

# INTRODUCTION

The Magnificat, Wq 215, written in 1749, is the earliest major vocal work by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach that has survived. He had written several cantatas while he was a student at the university in Frankfurt an der Oder, but these are lost.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the Magnificat is a work that Bach himself performed as late as 1786, even though in the intervening thirty-seven years a decisive change in the composer's musical style had taken place. By performing the Magnificat at least twice (in 1779 and 1786) in large concerts in Hamburg, Bach gave this "early work" a remarkable stamp of approval. (See table 1 for a list of known performances of the Magnificat during C.P.E. Bach's lifetime.) According to the tradition of its genesis—as the unofficial "audition piece" for the position of Cantor at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig (while Johann Sebastian Bach was still alive)—the music points back to the Leipzig vocal works of his father.<sup>2</sup>

The benefit concert of 1786 (see figure 1) featured the Credo of the Mass in B Minor—the part of that composition which J.S. Bach had been working on shortly before his death and which was announced as "one of the most splendid pieces of church music by the late J.S. Bach" (eine der prachtvollsten Kirchenmusiken vom sel. Joh. Seb. Bach).<sup>3</sup> Thus, the 1786 concert, which also included one of C.P.E. Bach's representative vocal works from his Hamburg period, the double-choir Heilig, Wq 217, resounded

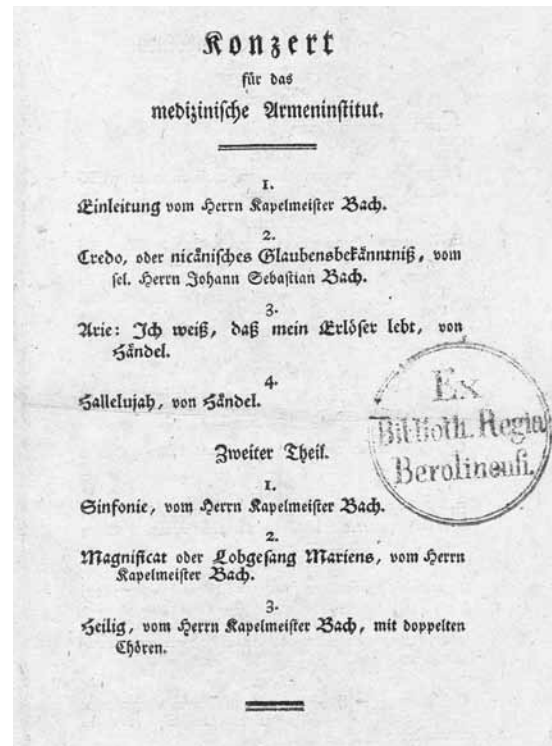


FIGURE 1. Program for the 1786 benefit concert. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. T 1925

1. Several librettos for cantatas survive from the mid-1730s, but none of the music does, with the exception of three tenor arias, Wq 211, "in jungen Jahren verfertigt"; see CPEB: CW, VI/4. The only other vocal work dating before the Magnificat is a newly discovered cantata, *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande*, Wq/H deest, published in CPEB: CW, V/5.2. Whether the cantata *Ich lebe, mein Herze, zu deinem Ergötzen*, BWV 145, commonly attributed to J.S. Bach, was actually composed by C.P.E. Bach requires further investigation; see Peter Wollny, "Zwei Bach-Funde in Mügeln. C.P.E. Bach, Picander und die Leipziger Kirchenmusik in den 1730er Jahren," *BJ* (2010): 111–51.

2. For compositional parallels between the two works, see Martin Petzold, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die Kirchenmusik seines Vaters. Bemerkungen zu den zwei Magnificat-Kompositionen BWV 243 und Wq 215," *JbSIM* (2004), 32–42; Ulrich Leisinger, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und das Magnificat seines Vaters," *JbSIM* (2004), 89–96; and Blanken 2006, 241–48.

3. See the concert announcement in the *Hamburgische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* (21 March 1786): 8, quoted in Wiermann, 469–71; see also *Bach-Dokumente* V, 238–39.

"with all of the full forces . . ., which these great works deserve" (mit aller der Vollstimmigkeit . . ., welche diese großen Werke verdienen). In addition, two of the most well-known movements of Handel's *Messiah* were performed in German translation: the "Hallelujah" Chorus and the soprano aria "I know that my Redeemer liveth" (Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebet). The program thus had the character of an historically tinged commemorative concert: appearing together with the first great vocal work of the 72-year-old C.P.E. Bach were two of the most important works of Handel and J.S. Bach.

Of course the Magnificat did not sound the same in 1786 as it had when the 35-year-old Bach performed it for the first time in 1749 in Leipzig "at a Marian festival . . . during the lifetime of his now-deceased father" (an einem Marienfeste . . . noch zu den Lebzeiten des nunmehr seli-

TABLE I. DOCUMENTED PERFORMANCES OF THE MAGNIFICAT, WQ 215 IN BACH'S LIFETIME

Date	Place	Remarks
1749/50	Leipzig	Performance during JSB's lifetime (Berlin version; cf. <i>Bach-Dokumente</i> III, no. 703)
1768–72	Berlin	Concert (see T 1)
1772	Berlin	"Concert der musicalischen Liebhaber zu Berlin" (Berlin version; see T 2)
22 March 1779	Hamburg	Concert at Kramer Amthaus (Hamburg version; see OT and plate 8 in V/1.2)
1785	Breslau	Liturgical performance at St. Elisabeth in Breslau on "Festo Trinit: in Vigiliis" (annotation on score in PL-WRu, 60096 Muz)
9 April 1786	Hamburg	Benefit concert "für das medizinische Armeninstitut" (see figure 1; cf. <i>Bach-Dokumente</i> III, no. 910)
24 June 1786	Breslau	Liturgical performance at St. Elisabeth in Breslau on "Festo Johānis bapt:" (annotation on score in PL-WRu, 60096 Muz)
30 April 1787	Berlin	Subscription concert (Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab) (see T 3; cf. Wiermann, 471–72; <i>Bemerkungen eines Reisenden über die zu Berlin vom September 1787 bis Ende Januar 1788 gegebene öffentliche Musiken, Kirchenmusik, Oper, Concerte, und Königliche Kammermusik betreffend</i> (Halle, 1788), 35–36)

gen Herrn Vaters).<sup>4</sup> Already in 1779, for a concert performance at the Kramer Amthaus in Hamburg, Bach refers to unspecified revisions in the announcement published in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* on 17 March: "The first piece [Magnificat] has been changed by him [Bach] in various places."<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Bach increased the festive nature of the work by adding trumpets and timpani in nos. 1, 5, 8, and 9. In addition, he added horns to strengthen nos. 3 and 6. These parts merely accentuate and crown the musical flow in these movements, without extensively changing the musical substance: the composition was not expanded or altered in any way; the additional instruments did not lead to changes in any of the other parts.

However, in 1779 one movement (no. 4, "Et misericordia eius") was completely changed. There were no musical reasons for this substitution; it is unlikely that Bach would have thought his compositional writing was stylistically out of date or somehow faulty. Rather, the reason for the change apparently lies in the fact that Bach had used the original movement as a parody (no. 4, "Fürwahr, er trug unsre Krankheit") in his St. Matthew Passion of 1769, and also later incorporated it into the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233.<sup>6</sup> This latter oratorio was not only repeated annu-

ally as the "Spinnhaus Passion"<sup>7</sup>—a tradition specific to Hamburg—but it was also widely known throughout the German-speaking territories from the early to mid-1770s. Thus, the movement could no longer be used in its original form (with Latin text). For a listener at that time, this would have been comparable to the present-day reception of the parodies of J.S. Bach's Christmas Oratorio, BWV 248: the original music would have been inseparably tied to the new German text. Consequently, C.P.E. Bach composed a new "Et misericordia" movement (no. 4) in 1779 which—although much shorter and simpler—is marked by chromatic strictness.

As table 2 shows, Bach eventually reused every movement from the Magnificat except no. 5 and including the revised no. 4, in other works during his time in Hamburg. For the most part, the musical setting of the early version is retained in the parody movements, where often only the text is different from the original Latin. Table 2 lists the principal sources of each new work, which are mostly from Bach's own library (now part of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin archives), as well as the respective volumes of CPEB: CW where the other works are published and the sources described. Where the parody movements deviate in specific readings from the Magnificat (especially in no. 9, "Sicut erat"), the differences are only briefly addressed in the commentary to the Magnificat, but are described in more detail in the discussion of the respective parody movements.

4. *Bach-Dokumente* III, no. 703.

5. See note 25 below.

6. The 1769 St. Matthew Passion, H 782 is published in CPEB: CW, IV/4.1, the *Passions-Cantate* in CPEB: CW, IV/3. The parody proved to be musically very successful: the basic affect of both movements is the same, but the text from Isaiah 53:4–6 and the canticle of Mary from Luke 1:45–55 are related to each other through the cantus firmus in the oboes (mm. 19–28 and 67–76), replaced by the soprano singing the Ger-

man text "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn," set in the *tonus peregrinus*, the psalm tone in which the liturgical Magnificat was normally set.

7. This term refers to the place where the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, was regularly performed, the so-called Spinnhauskirche.

TABLE 2. MOVEMENTS FROM THE MAGNIFICAT, WQ 215 PARODIED IN OTHER WORKS BY BACH

Movement	Parody Movement and Date(s) of Performance	Sources; CPEB:CW
1. Magnificat	<i>Meine Seele erhebt den Herren</i> , H 819, no. 1: "Meine Seele erhebt den Herren," Visitation of Mary 1768; also 1773, 1775, 1776, 1780, 1786 (in St. Nicolai)	D-B, SA 256 (score); VIII/2
2. Quia respexit	<i>Herr, lehre uns tun</i> , H 817, no. 3: "Hör und verschmähe nicht," Pentecost 1769; also 1787	D-B, SA 257 (score); V/2.2
3. Quia fecit	<i>Einführungsmusik Häseler</i> , H 821d, no. 3 (without horns): "Halleluja, welch ein Bund," on 4 February 1772	D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 346 (score) and SA 706 (parts); V/3.2
4. Et misericordia (first setting)	1. Passion according to St. Matthew (1769), H 782, no. 2: "Fürwahr, er trug unsere Krankheit," Lent 1769 2. <i>Passions-Cantate</i> , Wq 233, no. 2: "Fürwahr, er trug unsere Krankheit," Lent 1770; also 1776–88	1. D-B, SA 18 (parts); IV/4.1 2. D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 337 (score); IV/3
4. Et misericordia (second setting)	Passion according to St. Matthew (1785), H 798, no. 27: "Am Kreuz erblaßt," Lent 1785	D-B, SA 32 (parts); IV/4.5
6. Deposuit potentes	<i>Einführungsmusik Palm</i> , H 821a, no. 7 (without horns): "Der Oberhirt gebeut dem Führer treue Pflege," on 12 July 1769	D-B, SA 711 (score and parts); V/3.1
7. Suscepit Israel	<i>Herr, lehre uns tun</i> , H 817, no. 6: "Wie gar so tief sind deine Gedanken," Pentecost 1769; see above	D-B, SA 257 (score); V/2.3
9. Sicut erat	1. <i>Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe</i> , H 811, final chorus: "Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich," Christmas 1772; also 1778, 1782 2. "Leite mich nach deinem Willen" with fugue "Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich," Wq 227, on 5 March 1783 3. <i>Anbetung dem Erbarmer</i> , Wq 243, no. 7: "Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich," Easter 1784, also 1788	1. D-B, SA 247 (parts); V/2.6 2. D-B, Am. B. 89 (score); V/6 3. D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 339; B-Bc 721 (score); D-B, SA 704 (score and parts); V/2.2

The Magnificat is mentioned only once in NV 1790 (p. 56): "Magnificat. Potsdam. 1749. With trumpets, timpani, flutes, oboes and horns" (Magnificat. P. 1749. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Flöten, Hoboen und Hörnern). Naturally, it would have been too complicated for Bach (or his heirs) to explain the complex relationships between the Magnificat and the other works in which he reused movements. In fact, Bach prepared only one autograph score, D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 341 (source A 1), which he (later) dated 25 August 1749. In 1779 or afterwards, he inserted the names of the additional instruments in the headings and on the title page (see plate 1, where the line "3 Trombe e Timp." was added between "4 Voci" and "2 Corni"). Because of lack of space, he did not add the parts in the autograph score; they are kept separately today, along with the autograph for the replacement movement no. 4, in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 343 (source A 2). The version with new instrumentation is apparent especially in the autograph parts (trumpets I–III, timpani, horns I–II) and in the inserted sheets in the older parts written by Bach's main scribe Johann Heinrich Michel, most of which are still preserved. In addition, there exist some newly written parts by Michel, which were probably made as replacements of

older parts that had gone missing or were worn out. All of these are located in the composite manuscript, D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 191 I–III and St 191a; in SBB the original parts were later mixed together with other sets of parts having completely different provenance (see source B 3).

From these sources alone, we can largely reconstruct the complete score for both versions of the Magnificat: the early stage from Leipzig/Berlin and the later stage from Hamburg. The present edition, which is based for the first time on scholarly philological criteria, nevertheless relies on a number of other secondary sources to date and evaluate the revisions. This is necessary because the two above-mentioned dates, 1749 and 1779, are merely two fixed points in a compositional process that lasted more than thirty years. During this period, Bach constantly made changes to the Magnificat, usually improving details in the voice-leading. In one case (no. 4, first version of "Et misericordia"), where a very high range exists in the vocal parts, he reset long sections in a lower range only in the parts (see commentary). This procedure, whereby Bach reworked the original instrumental and vocal lines in ever new ways for various reasons, is typical for him. The relative chronology of the two versions can only be established

by comparing them to manuscripts that can be shown to have been copied directly from the autograph scores. These copies are preserved in D-B, Am. B. 170 (source **B 1**), Mus. ms. Bach P 372 (D 3), and PL-WRu, 60096 Muz (**B 4**).<sup>8</sup> Each of these secondary sources documents one of the intermediate stages of Wq 215, which can no longer be separated on the basis of the principal sources alone.<sup>9</sup>

Among the other secondary sources, a significant role is played by those copies having Berlin provenance. These include two manuscripts once owned by Count Otto von Voß (**D 2**, **D 6**) and a large group of diverse manuscripts that once belonged to the Sing-Akademie (sources **D 9–D 11**). Although the origin of this heterogeneous group is still mostly unknown, a comparison of the variant readings allows the conclusion that almost all of these sources go back—though indirectly—to **B 1**. This manuscript was no doubt copied directly from the autograph under Bach’s supervision, and it was revised by Bach at various times over several years. When Bach left Berlin for Hamburg, this copy was an important source for the work’s further performances in Berlin. Although today it is part of the Amalienbibliothek, source **B 1** did not originally belong to Anna Amalia of Prussia. The previous owner, however, has not yet been identified.

Only one single set of performance material has been proven to go back directly to the original parts. This is a set of parts in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 191 in the hand of the “Musikus” Johann Friedrich Hering (source **D 4**). Hering was a close friend of C.P.E. Bach and continued to serve as Berlin agent for his works. These parts most likely date from 1769–72, that is, after Bach had begun his tenure as Cantor in Hamburg. Since by 1769 Bach had parodied five of the nine movements of the Magnificat for various other works, he could hardly have dispensed with his autograph score in this creative period. Obviously the parts were another matter.<sup>10</sup>

8. On source **B 4**, see Blanken 2011.

9. Unfortunately, none of these copies can be securely dated. Although the Magnificat is frequently listed in various catalogues from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the brief descriptions rarely allow us to reconstruct which version was involved or to determine whether this particular item still survives today. Some copyist marks (little crosses) in the autograph score, which probably refer to copies that were prepared from this source, suggest that there might be one or more items among these missing copies that go back directly to the autograph.

10. For a later parody of the last movement (no. 9, “Sicut erat”), datable to the year 1772, the parts can be ascertained as the *Vorlagen* with some certainty. The other way around, the instrumentation with three trumpets and timpani that is first encountered in this parody movement must have been the direct *Vorlage* for the Magnificat.

In the mixture of cross-relationships among the parodied movements, a detailed account of the corrections that were added later is scarcely possible. In any case, Bach often forgot or did not bother to enter the revisions from the later parodied movements into his original performing material and autograph score. Nevertheless, the autograph score remains the most important source not only for the edition, but also for understanding Bach’s own relationship to this work.

## Leipzig

Neither the concluding annotation “Potsdam. d. 25. Aug. 1749” on the autograph score, nor the original parts, reveal that the first performance of the Magnificat probably took place in Leipzig. This work, especially because of its diverse writing style, can only be interpreted in connection with the unusual circumstances caused by the search for a successor to the ailing but still living J.S. Bach as Cantor for the Thomaskirche in Leipzig. In addition to more or less vague reminiscences of third parties as witnesses, only four surviving parts attest to a performance in Leipzig, the exact date of which is unknown. These parts were made by copyists who were associated with the Leipzig Thomasschule and who can be identified as assistants of the elderly J.S. Bach.<sup>11</sup>

Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Sonnenkalb, a former pupil at the Thomasschule, reported in 1759 that C.P.E. Bach’s work had been heard publicly in Leipzig: “Yes, I still remember with pleasure the splendid and excellent Magnificat which Mr. Bach of Berlin performed at a Marian festival during my time at the so-called Thomaskirche, even though this happened during the lifetime of the now-deceased father, and already a long time ago.”<sup>12</sup> This reminiscence, dating from about ten years later by a for-

11. These parts were first identified as coming from Leipzig by Kast. For further discussion of this material see Rifkin 1985. Wollny 1997 identifies two copyists: one who copied two vocal parts and J.N. Bammeler, who copied a viola part. See also Michael Maul and Peter Wollny, “Quellenkundliches zu Bach-Aufführungen in Köthen, Ronneburg und Leipzig zwischen 1720 und 1760,” *BJ* (2003): 97–141 (for the copyist of the violone part, C.F. Barth); and Peter Wollny, “Fundstücke zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1744–1750,” *BJ* (2011): 43–46 (regarding a few entries possibly made by JSB).

12. “Ja, ich erinnere mich auch immer noch mit Vergnügen des prächtigen und vortrefflichen Magnificats, welches der Herr Bach in Berlin zu meiner Zeit in der sogenannten Thomaskirche an einem Marienfeste aufführte, ob solches gleich noch zu den Lebzeiten des nunmehr seeligen Herrn Vaters war, und schon ziemlich lange her ist.” Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historisch Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1759), 235–37; cited in *Bach-Dokumente* III, no. 703.

mer pupil at the Thomasschule who eventually became a cantor himself, is a plausible explanation for the Leipzig performance of the work, in combination with the date of August 1749 on the autograph score, the scribal evidence provided by four of the original parts, and some oblique historical references (see below).

Further source studies leave no doubt that all the surviving older original parts really were written for the Leipzig performance; the majority of these parts, however, were copied in advance by Berlin scribes. There is no reason to doubt Sonnenkalb's report that the Magnificat was first performed at a Marian feast: according to the rules of Leipzig church music in J.S. Bach's day, a figurally composed Latin Magnificat could have been performed only at a Vespers service for a Marian festival or in conjunction with the high feasts of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, or Michaelmas. Taking this into consideration, possible dates for the first performance of C.P.E. Bach's Magnificat are: Michaelmas on 29 September 1749, Christmas 1749, the Purification on 2 February 1750, the Annunciation on 25 March 1750, Easter and Pentecost 1750, and the Visitation on 2 July 1750.<sup>13</sup> The reduced scoring (without trumpets and timpani) speaks in favor of a Marian feast, since these were regarded as "Mittelfeste" (medium feast days), whereas the Vespers for a high feast and Michaelmas would have called for the use of trumpets and timpani.

The relevant circumstances concerning the negotiations in 1749/50 and 1755 for the successor to the Thomaskantor position have already been dealt with in great detail in various other places, with extensive documentation of the sources and the historical situation.<sup>14</sup> In connection with

13. The rules about Vesper services in the Thomaskirche in Leipzig, written down by the sexton Johann Christoph Rost, are given in Petzold, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die Kirchenmusik seines Vaters," 32. A Magnificat was sung towards the end of the Vespers service after the blessing. It was introduced by a "Prelude to the [German] Magnificat" (Praeludium zum [deutschen] Magnificat) "or sung in Latin" (oder Lateinisch musicirt). This is confirmed also by the *Annales Lipsiensis* from 1717; see Clemens Harasim, "Die Magnificat-Vertonungen von Johann Sebastian und Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," in 78. *Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft 20. bis 25. März 2003 in Frankfurt*, 130–36, esp. 131. See also Günther Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Leipziger gottesdienstliche Leben seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1970); *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig*, trans. Herbert J.A. Bouman et al., ed. Robin A. Leaver (St. Louis: Concordia, 1984).

14. Christine Fröde, "Zu einer Kritik des Thomanerchores von 1749," *BJ* (1984): 53–58, and Ulrike Kollmar, *Gottlob Harrer (1703–1755): Kapellmeister des Grafen Heinrich von Brühl am sächsisch-polnischen Hof und Thomaskantor in Leipzig* (Beeskow: ortus musikverlag, 2006), 104–11 (on the circumstances in 1749 involving Bach's succession); 312–24 (documents about the appointment of a Cantor in 1750); and 338–40 (documents about the choice of a Cantor in 1755).

the preliminary auditions for this position, which took place while J.S. Bach, the current office-holder, was still alive, only the following is worthy of mention in immediate connection with the genesis of C.P.E. Bach's Magnificat: if the work was indeed performed at a Marian festival in 1749 or 1750, two candidates would have already been honored with an audition. The first was Gottlob Harrer, who was suggested as J.S. Bach's successor by Count von Brühl of Dresden and who held an official audition on 8 June 1749 in the Leipzig concert hall called "Drei Schwanen." The second candidate was Bach's elder brother, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, who gave what was certainly an unofficial audition, probably on the first Sunday of Advent in 1749.<sup>15</sup>

An anecdote that was reported in 1806 claims that the genesis and first performance of Wq 215 took place in 1755 (as a test composition for the application to succeed Gottlob Harrer as Thomaskantor):

The great Magnificat by C.P.E. Bach, about which one hears a lot spoken by the public, but which is only known to a few persons. It has also never been heard here in Leipzig. When the famous sons of Sebastian Bach first thought about such things and came together (as far as I know in Hamburg), they wanted to hold a memorial service for their great father, for which each was to compose a piece that would be worthy of him. In the end, this ceremony did not take place, probably because of a lack of interest. But, Emanuel Bach had already finished composing the Magnificat in eight large movements. . . . He himself valued this work greatly. Soon thereafter, when he wished to be appointed music director at the main churches in Leipzig, he submitted this work as an audition piece. However, he did not achieve his wish since the work's excellent quality was too high for that time and was met with little favor. Instead, the very popular rival piece by Doles, the lively, noisy Psalm "Warum toben die Heiden," received the prize and this composer was appointed to the position.<sup>16</sup>

15. For the Advent cantata *Lasset uns ablegen die Werke der Finsternis*, Fk 80, see Peter Wollny, "Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach" (PhD. diss., Harvard University, 1993), 241 and 289. See also Blanken 2006, 231–32. As of today no performances are known of the audition or test compositions of the other candidates mentioned in the proceedings of the inner council on 7 August 1750: Johann Gottlieb Görner, August Friedrich Graun, Johann Ludwig Krebs, and Johann Trier (see Kollmar, 313–14).

16. "das grosse Magnificat v[on] C. Ph. Eman. Bach, von welchem man im Publikum zwar oft hat sprechen hören, das aber nur sehr wenigen bekannt geworden ist und auch hier in Leipzig nie gehört worden war. Die berühmten Söhne Sebastian Bachs wollten nämlich, als sie sich zu fühlen anfangen, u. einesmals (so viel ich weiss in Hamburg.) zusammen trafen, eine Gedächtnisfeyer ihres grossen Vaters veranstalten, wozu

However, this story cannot be taken at face value. Even though it is known that C. P. E. Bach made an effort to succeed Harrer, no traces of a second Leipzig performance can be found in the original parts.<sup>17</sup>

### Berlin

The early version of the Magnificat matches the source situation at the time after the Leipzig performance. This version is based on the corrected material that is preserved in all three of the original sources: **A 1**, **B 1**, and **B 3**. Documentary evidence has not surfaced yet for performances of the Magnificat in Berlin or Potsdam during the time that C. P. E. Bach spent at the Prussian Court. That performances could have taken place in Berlin or Potsdam appears conclusive from a revision stage in the autograph (source **A 1**) and the original parts (source **B 3**), which surely predates the Hamburg period. For example, there are revisions to movement no. 4 (early version of “Et misericordia”) in source **B 3** where sections of the vocal parts have been set at a lower pitch by means of voice exchange. It seems unlikely that these corrections would have been made without a specific performance opportunity. Perhaps there might have been a musical occasion outside of Berlin about which we know as little as we do about performances in Berlin. The supposition that the Magnificat was dedicated to Anna Amalia of Prussia, for which Bach received the title of Kapellmeister, as Winterfeld main-

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jeder ein Stück zu schreiben gedachte, das dessen würdig wäre. Die Ausführung der Feyerlichkeit unterblieb, wahrscheinlich aus Mangel an hinlänglicher Theilnahme; Ph. Emanuel hatte aber dies Magnificat in acht grossen Sätzen, schon vollendet. . . . Er hielt diese Arbeit selbst so hoch, dass, als er bald darauf die Stelle eines Musikdirektors an den Hauptkirchen in Leipzig zu erlangen wünschte, er dies Werk als Probe-stück einsandte, jedoch ohne damit seinen Zweck zu erreichen, indem das Vorzüglichste darin der damaligen Zeit zu hoch stand u. weit weniger Eingang finden konnte, als Doles sehr populäres Concurrrenzstück, sein rauschender, munterer Psalm; Warum toben die Heiden, welcher den Preis erhielt u. dem Verf[asser] jenes Amt erwarb.” *AMZ* 9 (24 Dec. 1806), col. 208. That this anecdote is to be regarded as an invented story (because of various impossible aspects having to do with time and place) by its supposed author, Johann Friedrich Rochlitz, was discussed by Carl Hermann Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1868), 118–19.

17. No copy of Wq 215 is listed in the surveys of the holdings of the library of the Thomasschule; see Andreas Glöckner, *Die ältere Notenbibliothek der Thomasschule zu Leipzig. Verzeichnis eines weitgehend verschollenen Bestands*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 11 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2011), esp. 63–64. For one (or two?) lost or unidentified copies of the Magnificat in Leipzig, see Cat. Bureau de Musique (Leipzig, 1802 and 1804).

tained (basing his theory on a remark by Zelter), is rather improbable.<sup>18</sup>

In 1787 it was reported in Carl Friedrich Cramer’s *Magazin der Musik* that Bach’s Magnificat was performed in a concert given by Johann Carl Friedrich Rellstab, and that the work “had not yet been given in any concert here” (noch in keinem hiesigen Concert gegeben worden [sei]).<sup>19</sup> That this claim is exaggerated is proven by two publications of the text that had already appeared before this time: one in the period 1768–72 and one dated 1772.<sup>20</sup>

### Hamburg

In a letter of 6 December 1767 to the interim Cantor Georg Michael Telemann, Bach posed some questions about church music practices in Hamburg and the duties of a Cantor in the main churches there. One of the questions concerned the cultivation of Latin church music in Hamburg’s church services: “Is Latin music, for example, the Kyrie, Sanctus, Magnificat, etc. in fashion?” (Sind lateinische Musiken, z[um]. E[xempel]. Kyrie, Sanctus, Magni-

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18. Winterfeld thought the composition to be a “combination of the most disparate compositional styles and methods—more like a test piece than a work created out of true enthusiasm for the subject matter—and this because of a word-of-mouth assurance by Zelter who claimed that the work owed its origin to outside influences: that is, an application for the title of Court Kapellmeister for Princess Amalia of Prussia, the sister of Frederick the Great.” (Zusammenstellung verschiedener Setzweisen und Satzformen, mehr als ein Probestück, denn ein aus wahrer Begeisterung für den Gegenstand hervorgegangenes Werk, wie es denn auch, nach einer mündlichen Versicherung Zelters, seine Entstehung einem äußeren Zwecke verdankt, der Bewerbung um den Titel eines Hofcapellmeisters der Prinzessin Amalia von Preußen, der Schwester Friedrichs des Großen.) See Karl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst des Tonsatzes* (Leipzig, 1843–47), 3:457. Wollny 2000, 25, suggests that the score D-B, Am. B. 170 (source **B 1**) is the dedication MS. However, this hypothesis is contradicted by the overall impression of the score as a working draft.

19. *Magazin der Musik* (16 April 1787), cols. 1386–89; Wiermann, 471, mistakenly dates this as 1786. See also *Bemerkungen eines Reisenden über die zu Berlin vom September 1787 bis Ende Januar 1788 gegebene öffentliche Musiken, Kirchenmusik, Oper, Concerte, und Königliche Kammermusik betreffend* (Halle, 1788), 35–36: “An großen Musiken hörte ich im Rellstabschen Concert aufführen: *les Choeurs d’Athalie*; Glucks *Alceste*; Naumanns *Cora*; *la Conversione di Sant Agostino* von Haße; Bachs *Magnificat*, die *Hirten bei der Krippe* von Rellstab, und Haßens *Piramo und Tisbe*. Diese Aufführungen waren alle sehr gut; das Orchester spielte rein, mit Nachdruck, discret, und mit gehöriger Unterscheidung.”

20. The first libretto was printed by George Ludwig Winter, who died in 1772 (exemplars: D-B, Mus. Tb. 90 R, 1 and Mus. ms. Bach P 342) and the second libretto for the “Concert der musicalischen Liebhaber zu Berlin” in 1772 was printed by Johann Georg Bosse (exemplar: D-B, Mus. Tb 90 R).

ficat u.s.w. mode?)<sup>21</sup> Even though G. M. Telemann's answer is not known, the only other Magnificat settings in Bach's estate were those that had already been in his father's possession (see NV 1790, pp. 72 and 88).<sup>22</sup> These, however, were probably not performed in Hamburg. Evidence of a partial performance before 1779 is suggested by thick pencil strokes found at the beginning of three movements in most of the older original parts. Next to each of these strokes is a number (1, 2, 3) by the movements: no. 1 ("Magnificat"), no. 7 ("Suscepit Israel"), and no. 9 ("Sicut erat").<sup>23</sup>

No surviving documents such as newspaper announcements, letters, or librettos indicate a Hamburg performance of the entire Magnificat prior to 1779. (It was not common for the music used in church services to be announced in newspapers, except for the installation of a new pastor, and in such cases the announcement often included the printed text.) In the absence of documentation, all that remains is to study the layers of revision in the autograph score and parts. The revised version of the Magnificat, along with the Heilig, Wq 217, was performed by Bach on 22 March 1779 in the Kramer Amthaus.<sup>24</sup> Also performed—in the week before and the week after—were Bach's two oratorios *Die*

*Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq 238 (15 March) and *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Wq 240 (29 March). Two days after the performance of *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* the following announcement was made: "that our Kapellmeister Bach, who performed on the fortepiano to great applause in the concert the day before yesterday, will give his second concert next Monday, the 22nd, in the hall of the Kramer Amthaus. On this day he will perform his Magnificat and the double-choir Heilig. The first piece has been altered by him at various places. This time he will play a solo and a concerto on the fortepiano."<sup>25</sup> The wording of this announcement strongly suggests that Bach expected the people of Hamburg to know the piece already, otherwise, it would hardly have been necessary to mention the revisions. This could hint at an earlier undocumented Hamburg performance or a broad general knowledge of the piece (either by means of circulating manuscript copies or gossip).

In 1786, for the only other known performance of the Magnificat in Hamburg, Bach made two changes in the vocal parts. He altered the setting of no. 6 ("Deposuit potentes") from an alto and tenor duet to one for bass and tenor,<sup>26</sup> just as he had already done in the parody version of 1769 (there to be sure in a somewhat simpler version).<sup>27</sup> Also for the bass part of aria no. 5 ("Fecit potentiam"), which has a very high range, the music was reworked again: Bach inserted lower *ossia* variants for the bass (possibly Illert). As in the earlier performance in 1779, the Magnificat was presented in 1786 with other large sacred vocal

21. CPEB-Briefe, I:132; CPEB-Letters, 14. Suchalla comments on p. 135: "music with Latin texts was common especially at the installation services for pastors . . . but also Magnificats could be sung with German or Latin texts." (Musik mit lat. Texten war besonders bei Amtseinführungen der Pastoren üblich [...], aber auch Magnifikats konnten mit dt. oder lat. Text vertont werden.) This claim has not been substantiated.

22. These include BWV 243 and 243a and Antonio Caldara's composition in D-B, Mus. ms. 2755. C. P. E. Bach parodied the fugue "Sicut locutus est" from his father's Magnificat in the single-choir Heilig, Wq 218. Concerning Latin compositions, Bach required several Sanctus settings because of a special Hamburg tradition. See Jürgen Neubacher, "Zum liturgischen Ort der Sanctus-Kompositionen Telemanns und Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in Hamburg," *BJ* (2002): 229–42. Of the two Magnificat settings preserved under Telemann's name (TVWV 9:17–18), at least the German one goes back to Telemann's Leipzig period. See Glöckner, "Die Leipziger Neukirchenmusik und das 'kleine Magnificat' BWV Anh. 21," *BJ* (1982): 97–102, and Kollmar, 303.

23. One can assume that this involved a performance that took place before 1779: because numbers were not entered into any of the new parts or on Michel's insertion pages (meant here are only the insertion pages to no. 9 in the alto and bass parts in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 191, I:13 and I:34). This must not necessarily have happened in Hamburg; it can also be dated to an earlier period, and points to a non-liturgical performance.

24. Establishing the date as 1779 and not as the period "between 1780 and 1782" that Poelchau noted on the autograph of the newly composed "Et misericordia" (no. 4), is deduced solely from a chain of circumstantial evidence: a significant role is played by the various readings, the kinds of paper used, and the external form of Michel's new parts. Confirmation was presented for the first time in Blanken 2006, 256–62.

25. "daß unser Kapellmeister Bach, der sich in dem vorgestrigen Concert mit so vielem Beyfall auf dem Forte Piano hören ließ, künftigen Montag, den 22sten, sein zweytes Concert auf dem Saale des Kramer-Amthaus geben wird. Er wird in selbigem sein Magnificat und zwey-chörigtes Heilig aufführen. Das erste Stück ist von ihm an verschiedenen Stellen verändert worden. Er wird diesesmal ein Solo und ein Concert auf dem Forte Piano spielen." *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* (17 March 1779), 4; see Wiermann, 457–58; a similar announcement appeared in *Hamburger Relations-Courier* (8 March 1779), 4. Evidence for the performance is also provided by the printed libretto (source OT), published by Johann Philip Christian Reuss.

26. The only evidence for this is provided by the alto part (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 191, I:13), in which Bach has inserted "Herr Hoffmann" at the beginning of no. 6. This cannot refer to any person other than the Hamburg singer Johann Andreas Hoffmann (1752–1832), a bass to whom the former alto part was assigned.

27. "Der Oberhirt gebeut dem Führer treue Pflege," no. 7 of *Einführungsmusik Palm*, H 821a; see CPEB: CW, V/3.1. Among all parodies of Wq 215 this is the only one which completely reworks the vocal writing due to the different text underlay; overall, the virtuosity has been reduced, especially the number of triplet cascades.

works. But whereas in the earlier concert Bach performed only his own compositions, in 1786 he also included works by his father and Handel.

### Aspects of Performance Practice

The basso continuo exists with two different sets of figures by C.P.E. Bach. While it is certain that some of the figures were added later (in Hamburg) in **A 1**, these have been used in both versions of the work, while the earlier alternative continuo part for cembalo by Schlichting in **B 3** (bc), with Bach's own figures, is given its entirety in the appendix to CPEB: CW, V/1.1.

Either an organ or harpsichord is appropriate for the Magnificat. Although no separate part labeled "Organo" survives, there could have been one in the set that served as a *Vorlage* for Hering's part (see source **D 4**, and further discussion in the critical report). Certainly, they would have needed a transposed organ part when the work was performed in Leipzig in 1749/50, and if it was performed in any church in Berlin or Hamburg. C.P.E. Bach performed the work with a continuo group consisting of a violone, violoncello, at least one keyboard instrument, and perhaps one or two bassoons.<sup>28</sup> Since he twice performed the work in Hamburg in concerts rather than in churches, he was able to employ both two flutes and two oboes (generally, one player doubled on these instruments for his church music), and in addition to the solo vocal parts, ripieno parts survive for extra singers (presumably others are now lost; see "Evaluation of Sources"). Thus, the orchestration and ensemble for Wq 215 is among the largest of Bach's vocal music.

### Early Reception

C.P.E. Bach's Magnificat was listed in the following music-dealer catalogues, which gives some sense of the circulation of the work at the end of his lifetime into the nineteenth century:

Cat. Rellstab 1784, p. 16: "den Bogen zu 3 Gr. sowohl in Partitur als Stimmen . . . Von C.Ph.E. Bach, Magnificat"; also listed in Cat. Rellstab 1790, p. 71: "Bach, C.P.E. . . . Magnificat. P[artitur]." (Weinhold, 75)

28. Bassoon parts in **D 4** might indicate lost parts in CPEB's performance material from which Hering's parts might have been copied.

Cat. Westphal 1784, p. 10: "Bach, C.P.E. Magnificat a 14 p. Partitur 18 –"; also listed in Cat. Westphal c. 1790, p. 4: "Geschriebene Werke . . . Magnificat, ditto [Partitur] 18, –"

Cat. Traeg (1804), p. 59, no. 173: "Bach C.P.E. Magnificat a 4 Voci 2 Viol. 2 Fl 2 Ob. 2 Corni 3 Trombe, Tymp. Viol e Basso." (Weinhold, 99)

In Bach's day, the Magnificat was almost exclusively known in its early (Berlin) version as can be derived from the extant sources, which are mainly of Berlin origin. (The same may apply to the numerous copies that are recorded, but can no longer be traced.)<sup>29</sup> Outside Hamburg only Bach's close friend Johann Friedrich Hering and his half brother Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach are known to have had access to the revised version of movement no. 4. Thus, the discovery of a Hamburg copy of the late version from the circle of Baron van Swieten that apparently served as a *Vorlage* for a Traeg copy now in the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig (source **D 1**), is remarkable.<sup>30</sup>

The Magnificat was among the few works published following Bach's death. Georg Poelchau, who owned the original materials as well as further copies of the work, issued the Magnificat in its late version around 1830 with Simrock in Bonn (source **E**). Consequently the piece was never entirely forgotten during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but the early version transmitted only in manuscripts fell into relative oblivion.

In the present edition the two versions have been separated for the first time. The autograph score(s) and the original parts serve as the main source for both versions. Deviating from the normal practice of CPEB: CW, the early version is not given in its earliest stage (around 1750)

29. See "Sources" in the critical report for entries for the Magnificat in auction catalogues. In addition, the following catalogues have no entry for C.P.E. Bach's Magnificat: Breitkopf, *Verzeichniß Musikalischer Werke . . .* (Leipzig, 1760, 1761, 1764, 1770, 1780); Breitkopf, *Verzeichniß lateinischer und italiänischer Kirchen=Musiken . . .* (Leipzig, 1769); *Apparatus musicalis J. G. Strobach* (Chemnitz, 1785); Ernst Ludwig Gerber (Folter, 82–83); Johann Christian Kittel (Folter, 132); Johann Friedrich Reichardt (Folter, 189); Daniel Gottlob Türk (Folter, 232); C.F.G. Schwencke (Folter, 211–12); *Verzeichnis geschriebener und gedruckter Musikalien aller Gattungen, welche am 1. Juni 1836 und folgenden Tagen . . . von Breitkopf & Härtel in ihrem Geschäftslocale zu Leipzig . . . verkauft werden sollen* (Leipzig, 1836); *Verzeichnis der Musikalien aus dem Nachlasse des verstorbenen Musikdirectors Herrn Joh. Nic. Jul. Kötschau . . .* (Naumburg, 1845); Johann Theodor Mosewius (Folter, 159); Werner Wolffheim (Folter, 248–49); Erich Prieger (Folter, 184–85).

30. See Blanken, 1:14–15.



since the readings cannot be securely reconstructed. Rather a coherent version from Bach's Berlin period serves as the main text for the early version. To distinguish between early and late readings, two copies of Berlin provenance (sources **B 1** and **B 4**), both apparently copied directly from the autograph score, were used under the philological assumption that changes in the autograph found in neither manuscript were not entered there before Bach left for Hamburg. Similarly, for the late version only those changes that are reflected in the original set of parts have been incorporated in the main text. A small number of changes that Bach made while he was working on parody movements in 1783 and for the performance in 1786 are reported in the commentary since they have not been recorded in any other source that originated during Bach's lifetime.

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