

INTRODUCTION

Die Israeliten in der Wüste, Wq 238, set to a libretto by Daniel Schiebeler (1741–71) based on the biblical account in Exodus, chapter 17, concerns the suffering of the Israelites in the desert that was relieved by Moses, who miraculously brought forth water from a rock. This oratorio, Bach's first, was composed for performance on 1 November 1769 during the worship service for the dedication of the newly constructed Lazareths Kirche in Hamburg. This church was associated with the Pesthof, which lay beyond the city walls, where care was provided for the sick, the infirm, and the destitute.

Die Israeliten was one of the first major works Bach composed after succeeding his late godfather Georg Philipp Telemann as Hamburg music director and cantor at the Johanneum, the city's Latin school, in March 1768. The autograph score and parts do not survive, but Bach himself published an edition of the work in 1775 that serves as the principal source of the current edition.

In announcing the publication, Bach informed his potential subscribers that "this oratorio has been composed in such a way that it can be performed not only on a solemn occasion but anytime, inside and outside the church, simply to praise God, and indeed without objection by any Christian denomination."¹ Acting as his own publisher, Bach contracted with Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in Leipzig for the printing of approximately 350 copies of the work to be sold principally by subscription. Along with the score itself, each subscriber also received a printed copy of the libretto; these were prepared for Bach separately in Hamburg. The names of the subscribers were not printed in the score because, as Bach wrote to Breitkopf on 24 February 1775, "I am certainly satisfied with my purchasers, but most of them do not want to have their names known, and many have not yet sent them in."²

1. "Es ist dieses Oratorium in der Anwendung so eingerichtet worden, daß es nicht just bey einer Art von Feyerlichkeit, sondern zu allen Zeiten, in und außer der Kirche, bloß zum Lobe Gottes, und zwar ohne Anstoß von allen christlichen Religionsverwandten aufgeführt werden kann." Cited in Wiermann, 200.

2. "Ich bin zwar mit meinen Subscribenten zufrieden, allein die meisten wollen ihre Nahmen nicht wissen lassen, u. viele haben sie noch nicht eingeschickt." *CPEB-Briefe*, 489; *CPEB-Letters*, 77.

Genesis of the Work

Born into a prominent Hamburg family, the librettist Schiebeler was first educated privately at home. He later attended the Johanneum, where he was influenced by the rector Johann Samuel Müller, who first sparked his interest in theater, and history professor and poet Michael Richey, who probably inspired Schiebeler and his circle of friends to critique each other's poetry at weekly meetings. Fellow student Johann Joachim Eschenburg was not counted among Schiebeler's friends at that time,³ but later he and Schiebeler, along with Christoph Daniel Ebeling, a contributor to the libretto of Bach's *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, collaborated on the monthly periodical *Unterhaltungen*, which appeared from 1766 to 1770. A few years after Schiebeler's early death in 1771, Eschenburg published a selection of his friend's works (including *Die Israeliten*) in a volume that opens with his heartfelt reflections on Schiebeler's character.⁴

An accomplished violinist and great lover of music, Schiebeler enjoyed a "friendly association with the unforgettable Capellmeister Telemann."⁵ Schiebeler must have come to know sacred oratorios and related genres from such works as Telemann's *Donnerode* (1756), *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem* (1759), *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (1760), *Die Auferstehung* (1761), and *Das befreite Israel* (1759), whose narrative precedes that of *Die Israeliten* and may have influenced Schiebeler's choice of an Old Testament subject.⁶ Schiebeler left Hamburg in 1763 to continue his studies, first in Göttingen, until 1765, then

3. Gottfried Schmidtman, "Daniel Schiebeler" (Ph.D. diss., University of Göttingen, 1901), 1–8.

4. Johann Joachim Eschenburg, ed., *Daniel Schieblers auserlesene Gedichte* (Hamburg: Bode, 1773).

5. Eschenburg, xvii.

6. The narrative of Handel's *Israel in Egypt* also precedes that of *Die Israeliten*, and although Schiebeler was aware of the success of *Israel in Egypt* in England, it does not appear that *Die Israeliten* was intended to be the first in a series of (Israelite) oratorios in emulation of Handel's. See Reginald L. Sanders, "The Israelites in Hamburg and London: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* and Handel's Israelite Oratorios," *Göttinger Händel Beiträge* 11 (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 244ff.

in Leipzig, where he earned a doctorate in law in 1768 before returning to Hamburg as a canon at the Cathedral.

Schiebeler's love of both words and music led him to value poetry intended for musical setting above all other kinds. His most important creations are works of this type, and many also reflect his interest in theater: the "Singedicht" *Basilio und Quitera*, set by Telemann in 1761 as *Don Quichotte auf der Hochzeit des Camacho*;⁷ the Singspiel *Lisuart und Dariolette*, set by Johann Adam Hiller in 1766; and the opera *Die Großmut des Scipio*, set by Jacob Schuck in 1768.⁸

Writing song texts was a natural consequence of Schiebeler's inclination toward both poetry and music. In fact, his first collaboration with Bach involved song composition. Bach and Schiebeler probably became acquainted not long after Bach's arrival in Hamburg, and the fruits of their efforts appeared in various issues of *Unterhaltungen* from March 1769 to January 1770. Schiebeler was also the author of the libretto to Bach's installation cantata for Pastor Christian Arnold Palm, H 821a, which was performed at St. Nicolai on 12 July 1769. Bach even may have learned of Schiebeler's work while still in Berlin, from Anna Luisa Karsch, a contributor to the libretto of his *Passions-Cantate*, who was acquainted with Schiebeler from at least the time of his study in Göttingen.⁹

When a libretto was needed for the music to be performed at the dedication of the church associated with the Pesthof, Schiebeler's *Die Israeliten*, which had already been published as "ein geistliches Singedicht" in *Unterhaltungen* in June 1767 (3. Band, 6. Stück), was an entirely appropriate choice—whether made by Bach, owing in part to his previous successful collaboration with Schiebeler, or by the municipal or church authorities.¹⁰

7. See Bernd Basel's introduction to *Don Quichotte auf der Hochzeit des Camacho*, in *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, 64–65 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1991).

8. Schiebeler was a great admirer of Metastasio, and the last is an opera seria in German modeled on the works of the famous librettist. See Ludwig Finscher, "Bemerkungen zu den Oratorien Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 318.

9. Finscher, 311. For evidence of Karsch's association with Schiebeler, see August Kluckhohn, "Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Aus handschriftlichen Quellen. Neues von und über Anna Luise Karsch," *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte* 11 (1882): 501.

10. Finscher, 316. Schiebeler's text, in its original form, was also set by Maximilian Ulbrich (1743–1814). The printed libretto "Die Israeliten in der Wüste. Ein original geistliches Singpiel. Wien, bey Joseph Edlen von Kurzböck. 1779," D-Hs, A/49853, likely stems from a performance of Ulbrich's setting in that year by the Tonkünstler Societät. See Eduard

Bach's original setting of the text, however, as indicated in the libretto printed for the dedication service,¹¹ includes three concluding movements whose texts do not appear in Schiebeler's 1767 original.¹² Schiebeler's original text ends with a call for the imminent fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy of the coming of Christ, but the three added movements—a chorale, a recitative, and a chorus—go further, announcing and praising the fulfillment of that prophecy.¹³ The purpose in adding the three movements—whether instigated by Bach or the church authorities—may have been to place more emphasis on the characteristically Lutheran conception of Christ as the completed salvation.¹⁴ This emphasis on Christ also establishes a stronger connection between *Die Israeliten* and Handel's *Messiah*. Bach, who was undoubtedly aware of the success of Handel's English oratorios from the anglophilia at the court of Frederick II in Berlin,¹⁵ and from John Mainwaring's Handel biography, which had been translated into German by Johann Mattheson in 1762, may have wanted to establish a parallel between his composition for the dedication of the Lazareths Kirche and the annual performances of Handel's *Messiah* for the benefit of the Foundling Hospital.¹⁶

Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), 21, 32, 33, and Bertil Van Boer, "The Travel Diary of Joseph Martin Kraus," *Journal of Musicology* 8 (1990): 284–86. Schiebeler's text was revised by the Prussian Finance Minister Bitter in 1822 and set to music by A. E. Grell. Grell's setting was performed by the Berlin Singakademie in 1839, after which the composer withdrew the work; see Miesner, 74.

11. "Die Israeliten in der Wüste; Ein Oratorium zur Einweihung der neuerbaueten Lazareths-Kirche am 1sten November, 1769. In Musik gesetzt und aufgeführt von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Musik-Director," D-Hs, A/70012, 13.

12. Ulrich Konrad, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788): Das Magnificat und das Oratorium *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*," *Göttinger Händel-Festsiele 1988*, 68.

13. Two published editions of Schiebeler's libretto that appeared after the 1769 performance do not contain the three added movements, suggesting that the recitative and chorus were not by Schiebeler or that he ultimately preferred the intent and scope of the original version. See *Musikalische Gedichte von S**** (Hamburg: Bock, 1770), 3–14; and Eschenburg, 35–46.

14. Konrad, 69.

15. Gudrun Busch, "Zwischen Berliner Musikliebhabern und Berliner Anglophilie, Aufklärung und Empfindsamkeit: Zur Genese der frühesten Berliner Händel-Rezeption 1748–1771," in *Händel-Rezeption der frühen Goethe-Zeit. Kolloquium Goethe-Museum Düsseldorf 1997* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 86ff, 108. Concerning works by Handel known by Bach, see David Schulenberg, "C. P. E. Bach and Handel: A Son of Bach Confronts Music History and Criticism," *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 23, no. 2 (1992): 30.

16. Sanders, "The Israelites in Hamburg and London," 238ff.

While the subject of Schiebeler's libretto likely contributed to its selection for the dedication music, its structure and nature caused it to be singled out in another instance. An anonymous contributor to the 1783 *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland* referred to *Die Israeliten* as a model dramatic oratorio. Schiebeler's text was considered exemplary because it contains few dramatic characters, short recitatives that consist of neither dialogues nor formal narratives, and no subplots.¹⁷

The first performance of *Die Israeliten* must have been well received, for Bach performed the work again in the very next month, on 14 December 1769, in one of his own concerts, as Telemann had done with several of his occasional works. During Bach's lifetime, the work is known to have been performed at least six more times in Hamburg, and in various other cities (see table 1). Contemporary reviews of the work were favorable, emphasizing its expressive character and audacious ("kühne") harmonies: "Everything, choruses, recitatives and arias are splendid, inspiring in us admiration through new and audacious harmonies and charming us through melody that penetrates the soul."¹⁸ One of the most well-known contemporary commentaries on the work comes from Johann Friedrich Reichardt:

This is one such masterpiece by Herr Kapellmeister Bach ... for here is found such flowing, pleasing, and natural lyricism as only Kayser [Reinhard Keiser] and [Carl Heinrich] Graun have ever been able to achieve.

It astonished me to see how far this great man was able to descend from those Olympian heights, which are as natural to him as flying close to the sun is to an eagle, in order to put simple songs within the reach of us poor mortals.

And how fittingly, how perfectly each expression is conveyed; how strong, how overpowering the cry of the despairing people, how original the expression of their mockery and contempt of God and of their leader, how majestic the voice of Moses addressing the people, and how imploring, how deeply humble his prayer to God as he bows into the dust, how overwhelming the joy of the liberated people, how utterly delightful the whole of the final scene, in contrast to the horror of the earlier scenes of misery: none of this can

17. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, ed., *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1783* (Leipzig, 1783), 199–200. For a discussion of the meanings associated with the term "oratorio" in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Barbara Wiermann, "Werkgeschichte als Gattungsgeschichte: Die 'Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu' von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," *BJ* 83 (1997), 131ff.

18. "Alles, Chöre, Recitative und Arien sind vortrefflich, setzen uns durch neue und kühne Harmonie in Bewunderung, und entzücken uns durch Gesang, der in die Seele dringt." *HUC*, no. 200 (16 Dec. 1775), quoted in Wiermann, 208.

I begin to convey to you, for there is no other language adequate to express it than that of Bach's music.¹⁹

The 1775 Print

The positive reception of *Die Israeliten*, along with its suitability for performance in liturgical and concert settings, must have encouraged a willing entrepreneur like Bach, who had already published several song and keyboard collections, to also consider a wider distribution of this work through a printed edition. Those close to Bach appear to have provided the impetus that actually launched the project: "Many of my friends, especially our Herr Klopstock, have finally persuaded me that I should have my oratorio printed."²⁰ Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, in fact, not only encouraged Bach to publish *Die Israeliten*, but in the publication and marketing of his *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik* also served as a model for Bach.²¹ Klopstock's approach involved collecting buyers in advance of publication by placing notices in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* on 11 June and 30 July 1773. The second notice included a long list of agents available to accept purchase agreements, and the plan was ultimately very successful.²²

19. "Es ist dieses ein solches Meisterstück des Herrn Capellm. Bachs, ...: denn es herrscht ein solcher fließender, angenehmer und natürlicher Gesang darinnen, wie ihn Kayser und Graun nur jemals gehabt haben.

"Ich erstaunte selbst darüber, wie sich dieser grosse Mann so sehr von seiner gewöhnlichen Höhe—die ihm so natürlich ist, wie dem Adler der Flug nahe bey der Sonne—hatte herablassen, und einen leichten uns armen Erdensöhnen so faßlichen Gesang singen können.

"Und wie passend, wie ganz erschöpft jeder Ausdruck war, wie stark, wie gewaltig das Geschrey des verzweifelnden Volks, wie originell der Ausdruck seines Spottes und Hohnes gegen Gott und ihren Führer, wie majestätisch die Sprache Mosis gegen das Volk, und wie flehentlich, wie tief in den Staub gebeugt demüthig, sein Gebet zu Gott, wie hinreißend fröhlich die Freude des erretteten Volkes, wie lieblich und angenehm überhaupt die ganze letzte Scene gegen die ersteren grauenvollen erbärmlichen Scenen absticht, das kann ich Dir gar nicht ausdrücken, dazu giebt es gar keine andere Zeichen, als Bachs eigene Töne." J.F. Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1774–76), 2:14–15; in Hans-Günter Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, trans. Philip J. Whitmore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 124.

20. "Viele meiner Freunde, besonders unser H. Klopstock haben mich endlich beredet, daß ich mein Oratorium drucken laßen soll." *CPEB-Briefe*, 435; *CPEB-Letters*, 63.

21. *CPEB-Briefe*, 435–36; *CPEB-Letters*, 35, n. 2 to letter 41; 63–64, including n. 1 to letter 68.

22. *CPEB-Letters*, 63, n. 1 to letter 68. Klopstock's notices are partially reproduced in *CPEB-Briefe*, 437–39.

TABLE I. DOCUMENTED PERFORMANCES OF *DIE ISRAELITEN* DURING BACH'S LIFETIME

Year	Place	Remarks
1769	Hamburg	dedication of the Lazareths Kirche on 1 November (Wiermann, 371–72); libretto: D-Hs, A/70012, 11–13
1769	Hamburg	concert on 14 December (Sittard, 105; Wiermann, 438–39)
[1775]	Berlin	“Aufgeführt im Concert der musikalischen Liebhaber zu Berlin”; libretto: D-B, Mus. Tb 89, 2
1776	Hamburg	Concert-Saal auf dem Kamp on 29 February (Sittard, 125; Wiermann, 447–48); libretto: D-Hs, A/70001, 15
1776	Berlin	concert at the Marien Kirche on 30 October (Wiermann, 449–50)
1776	Danzig (now Gdańsk, Poland)	concert at the “Hörsaal des Danziger Gymnasii” on 20 December; libretto: PL-GD, Od 21840.8
1776	Leipzig	libretto: D-LEu, Ästh. 1129-I
1776	Stettin	libretto: Berlin, Musikbibliothek der Zentral- und Landesbibliothek
1777	Hamburg	23 February (Sittard, 112; Wiermann, 450–51)
1777	Dresden	libretto: D-DI, Hist. Sax. G. 760, Fasz. 22
1777/78	Vienna	concert conducted by Gluck, probably in 1777 (<i>CPEB-Letters</i> , 119); libretto: Gießen, Justus-Liebig-Universität, Rara 164 (2)
1779	Hamburg	concert at Kramer-Amthaus on 15 March (Sittard, 108; Wiermann, 456)
1779	Dresden	libretto: D-B, Mus. T 98, 6
c. 1780	Bayreuth	libretto: Universitätsbibliothek Bayreuth
1781	Salzburg	libretto: A-Ssp, SPS-44, 13; A-Su, 26868 I and 63895 I
1781	Wallerstein	libretto: D-Au, 02/III.8.8.279 angeb.4
1782	Haderleben, Denmark	concert (Wiermann, 461)
c. 1783	Hamburg	performed twice in the Westphal'sche concert series (Sittard, 114)
1784	Leipzig	libretto: D-LEu, Ästh. 1129-K
1784	Rostock	winter season (Wiermann, 468–69)
c. 1785	Cologne	“Aufgeführt in dem Schauspiel-Saal von der Gesellschaft des Hrn. Böhm”; libretto: D-KNu, K16+A130
1786	Nuremberg	libretto: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek
1786	Hildesheim	libretto: B-Br, Fétis 4548 II A Mus., 4

NOTE. The performance J.F. Reichardt heard in 1774 was private: “Er [Bach] spielte mir eine Kirchenmusik von seiner Arbeit vor, und ließ es sich gefallen, daß ich sie sang.” *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, 2:13.

As Klopstock's plan was unfolding, Bach wrote to the Leipzig printer Immanuel Breitkopf on 2 June 1773 inquiring as to the cost of printing 400, 500, and 600 copies of his “German oratorio,” on the same type of paper Breitkopf had used in the printing of C.H. Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* in 1760. Bach estimated *Die Israeliten* would extend to about twenty sheets (twenty bifolios, about eighty printed pages) and he asked when such a job might be completed.²³ Breitkopf wrote back:

... 300 copies of the oratorio will cost 8¾ rl. per sheet of the score and a total of 210 rl. for 24 sheets [i.e., bifolios]—and

the proof-reading will cost 12 gl. per sheet. Labour costs in the print shop are the same for 300 and 500 copies, the cost of 600 a little more, of 750 and 1,000 again the same. The difference of the increase, then, consists only in the quantity of paper, etc.²⁴

24. Bach includes Breitkopf's response verbatim in his letter of 9 September 1774: “Nach diesem Grundsatz, (der NB vorher erklärt war) wird der Bogen der Partitur von 300 Exemplaren des Oratorii 8¾ rl. und im ganzen bey 24 Bogen 210 rl.—u. die Correctur wird à Bogen 12 gl. kosten. In der Druckerey sind die Arbeitskosten von 300 u. 500 Exemplaren einerley; die von 600 etwas weniges mehr, von 750 u. 1000 wieder einerley. Der Unterschied des mehreren besteht alsdenn nur in der Quantität des Papiers pp.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 435–36; *CPEB-Letters*, 64.

23. *CPEB-Briefe*, 302–3; *CPEB-Letters*, 35.

Based on Breitkopf's figures, Bach calculated in his reply of 24 June 1773 that the total cost to print the estimated twenty-four sheets of *Die Israeliten* would be 300 Reichsthaler (later in the letter, however, Bach added that he expected his oratorio to be cheaper). In light of this estimate, Bach asked Breitkopf how many subscribers he could expect and what the subscription price should be. Bach also made it clear at this time that he wanted to offer both *Die Israeliten* and *Psalmen mit Melodien*, Wq 196, by subscription and at his expense—he had Klopstock's plan in mind—but that the two works should be introduced successively so as not to compete with one another. Bach did not have a preference as to which work should be printed first, but he did insist that neither project should proceed until he had enough subscribers to cover its costs.²⁵

Psalmen mit Melodien was, in fact, published first, in 1774, and later in that year Bach again corresponded seriously with Breitkopf concerning *Die Israeliten*. According to Bach's letter of 9 September 1774, Breitkopf had advised him to sell each print for 2½ Reichsthaler, and Bach concluded that “if I get only 300 buyers I will still make a profit over the publication costs, subtracting all discounts, and keeping the rest and the remaining copies.”²⁶ In this letter Bach also communicated his marketing plans to Breitkopf:

Herr Klopstock recommended his plan to me, and all his agents should be mine likewise NB by purchase agreement. I want to try it, and I think this plan will bring in the most profit....

I will let it be known in my advertisement that purchase agreements will be accepted from now until 1 January 1775, that at that time all names will be sent in, and that the copies will be distributed at the end of May. What do you think? I trust if we start to print in January, you can be finished in May with at most 24 sheets of score like Graun's score, because NB nothing can be procured before I am certain I am covered. Textbooks will be printed with each copy and given for free. I will leave the distribution to the buyers completely to your kindness, following Klopstock's plan. The agents will cover all postage.²⁷

25. *CPEB-Briefe*, 305–7; *CPEB-Letters*, 36, including n. 8 to letter 42.

26. “wenn ich nur 300 Subscribenten kriege, daß ich noch ein Ansehnliches über die Verlagskosten, allen Rabbat abgezogen, übrig behalte u. die Exemplare dazu.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 435; *CPEB-Letters*, 63. As discussed below in this section, Bach's later correspondence reveals that he made a profit with fewer than 300 subscribers.

27. “H. Klopstock hat mir seinen Plan empfohlen u. alle seine Collecteurs sollen die Meinigen ebenfalls NB zur Subscription seyn. Ich wills probiren u. denke, daß nach diesem Plane sich das meiste fangen wird. ...

In Bach's subsequent advertisement in various newspapers beginning in mid-September, he made reference to Klopstock's plan, pledging to fulfill his obligations as Klopstock had and indicating that his agents would include those used by Klopstock, as well as others, whose names and locations he provided.²⁸ In this announcement Bach indicated that subscriptions would be taken until 10 January 1775 (not 1 January), and that the names of the subscribers would be included in the work, though in the end they were not. Bach promised to do his best to see that good paper was used and that the prints were clean and clear. He anticipated that the printed scores and librettos would be shipped during the middle of June 1775. The subscription price was set at one-half louis d'or (“einen halben alten louis d'or”) or in the heavy money (“in schwerem Gelde”) 6 Marks, 10 Schillings. Stephen Clark explains that “In distinguishing between ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ money, Bach is referring to the fact that a louis d'or was worth less in Hamburg (4 rl., 2 or 3 gl.) than in Leipzig (5 rl.)”²⁹ The subscription price of one-half louis d'or, then, was equivalent in Leipzig to the 2½ Reichsthaler Breitkopf had recommended.

After receiving some preliminary materials from Breitkopf, Bach wrote to him on 12 October 1774 asking that he use the same musical type for *Die Israeliten* as he had for *Psalmen mit Melodien*. Bach had changed his mind about the paper type, however. He now wanted Breitkopf to print *Die Israeliten* on the same paper that had been used for Carl August Friedrich Westenholz's *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem* because “It does not penetrate like the

“In meinem nächsten avertißement werde ich bekannt machen, daß von nun an bis zum 1 Januar 1775 subscribirt wird; daß alsdenn alle Nahmens eingeschickt werden, und daß zu Ende des May die Exemplare ausgeliefert werden. Was dünkt Ihnen? Ich traue Ihnen zu, daß, wenn wir im Januar zu drucken anfangen, Sie im May, mit 24 Bogen höchstens Partitur, wie die Graunsche ist, fertig seyn können; denn NB vorher kan nichts eher angeschafft werden, als bis ich gewiß weiß, daß ich gedeckt bin. Textbüchelgen werden zu jedem Exemplar obenein gegeben u. gedruckt. Die Versendung werde ich an die Subscribenten Ihrer Güte ganz allein überlaßen, nach Klopstocks Plane. Die Collecteurs tragen alles Porto.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 435–36; *CPEB-Letters*, 63–64. Clark explains that “In the case of purchase agreement (‘Subscription,’ the procedure for *Israeliten*), money was not due until after the print was delivered, while with subscription (‘Pränumeration’), money was supposed to be collected before delivery of a print. ... In practice, whichever procedure was being used, Bach usually had to wait for payment until after prints were delivered.” *CPEB-Letters*, 87, n. 6 to letter 87.

28. *CPEB-Letters*, 64, including n. 2; Wiermann, 200–201; *CPEB-Briefe*, 534–35.

29. *CPEB-Letters*, 78, n. 12.

paper to Graun's passion and it is thicker and NB much cheaper."³⁰

The printing of *Die Israeliten* did not go forward in January as planned because at that point Bach had only enough subscribers to support a small print run. "Let us wait until the end of this January," Bach wrote to Breitkopf on 11 January 1775, "so that this printing will not be too small; perhaps we can still catch a few more buyers. In February, then, the print can be started through your kind skill, to which I leave everything."³¹

Bach sent the source manuscript to Breitkopf on 24 February 1775, and in the accompanying letter requested 350 copies. Three additional copies, however, were to be printed on "fine royal paper."³² Bach also pointed out in this letter that he "omitted and crossed out something at the end of the last recitative for a reason."³³ And indeed, in the 1775 print the last recitative, "O Heil der Welt," ends with the text "Und täglich muss dein Reich sich mehren," as in the present edition—a setting of a little less than half the text to this movement found in the printed libretto from the first 1769 performance. (See plate 8; the musical setting of this omitted portion of text does not survive in any known sources.) Bach omitted the rest of the recitative, which alludes to the event for which the work was originally composed, so as not to limit the marketability of the print or have it seen principally as a document preserving a particular occasion. In this letter Bach also commented on the anticipated success of this venture:

As far as I know now, I have about 150 purchasers, and am therefore not only covered, but on the contrary anticipating a profit. But I do not think it is necessary to make a larger printing. The piece is in German, the amateurs are few, the connoisseurs still fewer and most of those who could make use of it will copy from one another.³⁴

30. "Es schlägt nicht so durch, wie das Papier zur Graunschen Paßion u. ist stärker u. NB viel wohlfeiler." *CPEB-Briefe*, 448–49; *CPEB-Letters*, 67. The Westenholz piece had been published in 1774 by Hartknoch in Riga, but it was printed by Breitkopf in Leipzig.

31. "damit diese Auflage nicht zu klein werde, wollen wir diesen Januar noch abwarten, vielleicht fängt sich noch manches. Mit dem Februar kan also der Druck durch Ihre gütige Geschicklichkeit, der ich alles überlaße, angefangen werden." *CPEB-Briefe*, 477; *CPEB-Letters*, 72.

32. *CPEB-Briefe*, 488–89; *CPEB-Letters*, 77.

33. "Hinten im letzten Recitative habe ich aus Ursachen etwas wegelaßen u. ausgestrichen." *CPEB-Briefe*, 489.

34. "So viel ich jetzt weiß, habe ich an 150 Subscribenten, u. bin also nicht allein gedeckt, sondern es bleibt auch noch übrig; dem ohngeacht aber halte ich öt für nöthig, eine stärkere Auflage zu machen. Das Stück ist deutsch, der Liebhaber sind wenig, der Kenner noch weniger u. die

Bach wrote to Breitkopf on 13 June 1775 acknowledging receipt of a three-sheet (twelve-page) proof and promising to send 125 printed librettos for inclusion with the printed scores (the number of purchasers must have previously been miscalculated or had decreased).³⁵ The printing, which had been re-scheduled for June, was not realized, however, as we know from Bach's comment in a letter of 11 July that "My Israelites are remaining on the march in the desert for a long time."³⁶ By 6 September the work had been printed, for on that date Bach indicated that copies could be obtained directly from Breitkopf.³⁷

Bach himself, however, had still not received his copies on 20 September. He joked in a letter of that date to Johann Nikolaus Forkel about the difficulties of printing the work, which extended not to twenty-four bifolios but to twenty-eight and a half (114 pages): "They [the Israelites] are marching in more columns than I thought, as a result with more difficulty and slower."³⁸ Bach received his three "fine copies" by 30 September, but did not receive any regular copies until sometime between 22 November and 22 December.³⁹

There were, in fact, other irregularities in the shipping of the prints. Before copies were sent to most of the subscribers or even to Bach himself, copies were sent to Berlin book dealers, and an advertisement was placed in a Berlin newspaper on 2 November offering the prints for 4 Reichsthaler, 12 Groschen. In response, Bach addressed his subscribers in an announcement in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* on 10 November saying that he was not to blame for this turn of events, for even he had not yet received his copies. Bach indicated further that the subscribers would receive their copies as soon as he got his, and at "not more than 3 Reichsthaler, 2 Groschen."⁴⁰ This price, however, is 14 Groschen more than the subscription price offered in the announcements placed in the fall of 1774. The sub-

meisten, welche es brauchen können, schreiben sich von einander ab." *CPEB-Briefe*, 491; *CPEB-Letters*, 78.

35. A surviving proof with corrections, which may be the one Bach reviewed on this occasion, is discussed below in the section on "Sources and Issues of Performance Practice."

36. "Meine Israeliten bleiben lange auf dem Marsch aus der Wüsten." *CPEB-Briefe*, 508; *CPEB-Letters*, 81.

37. *CPEB-Briefe*, 514; *CPEB-Letters*, 83.

38. "Sie marschiren in mehrern Colonnen, als ich dachte, folglich schwerer u. langsamer." *CPEB-Briefe*, 516–17; *CPEB-Letters*, 84.

39. *CPEB-Briefe*, 521, 540, 546; *CPEB-Letters*, 86–88.

40. Wiermann, 205–6. *CPEB-Briefe*, 533–34.

scription price must have been raised in the intervening months, as confirmed by Bach's sale of the print in 1787 to Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal "for 7 Marks, namely the subscription price," as Bach wrote (the subscription price in Marks indicated in the 1774 announcements had been 6 Marks, 10 Schillings).⁴¹

Despite Bach's efforts to appease his subscribers, who may have already been inclined to be disagreeable because of the increase in the subscription price, there were difficulties, and in his dealings with them Bach may not have presented himself in the best light: "I fear several of them [the subscribers] will hold back [payment] because I have also been rude."⁴²

We learn of the ultimate success of this endeavor some years later, through Bach's correspondence with Breitkopf of 31 January 1781 concerning another project: "People insist on seeing my *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt* cantata by Ramler printed. What do you think about this? Shall I risk it? I fared well with the *Israeliten*."⁴³ Of particular interest is the fact that in this letter, and in a subsequent one of 23 June 1784,⁴⁴ Bach referred to the printing of 360 copies of *Die Israeliten*, as opposed to the 350 mentioned in the letter of 24 February 1775. In the letter of 23 June 1784 Bach even referred to documentation sent to him by Breitkopf concerning the total cost of the venture: 360 copies were printed at a cost of 270 Reichsthaler, 16 Groschen (including the three copies on royal paper).

The exact distribution of these 360 printed copies is not entirely clear. According to Bach's letter to Breitkopf on 28 February 1776, 120 copies of the print were sold by subscription: "Everyone was promised a text in my public announcement. I sent you, therefore, 120 texts."⁴⁵ It also appears that fifty copies were to be retained by Breitkopf

to be sold on commission, though about fourteen of these (the exact quantity is unclear from the letters) were reserved for subscribers (thirteen were never claimed) and one was sent gratis to Gottfried August Homilius in Dresden at Bach's request.⁴⁶ For each of the copies to be sold on commission Breitkopf was charged "the original purchase price, namely 2 rl., 12 gl. per copy, plus 2 gl. for the text," and he was instructed by Bach not to sell them for less than 3 Reichsthaler, 8 Groschen.⁴⁷ The remaining 190 copies were likely either retained by Bach and/or distributed through other channels.

It would appear that Bach did indeed "fare well" in this enterprise. Even with the unclaimed copies, Bach sold approximately 107 copies of the print by subscription, generating income of 329 Reichsthaler, 22 Groschen (at 3 rl., 2 gr. each), and he sold some thirty-six copies to Breitkopf on commission for another 90 Reichsthaler (at 2 rl., 12 gr. each).⁴⁸ His total income, then, was approximately 419 Reichsthaler, 22 Groschen. His profit would have been approximately 149 Reichsthaler (419 rl., 22 gr. minus expenses and fees of 270 rl., 16 gr.), before the sale of any of the 190 extra copies, which he later offered for 10 Marks.⁴⁹

Future sales of *Die Israeliten* must have been good for some time into the future, but by 1787 sales had generally slowed, even though (as noted above) Bach sold a copy to Westphal in that year.⁵⁰ In a letter of 21 September 1787 to Breitkopf, who had recently printed *Die Auferstehung*, Bach commented on the anticipated sales cycle of such works:

Although this Ramler cantata is by me, I can nevertheless claim, without ridiculous egotism, that it will wear well for

41. On 5 March 1787 Bach wrote to Westphal, "Hierbey erhalten Sie ... die *Israeliten* für 7 Mk, nehmlich den Pränumerations-Preis." *CPEB-Briefe*, 1197; *CPEB-Letters*, 258.

42. "weil die meisten Subscribenten u. keine Pränumeranten sind, so befürchte ich, daß sich unterschiedene zurückziehen werden, weil ich auch grob gewesen bin." *CPEB-Briefe*, 529; *CPEB-Letters*, 87, including n. 2 to letter 87. The problems with Breitkopf's shippers continued into the next year, as seen in Bach's letters to the printer of 17 January and 28 February 1776. *CPEB-Briefe*, 555, 556, 558; *CPEB-Letters*, 91–92.

43. "Man will meine Ramlersche Auferstehungs und Himmelfahrtscantata durchaus gedruckt sehen. Was dünkt Ihnen hiebey? Soll ichs wagen? Bey den *Israeliten* bin ich gut gefahren." *CPEB-Briefe*, 875; *CPEB-Letters*, 171.

44. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1014; *CPEB-Letters*, 206.

45. "In meiner öffentlichen Ankündigung wird jedem ein Text versprochen. Ich schickte Ihnen daher, ... , 120 Texte." *CPEB-Briefe*, 558; *CPEB-Letters*, 92.

46. *CPEB-Briefe*, 541, 547, 556; *CPEB-Letters*, 88, 89, 91. Thirteen of the prints reserved for subscribers remained unclaimed on 23 August 1776. On that date Bach wrote to Breitkopf, "Would you please return to me what is left there of the *Israeliten* and what you do not want to keep for yourself for the subscription price, since no purchasers will come forth any more." (Was von den *Israeliten* noch da ist, und Sie für Sich für den Pränumerationspreis nich behalten wollen, belieben Sie mir mit zurückzuschicken, weil doch kein Subscribente sich weiter melden wird.) *CPEB-Briefe*, 596; *CPEB-Letters*, 101. Bach's income from the sale of the copies to be sold on commission, then, may not have been quite as high as indicated above.

47. "Jetzt muß diese Musik nicht weniger als für 3 rl. 8 gl., mit dem Texte verkauft werden. Ich laße Ihnen jedoch die gütigst in Commißeion behaltene Exemplare, das Stück für den Subscriptionspreis, nehmlich 2 rl. 12 gl. und außerdem 2 gl. für den Text." *CPEB-Briefe*, 547; *CPEB-Letters*, 89.

48. Breitkopf may have sold some of these back to Bach, per Bach's offer in his letter of 23 August 1776.

49. Wiermann, 207.

50. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1197; *CPEB-Letters*, 258.

many years, because it is among my masterpieces an important one, from which young composers can learn something. In time, it will also sell as well as Graun's *Tod Jesu*. Initially, there is a hitch with [sales of] all such things that are written for teaching and not for ladies and musical windbags. My *Heilig* [Wq 217] and my *Israeliten* are also stuck now. It is not of concern to me, they will eventually be sought after again. No one can reprint, much less copy, our cantata for such a cheap price.⁵¹

Even though sales had slowed, by 5 December 1787 Bach had sold most of his remaining copies: "I do not have very many more copies of my *Heilig* and the *Israeliten* left. They have both lasted well."⁵²

Structure of the Work

Schiebeler's libretto includes vocal parts for Moses (bass), Aaron (tenor), two Israelite women (both sopranos) and a chorus, frequently designated "Chor der Israeliten." Some of his text is inspired by biblical passages; for example, the opening line, "Die Zunge klebt am dürren Gaum," resembles such passages as "ihre Zunge klebte an ihrem Gaumen" (Job 29:10) and "meine Zunge klebet an meinem Gaumen" (Psalm 22:16). The two-part design of the text facilitates performance of the work within a worship service—the first part rendered before the sermon and the second after, as must have been Schiebeler's intention and as the work was performed at the 1769 dedication service.⁵³ Instead of realizing the two-part structure as one might anticipate, however—treating the suffering of the Israelites in the first part and their relief through the miracle in the

second—Schiebeler considers both the suffering and the relief in the first part and devotes the second to the Israelites' expressions of thanks to God, along with self-reproach for their lack of faith, followed by a focus on the prophecy of Christ's coming. In this way, the second part of the work augments or perhaps may even be seen to substitute for the sermon by offering commentary on the biblical narrative of the first part.⁵⁴

The dire predicament of the Israelites is vividly portrayed in the opening minor mode chorus, with its preponderance of two- and three-note descending figures and frequent dynamic changes. The Israelites' dwindling faith is revealed in the poignant major mode da capo aria⁵⁵ of the first Israelite woman "Will er, dass sein Volk verderbe?" with its subtle but affective use of chromaticism. This aria offers a particularly vivid example of the way in which Bach sometimes rearranged and restated Schiebeler's poetry.⁵⁶ The text in Schiebeler's original and in the printed libretto that accompanied the first performance reads:

Die ihr niemals, niemals wieder
Seufzt und weint, erblichne Brüder,
Schlummernd in des Todes Armen,
Ach, wie seyd ihr so beglückt!

In the repetition of the text in the 1775 print, however, Bach rearranged the poetry as follows:

Erblichne Brüder, die ihr nie weint, beglückt seyd ihr, ach!
Ach!

In writing about the printed edition for the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* in 1778, a reviewer acknowledged that every poet readily consents to such changes by the composer for the sake of heightened expression. In the present case, however, the reviewer found that Bach's adjustments did not serve this purpose.⁵⁷

The lamentations of the Israelites are interrupted by Aaron's admonishing recitative and aria, in anticipation of Moses' words, imploring his people to remain faithful to the God who has brought them out of Egypt. While most

51. "Diese Ramlersche Cantate ist zwar von mir, doch kann ich ohne närrische Eigenliebe behaupten, daß sie sich viele Jahre erhalten wird, weil sie von meinen Meisterstücken ein beträchtliches mit ist, woraus junge Componisten etwas lernen können. Mit der Zeit wird sie auch so vergriffen werden, wie Grauns Tod Jesu. Anfänglich haperts mit allen solchen Sachen, die zur Lehre u. nicht für Damen u. musikalische Windbeutel geschrieben sind. Mein Heilig u. meine Israeliten stocken jetzt auch; mir ist aber nicht bange, endlich werden sie wieder vorge-sucht. Unsere Cantate kann niemand nachdrucken noch viel weniger abschreiben für den so wohlfeilen Preiß." *CPEB-Briefe*, 1228–29; *CPEB-Letters*, 270.

52. "Von meinem Heilig u. den Israeliten habe ich nicht gar viel mehr. Sie haben beyde sich gut gehalten." *CPEB-Briefe*, 1245; *CPEB-Letters*, 275. A piano-vocal score was published in the early nineteenth century with an Italian translation as *Gli Ebrei nel deserto* (source E). A modern edition in full score was published by Gábor Darvas (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1971; Zurich: Edition Eulenberg, 1971).

53. "Ordnung des Gottesdienstes bey der feyerlichen Einweihung der neuen Lazareths-Kirche am 1sten November 1769," D-Hs, A/70012, 12.

54. Finscher, 315.

55. Da capo arias predominate in *Die Israeliten*, but the trend away from this form is evident in the presence of only one such aria in Bach's later oratorio, *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*. Howard E. Smithers, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 3:374.

56. Finscher, 320.

57. Ernest Suchalla, ed., *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spiegel seiner Zeit: Die Dokumentensammlung Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphals* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993), 167–68.

of the recitatives in the work are accompanied only by continuo, Aaron's, like three others of particular significance in the work, is accompanied by a string "halo," reminiscent of the recitatives of Jesus in Johann Sebastian Bach's St. Matthew Passion.⁵⁸ Despite Aaron's moving passages, however, the second Israelite woman offers more expressions of despair in an aria more lyrical than that of her counterpart but similarly punctuated by expressive chromaticism.

The extended climax of the first part begins with Moses' arrival, which is announced by the orchestra, in the French style, as specified in Schiebeler's libretto: "Eine majestätische Symphonie verkündigt die Ankunft Moses." Trumpets and timpani are employed here for the first time in the work. But following Moses' short recitative these instruments are appropriated by the Israelites, who proclaim in one of the most powerful choruses of the piece that Moses is the cause of their troubles ("Du bist der Ursprung unsrer Not"). The texture here, as in most of the choruses, is principally homophonic; the instrumental parts are rarely independent of the voices, tending instead to support and follow them fairly closely.

In this chorus we find another notable instance of Bach altering Schiebeler's text—this time by added words. The text as it appears in the 1775 print is given below, with the words added by Bach printed in bold:

Du bist der Ursprung unsrer Noth, **du bist es,**
 Hast uns geführt in den Tod;
 Gott schlummert, und wir hoffen nicht,
 Dass er zur Hülff erwache, **nein, nein, nein, nein.**⁵⁹

In an extended recitative, Moses subsequently chides the Israelites for their lack of faith. But their doubts and fears will not be assuaged, and continue in the duet between the two Israelite women. Moses responds in a despondent accompanied recitative, punctuated by choral interjections ("Wir vergehn, wir sterben, etc."), and ultimately calls for God to punish him, if anyone. The expressive power of Bach's *empfindsamer Stil* is revealed in the following aria, "Gott, sieh dein Volk im Staube liegen," one of the most moving in the entire work, in which Moses asks God to provide relief from their suffering. Moses' deep despair is heard in the preponderance of wide descending intervals, sigh motives, and slow dotted rhythms, which are particu-

larly moving in the obbligato bassoon. Ultimately, water streams forth from the rocks and the Israelites close part one with a joyful chorus marked by the return of the trumpets and drums.

Moses opens part two of the work with a recitative imploring his people to offer thanks to God. What follows, however, is not only a movement of thanks but also one of unity, as Moses and the two Israelite women sing in succession in a musical complex punctuated by choral exclamations of "Gott Israels, empfang der Herzen heißen Dank!" The passages sung by the Israelite women, accompanied only by flutes and upper strings without basso continuo, represent clear, heartfelt reaffirmations of faith. The formal and stylistic elements employed in this movement, which so effectively support the dramatic unfolding of the narrative, are of course responses to Schiebeler's poetry, but they also suggest the influence of Gluck. Ludwig Finscher maintains that Bach almost certainly knew Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, which was also known in Hamburg from its 1763 performance.⁶⁰

The first Israelite woman offers a final aria of thanks before Moses shifts the focus to the prophecy of Christ's coming in an extended recitative accompanied by the string "halo." In setting the chorus that concludes Schiebeler's original text, Bach did not employ trumpets and drums but instead saved these for the chorus at the end of the work.

The first of the three added movements fittingly combines the second strophe of Heinrich Held's chorale "Gott sei Dank durch alle Welt" with the melody of "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland" in a cantional setting reminiscent of congregational singing.⁶¹ The arrival of the Redeemer is announced by an unspecified "Tenore" in the following recitative, whose conclusion in the 1769 performance, as noted above, included references to the occasion of the day. Bach omitted this portion of the recitative from the 1775 print so that the work would truly be suitable for performance at any time. The final movement, marked "Chor" not "Chor der Israeliten," is a universal call for celebration that ends with a statement that had added meaning on 1 November 1769: "Lass uns dir, allmächt'ge Güte, unsre Brust zum Tempel weihn!" The effect of these added movements is to

58. Ottenberg, 121. In contrast to the numerous simple recitatives of this work, most of those in Bach's later oratorio *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Wq 240, are accompanied.

59. In some instances "nein" is stated only once or twice.

60. Finscher, 322.

61. The 1769 libretto includes the rubric: "Nr. 68, 2. Die Musik sammt der Gemeine." (The music is sung by the congregation.) This refers to chorale no. 68, verse 2 in the *Neu-vermehrtes hamburgisches Gesangbuch*, which was first published in 1710 and subsequently reprinted until it was replaced by the *Neues hamburgische Gesangbuch* of 1787.

broaden and extend the voice of the Israelites to encompass the larger Christian community.⁶²

Carl Hermann Bitter, one of the earliest important writers on Bach and his music, found that the absence of a narrative in the second part deprived the work of any opportunity to create a lasting effect. Apparently unaware that the three concluding movements were a later addition to the libretto, Bitter maintained that the final chorus was too similar to the previous one (Schiebeler's original closing chorus), and that this lack of individuality rendered the concluding movement nonessential. He admits, as the reception history confirms, that *Die Israeliten* was a much-admired piece in its day. But he also reports that over the course of time, in an effort to counter the declining interest in the work, Bach's "Heilig," Wq 217, was performed at its conclusion. In his view, however, this was only a surface improvement.⁶³

Sources and Issues of Performance Practice

The original score and set of parts from the performance on 1 November 1769 do not survive except for the final page of the score (see plate 5). The libretto distributed on that occasion has been referred to above, and survives in D-Hs, A/70012, 13 (see plates 6–8). The *Vorlage* for the 1775 print was a manuscript, which apparently does not survive. We know something about this non-autograph source, however, from Bach's letter to Breitkopf of 24 February 1775 referred to above:

I made the division in the manuscript with the greatest pains such that it can be the same in the print. I omitted and crossed out something at the end of the last recitative for a reason. ... I have had everything in unison written out in full in my manuscript. Should you find it necessary to follow the convention of indicating by signs when the second violin is in unison with the first, it would of course be agreeable to me; only no mistakes must occur in the print for this reason—for example, indicating that something is to continue with something else in unison, when it is supposed to be otherwise, and so forth.⁶⁴

62. Finscher, 317–18. Notably, the final chorus of Schiebeler's published libretto, "Verheißner Gottes," is designated "Alle" rather than the "Chor der Israeliten" assigned to many of the previous movements of this type. This designation suggests that in his final call for the imminent fulfillment of the prophecy Schiebeler also envisioned greater universality. In Bach's printed edition, "Verheißner Gottes," like the final chorus, is marked "Chor."

63. Carl Hermann Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder* (Berlin: Wilhelm Müller, 1868), 2:16–17.

64. "Ich habe mit dem größten Fleiß im Manuscript die Eintheilung so

As specified in the commentary, Breitkopf did in fact print "unis." to indicate those passages in which the second violins played the same music as the first violins.

A printer's proof of the 1775 edition, with corrections by an unknown proofreader for Breitkopf, survives in a private collection (see plate 3). Because the time signature of the opening chorus in this source is C rather than the C found in the final version, this may be the proof copy to which Bach referred in a letter to Breitkopf of 13 June 1775:

The three sheets are beautiful. The sign of the so-called imperfect meter C must be crossed through right at the beginning of the first chorus so that the tempo is once again as fast. The proof-reader overlooked this.⁶⁵

In general, the text of the 1775 print follows that of the libretto of the 1769 performance rather closely. As noted above, however, the print reveals that the recitative "O Heil der Welt" was eventually abbreviated, and that Bach occasionally rephrased and rearranged the text. In addition, three minor but noteworthy word substitutions are found in the final chorus of the print: the opening text "Lass das Wort, das hier erschallt" was changed to "Lass dein Wort, das uns erschallt," and "Die dein Vateraug' erfreun" was changed to "Die dein Vaterherz erfreun."

One surviving source of the 1775 print belonged to Johanna Elisabeth von Winthem, who married the poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock in 1791. Von Winthem's voice was much admired by the poet and apparently also by Bach, who may have presented the print to her as a gift. It seems that von Winthem appeared as soloist in at least one performance of *Die Israeliten* during Bach's lifetime, for embellishments in Bach's hand appear in the arias of

gemacht, wie sie im Drucke seyn kann. Hinten im letzten Recitative habe ich aus Ursachen etwas weggelaßen u. ausgestrichen. ... ich [habe] ... in meinem Manuscript alle unisoni ausschreiben laßen; Sollten Sie nöthig finden, daß die Bequemlichkeit beÿbehalten würde, in dem man durch Zeichen andeutet, wenn die zweÿte Violin mit der ersten im unisono gehet: so laße ich es mir zwar wohl gefallen, nur muß auch aus dieser Ursache kein Fehler im Drucke vorkommen, daß man z. E. etwas im Einklange miteinander fortzugehen andeutet, und doch anders seÿn muß u.s.w." *CPEB-Briefe*, 489–90; *CPEB-Letters*, 77.

65. "Die dreÿ Bogen sind schön. Das Zeichen des so genannten schlechten Tacts C muß durchstrichen seÿn im ersten Chore gleich anfangs, damit das Tempo noch einmahl so hurtig seÿ. Dies hat der H. Corrector übersehen." *CPEB-Briefe*, 502; *CPEB-Letters*, 80. The proof also contains the pitch errors in the viola and tenor parts that Bach discussed in his letter to Breitkopf of 11 July 1775. *CPEB-Briefe*, 509; *CPEB-Letters*, 81. See also Rachel W. Wade, "Filiation and the Editing of Revised and Alternate Versions: Implications for the C.P.E. Bach Edition," in *C.P.E. Bach Studies*, ed. Steven Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 277–94, esp. 286–87.

the second Israelite women in her copy of the print (in D-B, Mus. 11658). The difficulty of Bach's embellishments, which are transcribed in the appendix, do indeed suggest von Winthem was an accomplished singer.

The "Specification of the Costs Owing to the Dedication Music of the New Lazareths Church," written in Bach's hand and dated 6 November 1769, reveals not only the total cost of the first performance (332 Marks, 12 Schillings) but also much about the performing forces.⁶⁶ On this occasion Bach engaged seven singers—four soloists and three ripienists—each paid 6 Marks. Since four ripienists would have been necessary for a balanced distribution of singers on each part, one of the ripienists must have fallen ill before the performance, as suggested by Suchalla,⁶⁷ leaving one of the three lower parts with only one singer. Given the length and difficulty of the soprano arias, these parts were probably sung by women, allowable in this instance because the performance did not take place within a regular liturgical setting at one of the principal churches. The particular challenges of this work are also reflected in the fact that the singers received a larger payment for this performance than for other similar performances. For example, the 6 Marks earned by each singer in this instance is three times what they earned for performing the music for the installation of Pastor Albert Georg Brandes at St. Katharine's the year before.⁶⁸ The adult male singers known to have been active with Bach in 1769 are Otto E.G. Schieferlein, alto;⁶⁹ Johann Heinrich Michel and Wrede(n), tenors; and Friedrich Martin Illert and Johann Andreas Hoffmann, basses.⁷⁰

The "Specification of Costs" indicates that at the first performance of *Die Israeliten*, Bach engaged twenty instrumentalists—the eight town musicians, the two "Expectanten," six "Rollbrüder," three trumpeters, and one timpanist—all paid 6 Marks each, except the Rollbrüder,

who earned 4 Marks each.⁷¹ This document also includes the amount paid to the "Vorsänger," who led the "Chor Knaben" in the singing of the chorales at the service, and to the copyist, for preparing 65 sheets containing four pages each. We learn further from this document that Bach's continuo did not include an organ but a "Flügel," a harpsichord or fortepiano, which was borrowed at a cost of 1 Mark, 8 Schillings, moved (3 Marks), tuned (1 Mark), and of course played by an accompanist, who earned 6 Marks.

For the composition and direction of the piece Bach was paid 150 Marks, almost half the total cost of 332 Marks, 12 Schillings. The portion of the fee that Bach received for directing the piece can be approximated by considering that when the town musicians earned between 1 Mark, 8 Schillings and 3 Marks for a performance Bach earned 6 Marks for the direction.⁷² Since the town musicians earned 6 Marks on this occasion, Bach's payment for the direction would have been about 12 Marks, indicating, appropriately, that the much greater portion of his compensation was for the composition of the piece.

Acknowledgments

It is a great pleasure for me to thank the persons and institutions whose assistance helped make this edition possible. For providing access to numerous source documents, I am indebted to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv; the Hamburg Staatsarchiv; and the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky—Musikhandschriften und Musikernachlässe. Many thanks also to Wolfram Enßlin of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, who recently identified source A and also shared his research concerning other sources for this work. I am particularly grateful to Paul Corneilson and Ulrich Leisinger for lending their expertise and kind support to this project and for their critical reading of the manuscript.

Reginald L. Sanders

66. D-Hs, Literaturarchiv, "Specification der Kosten wegen der Einweihungs Music der neuen Lazareths Kirche"; transcribed in *CPEB-Briefe*, 183.

67. *CPEB-Briefe*, 187.

68. *CPEB-Briefe*, 161–62.

69. In the interim period between Telemann's death and the assumption of his office by Bach, Schieferlein, along with Telemann's grandson Georg Michael Telemann, assumed direction of the church music. Joachim Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorate im 18. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen am Beispiel Hamburgs* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 124.

70. "Holland," "Lüders," and even Hartnack Otto Conrad Zinck may have also been active at this time. See Sanders, 105, 148–59. Michel was one of Bach's most important copyists; see Kremer, 300–301.

71. For a discussion of the structure of Bach's instrumental ensemble and the names of seventeen of the musicians who likely performed with Bach on this occasion, see Sanders, 83–92, esp. tables 3.2a–d.

72. See *CPEB-Briefe*, 152–53, 162, 175, 179.