and though it is placed first in the collection, it was probably the last piece written in 1765. Although C.P.E. Bach did not orchestrate this concerto, it is fairly clear which parts would have been the *solo* and *tutti*. For instance, the concerto begins *Allegretto* in C major with an abbreviated double exposition: first a “tutti” passage in octaves, ending in a full cadence in m. 10; this is followed immediately by a reprise for “solo” keyboard (mm. 11–14); after which the “tutti” enters in the bass with repeated chords in the treble (mm. 14–16), leading to a second cadential flourish in octaves (mm. 17–20). There is even an opportunity for a cadenza in m. 113. The middle movement, a *Largo* in $\frac{3}{4}$ in A minor, is a song, Burney claimed:

[Bach’s] principal wish has been to play and compose in the most vocal manner possible, notwithstanding the great defect of all keyed instruments, except the organ, in not sustaining their tone. But to make a harpsichord or piano-forte sing, is not easily accomplished; as the ear must not be tired by too thin a harmony, nor stunned by too full an accompaniment. In his opinion, music ought to touch the heart, and he never found that this could be effected by running, rattling, drumming, or arpeggios.⁴²

The third movement, an *Allegro* in $\frac{2}{4}$, is a typical finale with several interruptions (mm. 33, 84, 116, 161, 236, and 268) followed by modulations of the kind Burney remarked on: “the bold modulation, rests, pauses, and free use of semitones, and unexpected flights of Haydn, remind us frequently of Bach’s early works more than of any other composer.”

Sonata in F Minor, Wq 57/6

Bach’s “Kenner und Liebhaber” collections, published in the last ten years of his life between 1777 and 1787, were among the first “cross-over” works. This was an innovative idea, though other composers also published collections of keyboard works for “Kenner und Liebhaber” (for connoisseurs and amateurs) around the same time. Mozart, in working on a set of three keyboard concertos (K 413, 414, 415) to publish in the new year, wrote to his father in December 1782:

These concertos are a happy medium between what is too easy and too difficult; they are very brilliant, pleasing to the

42. Burney, *A General History of Music*, ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols. (New York: Dover, 1935; originally pubd. London, 1789), 2:955.

ear, and natural, without being vapid. There are passages here and there from which the connoisseurs [kenner] alone can derive satisfaction; but these passages are written in such a way that the less learned [nichtkenner] cannot fail to be pleased, though without knowing why.⁴³

In referring to his first collection, Bach mentions that “a few of the sonatas are somewhat more difficult,” and therefore wondered whether he should print less than a thousand copies.⁴⁴

Wq 57/6 is one of Bach’s most famous sonatas. It received an extensive review by Johann Nikolaus Forkel in 1784 and had been praised by Johann Friedrich Reichardt even before it was published in 1781.⁴⁵ In his essay, Forkel identifies three types of sonatas on the basis of feelings, which he relates to musical rhetoric in Bach’s sonata. In particular, Forkel likened the piece to an ode and praised the work as having a coherent program of contrasting affects in its three movements.⁴⁶ Perhaps in part because of these early notices, the sonata was edited and published in numerous editions in the late nineteenth century, including those by Hans von Bülow, Ernst Friedrich Baumgart, Hugo Riemann, and Heinrich Schenker.⁴⁷ One of the pas-

43. *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 833; *Mozart: Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, 3:245–46.

44. See letter of 16 September 1778 in *CPEB-Letters*, 125. Bach eventually did opt to print 1,050 copies, but the number of copies sold fell off dramatically with his later collections.

45. Forkel, “Ueber eine Sonate aus Carl Phil. Emanuel Bachs dritter Sonaten-sammlung für Kenner und Liebhaber in F moll, S 30. Ein Sendschreiben an Herrn. von * *,” *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1784* (Leipzig, [1784]), 22–38. Reichardt, writing in *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin 1* (Berlin, 1782), 87, called it “by far the best” in the collection. “I can think of nothing that exceeds it in rhetoric, in lyricism, nothing more overpowering in every application of genius and art.” He also revealed that this was the sonata he had been given by Bach and had written about in his earlier book *Briefe eine aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, 2 (Frankfurt and Breslau, 1776), 10–13: “This is really one of the most original pieces that I have ever heard; and everyone, everyone for whom I play it breaks out, as though speechless, in these words: I’ve never heard anything like it!” Cited and translated in Kramer, *Unfinished Music*, 8.

46. See Richard Kramer, “Language and the Beginnings of Creation,” in *Unfinished Music*, 3–22, esp. 7–13; Doris Bosworth Powers, “Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s Philosophy of Music in the Einleitung to Volume One of His Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik (1788): A Translation and Commentary with a Glossary of Eighteenth-Century Terms” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1995), esp. 357–74.

47. In a letter dated October 16, 1860, Hans von Bülow complained to Felix Draeseke: “I am in the process of editing some of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s keyboard sonatas. The work is very dry and it puts me in a bad mood.” (Bin jetzt bei der Bearbeitung von Ph. Em. Bach’s Cla-

sages that caused particular trouble was the development section of the opening *Allegro* (mm. 53–66), in which the music modulates from C minor through A \flat minor to F \flat minor and back to F minor. Bach used a large flat sign for double-flats (which he recommended in *Versuch II*; see CPEB: CW, VII/2, p. 21), but this symbol is easy to miss.

Rondo in E Minor, Wq 66

Rondos became especially popular in the 1770s and 1780s, and Bach included many Rondos in his “Kenner und Liebhaber” collections. The Rondo in E Minor, Wq 66, was written as a farewell to his Silbermann clavichord (the key of E minor was associated with mourning and the autograph score has the caption title “Abschied von meinem Silbermannischen Clavier”), which he sold to Dietrich Ewald von Grotthuß in August 1781. The piece was not published during C.P.E. Bach’s lifetime, and it survives in relatively few contemporaneous copies, so it must have been a private and personal work. Bach had owned the Silbermann clavichord for 35 years, and he was sorry to part with it. In a note sent with his (now lost) autograph score to Grotthuß, he wrote, “It stands as proof that it is possible also to compose a mournful rondo, and it cannot be played on any other clavichord than on the one you possess.”

One of the attractions of the Rondo form for composers, and C.P.E. Bach in particular, was the opportunity to develop the recurring theme in the course of the piece. Thus, it is similar to his sonatas with varied reprises (Wq 50–52), in which the binary sections are written out with embellishments.

Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 67

The Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 67 seems to have had special significance for C.P.E. Bach. It was his last composition for solo keyboard listed in NV 1790, and he arranged it for keyboard and violin with the caption heading, “C.P.E. Bachs Empfindungen” (see Wq 80 below). It is a summing up of his fantasias, which formed an increasingly important part of his output for keyboard, especially in the late “Kenner und Liebhaber” collections. The opening theme returns in various guises throughout the piece. It is very close but not identical to a transposed version of the

viersonaten. Das dörrt aus und frißt den Humor weg.) Hans von Bülow, *Briefe und Schriften*, vol. 4 (Leipzig, 1898), 344; quoted in Ottenberg, *C.P.E. Bach*, trans. Whitmore, 187.

B–A–C–H motive (b \flat –a–c–b \sharp): a–g \sharp –b–a. The whole piece unfolds from this simple progression, and it could be analyzed as free varied reprises interspersed with virtuosic flourishes (see *Allegretto*, at m. 4a; *Largo*, mm. 34–38; *Allegretto*, at m. 42a; and finally at m. 43c). The range of his modulation is audacious, from F-sharp minor to B minor (at m. 3d) to D major (at m. 15) to B-flat minor (at m. 23) and C minor (at m. 25), and back to B minor (at m. 39) and finally F-sharp minor (just before m. 42a). This piece combines the logic and development of a sonata form with the free improvisatory fantasia, and it captures some sense of C.P.E. Bach’s style of playing the keyboard.

CHAMBER MUSIC

Sonata in A Minor for Unaccompanied Flute, Wq 132

Wq 132 is C.P.E. Bach’s only piece for unaccompanied flute. It was written in 1747 and published in *Musikalisches Mancherley* in 1763. Since it was also issued as an offprint, it is the only one of Bach’s flute sonatas that circulated widely in the eighteenth century. The blind flutist, Friedrich Ludwig Dülon, played it for Bach when he visited the composer in Hamburg in 1783; Bach responded to the performance by claiming that “the one for whom I wrote this piece couldn’t play it; the one for whom I did not write it can.”⁴⁸ The piece is difficult, with notes (f \sharp ''' and f \sharp ''') near the top of the range of most eighteenth-century flutes, though Quantz’s flutes could play high a'''.⁴⁹

The piece begins with a *Poco adagio* in A minor, and keeping in the same vein, the second and third movements, one an *Allegro* in $\frac{2}{4}$ and the other an *Allegro* in $\frac{3}{8}$, are both in A minor. The sequence of movements (slow–fast–fast) is the same as the flute sonatas of Friedrich II and Quantz, which in turn follow the example of Giuseppe Tartini.⁵⁰

48. Quoted in Leta E. Miller, “C.P.E. Bach and Friedrich Ludwig Dülon: Composition and Improvisation in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany,” *Early Music* 23 (1995): 66. Miller suggests that Bach was referring to Friedrich II, but Mary Oleskiewicz points out that if that were the case, Bach would not have been allowed to publish the sonata; see CPEB: CW, II/1, p. xv.

49. See table 1 in CPEB: CW, II/1, p. xii; see also Leta E. Miller, “C.P.E. Bach’s Sonatas for Solo Flute,” *Journal of Musicology* 11 (1993): 203–49, and Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Flutes of Quantz: Their Construction and Performing Practice,” *Galpin Society Journal* 53 (2000): 201–20.

50. It was probably the influence of Johann Gottlieb Graun, the first musician that Friedrich (as crown prince) hired at Ruppín, who had

Wq 132 is modeled on the Partita in A Minor, BWV 1013, of his father, which not only shares the same key but also uses the same sort of hidden polyphony in a single melodic line. In the first movement of Wq 132, for example, C.P.E. Bach wrote a two-part piece with a clear bass line in the lower register of the flute and a cantabile melody in the high register. In comparison to his father's Partita, however, he added the chiaroscuro of dynamic contrasts and nuances. C.P.E. Bach's godfather G.P. Telemann also published solo fantasias for flute, including a prominent piece in A minor and using the same two-part writing style with strong contrasts between low and high registers. But C.P.E. Bach wrote neither a baroque suite nor a fantasia, rather a typical *galant* solo sonata based on the Berlin model.⁵¹

Sonata in C Minor for Two Violins and Bass, Wq 161/1

Several years after Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle asked the famous question, "Sonate, que me veux-tu?" (Sonata, what do you want of me?), C.P.E. Bach attempted to deal with the problem of musical expression in the first trio in his publication, Wq 161. He gave the programmatic caption heading "Gespräch zwischen einem Sanguineus und Melancholicus" (dialogue between a Sanguine and Melancholy person), using footnotes in the music to make his intentions clear about the contrasting sections. What is not entirely clear is whether Bach was joining in the aesthetic debate or making fun of the *philosophes* regarding something self-evident. But it seems that his preface is genuine, and he provides footnotes "to assist those who do not yet possess sufficient insight into the musical expression."

The first movement alternates between *Allegretto* in C (Melancholicus), played by the violin II *con sordino* (with mute), and *Presto* in $\frac{3}{8}$ (Sanguineus), played by the violin I *senza sordino* (without mute). Bach explicitly states that one measure of the *Presto* should be equal to one beat of the *Allegretto* ($\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ in $\frac{3}{8}$ = ♩ in C). It is clear in the opening dialogue that the two characters are debating, each trying to win over the other. The two violins start playing together in m. 55, where Bach's footnote says "Melancholicus removes his mute here and follows Sanguineus." But

studied with Tartini and brought the slow-fast-fast order to the court. See Sabine Henze-Döring, *Friedrich der Große: Musiker und Monarch* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2012).

51. I am indebted to Karl Böhmer for these observations (private correspondence).

after a rest in m. 100, Melancholicus resumes his mournful theme in F minor. Melancholicus seems to be getting the upper hand in the *Adagio*, but Sanguineus will not give in (maintaining triplets throughout). Although it takes some time to convert Melancholicus, the two come together at the end of the *Adagio*, and play together in the final *Allegro*. Here the interplay is typical of Bach's other trios, with friendly competitive counterpoint.

Sonata in C Major, Wq 91/4

Around 1776, C.P.E. Bach published three sets of accompanied sonatas for keyboard, violin, and cello (Wq 89, 90, 91). The first set had been requested by a publisher in London, possibly on the advice of J.C. Bach, who had published his Op. 5 a few years earlier with some success. This set was reprinted by Hummel in Amsterdam, and Bach published the other two sets at his own expense. The Sonata in C Major, Wq 91/4, is the last piece of the set, perhaps a bonus fourth added to the normal set of three sonatas in Wq 90 and 91. This *Arioso* is certainly the easiest to listen to, and Bach left instructions for it to be converted to a set of variations for solo keyboard, as Wq 118/10 (see CPEB: CW, I/7, ed. Ulrich Leisinger). There are some subtle changes Bach made to accommodate the violin and cello accompaniment, but the interest remains mostly in the keyboard part. The theme (mm. 1–16) is in a four-square binary form (I–V, x–I), made up of two four-measure phrases which are repeated. Although they are not labeled in the original print, the variations follow the same structural pattern: variation 1 begins in m. 17; variation 2, in m. 33; variation 3, m. 49; variation 4 (in the parallel minor), m. 65; variation 5, m. 81; variation 6, m. 97; variation 7, m. 113 (plus a two-measure transition); variation 8 (in E major), m. 131; variation 9, m. 147 (plus a four-measure coda). This set of variations can stand with the best of Haydn's and Mozart's.

Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 80

The Fantasia in F-sharp Minor exists in two distinct versions: Wq 67 for solo keyboard and Wq 80 for violin and keyboard (see figures 3 and 4 on p. 61). While such reworkings are rare with other composers,⁵² Bach seems to have liked to return to his earlier works to tinker and improve. Sometimes this meant minor revisions to update

52. An exception is Mozart's reuse of the Kyrie and Gloria from his Mass in C Minor, K 427 (1783), as the basis for his oratorio *Davidde penitente*, K 469 (1785).

Etwas langsam

EXAMPLE 2. C.P.E. Bach, "Andenken an den Tod," Wq 198/12 (CPEB:CW, VI/2, ed. Anja Morgenstern)

a passage; other times he wrote a new middle movement; and occasionally he seems to have become obsessed with certain works, adapting them for different scoring or thoroughly revising them.⁵³ To his Fantasia Wq 80 for violin and keyboard, Bach added the subtitle: "C.P.E. Bach's Empfindungen" (C.P.E. Bach's feelings). There is no music more abstract and advanced until Beethoven's late quartets and sonatas, written some 30 years later. A few passages sound like Schoenberg (see, e.g., mm. 94–95). Both Fantasias were composed in 1787, the year before Bach died, and the music obviously had some special significance for him. Heinrich Poos notes that Bach quotes from his song "Andenken an der Tod" (thoughts about death), Wq 198/12, in mm. 31, 49, and 100 in both versions (see example 2).⁵⁴

53. One of the more extreme cases is the Sinfonia for two violins and bass, H 585, also arranged for keyboard and violin, Wq 74 (1754), then arranged for solo keyboard as a character piece, "La Louise," Wq 117/36 (1756), and finally incorporated in the Sonatina for keyboard, with two flutes, two horns, and strings, Wq 102 (1763).

54. Heinrich Poos, "Nexus vero est poeticus. Zur fis-moll-Fantasie Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *JbSIM* (1983/1984): 83–114.

The opening of Wq 80 is marked "Sehr traurig und ganz langsam" (very sad and entirely slow) which suggests that Bach was thinking of his own approaching death. (He was also very sad about his youngest son's death in Rome in September 1778.) While most of Wq 67 is unmeasured, most of Wq 80 is measured, but the music of the latter follows the former rather closely, even if it appears to have many more measures. The main difference between Wq 80 and 67 is the addition of an *Allegro* in A major (m. 104; Wq 67 ends at the equivalent place in m. 101 in Wq 80). This postscript, derived from his sonata Wq 58/2/iii, in the fourth collection for "Kenner und Liebhaber," seems to be life-affirming in the face of C.P.E. Bach's own mortality.

ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

Symphony in E Minor, Wq 177

When Burney visited Johann Adolf Hasse in Vienna, the elder composer recommended that the Englishman visit C.P.E. Bach in Hamburg to hear him play the clavichord.

Hasse singled out Bach's Symphony in E Minor, Wq 177, "which he thought the finest he had ever heard."⁵⁵ This symphony was written in 1756 and published in 1759 by Schmid in Nuremberg. The print was issued with four string parts; Bach later added two flutes, two oboes, and two horns. Although it is generally known and performed today (as Wq 178) with extra winds, it would have been better known in the eighteenth century in the original string version. Bach told Burney that he had written "a couple of dozen symphonies (ein Paar Duzend Sinfonien) in 1772, but NV 1790 only lists eight symphonies he wrote in Berlin (all in major keys except Wq 177), plus the set of six string symphonies that he had just finished (Wq 182, commissioned by Baron van Swieten). Several years later Bach wrote a set of four orchestral symphonies he later published (Wq 183, see below). But if you count the trios titled "Sinfonie," Wq 74 and 156 (see CPEB: CW, II/3.1 and II/2.2), and the "symphony improvised with Prince Lobkowitz one measure at a time" (listed in NV 1790, p. 65, but now lost), plus the other symphonies like Wq 177 for which Bach eventually added wind instruments, the total is closer to Bach's estimate.⁵⁶

The Symphony in E Minor opens with an agitated *Allegro assai* that has a unison opening, with a little turn (e–d#–e–f#–e), then starts to gather momentum over a repeated dominant B in the bass, coming to a half cadence in m. 10. Instead of landing back on the tonic in m. 11, Bach continues with the first of a series of unexpected harmonic progressions over a diminished seventh chord (c+d#+f#+a). This was a bold move, and the symphony is full of such twists. Later commentators have praised Haydn's monothematic expositions, and Wq 177 similarly can be praised for its concentration of ideas. One sequence—the rising figure first heard in m. 18—is developed and extended when it returns in mm. 108–14. It is a striking figure, and Gluck borrowed this passage in the

opening chorus of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, adding the indication "Tempête" (storm; see example 3).⁵⁷

The second movement, *Andante moderato*, is only 20 measures of music but is doubled in length with repeats. Bach arranged this movement as a keyboard piece for the second movement of his Sonata in G Minor, Wq 62/18 (1757).⁵⁸ The third movement, *Allegro*, features the  rhythm of which Bach was so fond. The overall structure is that of a three-movement sinfonia similar to an opera overture, but Bach goes beyond his immediate contemporaries (the Graun brothers, Quantz, and Franz Benda, to mention the most familiar) in harmony and form. The concert symphony was just beginning to be established in places like Berlin, Dresden, and Mannheim. Bach's contribution to the genre, though modest in quantity, led the way to later developments in the symphonies of Mozart and especially Haydn.

Symphony I in D Major, Wq 183/1

The four *Orchester-Sinfonien mit zwölf obligaten Stimmen* (orchestral symphonies with 12 obbligato parts), Wq 183, written in 1775 and published as a set in 1780, are mature pieces, and were probably written for concerts that Bach gave at Hamburg in the 1770s.⁵⁹ Any of these four symphonies might have been included in the present volume, and they are among the most frequently recorded and performed of Bach's works. Is it a coincidence that Bach published four symphonies, the same number of orchestral suites by his father that he had in his music library? These four of C.P.E. Bach's symphonies are quite advanced works, structurally, stylistically, and harmonically. Though each work has only three movements, arranged fast–slow–fast, they are closer to the late symphonies of Haydn and Mozart than Bach's Berlin symphonies.

The Symphony in D Major, Wq 183/1, is a veritable catalogue of "Sturm und Drang" topoi set in a conventional sonata form (without repeat of the exposition). The *Allegro di molto* opens with a syncopated violin I phrase outlining the triad, which gives the first theme exceptional drive.

55. According to Burney 1775, 1:344: "As he [Hasse] was born near Hamburg, he told me, that he was not only glad I was going thither, as it was his country, but, as I should see the great Emanuel Bach there, whom he very much respected, and hear the best organists and organs, of any part of the world, unless they were much degenerated since he was there. Above all things, he recommended to me the soliciting Bach, to let me hear him upon the clavichord; and likewise desired me to enquire after a symphony of that author in E *la mi*, minor, which he thought the finest he had ever heard."

56. For a summary of Bach's additions to his Berlin symphonies, see introduction to CPEB: CW, III/1, p. xiii. See also Mary Sue Morrow, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," in *The Symphonic Repertoire*, vol. 1, *The Eighteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. Mary Sue Morrow and Bathia Churgin (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), chapter 5.

57. Gluck conducted C.P.E. Bach's oratorio *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* in Vienna, as Bach informed Forkel in a letter dated 3 January 1778; a libretto for the performance is extant but the performing material is lost. See Blanken, 1:xvi, 2:735 and 902.

58. See CPEB: CW, I/5.2. Bach published a few of his symphonies in keyboard arrangements; these are published in CPEB: CW, I/8.1 and I/10.2.

59. One such concert in August 1776 featured all four of the symphonies. See Wiermann, 448–49.

Tempête

Vn I *ff sf sf sf sf sempre cresc.*

Vn II *ff sf sf sf sf sempre cresc.*

Va *ff sf sf sempre cresc.*

Bc *ff sf sf sempre cresc.*

EXAMPLE 3. Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, act 1, scene 1, mm. 108–16, woodwinds omitted
 (cf. Christoph Willibald Gluck *Sämtliche Werke*, I/9, ed. Gerhard Croll)

This gives way to a second contrasting theme featuring counterpoint between the solo bassoon and oboes. Virtually all of the movements run together, usually with a short transition from the tonic key of one movement to that of the next. In this case Bach pivots to B-flat to modulate to the remote key of E-flat major for the *Largo*. His scoring is reduced to flutes and solo viola and violoncello, with *pizzicato* violins to punctuate cadences. The brief, tender *Largo* abruptly yields to a *Presto* in D major. Several times (mm. 31, 34, 38, etc.) Bach interrupts the continuity. But overall the movement brings the symphony to an energetic, brilliant conclusion.

Concerto in B-flat Major, Wq 25

How to choose one or two from among C.P.E. Bach's more than fifty keyboard concertos? Bach himself might have chosen another, possibly Wq 31 in C minor, which he called one of his "Paradörs" in a letter of 28 April 1784.⁶⁰ That work was one of several that he held back from the public and kept for himself to perform. The Concerto in B-flat Major, Wq 25, on the other hand, is a work full of public appeal. It was the second of three concertos that Bach published separately while in Berlin; Wq 11 was the first, and Wq 14 was the third. He eventually published a set of six concertos in Hamburg (Wq 43, discussed below). But Wq 25 can stand as representative of the many keyboard concertos he composed in the 1740s and 1750s.

The first movement, an *Allegro di molto*, begins with an opening *tutti*, a brilliant, extroverted theme. Though it is on a smaller scale than the keyboard concertos of Mozart, it exhibits the formal structure of a double exposition, first orchestra then the soloist. This is followed by a *Largo mesto* in D minor. It is ultra-expressive in the *empfindsam* style. Notice the rising chromatic line in bass in mm. 7–10, which returns in mm. 65–67. In this restatement C.P.E. Bach calls for mutes (*con sordini*) in the strings, a frequent sound quality for his slow movements. An embellished keyboard part survives for this movement (it is published in the appendix to CPEB:CW, III/7, ed. Elias N. Kulkundis). The last movement, marked *Prestissimo* in $\frac{2}{4}$, is in B-flat major; it is an early rondo-style theme that Bach expands to more than five hundred measures.

60. "Das Concert C mol war vor diesem eines meiner Paradörs." CPEB-Briefe, 2:1009. Stephen Clark translates this as "show pieces" (related to the French Paradeurs) in CPEB-Letters, 204. Fifteen of Bach's 52 concertos are in minor keys, a rather high percentage compared to a composer like Mozart, who only wrote two concertos in minor keys (K 466 and 491).

Concerto IV in C Minor, Wq 43/4

The *Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato*, Wq 43, were written in 1771 and published in the fall of 1772. They were written so that they could be performed with or without orchestra; Bach played some of the concertos for Burney on his clavichord at home on 12 October 1772.⁶¹ It is clear from announcements in the local newspapers and his correspondence with Breitkopf that Bach was writing mainly for an amateur market, though like Mozart in writing his first set of concertos for Vienna a decade later, Bach also wanted to impress connoisseurs as well. Like the other three concertos and symphonies (Wq 177 and 183), the *Sei concerti* were published in parts rather than in score, and Bach included cadenzas in the keyboard part.

The Concerto in C Minor, Wq 43/4 is one of the most advanced of the set, and the only concerto of Bach's to introduce a *Tempo di minuetto*—all the other concertos have only three movements and the majority are connected by a short transition.⁶² Bach brings back the opening ritornello in his final movement, marked *Allegro assai* like the first movement but transposed to F minor. So after two intervening movements, a *Poco adagio* and *Tempo di minuetto*, the last movement sounds like a development section of a giant *Allegro* movement. Then at m. 107, Bach brings back the opening bars of the *Poco adagio*, followed immediately at m. 110 by the *Tempo di minuetto*, succeeded by the *Allegro assai* and a cadenza for solo keyboard. Coincidentally, at almost the same time as Bach's concerto, Haydn wrote his "Farewell" Symphony, which has been held up as a harbinger of the Classical style.⁶³

61. Burney 1775, 2:272: "He played to me, among many other things, his last six concertos, lately published by subscription, in which he has studied to be easy, frequently at the expence of his usual originality; however, the great musician appears in every movement, and these productions will probably be the better received, for resembling the music of the world more than his former pieces, which seem made for another region, or at least another century when what is now thought difficult and far-fetched, will, perhaps, be familiar and natural."

62. Jane Stevens, *The Bach Family and the Keyboard Concerto: the Evolution of a Genre* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park, 2001).

63. See James Webster, *Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony and the Idea of the Classical Style: Through-Composition and Cyclic Integration in his Instrumental Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

VOCAL MUSIC

Bitten, Wq 194/9

C.P.E. Bach published his “Gellert” Lieder, Wq 194 just a year after the poet’s volume of *Geistliche Oden* appeared in print in 1756. Like all the songs in the collection, “Bitten” is a strophic setting.⁶⁴ Its four verses are a prayer, asking for God’s mercy and forgiveness. The keyboard accompaniment is purposefully simple, since the songs were meant for devotional use in the home, not the concert hall. In the preface to the collection, Bach emphasizes his attempt to consider the entire poem, even though he generally only wrote music for one verse:

In the preparation of the melodies I have, so far as possible, considered the entire Lied. I say so far as possible because no one who understands music can be unaware that one must not require too much of a melody to which more than one strophe is sung, because the variety of the distinguishing marks, of the single- and multiple-syllable words, also often of the subject matter, etc. of the musical expression make a great difference. One will perceive from my work that I have sought in various ways to avoid many of these kinds of disparities.

I have added to my melodies the necessary harmony and embellishments. Thus I did not leave them to the caprice of an inflexible figured-bass player, and, consequently, one can use them as keyboard pieces. Since the voice part is always on top, untrained voices will thereby have a considerably easier experience.⁶⁵

His goal is to be both edifying and practical in order to reach as wide an audience as possible. Beethoven included the same poem as the first song in his setting of “Gellert” Lieder, Op. 48.

1. Gott, deine Güte reicht so weit,
So weit die Wolken gehen,
Du krönst uns mit Barmherzigkeit
Und eilst, uns beizustehen.
Herr! Meine Burg, mein Fels, mein Hort,
Vernimm mein Flehn, merk auf mein Wort;
Denn ich will vor dir beten!
2. Ich bitte nicht um Überfluß
Und Schätze dieser Erden.

64. William H. Youngren, *C.P.E. Bach and the Rebirth of the Strophic Song* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2003).

65. See figure 6 for a facsimile of the German text; see CPEB: CW, VI/1 for a complete translation of the text in English.

Laß mir, so viel ich haben muß,
Nach deiner Gnade werden.
Gib mir nur Weisheit und Verstand,
Dich, Gott, und den, den du gesandt,
Und mich selbst zu erkennen.

3. Ich bitte nicht um Ehr und Ruhm,
So sehr sie Menschen rühren;
Des guten Namens Eigentum
Laß mich nur nicht verlieren.
Mein wahrer Ruhm sei meine Pflicht,
Der Ruhm vor deinem Angesicht,
Und frommer Freunde Liebe.
4. So bitt ich dich, Herr Zebaoth,
Auch nicht um langes Leben.
Im Glücke Demut, Mut in Not,
Das wolltest du mir geben.
In deiner Hand steht meine Zeit;
Laß du mich nur Barmherzigkeit
Vor dir im Tode finden.

* * *

1. God, your goodness reaches so far,
as far as clouds go;
you crown us with mercy
and rush to assist us.
Lord! My fortress, my rock, my refuge,
hear my plea, mark my words;
for I will pray before you!
2. I do not ask for abundance
and treasures of the earth.
Let me become, as much as I must have,
according to your grace.
Give me only wisdom and understanding,
to know you, God, and those
you have sent to myself.
3. I do not ask for honor and fame,
so much as agitates men;
only possession of a good name
let me not lose.
My true fame is my obligation,
the fame before your face,
and pious love of friends.
4. So I ask you, Lord of hosts,
also not for a long life.
Humility in fortune, courage in need,
that you will give me.
My time is in your hand;
let me find only mercy
before you in death.

Bitten, Wq 208/3

This motet for four voices and continuo is based on the song of the same title, Wq 194/9. It was one of only a handful of vocal works by C.P.E. Bach published in the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ While the song is strophic, for the motet Bach set each of the four verses with different combinations of voices and harmony, thus creating varied reprises. (See text and translation above.) The first stanza begins with a homophonic chorale-like setting with the melody in the soprano, but for lines 3–4 Bach reduces the texture to the top three voices. In lines 5–6, the soprano and tenor have the melody in octaves, while the alto and bass weave a countermelody in eighth notes. Then the voices come together chorale style for the last line. Stanza 2 begins (at m. 29) with a tenor and bass duet, followed (in m. 37) by a soprano and alto duet. The two pairs of voices alternate through the rest of the verse and throughout most of stanza 3, as well (beginning at m. 57), but the melody is increasingly decorated. Finally, in stanza 4 (at m. 85) the four voices are arranged much the same as in the first stanza until the last line where the phrase “im Tode finden” (found in death) is extended in whole notes over eight measures, forming a short coda to the piece.

Der Frühling, Wq 202/A

Der Frühling was published as the result of a special challenge to composers (C. H. Graun, Bach, and J. F. Agricola), to set poetry written in hexameter: *Drey verschiedene Versuche eines einfachen Gesanges für den Hexameter* (Berlin, 1760). The preface to the first edition calls attention to the experimental quality of the exercise.⁶⁷ The poet of “Der Frühling” was Christoph Martin Wieland, who was based at the Weimar court in the 1770s and who worked with

66. *Bitten*. Gott deine Güte reicht so weit etc: von Gellert. Für vier Singstimmen mit Orgel- oder Clavier-Begleitung componirt von C. P. E. BACH (Bonn and Cologne: N. Simrock, c. 1823). The other works include the *Magnificat* (Bonn: N. Simrock, 1829), *Die Israeliten*, Wq 238 in an Italian translation by S. Sforzosi, as *Gli Ebrei nel deserto, oratorio in due parte posto in musica. Ridotto per il forte piano dal S. G. Mendel* (Paris: Anam. Choron, c. 1820), and double-choir *Heilig*, Wq 217, as “*Das grosse Heilig*.” *Clavierauszug von H. M. Schletterer* (Wolfenbüttel: L. Holle, c. 1860).

67. The publisher George Ludewig Winter wanted to know “whether it was possible to represent the fundamental beauties of harmony and of singing in a song so simple that it could be used for some rather long pieces from epic poetry” (ob es nicht möglich wäre die wesentlichen Schönheiten der Harmonie und des Singens in einem so einfachen Gesang vorzutragen, daß er zu einigen etwas langen Stücken aus epischen Gedichten, könnte gebracht werden).

Anton Schweitzer to produce serious operas in German.⁶⁸ Bach set the text through-composed in several sections, and at 150 measures it is one of his longer songs. The keyboard accompaniment consists of a figured bass and presumably doubles the vocal line; Bach added some cue-size notes (e.g., mm. 7 and 16) to fill in the first violin line that he later added to make a short chamber cantata, Wq 237 (see below). The song version begins in E major; Bach uses recitative (mm. 13–17) to modulate to D major (*Allegretto*, $\frac{3}{8}$), and another recitative passage (mm. 28–32) to pivot to G major (*Allegro*, C). The tempos change frequently until settling in an *Allegretto*, $\frac{2}{4}$, at m. 49. Then in m. 86, the music arrives at C major, *Allegretto*, $\frac{3}{8}$, on the words “Singet mit mir, ihr Kinder der Schöpfung” (sing with me, you children of creation). Bach writes an ABA’ ariette for this closing section, with a recapitulation at m. 125. (The text and a translation by Ruth B. Libbey are given below.)

Freude, du Lust der Götter und Menschen, Gespielin der
Unschuld,
komm zu meinem Gesang von jenem Hügel herunter
oder aus diesem Tal, worin dich der Frühling umarmet,
komm, komm von der Lilien Au und aus dem duftenden Haine!
Wer ist diese, die dort aus dem duftenden Haine hervorgeht,
schön, wie der sittsame Mond und wie die Erde erhaben?
O! sie ist es, auf meine Bitte gekommen.
Siehe, da wimmeln aus ihrem Fusstritt ambrosische Blumen
schimmernd hervor! Da kommt sie daher, die Schwester des
Frühlings.
Jetzt verbreitet die Freude die sanften Flügel, und trägt mich
hoch in den Wolken. Ich seh die Natur hier unter mir grünen.
Auf den Flügeln der Freude, zu deinem Throne genähert,
sing ich, o Schöpfer, dein Lob. Die Natur vermischt in den
meinen
ihre Hymnen, dir steigt aus dem Hain ein harmonisch Getöne,
aus den Tälern ein blumigter Rauch, wie ein Opfer entgegen.
Singet mit mir, ihr Kinder der Schöpfung, besinget die Liebe
die uns gebar; erzähle sein Lob, seraphischer Himmel.
Die du dort über die Blumen hingleitest, crystallene Quelle,
rausch es den Blumen zu, von einer Welle zur andern.
Alles, was lebt, das lobe den Herrn und erfreue sich seiner.

* * *

Joy, you delight of gods and men, playmate of innocence,
come forth to my song, down from yonder hill
or out from that valley, where Springtime embraces you,

68. See Thomas Bauman, *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Schweitzer’s *Alceste* was published by Breitkopf in 1774, and Bach owned a portrait of the composer.

come, come from the meadow of the lilies and from the fragrant groves!

Who is this, who emerges there from the fragrant fields, lovely as modest Moon and sublime as Earth?

O! it is she, come in answer to my plea.

See, ambrosial flowers swarm out shimmering from her footstep!

Thence she comes, the sister of Springtime.

Now joy spreads its gentle wings, and bears me high into the clouds. I see nature grow green here beneath me.

On the wings of joy, drawn near to your throne,

I sing, O Creator, your praise. Nature mixes with mine her hymns, harmonious sounds arise to you from the grove,

and out of the valleys a flower-laden incense as for a holy offering.

Sing with me, you children of creation, sing praise to the love that gave us birth; tell its praises, seraphic heaven.

You who glide forth there over the flowers, crystalline source, rustle it to the blossoms, from one wave to the other.

Let all that lives praise the Lord and rejoice in Him.

Der Frühling, Wq 237

Bach rarely passed up a chance to experiment with new forms, and having set the poem “Der Frühling” (Wq 202/A) for voice and keyboard, he revised it as a cantata for tenor and string accompaniment (as Wq 237), probably around 1770–72. Although no trace of an opera by Bach survives, at least one reviewer claimed that he had attempted to write a Singspiel:

Because the late Bach in Hamburg had so fortuitously set to music the most excellent odes and oratorios, it was suggested that he would have been equally successful in opera as well. Once he was persuaded to undertake the composition of a Singspiel, Bach did it and delivered one act. It was rehearsed and failed utterly. The error lay only because Bach didn't recognize dramatic effect.⁶⁹

We cannot be certain the reviewer had his facts straight; perhaps he was confusing C.P.E. Bach with his half-brother, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, whose setting of *Brutus* by Johann Gottfried Herder, completed in

69. “Da der verstorbene Bach in Hamburg mit so vielem Glücke die vortrefflichsten Oden und Oratorii in Music gesetzt hatte; so vermuthete man, daß er auch in Opern eben so glücklich seyn würde. Man ersuchte ihn einmahl, sich der Tonsetzung eines Singspiels zu unterziehen. Bach that es und lieferte einen Act. Man probirte denselben und er mißfiel gänzlich. Der Fehler lag nur darin, weil Bach die dramatischen Wirkungen nicht kannte.” See Christoph Henzel, *Quellentexte zur Berliner Musikgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wilhelmshaven: F. Noetzel, 1999), 104–7. Translation in CPEB: CW, VI/4, p. xvii.

1774 and now lost, was not successful.⁷⁰ In spite of C.P.E. Bach's lack of experience in opera, he certainly was capable of writing dramatic music.

The vocal line of the cantata follows closely that of the song but with minor variants, as does the sequence of modulation, though the cantata begins in D major and ends in B-flat major, transposed a whole step lower than the song. Bach expanded the one-measure keyboard introduction in Wq 202/A to a full opening ritornello (mm. 1–10) in Wq 237. The opening statement of the song (mm. 2–12) is repeated and developed in the cantata (cf. mm. 11–21, 22–25) with a short interlude in the strings (mm. 25–29) leading to a section of recitative (beginning at m. 30). Melody and bass follow the song closely in the first *Allegretto* (mm. 35–43), with three additional measures before the *Andantino* (at m. 47), marked recitative in the cantata. In the second *Allegretto* (beginning at m. 60) even the string accompaniment is very similar to the keyboard accompaniment in the song. This continues in the third *Allegretto* (m. 73), but once again Bach extends the instrumental interlude (mm. 87–92). In the following section (“Die Natur vermischt ...”), Bach extends the vocal line as well, repeating the phrase “ein harmonisch Getöne” (mm. 101–4), then repeats more of the text in mm. 112–22, with an opportunity for a cadenza in m. 121. The final *Allegretto* (“Singet mit mir” at m. 130) has many interpolations by the string accompaniment between phrases. As in the song, there is a contrasting B section (mm. 173–96), then a recapitulation (at m. 197) with the text “Alles, was lebt, das lobe den Herrn” (paraphrasing Psalm 150). Even the closing postlude is based on the song's ending.

C.P.E. Bach was involved in concerts as well as church services at Hamburg, and he likely adapted his song for one of his tenors for a special occasion. In the last years of his life he used songs as the basis for choruses in his cantatas and Passions.

Magnificat, Wq 215

Chorus: “Magnificat anima mea Dominum”

According to the autograph score, C.P.E. Bach completed his setting of the Magnificat in Potsdam, on 25 August 1749. His first major choral work was thus completed almost a year before his father died at the end of July 1750. Although no specific documentation has yet come to light, the work almost certainly had its first performance in Leipzig before J.S. Bach passed away, probably either

70. See Bauman, *North German Opera*, 151.

during Advent/Christmas 1749 or on one of the Marian feasts in early 1750. Presumably, this was intended as an audition piece in the hope of eventually succeeding his father as cantor at the Thomaskirche.⁷¹ C.P.E. Bach's setting is compressed into nine movements instead of the twelve of J.S. Bach's setting (see table 2); nonetheless, there are some significant similarities between the two works. First, both begin with a *tutti* chorus in D major and the music is reprised near the end of each work (as also in the case of Vivaldi's *Gloria*); where J.S. Bach reuses the music of the opening chorus for the "Sicut erat in principio," C.P.E. Bach reuses his "Magnificat" music in the "Gloria Patria" (example 4) then adds a grand double fugue for the "Sicut erat in principio" and final "Amen" (see examples 5–6). A couple of the movements of C.P.E. Bach's version seem modeled on his father's work, especially the head-motive of the "Deposuit potentes" with triplets instead of 16th notes. But perhaps the most striking difference is the "Sicut locutus est," which J.S. Bach set as a four-voice fugue and which C.P.E. Bach set as an aria for alto in his most sentimental style.

Because he initially had no opportunity to perform his *Magnificat* in Hamburg, C.P.E. Bach used most of the movements with parody texts in other cantatas. For instance, he adapted the first movement with a German text "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn" as a pasticcio cantata for the Feast of the Visitation of Mary in 1768.⁷²

The Latin setting was easily adapted to fit the German words (see example 7). Eventually, in 1779 Bach revised the *Magnificat* for a concert in Hamburg. Since the fourth movement ("Et misericordia eius") had become known as a chorus (no. 4, "Fürwahr, er trug unsre Krankheit") in his *Passions-Cantate* (see below), which was performed every Lent in various churches in Hamburg, Bach wrote a new setting of this movement. (People who knew "Meine Seele" probably assumed incorrectly that he had adapted the Latin text to his original German setting.) He also took

71. Martin Petzoldt, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die Kirchenmusik seines Vaters. Bemerkungen zu den zwei Magnificat-Kompositionen BWV 243 und Wq 215," *JbSIM* (2004), 32–42; Peter Wollny, "Anmerkungen zur Überlieferungs- und Aufführungsgeschichte des Magnificat Wq 215 von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," *Frankfurt/Oder* 1998, 15–29; Christine Blanken, "Zur Werk- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Magnificat Wq 215 von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2006): 229–71.

72. This cantata, H 819, was performed a few other years. Movements 4–7 are by the otherwise unidentified composer "Hoffmann," but the first aria, no. 3 was written by C.P.E. Bach. See the introduction to CPEB: CW, V/1.1 for a summary of his reuse of all movements in Wq 215; H 819 is published in CPEB: CW, V/6.3.

the opportunity to add horns to two movements, and three trumpets and timpani to the opening and closing choruses and aria no. 5; on the first page of the autograph score he added indications for the trumpets and timpani (see figure 7). Several years later, at a benefit concert in 1786, C.P.E. Bach performed his *Magnificat* again, along with the Credo from his father's Mass in B Minor, two movements from *Messiah*, one of his symphonies (perhaps Wq 178), and his double-choir *Heilig* (see figure 9).

Passions-Cantate, Wq 233

Aria: Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze

Bach spent the last 21 years of his life in Hamburg, where he was music director of the five principal churches. Burney wrote of the rather bleak state of music in Hamburg in October 1772:

After this visit, M. Bach accompanied me to St. Catherine's church, where I heard some very good music, of his composition, very ill performed, and to a congregation wholly inattentive. This man was certainly born to write for great performers, and for a refined audience; but he now seems to be out of his element. There is a fluctuation in the arts of every city and country where they are cultivated, and this is not a bright period for music at Hamburg.

At church, and in the way home, we had a conversation, which was extremely interesting to me: he told me, that if he was in a place, where his compositions could be well executed, and well heard, he should certainly kill himself, by exertions to please. 'But adieu music! now, he said, these are good people for society, and I enjoy more tranquility and independence here, than at a court; after I was fifty, I gave the thing up, and said let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die! and I am now reconciled to my situation; except indeed, when I meet with men of taste and discernment, who deserve better music than we can give them here.'⁷³

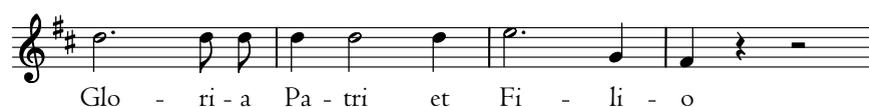
The *Passions-Cantate* was arguably Bach's best-known work, at least in Hamburg, where it was performed every Lent, and possibly in Berlin and other cities where it circulated in manuscript scores. Almost all of the music originated in his first setting of the St. Matthew Passion, H 782, in 1769, which he probably started writing in Berlin in 1768.⁷⁴ One of the most beautiful arias in the work is "Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze," written to depict

73. Burney 1775, 2:251–52.

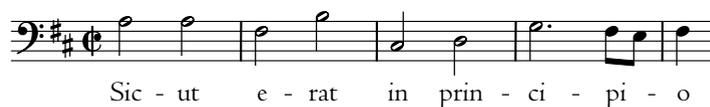
74. In the entry for the 1769 St. Matthew Passion, NV 1790, p. 59, states: "Aus dieser Paßion ist, nach Weglassung des Evangelisten und verschiedenen gemachten Veränderungen, die Paßions-Cantate entstanden." For an overview of C.P.E. Bach's Passions, see Ulrich

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF MAGNIFICAT SETTINGS BY J. S. BACH AND C. P. E. BACH

J. S. Bach Magnificat, BWV 243	C. P. E. Bach Magnificat, Wq 215
1. Chorus: Magnificat anima mea Dominum	1. Chorus: Magnificat anima mea Dominum
2. Aria (S): Et exultavit spiritus meus	
3. Aria (S): Quia respexit humilitatem	2. Aria (S): Quia respexit humilitatem
4. Chorus: Omnes generationes	
5. Aria (B): Quia fecit mihi magna	3. Aria (T): Quia fecit mihi magna
6. Duet (A, T): Et misericordia eius	4. Chorus: Et misericordia eius
7. Chorus: Fecit potentiam	5. Aria (B): Fecit potentiam
8. Aria (T): Deposuit potentes	6. Duet (A, T): Deposuit potentes
9. Aria (A): Esurientes implevit bonis	
10. Trio (S, S, A): Suscepit Israel	7. Aria (A): Suscepit Israel
11. Chorus: Sicut locutus est	
Chorus: Gloria Patri—Sicut erat in principio	Chorus: Gloria Patri
Chorus: Sicut erat in principio	



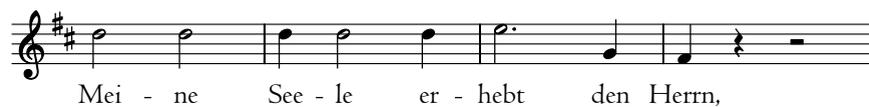
EXAMPLE 4. C.P.E. Bach, "Gloria Patri et Filio," Soprano line, mm. 4–7, in the Magnificat, no. 8



EXAMPLE 5. C.P.E. Bach, "Sicut erat in principio," Bass line, mm. 1–5, in the Magnificat, no. 9



EXAMPLE 6. C.P.E. Bach, "Amen," Alto line, mm. 87–91, in the Magnificat, no. 9



EXAMPLE 7. C.P.E. Bach, "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn," Soprano line, mm. 22–25, in *Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn*, H 819, no. 1 (CPEB: CW, V/6.3)

Peter's sorrow after denying Jesus outside the trial of the High Priest. Burney heard this aria and some other music from the work performed at a private concert in Hamburg:

Several of M. Bach's vocal compositions were performed, in all which great genius and originality were discoverable; though they did not receive the embellishments, which singers of the first class might have given to them. M. Bach has set to music, a *Passione*, in the German language, and several parts of this admirable composition were performed this evening. I was particularly delighted with a chorus in it, which for modulation, contrivance, and effects, was at least equal to any one of the best choruses in Handel's immortal *Messiah*. A pathetic air, upon the subject of St. Peter's weeping, when he heard the cock crow, was so truly pathetic as to make almost every hearer accompany the saint in his tears.⁷⁵

The aria, an *Adagio* in B minor for tenor accompanied by strings *con sordini*, is in Bach's pathetic style. It is a *dal segno* form without any significant contrast in the B section; the singer, depicting Peter asking forgiveness for his betrayal, wallows in his shame and sorrow. (See text and a translation by Ruth B. Libbey below.) The *Passions-Cantate* was published in an unauthorized keyboard-vocal score by A. J. Steinfeld in 1789 in Hamburg, a year after C. P. E. Bach's death (see frontispiece in figure 8).

Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze,
Gott der Huld! sieh mein zerschlagnes Herze,
nimm es dir zum Opfer an!
Ach, ich sinke, wirst du mich nicht heben,
Gütigster, der schonen und vergeben,
Vater, der nicht ewig zürnen kann.

* * *

Turn toward my pains,
God of graciousness, see my downcast heart,
accept it as sacrifice!
Ah, I sink, if you will not lift me,
Most Good, who can protect and forgive,
Father, who cannot eternally be angry.

Heilig, mit zwei Chören und einer Ariette, Wq 217

On 16 September 1778, C. P. E. Bach wrote to his publisher Breitkopf:

Leisinger, "Neues über Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Passionen nach 'historischer und alter Art,'" *JbSIM* (2002): 107–19.

75. Burney 1775, 2:253–54.

If I can hope for 100 subscribers, which will become apparent within 4 weeks, I want to come out with my *Heilig*; this *Heilig* is an attempt to inspire far greater attention and sentiment through entirely natural and ordinary harmonic progressions than one can attain with any amount of nervous chromaticism. It is to be my swan song *of this type*, and thereby serve the purpose that I may not be forgotten too soon after my death.⁷⁶

Bach did publish his *Heilig, mit zwei Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung* (*Heilig*, with two choirs and an ariette as an introduction; Wq 217) in 1779, "im Verlage des Autors" (published by the author) in Hamburg and printed by Breitkopf in Leipzig. Bach first performed the piece in an arrangement of his father's cantata *Es erhub sich ein Streit* (BWV 19), as the Michaelmas *Quartalstück* for 1776.⁷⁷ The double-choir *Heilig* was incorporated into several other works for Hamburg, including three other *Quartalstücke*: *Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt*, based on the cantata *Michaels Sieg* (Wf XIV/5) by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, in 1778; *Nun danket alle Gott* (Wq 241) in 1780 and 1783; and *Der Frevler mag die Wahrheit schmähn* (Wq 246) in 1785. He also used the chorus in *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft* (Hymn of thanks for friendship, H 824e) in 1785, and in *Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelis-Thurms* (Music celebrating the completion of St. Michael's spire, H 823) in 1786.⁷⁸ Finally, he performed the *Heilig* as the concluding piece in a benefit concert for the "medizinische Armeninstitut" (medical institute for the destitute; see figure 9).

The work poses challenges mainly in its scoring for two full orchestras and chorus (SATB): Chor der Engel (choir of angels) and Chor der Völker (chorus of people). The ariette for alto voice sets up the entrance of the "Engelchor,"

76. CPEB-Letters, 125. CPEB-Briefe, 694: "Wenn ich Hoffnung zu 100 Pränumeranten, habe, welches sich binnen 4 Wochen zeigen wird, wollte ich mit meinem Heilig herausrücken; dieses Heilig ist ein Versuch, durch ganz natürliche und gewöhnliche harmonische Fortschreitungen eine weit stärkere Aufmerksamkeit und Empfindung zu erregen, als man mit aller ängstlichen Chromatik nicht im Stande ist zu thun. Es soll mein Schwanen Lied, von dieser Art, seyn, und dazu dienen, daß man meiner nach meinem Tode nicht zu bald vergeßen möge." A facsimile of the autograph score and first edition have been published as a supplement to series V in CPEB: CW.

77. See Ulrich Leisinger, "'Es erhub sich ein Streit' (BWV 19): Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Aufführungen im Kontext der Hamburgischen Michaelismusiken," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1999): 105–26.

78. For a summary of these works, see Paul Corneilson, "Zur Entstehungs- und Aufführungsgeschichte von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs 'Heilig,'" *Bach-Jahrbuch* (2006): 273–89.

shifting abruptly from G major to E major.⁷⁹ The Heilig (German Sanctus) eventually gives way to an *Alla breve moderato* double fugue on the words “Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll” (the whole earth is full of his glory). In the middle of the fugue Bach inserts the first two lines of the German Te Deum. In short, it is a monumental piece, a fitting “swan song” for a son of J.S. Bach. The English translations of the Heilig and Te Deum texts below are based, respectively, on Isaiah 6:3 (King James Version) and the Book of Common Prayer.

Herr, wert, dass Scharen der Engel dir dienen
und dass dich der Glaube der Völker verehrt,
ich danke dir, Herr!
Sei mir gepriesen unter ihnen!
Ich jauchze dir!
Und jauchzend lobsingend dir Engel und Völker mit mir.

Heilig, heilig, heilig ist Gott der Herr Zebaoth!
Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.

*Herr Gott, dich loben wir!
Herr Gott, wir danken dir!*

* * *

Lord, who is worthy to be served by angels,
and who is honored by all peoples who believe,
I thank you, Lord!
Let me praise you along with others!
I laud you!
And the angels and people joyfully sing your praises with me.

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts.
The whole earth is full of his glory.

*We praise thee, O God,
We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.*

Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste, Wq 239

Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock was one of the leading contemporary poets of the late eighteenth century. His semi-sacred text celebrating the “morning song at the creation of the world” might have been written expressly for C.P.E.

79. For a detailed discussion of the bold harmonic modulations in the Heilig, see Richard Kramer, “The New Modulation of the 1770s: C.P.E. Bach in Theory, Criticism, and Practice,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 38 (1985): 551–92. See also Annette Richards, “An Enduring Monument: C.P.E. Bach and the Musical Sublime,” in *CPEB-Studies 2006*, 149–72.

Bach (see text and a translation by Ruth B. Libbey below). Though Klopstock was a generation younger than the composer, both were seen as progressives and were occasionally compared and contrasted by critics. Bach’s setting, scored for flutes and strings with two soprano soloists plus chorus, was published almost immediately after it was written in 1783.

Helm grouped Wq 239 with the “major choral works,” despite its modest scoring and relatively short duration (10–12 minutes); CPEB: CW published it in series VI, volume 4 with the *Arias and Chamber Cantatas*. Clearly, the work falls somewhere between Bach’s major choral works and vocal chamber cantatas. It was the last vocal work that Bach published at his own expense, and along with the late “Kenner und Liebhaber” collections, Wq 239 is representative of his late style. Far from sounding old-fashioned, the *Morgengesang* shows Bach keeping up with the times.

1. *Accompagnement*

Noch kommt sie nicht die Sonne, Gottes Gesendete,
noch weilt sie, die Lebensgeberin.
Von Dufte schauert es noch ringsumher
auf der wartenden Erde.

2. *Arienmäßig*

Heiliger, Hoherhabner, Erster,
du hast auch unseren Sirius gemacht!
Wie wird er strahlen, wie strahlen
der hellere Sirius der Erde!

3. *Arie*

Schon wehen und säuseln und kühlen
die melodischen Lüfte der Frühe!
Schon wallt sie einher, die Morgenröte, verkündigt
die Auferstehung der toten Sonne.

4a. *Duett*

Herr, Herr, Gott, barmherzig und gnädig!
Wir, deine Kinder, wir mehr als Sonnen
müssen dereinst auch untergehen
und werden auch aufgehn!

4b. *Chor*

Herr, Herr, Gott, barmherzig und gnädig!
Wir, deine Kinder, wir mehr als Sonnen
müssen dereinst auch untergehen
und werden auch aufgehn!

5. *Duett*

Halleluja! Seht ihr die Strahlende, Göttliche kommen,
wie sie da an dem Himmel empor steigt,
Halleluja, wie sie da, auch ein Gotteskind,
aufersteht?

6. *Accompagnement*

O der Sonne Gottes und solche Sonnen,
wie diese, die jetzo gegen uns strahlt,
hieß er, gleich dem Schaum auf den Wogen, tausend
Mal tausend
werden in der Welten Ozeane!

Und du solltest nicht auferwecken, der auf dem ganzen
Schauplatz der unüberdenkbaren Schöpfung
immer und alles wandelt
und herrlicher macht durch die Wandlung?

7. *Chor*

Halleluja! Seht ihr die Strahlende, Göttliche kommen,
wie sie da an dem Himmel empor steigt,
Halleluja, wie sie da, auch ein Gotteskind,
aufersteht?

* * *

1. *Accompanied Recitative*

It still does not appear, the sun, God's messenger,
it yet delays, the giver of life.
A shower of perfume still lies
on the waiting Earth.

2. *Arioso*

Holy, most exalted, first one,
you also made our Sirius!
How it shall shine forth, how shall shine forth
the brighter Sirius of Earth!

3. *Aria*

Already the melodious breezes of the early hours
waft and rustle and refresh!
Already it flows in, the blush of day, and heralds
the resurrection of the dead sun.

4a. *Duet*

Lord, Lord, God, gracious and merciful!
We, your children, we more than suns
must one day also set
and will also rise again!

4b. *Chorus*

Lord, Lord, God, gracious and merciful!
We, your children, we more than suns
must one day also set
and will also rise again!

5. *Duet*

Hallelujah! Do you see the radiant, divine one arriving,
as it ascends there in the sky,
Hallelujah, as it rises up there,
also a child of God?

6. *Accompanied Recitative*

O of God's sun and such suns
as this one, which now shines upon us,
He commanded that there be, like the froth upon the waves,
a thousand times a thousand in the oceans of the world!

And should you not be resurrected,
you who on the whole stage of immeasurable creation
always and all things transfigure,
and render more glorious by transfiguration?

7. *Chorus*

Hallelujah! Do you see the radiant, divine one arriving,
as it ascends there in the sky,
Hallelujah, as it rises up there,
also a child of God?