

INTRODUCTION

The miscellaneous sacred works by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach published in the first two parts of CPEB: CW, V/6 are independent sacred compositions for diverse vocal-instrumental forces. Two main categories of works are included in this volume, V/6.1. First are the individually transmitted choruses, all of which are accompanied by instruments (with the exception of the Amen, Wq 210, for voices alone); most of these choruses were used as parts of multi-movement church pieces, of which some can be reconstructed only partially or not at all. Second are the single-movement, mostly multi-strophe motets meant for liturgical use but without specific designations in the church calendar. One incomplete chorus, “Merkt und seht” (H 838), is published in the appendix. Two works are lost: the Antiphona for Four Voices (Wq 209) and the motet “Wirf dein Anliegen auf den Herrn” (H 841, one of the “vermischte Stücke” in NV 1790). For an overview of Bach’s choruses and motets in NV 1790, see table 1. Other types of choral music are published in volume V/6.2, including the two double-choir Litanies (Wq 204), individual choruses used for funeral music, and chorales (both those collected and those individually transmitted). Miscellaneous church cantatas are published in volumes V/6.3 and V/6.4.

Double-Choir Heilig, Wq 217

Bach used his *Heilig mit zwei Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung* (Wq 217), published in 1779, more frequently than any other church piece as a part of cantatas in Hamburg church services and on other occasions. It was included in at least seven multi-movement church works composed or compiled between 1776 and 1786 (see table 2).¹ When one considers that the five different *Quartalstücke* of which it was a part had frequent performances, and that it was also heard as a separate piece multiple times in concerts and likely also in church services, it must have been the most familiar church composition of Bach’s to the Ham-

1. See Paul Corneilson, “Zur Entstehungs- und Aufführungsgeschichte von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs ‘Heilig,’” *BJ* (2006): 273–89, esp. 279, table 1.

burg public. The composer himself identified it as a “swan song” in a letter of 28 July 1778 to the publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, in order to make a printing of the work palatable to him: “I have put the greatest and boldest effort in it to have an exceptional impact. This should (perhaps) be the last of this type, so that I may not so soon be forgotten in the future.”² The year 1778 given in Bach’s estate catalogue under “Sing-Compositionen. Gedruckte Sachen”³ seems to indicate not the original date of composition but rather the date it was prepared (and probably revised) for publication. The piece, in another form, had existed since at least the fall of 1776. Specifically, for Michaelmas of that year Bach performed the second version of his pasticcio cantata *Es erhub sich ein Streit* (BR-CPEB F 18.2, based largely on BWV 19 by his father, Johann Sebastian Bach) as the *Quartalstück* beginning on 29 September. Before the concluding chorale, “Lass dein Engel mit mir fahren,” the double-choir Heilig was heard; it was introduced on this occasion by an arietta, that is, a revised and shortened version of the aria “Herr, wert, dass Scharen der Engel dir dienen” for soprano by Georg Benda. In the Michaelmas *Quartalstück* of 1778—the pasticcio cantata *Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt* (BR-CPEB F 21, based largely on the Michaelmas cantata *Wie wird uns werden*, BR-JCFB F 4, by his half-brother Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach)—the double-choir Heilig again was heard, and was again introduced by Benda’s setting of the arietta. Bach’s arietta with the same text was almost certainly first created in connection with the preparation of the print of Wq 217.⁴

2. “Hierin habe ich den meisten und kühnsten Fleiß bewiesen zu einer guten Aufnahme. Dies soll (vielleicht) in dieser Art das letzte seyn, damit ich einstens nicht so bald vergeßen werde.” *CPEB-Letters*, 124; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:686–87.

3. NV 1790, p. 55: “Heilig mit 2 Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung. H. 1778. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, und Hoboen.”

4. See Ulrich Leisinger, “‘Es erhub sich ein Streit’ (BWV 19): Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Aufführungen im Kontext der Hamburgischen Michaelismusiken,” *BJ* (1999): 105–26, esp. 110 and 118–19. In 1770, for the performance of the first version of BR-CPEB F 18 as a Michaelmas cantata, Bach had already borrowed the *da capo* aria of Benda unaltered.

TABLE I. CHORUSES AND MOTETS IN BACH'S ESTATE CATALOGUE

NV 1790 Page and Listing	Wq	H	BR-CPEB	CPEB:CW
<i>Gedruckte Sachen</i>				
p. 55. Heilig mit 2 Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung. H. 1778. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, und Hoboen.	217	778	F 77	V/6.1
p. 55. Zwey Litaneyen für 8 Singstimmen in 2 Chören. H. 1786.	204/1-2	780/1-2	H 53/1-2	V/6.2
<i>Ungedruckte Sachen</i>				
p. 56. Chor: <i>Spiega, Ammonia fortunata &c.</i> Auf Verlangen der Stadt Hamburg, dem Schwedischen Kronprinzen, (jetzigem Könige) zu Ehren verfertigt. H. 1770. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Flöten und Hörnern.	216	829	G 10	V/5.2
p. 62. Einchöriges Heilig. H. Mit Trompeten, Pauken und Hoboen.	218	827	E 3	V/6.1
p. 62. Chor: Mein Heiland, meine Zuversicht etc. H. 1771. Mit Hoboen. (Aus dem Anhang zu Gellerts Oden.)	221	830	F 37 (see also F 28.2)	V/6.1 (see also V/6.3)
p. 62. Chor: Wer ist so würdig, als du etc. H. 1774. Mit Trompeten, Pauken und Hoboen. (Aus den Cramerschen Psalmen.)	222	831	F 10.1, F 76	V/6.1 (see also V/2.1)
p. 62. Chor: Zeige du mir deine Wege etc. H. 1777. Mit den gewöhnlichen Instrumenten. (Aus den Cramerschen Psalmen.)	223	832	F 40 (see also D 4.4)	V/6.1 (see also IV/4.4)
p. 63. Chor: Gott, dem ich lebe, daß ich bin etc. H. 1780. Mit gedämpften Trompeten, Pauken, Hoboen und Fagotts. (Aus Sturms Liedern.)	225	833	F 70	V/6.2
p. 63. Chor: Amen, Lob und Preis und Stärke etc. H. 1783. Mit Trompeten, Pauken und Hoboen. (Aus Sturms Liedern.)	226	834	F 10.2	V/2.1
p. 63. Chor: Leite mich nach deinem Willen etc. H. 1783. Mit Hörnern und Hoboen.	227	835	F 34	V/6.1
p. 63. Chor: Meine Lebenszeit verstreicht etc. H. 1783. Mit gedämpften Trompeten, Pauken und Hoboen. (Aus Gellerts Liedern.)	228	836	F 71, F 72, F 73	V/6.2
p. 63. Chor: Meinen Leib wird man begraben etc. H. 1783. Mit Trompeten, Pauken und Hoboen.	229	837	F 74	V/6.2
p. 63. (Die vielen in den Paßions-Musiken befindlichen Chöre aus Cramers Psalmen, Gellerts und Sturms Liedern, der Litaney, u. a. m. können den Liebhabern auch einzeln in Abschrift überlassen werden.)	incl. 224, 230	794, no. 16 and 798, no. 17; 795, no. 30	F 33 (see also D 4.4 and D 4.5); D 5.4	IV/4.4 and IV/4.5; IV/5.4
p. 63. <i>Sanctus</i> . H. Mit Trompeten, Pauken und Hoboen.	219	828	E 2	V/6.1
p. 63. <i>Veni &c.</i> H. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Hörnern und Hoboen.	220	855	<i>deest</i>	By G.P. Telemann; see table 3
p. 63. <i>Motetto: Veni &c.</i> H. Für 2 Discänte, Baß und Fundament.	207	825	E 5	V/6.1
p. 63. <i>Motetto: Gedanke, der uns Leben giebt etc.</i> H. Mit 3 Singstimmen und Fundament. (Aus Gellerts Liedern.)	208/1	826/1	H 52/1	V/6.1
p. 63. <i>Motetto: Oft klagt dein Herz etc.</i> H. Mit 3 Singstimmen und Fundament. (Aus Gellerts Liedern.)	208/2	826/2	H 52/2	V/6.1
p. 64. <i>Motetto: Gott, deine Güte reicht so weit etc.</i> H. Mit 4 Singstimmen und Fundament. (Aus Gellerts Liedern.)	208/3	826/3	H 52/3	V/6.1
p. 64. <i>Motetto: Dich bet ich an, Herr Jesu Christ! etc.</i> H. Mit 3 Singstimmen und Fundament. (Aus Sturms Liedern.)	208/4	826/4	H 52/4	V/6.1

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

NV 1790 Page and Listing	Wq	H	BR-CPEB	CPEB:CW
p. 64. <i>Antiphonia</i> . H. Für 4 Singstimmen.	209	839	E 6	V/6.1 (lost)
p. 64. <i>Amen</i> . H. Für 4 Singstimmen.	210	840	E 7	V/6.1
pp. 64–65. Ueberhaupt beträgt die Anzahl der Lieder, die theils durch Wever, B. 1761, durch Donatius in Lübeck 1788 in Druck herausgekommen sind, theils einzeln zerstreut in den Gräfischen, Krausischen, Buchhändler Langeschen und Breitkopfschen Oden-Sammlungen; in den Clavierstücken verschiedener Art, Unterhaltungen, Musen-Almanachen; in Münters Liedern; im Musikalischen Allerley und Vielerley, u. s. w. gedruckt sind, mit den eben benannten Freymäurer-Liedern und noch einigen ungedruckten 95.	incl. 205, 206	773, 774	H 50, H 51	V/6.1
<i>Einige vermischte Stücke</i>				
p. 65. <i>Motetto</i> : Wirf dein Anliegen auf etc. von einem <i>Anonymo</i> verfertigt; aber ganz umgearbeitet. H. Für 4 Singstimmen und Fundament.	<i>deest</i>	841	H 54	V/6.1 (lost)

TABLE 2. HAMBURG VOCAL MUSIC WITH C.P.E. BACH'S DOUBLE-CHOIR HEILIG (WQ 217)

Date	Title	Catalogues (Principal Sources)	Remarks
1776	<i>Es erhub sich ein Streit</i>	BR-CPEB F 18.2 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 25b)	CPEB performed an abridged version of Benda's aria "Herr, wert, dass Scharen der Engel dir dienen" (L 544, no. 2) with the double-choir Heilig. The cue "Der Anfangs Chor wird wiederholet" (for the repetition of the opening chorus following the aria) was struck through in most parts; see CPEB:CW, V/2.5.
1778	<i>Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt</i>	BR-CPEB F 21 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 266)	Cue in parts: "Chor Heilig"; abridged Benda aria was performed; see CPEB:CW, V/2.5.
1780	<i>Nun danket alle Gott</i>	Wq 241; BR-CPEB F 10.1 (D-B, SA 245)	Cue in autograph: "Ariette und Heilig"; cue in parts: "Chor Heilig"; arietta performed by a bass; see CPEB:CW, V/2.1.
1783	<i>Amen, Lob und Preis und Stärke</i>	BR-CPEB F 10.2 (D-B, SA 245 and Mus. ms. Bach P 340, fascicle II)	See 1780 above.
1785	<i>Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft</i>	H 824e; BR-CPEB G 9 (D-B, SA 267)	Cue in autograph: "Heilig etc."; arietta was not performed; see CPEB:CW, V/5.1.
1785	<i>Der Frevler mag die Wahrheit schmähn</i>	Wq 246; BR-CPEB F 22 (D-B, SA 254)	Note on wrapper: "nach dem letzten Recit kam das 2 Chörigte Heilig mit der Ariette"; see CPEB:CW, V/2.4.
1786	<i>Musik am Dankfeste . . . Michaelisturms</i>	H 823; BR-CPEB F 67 (D-B, SA 243)	Cue in autograph: "Ariette mit meinem 2 chorigtes Heilig"; see CPEB:CW, V/5.2.

One of the few reports on the liturgical music of Hamburg by the contemporary daily papers concerns the Michaelmas music for 1776, where the double-choir Heilig, probably performed publicly there for the first time, was a particular focus:

The superb Michaelmas music of our worthy Capellmeister Bach performed the past few Sundays in our main churches has among other things a masterfully composed double chorus representing angels and people, who sing the Holy, holy, holy, etc. Tomorrow, Saturday, and the following day on Sunday, this double chorus will be so performed in the great St. Michaelis that the choir of angels [will sing] from high up over the church proper, and the choir of people from the organ loft; the fugue, however, will be sung by both choirs simultaneously, which in the other churches could not reasonably be done because of space.⁵

The newspaper report of the concert of 22 December 1783 in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp, under the direction of Johann Samuel Hartmann, attests that the separate deployment of both choirs in concerts was apparently not a foregone conclusion:

At the end of the second part Bach's Heilig, recently received with so much applause, was performed, and indeed this time with two special choirs, to which end at the entrance of the hall a special riser was set up for the placement of the second choir.⁶

Only for the feast of Michaelmas in 1785 did the newspaper mention Wq 217 again as part of a church piece, *Der Frevler mag die Wahrheit schmähn*, Wq 246:

This Sunday, the 23rd of this month, the Heilig etc. composed by Capellmeister Bach will be performed in the great St. Michaelis by two choirs located in the organ loft and the nave

5. "Die seit einigen Sonntagen in unsern Hauptkirchen aufgeführte vortreffliche Michaelis-Musik unsers würdigen Herrn Kapellmeisters Bach hat unter andern ein meisterhaft ausgearbeitetes Doppel-Chor der Engel und Völker, die das Heilig, heilig, heilig, etc. singen. Morgen, als den Sonnabend, und übermorgen, am Sonntage, wird dieses Doppel-Chor in der großen Michaelis-Kirche so aufgeführt werden, daß das Chor der Engel von der Höhe über dem Kirchen-Saal, und das Chor der Völker von der Orgel, die Fuge aber von beyden Chören zugleich gesungen werden wird, welches in den andern Kirchen des Raums wegen nicht füglich geschehen können." *HUC* (25 Oct. 1776), 4, identically in *HNZ* (25 Oct. 1776), 3, cited in Wiermann, 398.

6. "Beym Schlusse des zweyten Theils wird abermals das neulich mit so viel Beyfall aufgenommene Bachische Heilig, und zwar diesmal mit 2 besondern Chören, aufgeführt werden, zu welchem Ende am Eingange des Saals eine besondere Erhöhung zur Stellung des zweyten Chors verfertigt worden." See *HUC* (10 Dec. 1783), 3, identically in *HNZ* (19 Dec. 1783), 5, cited in Wiermann, 463–64.

in the morning and afternoon, which too will already have taken place in the Saturday Vespers. What true friend of music will miss hearing it, one of the most excellent and sublime pieces of music that was ever composed⁷

Whenever the double-choir Heilig was performed in the context of multi-movement compositions, it was never copied out in the usual fashion in the relevant place in the performance parts; rather only a cue to insert the double-choir Heilig appears each time (see table 2). It is clear that the arietta was sometimes omitted or replaced by a different introduction. Separate parts would simply have been inserted at the corresponding places. Because this set of parts as such is no longer extant, except for the autograph first trumpet part for the Chor der Engel (as part of the composite manuscript in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 339; see source A 2 in the critical report), we do not know precisely how Bach performed the double-choir Heilig as part of the respective church piece. He evidently had access to a large enough instrumental ensemble—that is, larger than the one normally available to him for the performance of *Quartalstücke*, such as *Es erhub sich ein Streit* (mentioned above)—only for works for special occasions, such as the *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft* of 1785 (H 824e) and the *Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelisturms* of 1786 (H 823). In fact, the payment record for H 823 explicitly provides for two separate orchestras (one in the organ loft for the Chor der Völker, the other for the Chor der Engel; see CPEB: CW, V/5.2, xxiii). For *Quartalstücke*, however, at most three trumpeters, not the six called for in the printed score of Wq 217, were available to him for performances.⁸ In general the use of two full orchestras would have been unlikely,⁹ for a second timpanist or a total of four oboists could not reasonably have been engaged for the double-choir Heilig each time.

Although the original parts for Wq 217 are lost, the autograph score, which served as the copy-text for the print,

7. "Künftigen Sonntag, als den 23sten dieses, wird das Heilig etc. nach der Composition des Herrn Kapellmeisters Bach, in der großen Michaeliskirche von 2 auf der Orgel und dem Kirchensaal befindlichen Chören Vor- und Nachmittags aufgeführt werden, welches auch in der Sonnabendschen Vesper daselbst schon geschehen wird. Welcher wahrer Musikfreund wird es wohl versäumen, eines der vortrefflichsten und erhabendsten Musikstücke, die jemals componirt worden, zu hören . . ." *HUC* (21 Oct. 1785), 4, cited in Wiermann, 413–14.

8. See Sanders, esp. 6–9 and 77–94.

9. The few newspaper reports on performances during church services (see above) emphasize the separate deployment of two choirs, which was only possible in St. Michaelis; by contrast, two physically separate orchestras are not provable for those performances.

is extant in Vienna (A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 15517; see source A 1 in the critical report).¹⁰ The previously mentioned letter of inquiry to the publisher Breitkopf of 28 July 1778 was soon followed, in November of that year, by the first subscription appeal in the form of an exhaustive description of the work over the signature of Benda, who had heard the piece in Hamburg on Michaelmas a few weeks earlier. In Benda's description, among other things, we find:

But in this piece there was a Heilig, etc., in the composition of which Bach has outdone himself. . . . You as a connoisseur know what belongs to such a work for a master. In the fugue one hears the great Bach from beginning to end; but in the Heilig he has adopted a different manner. In this song he has united the greatest simplicity with the deepest art.¹¹

The double-choir Heilig was supposed to have been published by Easter 1779, but was delayed until the end of July 1779.¹² Altogether the subscription appeal drew 267 individuals; Gottfried Baron van Swieten alone ordered twenty-five copies and likely received the autograph score as a present in thanks for his order. The first review of the piece begins as follows:

And if our Bach had composed nothing other than this Heilig, just through this his name would have continued down to the latest posterity of connoisseurs of music. We know few pieces of music in which simplicity and art are so happily united as in this one. That is why also everywhere where only the usual number of instrumentalists and singers are available at all, it can be performed even by amateurs without difficulty.¹³

10. See also the facsimile edition of the autograph and print in *Double-Choir Heilig*, Wq 217 (CPEB: CW, Series V supplement), with an introduction by Paul Corneilson (Los Altos, Calif.: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2014).

11. "Aber in dieser Musik kam ein Heilig etc. vor, in dessen Composition Bach sich selbst übertroffen hat. . . . Was zu einer solchen Arbeit für ein Meister gehört, das wissen Sie als Kenner. In der Fuge hört man den großen Bach vom Anfange bis zum Ende; in dem Heilig aber hat er eine andere Manier angenommen. Er hat in diesem Gesange die größte Simplicität mit der tiefsten Kunst vereinigt." *HUC* (18 Nov. 1778), 5–6, cited in Wiermann, 223–24.

12. See Wiermann, 230–31.

13. "Und wenn unser Bach auch sonst nichts componirt hätte, als dieses Heilig, so würde sein Name dadurch allein bis auf die späteste Nachwelt der Musik-Kenner fortdauern. Wir kennen wenig Musikstücke, in welchem Simplicität und Kunst mit einander so glücklich vereinigt sind, als in dem gegenwärtigen. Es kann daher auch allenthalben, wo nur irgend die gewöhnliche Anzahl von Instrumentenspielern und Sängern vorhanden ist, ohne Schwierigkeit auch von Liebhabern aufgeführt werden." *HUC* (11 Sept. 1779), 6, cited in Wiermann, 234–36. Shortly thereafter a second review appeared in *Altonaischer gelehrter Mercurius* (25 Nov. 1779), 374–75, cited in Wiermann, 236.

Even before the appearance of the print Bach's double-choir Heilig was performed outside the main churches of Hamburg, as the announcement of a church service on 6 April 1779 shows: "On the third day of Easter in the local cathedral church . . . [the] Heilig of Kapellmeister Bach . . . will be performed."¹⁴ The "familiar, superb double chorus: Heilig, heilig, heilig, etc." (das bekannte vortreffliche Doppel-Chor: Heilig, heilig, heilig, etc.) was performed for the first time in a public concert on 6 April 1778.¹⁵ It was performed together with the oratorio *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (Wq 240; see CPEB: CW, IV/2), as well as a keyboard concerto and a trio, in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp.¹⁶ On 22 March 1779 a performance in the Kramer-Amthaus took place in conjunction with the Magnificat (Wq 215).¹⁷ There was also interest in performances beyond Hamburg. From a letter of Bach to Breitkopf dated 12 December 1778, we know that Johann Adam Hiller wanted to perform Wq 217 in Leipzig for Christmas of 1778, long before the work was printed:

I ask you, as urgently as I can, that you by all means prevent either Herr Hiller, or whomever else, from performing my Heilig before it is released. I ask that you not let my original manuscript out of your hands, not even to show it to anyone once. . . . Would not many of my subscribers take back their word, if they believed that, before receiving their copy, the work had already been in the hands of copyists, who are often thieving, as I have unfortunately discovered? . . . For these and many other reasons I completely forbid Herr Hiller's performances.¹⁸

14. "Am dritten Ostertage wird in der hiesigen Dom-Kirche . . . [das] Heilig vom Kapellmeister Bach . . . aufgeführt werden." *Hamburger Relations-Courier* (29 Mar. 1779), 4, identically in *HUC* (3 Apr. 1779), 7, cited in Wiermann, 404. It was performed again at the Hamburg Cathedral (*Dom*)—which was not in the municipal music director's realm of responsibility—on the third day of Christmas 1779; see Wiermann, 405.

15. *HUC* (4 Apr. 1778), 4, cited in Wiermann, 455.

16. Additional announcements in Wiermann, 455–56. After the printing, further performances of Wq 217 took place in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp; see Wiermann, 462–63.

17. See announcements in Wiermann, 457. Facsimiles of the Magnificat and double-choir Heilig librettos for this occasion are published in CPEB: CW, VIII/3.3.

18. "Ich bitte Sie, was ich bitten kann, daß Sie durchaus verhindern, daß weder Herr Hiller, oder wer es auch sey, mein Heilig aufführe, eher, als es heraus ist. Ich bitte, mein Original nicht aus Ihren Händen zu laßen, auch nicht einmahl Jemandem zu weisen. . . . Würden nicht viele meiner Subscribenten ihr Wort zurücknehmen, wenn sie glaubten alsdenn erst ihr Exemplar zu kriegen, nachdem das Werk schon unter den Händen der Notenschreiber, die oft diebisch sind, wie ich leider erfahren habe, gewesen ist? . . . Aus diesen u. vielen anderen Ursachen

Breitkopf complied with Bach's request, and Hiller then had to wait until after the printing before the performance could take place on 3 October 1779:

Herr Music Director Hiller led on the third of this month the Heilig of the Hamburg Bach in the University Church. The orchestra consisted of some 70 individuals. The church was overwhelmingly full, and the music received general applause; one was only unhappy that it did not last longer, and one wished this magnificent music might be still several times longer.¹⁹

Likely it was here that the print version of the piece first was heard. Again in October and November, Wq 217 was sung in Berlin at St. Petri and in the Dreifaltigkeitskirche under the direction of Johann Christoph Kühnau, and also in Mitau, on the occasion of a ducal wedding, under the direction of Franz Adam Veichtner.²⁰ Johann Philipp Kirnberger wrote to Johann Nikolaus Forkel about one of the 1779 Berlin performances:

Bach's Heilig was performed here, and the fugue lasted 11 minutes straight through. I disapproved of it, because it was completely spoiled. Herr Bach in Hamburg, whom I informed that it should last no more than 5 minutes, set the time at 3 minutes. It seems to me, however, that 4 minutes would be best, but 11 minutes is intolerable.²¹

Indicative of the esteem in which Bach held his double-choir Heilig is his choice to include it the "historic" concert to benefit the "medizinische Armeninstitut" on 9 April 1786. On this program—along with J.S. Bach's Credo from the Mass in B Minor (BWV 232),²² excerpts from Handel's *Messiah*, C.P.E. Bach's Magnificat (Wq 215),

and one symphony (not specified)—works were heard which already then were regarded as historic yet timeless and enduring. At the same time, the double-choir Heilig, characterized by contemporaries as "sublime," fulfilled the function of an ideal type of new Protestant church music. So for the composer Diedrich Christian Aumann it was by no means a dishonor—but on the contrary an indication of skill—that his setting of the "Heilig" text in his Easter Oratorio, published as a keyboard reduction in Hamburg in 1789, not only formally resembles Bach's double-choir Heilig, but also (with the exception of the fugue) imitates it in compositional detail.²³ Johann Friedrich Reichardt, in his extensive treatise on the print of Wq 217, most clearly formulates the work's inherent sublime character, highly prized and recognized by him:

The idea of the true noble church music . . . is here in this masterful Heilig—the introductory arietta excepted—so excellently fulfilled that I cannot neglect to mention it, even if not as one of the newest, nevertheless as one of the most noteworthy musical works. . . . Those quick modulations are not now in and of themselves so noteworthy, . . . but the use of them for expression, for the characterization of the heavenly and earthly choirs, this is great; and the simplicity itself of the means transforms the trait into a trait of original genius. . . . If I could but hear this Heilig so masterfully performed as it is composed! But that will never happen with our singers and fiddlers and pipers! . . . I have already heard it performed in more than one large city, but I must confess, I should not yet have had the least idea of it, had I not set eyes on the score.²⁴

Subsequently these characteristics of the sublime—namely, polyphony, devotion, dignity, simplicity, naturalness, and the greatest possible richness along with the greatest de-

verbitte ich gar sehr H. Hillers Aufführungen." *CPEB-Letters*, 130–31; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:716–17. Bach wrote a similar letter to Breitkopf a week later (19 December 1778); see *CPEB-Letters*, 132; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:720–21.

19. "Herr Musik-Director Hiller führte den 3ten dieses das Heilig von dem Hamburgischen Bach in der Universitäts-Kirche auf. Das Orchester bestand aus einigen 70 Personen. Die Kirche war zum Erdrücken voll, und die Musik erhielt allgemeinen Beyfall; nur war man unzufrieden, daß sie nicht länger dauerte, und man wünschte, daß diese herrliche Musik noch etliche mal so lang seyn möchte." *HUC* (10 Nov. 1779), 6, cited in Wiermann, 459.

20. See the announcements in Wiermann, 458–60.

21. "Bachen's Heilig wurde hier aufgeführt, und die Fuge grade durch dauerte 11 Minuten, ich missbilligte es, weil es ganz dadurch verdorben wurde. Hr. Bach in Hamburg, dem ich meldete, es gehörte nicht mehr als 5 Minuten Zeit dazu, . . . setzt die Zeit auf 3 Minuten, mir scheint aber, dass 4 Minuten die beste Art sey, aber 11 Minuten ist gar nicht vor Ekel anzuhören." Cited in Bitter, 1:323.

22. A facsimile of the program, including the text of the Credo (Latin with German translation) is published in *CPEB:CW*, VIII/3,3.

23. See Wiermann, 538–40.

24. "[Die] Idee, von der ächten edlen Kirchenmusik, . . . ist hier in diesem meisterhaften Heilig—die Einleitungsariette ausgenommen—so vorzüglicher [*sic*] erfüllt, daß ichs nicht lassen konnte, es, wenn gleich nicht als eines der neuesten, doch als eines der merkwürdigsten musikalischen Werke anzuzeigen. . . . Jene schnelle Tonwechselungen sind nun nicht an und vor sich selbst so merkwürdig, . . . aber die Anwendung derselben zum Ausdruck, zur Charakterisirung des Himmels- und des Erdenchors, die ist groß, und eben die Symplicität des Mittels macht den Zug zum Originalgeniezug. . . . Könn't ich je dieß Heilig so meisterhaft ausführen hören, als es gearbeitet ist! Aber das wirds bey unsern Sängern und Geigern und Pfeiffern nie! . . . In mehr als einer großen Stadt hab' ichs schon aufführen hören, aber ich muß gestehn, daß ich noch nicht einmal eine Idee davon hätte, wäre mir nicht die Partitur zu Gesichte gekommen." Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, vol. 1, part 2 (Berlin, 1782), 85. For a detailed discussion of the bold harmonic modulations in Wq 217, see Richard Kramer, "The New Modulation of the 1770s: C.P.E. Bach in Theory, Criticism, and Practice," *JAMS* 38 (1985): 551–92.

gree of unity—were attributed to Bach’s double-choir Heilig by numerous authors, who discerned its singular aesthetic effect.²⁵ Even in the mid-nineteenth century, for Carl von Winterfeld the double-choir Heilig was “the most perfect of [Bach’s] church works” (das vollendetste seiner kirchlichen Werke).²⁶

The popularity of the double-choir Heilig in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is attested by the number of arrangements (including Carl Friedrich Zelter’s for three choirs), translations (for instance, into English and Swedish), and other works based on or inspired by it (including Georg Joseph Vogler’s Heilig). (Sources for many of these are listed at the end of the source section for Wq 217 in the critical report.) The double-choir Heilig was performed in Vienna on 25 December 1817, as part of Ignaz von Seyfried’s arrangement of *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* (Wq 238), for a benefit concert that also included Beethoven conducting his Eighth Symphony.²⁷ A piano-vocal score of Wq 217, prepared by Hans Michael Schletterer (1824–93), was published c. 1860 as Bach’s *Das grosse Heilig*.

Sanctus, Wq 219

As in Leipzig and other cities in Protestant Germany, the Latin Sanctus still had its set place in Hamburg in certain feast-day liturgies. In accordance with the rules of Hamburg church services and vespers (respectively, *Gottesdienstordnung* and *Vesperordnung*), the Sanctus was sung *choraliter* (that is, as plainsong) at the conclusion of the preface (the first part of the canon or prayer of consecration) in the communion liturgies of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. But at St. Petri—the oldest and most privileged of the city’s five main churches, and not just with regard to the Sanctus—it was traditionally sung *figuraliter* (that is, chorally, usually with independent orchestral accompaniment).²⁸ Based on Hamburg Senate records it is clear that from as early as 1767 the use of antiphons in Latin was

25. See Laurenz Lütteken, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und das Erhabene in der Musik,” *Lenz-Jahrbuch* (1995): 203–18. See also Annette Richards, “An Enduring Monument: C.P.E. Bach and the Musical Sublime,” in *CPEB-Studies 2006*, 149–72, and Christoph Wolff, “C.P.E. Bach and the History of Music,” *Notes* 71 (2014): 197–218, esp. 214–17.

26. Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältnis zur Kunst des Tonsatzes*, vol. 3 (Leipzig, 1847), 461.

27. See *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, 2 vols., rev. and ed. Elliot Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 2:691.

28. See Jürgen Neubacher, “Zum liturgischen Ort der Sanctus-Kompositionen Telemanns und Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in Hamburg,” *BJ* (2002): 229–43, esp. 232.

increasingly criticized, and it was argued that only German songs be used on the major feast days.²⁹ Indeed, there were even strong demands to abolish the prefaces altogether. For the moment, however, the Latin Sanctus still remained in use. Indeed, C.P.E. Bach had apparently also been able to draw on the Sanctus compositions of Georg Philipp Telemann,³⁰ J.S. Bach, and Johann Caspar Kerll, among others, but—as with other prominent church pieces—new compositions, or at least compositions new to Hamburg, were expected. Thus it is very likely that C.P.E. Bach, shortly after he began his duties as music director, composed the Sanctus (Wq 219) for four-part choir, oboes, trumpets, timpani, strings, and basso continuo; the estate catalogue mentions the place of composition (Hamburg), but not the year (NV 1790, p. 63). Additionally, the musical construction of Wq 219 makes its liturgical purpose appear almost incontrovertible.

To precede the Sanctus, Bach composed the now-lost Antiphona for Four Voices, Wq 209 (“Et cum spiritu tuo”), listed in NV 1790 (p. 64) and in Cat. J.J.H. Westphal (under “Singstücke 3.6”).

Single-Choir Heilig, Wq 218

The Sanctus (Wq 219) may have been performed for the last time as part of the liturgy at Pentecost 1778, for in August of that year it was finally decided that the Latin preface should be abolished and, beginning with the upcoming feast of Christmas, the Sanctus should be sung only in German.³¹ As the tradition of orchestrally accompanied choral music at St. Petri remained unaffected by this decision,³² an appropriate German-language Heilig was needed. For Christmas 1778, it is possible that Bach used Telemann’s Sanctus in D Major (TVWV 9:16),

29. *Ibid.*, 233–37.

30. In a letter to Telemann’s grandson, Georg Michael, of 11 April 1771, Bach mentions the return of the loaned church pieces of the grandfather, “namely . . . Sanctus” (namentlich . . . Sanctus). Slightly adapted from *CPEB-Letters*, 23; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:223.

31. See Neubacher, “Sanctus-Kompositionen,” 237–38.

32. Bach was informed of the decision at the beginning of October and confirmed this in writing to the council on 25 November 1778: “In accordance with the above order, these words will be performed figurally in St. Petri with all singers and instrumentalists with timpani and trumpets . . . the undersigned has already made the necessary preparations.” (In der St. Petri Kirche werden nach obiger Ordnung diese Worte mit allen Sängern und Instrumentisten bey Pauken- und Trompeten-Schall *figuraliter* ausgeführt. . . so hat Endesunterscriberer bey Zeiten die Anstalten darzu getroffen.) Cited in Neubacher, “Sanctus-Kompositionen,” 238.

whose score copy Bach underlaid with the now-required German text “Heilig ist Gott, der Herr Zebaoth. Himmel und Erde sind voll seiner Ehre.” Bach’s double-choir Heilig (Wq 217) certainly was not considered for such a liturgical performance, but perhaps his single-choir Heilig (Wq 218) was performed.

Numerous indications support the idea that this unique composition for five-part choir and large orchestra already existed in 1778 and was not first created in connection with the implementing of the liturgical reform. For instance, at the conclusion the words “Alle Lande sind seiner Ehre voll” were set, instead of the prescribed “Himmel und Erde sind voll seiner Ehre” that Bach surely would have considered for the text setting, as he did with the new text underlay for the Telemann Heilig. Also, the scribe of the performance materials, Anon. 307, mainly worked for Bach up to the year 1773, which suggests that Bach composed the work during his early Hamburg years; at the same time, however, this implies that Wq 218 must have been performed in other contexts in Hamburg church services even before 1778. Only the first fifteen measures (*Adagio*) represent new material by C.P.E. Bach. The entire second part (*Alla breve*) represents a reworking of the chorus “Sicut locutus est” from the Magnificat of J.S. Bach (BWV 243 or 243a). The borrowing alone may at first glance be an indication of a hurried preparation of the liturgical work; yet the reworking shows that C.P.E. Bach did not limit himself to transposition (from D major or E-flat major to C major) and a new text underlay, but that he expanded both the instrumentation (by adding parts for two independent oboes, three trumpets, and timpani) and the fugue itself (by repeating sixteen measures). As in many other instances of borrowings, the motivation to save time played no role here vis-à-vis a completely new composition. For later performances of Wq 218, further parts were written out by Johann Heinrich Michel and added to the original set of parts, and many years later still others were added by Georg Johann Daniel Poelchau.

Other Choruses

“Mein Heiland, meine Zuversicht” (Wq 221), an arrangement for four-part choir and instruments of the first strophe of the eleven-strophe song “Der 88. Psalm” (Wq 195/12), originated in 1771, according to NV 1790 (p. 62). The model, on a text by Johann Jakob Spreng, was originally published seven years earlier as the last of the twelve songs in the *Anhang von zwölf geistlichen Oden und Liedern* (Gellert *Anhang*; Berlin, 1764; see CPEB: CW,

VI/1). With the composition of the chorus Wq 221 we have not only a four-part exposition of the model song, but also a reworking and expansion of it, with the addition of extensive, independent instrumental accompaniment together with a brief prelude, which nevertheless more or less strictly follows the vocal parts. The assignment of this work to the tenth Sunday after Trinity can be deduced from numerous notes on the autograph score, original parts, and score copies. Figural music was performed on this Sunday of the liturgical year only at St. Jacobi. In this connection, the organ part in the original set of parts is accordingly transposed down a minor third, corresponding to the pitch of the organ in that church, which was tuned in *hoher Chorton* (that is, a minor third higher than *Kammerton*). Apparently the chorus was used (mostly) as an inserted movement and thus as a part of various pasticcios for the corresponding Sunday: for instance, in 1781 and 1786 in an arrangement of J.S. Bach’s cantata *Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben* (BWV 102; see CPEB: CW, V/6.3); perhaps in 1784 for the fourth Sunday after Trinity, together with the chorus “Der Gerechte” by Johann Christoph Bach; and likely again in 1787.³³

“Wer ist so würdig als du” (Wq 222), scored for trumpets, timpani, oboes, strings, and continuo, is also based on a sacred song, namely, “Der 8. Psalm” (Wq 196/4), printed in 1774 in *Cramers übersetzte Psalmen mit Melodien* (*Cramer Psalmen*; see CPEB: CW, VI/2). For this chorus, the year of composition, 1774, given in NV 1790 (p. 62) is beyond doubt. As early as 12 December 1774 “the eighth psalm, set to music by our world-renowned Monsieur Capellmeister Bach” (der von unserm weltberühmten Hrn. Kapellmeister Bach, in die Musik gesetzte achte Psalm) was performed in concert in Hamburg’s Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp together with Carl Heinrich Graun’s *Te Deum* and other pieces.³⁴ However, as is the case with most other sacred choruses, Wq 222 evidently was intended to be used primarily as liturgical music. When and how often the piece was performed is as yet unknown. For the 1780 performance of the Easter cantata *Nun danket alle Gott* (Wq 241), Wq 222 was reworked and used as no. 3 (see CPEB: CW, V/2.1). Besides changes in the text underlay and the shortening of the B section, the differences between the version of the

33. See Barbara Wiermann, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Gottesdienstmusiken,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998a*, 85–103, esp. 96, and BR-CPEB, 2:506–7.

34. See the relevant announcements (e.g., *HNZ* [28 Oct. 1774], 4), cited in Wiermann, 446–47. Another concert performance is documented for the same place on 22 December 1783; see Wiermann, 463–64.

chorus in Wq 241 and the separately transmitted version edited in the present volume involve chiefly the composition of new parts for trumpets and timpani in D, to replace the original parts for trumpets and timpani in E (a very rare key for those instruments). The traces of reworking are all found in the autograph score and are verifiable by comparison with the other sources (including those for Wq 241; see the critical report).

“Amen, Lob und Preis und Stärke” (Wq 226)—listed in NV 1790 (p. 63) as a single chorus and dated 1783—was performed as the opening movement of the 1783 performance of the Easter cantata Wq 241, in which the revised version of Wq 222 was also reused. No further uses of Wq 226 are provable; neither is the existence of any different versions. And since the creation of this arrangement of the “Osterlied” (Wq 197/4) from *Sturms geistliche Gesänge mit Melodien, Erste Sammlung* (see CPEB:CW, VI/2) can be seen as likely connected directly with the reuse of Wq 241 and the replacement of the opening chorale, “Nun danket alle Gott”—in which case the autograph score of Wq 226 served only as the *Vorlage* for writing out the parts for the cantata—this chorus is not included in the present volume, but is published together with Wq 241 in CPEB:CW, V/2.1 (appendix C).³⁵

“Zeige du mir deine Wege” (Wq 223), accompanied only by strings, also originated as an arrangement of one of the *Cramer Psalmen* of 1774, namely, “Der 25. Psalm” (Wq 196/9). Borrowing the third strophe of the fifteen-strophe song, Bach transposed it from B minor to A minor and provided the four-voice, homophonic chorus with prelude, interlude, and postlude. The piece is dated 1777 in NV 1790 (p. 62); the first part of a libretto survives for a (pasticcio) cantata whose opening chorus is Wq 223, for performance at St. Catharinen on the eighth Sunday after Trinity of the same year (see source OT in critical report). Four years later, the chorus was used (with the second strophe, “Keiner wird sich schämen dürfen”) as no. 14 of the 1781 St. Matthew Passion (see CPEB:CW, IV/4.4). Additional performances as part of Hamburg church pieces can be assumed, but nothing further is known.

“Leite mich nach deinem Willen” (Wq 227), scored for horns, oboes, strings, and continuo—and followed by a newly composed bass recitative—was performed, according to a note on the title wrapper of the original set of parts, at the end of part I of a cantata for the feast of the Purification of Mary 1783 (2 February) at St. Nicolai in Hamburg. The year of this performance is also given as the year of

composition in NV 1790 (p. 63). In this case it was not a sacred song that served as the model for the chorus, but rather a chorale: no. 12 in the manuscript hymnal for the German congregation in Copenhagen (*Schiørrings Choralbuch*), whose printed title page is also dated 1783. The text is by the German pastor in Copenhagen, Balthasar Münter, and was first printed as early as 1774.³⁶ On 5 March 1783 Bach sent a score of Wq 227, together with the dedication score of the choral fugue “Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich,” to Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia. In the accompanying letter Bach offers a brief characterization of what he calls a “chorale,” in which there is “nothing artistic . . . but because of the words I have thought to give it a harmonic clothing, which despite its boldness does not make a bad effect. The melody is guided by the harmony in nothing but easy intervals along dark and rough paths, and follows it like a child.”³⁷ Possibly the chorus was originally conceived without horns, because Bach later added the horn parts in his own hand to the original set of parts. Wq 227 was first published in 1818 or 1820 by Poelchau (printed by Sigmund Anton Steiner in Vienna) in two versions, one with German and the other with German and Latin text underlay.

While nothing is known regarding the date of composition or the background of the sixteen-measure “Amen” (Wq 210) for four voices without instruments, it may have been written for the performance of H 823 in 1786 (see CPEB:CW, V/5.2, xxi). It is transmitted in only one source and surely was performed multiple times in Hamburg church services. On the basis of the scoring, the classification of Wq 210 as a motet can also be justified.

“Merkt und seht” (H 838; also listed as Wq n.v. 1, but not listed in BR-CPEB), with trumpets (two, not three), oboes, strings, and continuo, survives only as a fragment in a sketch-like composing score in Bach’s late handwriting (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 896); there is no reference to the work in NV 1790. It is uncertain whether the fragment represents an original composition by Bach or an arrangement of a foreign work. An attribution on the score in an unknown hand reads: “Bachische Passion nach dem Lucas.” The relationship to a St. Luke Passion, by Bach or anyone else, is unknown. Since H 838 is incomplete and its origin is unclear, it is published in the appendix.

36. See Ulrich Leisinger, “Balthasar Münters Geistliche Lieder,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 2001*, 263–73.

37. “. . . nichts künstliches, ich habe aber der Worte wegen auf eine harmonische Einkleidung gedacht, welche ohngeacht ihrer Dreustigkeit keine üble Wirkung macht. Die Melodie wird in lauter leichten Intervallen von der Harmonie durch dunkle und raue Pfade geleitet, und sie folgt kindlich.” *CPEB-Letters*, 192; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:962.

35. Cf. Harasim, 194–95.

Motets

The contributions of C.P.E. Bach to the motet genre are not particularly numerous.³⁸ In the eighteenth century “motet” meant simply one—in the sense of any one—sacred, multi-voice vocal piece, with the exception of the Ordinary of the Mass. Bach’s contemporary Johann Lorenz Albrecht defined it in the year 1761 rather indifferently: “Motets are actually solemn musical compositions, heavily adorned with fugues and imitation, set to a biblical text, to be sung, at times with instruments.”³⁹ The typical motet in eighteenth-century Protestant Germany offered possibilities of songlike quality, homophony, and vocal-polyphonic counterpoint up to and including vocal fugues, as well as the inclusion of chorale texts, as in the chorale motet.

Thanks to NV 1790, however, we do not have to go to the trouble of stylistic categorization to determine which of Bach’s multi-voice church compositions are to be counted as motets. According to NV 1790 the motets comprise but five separate pieces, which are terminologically differentiated from the other single-movement vocal compositions (namely, the choruses, arias, and chorales). This total is confirmed by the sources. “Veni, Sancte Spiritus” (Wq 207) is transmitted in only one source, a score copy in the hand of Michel (B-Bc, 85 MSM; source B 1 for the motets in the critical report). From this it can be concluded that the title “Mottetto” [*sic*] would have been found, with the same or similar spelling, on the now-lost autograph score. The four pieces in Wq 208 are called “4 Motteten” [*sic*] on the autograph title page of the composite manuscript containing the original parts, and “4. Mottetten” [*sic*] on the title page of the fair-copy score by Michel.

In addition to Wq 207 and Wq 208/1–4, the two multi-voice Psalm settings “Der 2. Psalm” (Wq 205) and “Der 4. Psalm” (Wq 206) can also be classified as motets. Both of these works were printed in *Musikalisches Allerley* and subsumed in NV 1790 (pp. 64–65) under the heading “Lieder, . . . die in Druck herausgekommen sind”. These seven pieces constitute Bach’s motet compositions. Not included in this count is the lost motet “Wirf dein Anliegen auf den Herrn”

38. For an expanded version of this section, see Clemens Harasim, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Motetten,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch*, ed. Christine Blanken and Wolfram Enßlin, *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* 12 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2016), 165–83.

39. “Moteti, sind eigentlich gravitatische, mit Fugen und Imitationen stark ausgeschmückte, und über einen biblischen Spruch, bloß zum singen, auch bisweilen zu Instrumenten, verfertigte musikalische Compositionen.” Johann Lorenz Albrecht, *Gründliche Einleitung in die Anfangslehren der Tonkunst* (Langensalza, 1761), 118.

(H 841), Bach’s arrangement of an anonymous work (see NV 1790, p. 65).

The entry for “Veni, Sancte Spiritus” (Wq 207) in NV 1790 (p. 63) follows an entry for another work with the same incipit (“Veni &c. H. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Hörnern und Hoboen”, listed as Wq 220), which is not described as a motet, and which—as we know today—is by Telemann (TVWV 3:84; it is not published in CPEB:CW).⁴⁰ The date of origin for Wq 207 is unclear; neither the autograph score nor the original set of parts is extant, and NV 1790 indicates the place of origin (“H.” for Hamburg) but not the date. As the extant text prints for the *Einführungsmusiken* show (see CPEB:CW, VIII/3.2), it was traditional since the time Telemann held office to perform a “Veni, Sancte Spiritus” at the beginning of part II of the given *Einführungsmusik*, after the sermon. The performing parts for such a movement were separately transmitted as inserts and reused each time according to need, so that they neither were nor are now part of the performing materials for the individual *Einführungsmusiken*; as discussed above, a well-known example of this practice for Bach was the use of his double-choir Heilig (Wq 217) as a part of multi-movement church pieces. One might at first guess that this frequently used insertion movement was the festive, fully orchestrated “Veni, Sancte Spiritus” of Telemann. An extant set of parts for this piece in Michel’s hand (D-B, SA 263; see below, “Doubtful and Spurious Works,” table 3) speaks in favor of this. However, the absence of parts for Wq 207 is hardly sufficient indication that it was not performed in connection with pastoral installations. (After all, the performance parts for Wq 217 are also lost, except for a single trumpet part.) Also a (newly) composed “Veni, Sancte Spiritus” by Bach without concrete need for performances in Hamburg seems scarcely thinkable. A performance for the feast of Pentecost, which one might obviously suspect, cannot be proved. By contrast, it may have seemed quite appealing to complement the splendor of the choruses and arias of the *Einführungsmusiken* with a fairly simple three-part, motet-like movement. Admittedly this does not exclude performances of Telemann’s “Veni” as well; but it does seem rather more likely that Bach, at a given point in time, and presumably after quite a few pastoral installations, replaced Telemann’s with his own “Veni, Sancte Spiritus.” Even with its brief duration and its three-part, homophonic-periodic structure, Wq 207 nevertheless orients itself strongly with Tele-

40. See Miesner, 85–86; cf. Telemann’s autograph (D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Telemann, G.P. 125).

mann's "Veni." Yet the reverse is also imaginable: that is, using Wq 207 for the *Einführungsmusiken* already during the first Hamburg years and—after frequent performances—replacing it with Telemann's once that work had faded from the memory of the Hamburg public. In this way the questionable whereabouts of the then-disused set of parts for Wq 207 could be explained. Least probable seems to be the exclusive performance of Telemann's "Veni" if Wq 207 existed at the same time.

Three of Bach's songs in *Herrn Professor Gellerts Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien*, Wq 194 (*Gellert Lieder*; see CPEB: CW, VI/1), first printed in 1758—only a year after Christian Fürchtegott Gellert published his *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*—were models for three of the four motets in Wq 208. Along with the transferral of musical material from the genre of ode or song to the genre of motet, these works simultaneously underwent a recontextualization (from songs for private devotion to works for public worship). Even if—or precisely because—no particular performances are known, it can be concluded that these motets, accompanied only by basso continuo, belonged from the time of their creation to the established church music repertoire in Hamburg.

The basis of the motet "Trost der Erlösung" (Wq 208/1) was the song Wq 194/30, which is characterized by its extraordinary counterpoint and mutual imitation of the keyboard and voice parts. It is in this respect the most complex of any Gellert song. The bass line of the song's keyboard part, up to both concluding measures, was adopted for the motet without change. The diminution of the upper voice is fascinatingly derived: after the statement of the head motive, the undulations of the chains of 16th notes are taken over from the bass, so that there are melismas—first on the insignificant article "der"—in both the soprano and bass lines. After that, the melody remains unchanged up to the end. Bach added an ordinary middle voice to complete the trio texture. Strophes 8, 14, and 17 of the Gellert song are sung to the identical setting.

A contrast to this form is provided by the motets Wq 208/2 and Wq 208/3. For the setting of the poetry of both songs that served as models—respectively, "Der Kampf der Tugend" (Wq 194/53) and "Bitten" (Wq 194/9)—the poet Gellert himself suggested chorale melodies, namely, "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt" and "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her," respectively.⁴¹ In-

41. See "Verzeichnis derjenigen Lieder, welche Kirchenmelodien haben," *Geistliche Oden und Lieder von C. F. Gellert* (Leipzig, 1757), 2. See also CPEB: CW, VI/1, xvi, table 2.

deed Bach followed this advice insofar as he composed both motets in a striding, almost chorale-like manner and thereby doubtless achieved an appealing musical contrast to Wq 208/1.

For the motet "Der Kampf der Tugend" Bach set four strophes (strophes 1, 2, 8, and 11) of the Gellert song, making mostly textually required changes, whereby in the two inner strophes the soprano/alto and tenor/bass pairs alternate. The scoring indication for this motet in NV 1790 (p. 63), three voices and basso continuo, is inaccurate; the correct number of voices is actually four.

The musically related song "Bitten" (Wq 194/9) was one of the most popular of the entire eighteenth century. With its regular and periodic structure—progressing in four-measure phrases—it is much less complex than "Trost der Erlösung." And "Bitten" has hardly any surprising harmonic twists, even though Bach provided the performance directive "Mit Affekt." The corresponding motet (Wq 208/3) was also greatly beloved into the nineteenth century, as numerous manuscript sources of non-Hamburg provenance show. There is even a separate printing of this piece by Nikolaus Simrock from around 1824 (edited by Poelchau), which likely relies on the first printing by Johann Daniel Sander.⁴² There is also a version of this piece as a chorale prelude for organ (= H 357; also H 845?) in a print collection by Kühnau.⁴³ To the present day, it is by far the best-known motet by C. P. E. Bach. The four strophes of the motet (corresponding to the four strophes of the song) are elaborated as variations. The continuo that pauses again and again, and the partial reduction in voices to a trio texture, also provide variety and tension. Overall, the motet "Bitten" differs from its model much more in terms of character than the other motets arranged from songs. Particularly impressive is the newly added *pianissimo* conclusion of the motet (Bach even calls for *ppp* in the final three measures), with its chromatic shifts under the held note of the upper voice and on the words "im Tode finden."

The model for the motet "Menschenliebe Jesu" (Wq 208/4) is the song of the same name (Wq 198/3), published in *Sturms geistliche Gesänge mit Melodien, Zweite Sammlung* (*Sturm Gesänge II*; Hamburg, 1781; see CPEB: CW, VI/2). Like Gellert, Christoph Christian Sturm proposed chorale melodies for setting some of his poems from the collection *Lieder und Kirchengesänge* (Hamburg, 1780); for "Menschenliebe Jesu" he suggested

42. In *Die heilige Caecilia* (Berlin, 1818–19).

43. In a partially preserved exemplar: D-LEM, PM 174, p. 19.

“Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld.” Even more clearly than in the Gellert songs, Bach emphasizes a chorale-like quality in Wq 198/3. Of the motets, Wq 208/4 is—although for only three voices—the one that most closely adheres to the four-voice “ideal type” of the Protestant chorale. (Wq 208/4 evidently began as a work for two voices, and was later expanded to three voices; see commentary.) To reinforce this already quite chorale-like character, Bach substantially modified the song when he arranged it as a motet: beginning in m. 11 he altered the musical structure and even the melody.

The three manuscripts for the motets Wq 208 that are close to the composer—the autograph score (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 349), the original parts (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 188), and the fair-copy score in the hand of Michel (B-Bc, 725 MSM)—are composite sources that contain all four pieces. In the scores the pieces are in the same order: “Menschenliebe Jesu” (no. 4 in Wotquenne, Helm, and BR-CPEB) is between “Der Kampf der Tugend” (no. 2) and “Bitten” (no. 3). But in the parts the pieces are in Wotquenne order.

The *terminus post quem* for the arrangement of Wq 198/3 as Wq 208/4 is 1781, the year of publication of *Sturm Gesänge II*. Based on that date and on the position of Wq 208/4 in the score sources, one would have to conclude that all four motets were composed no earlier than 1781. Yet the autograph—a composing score with numerous corrections—shows that Wq 208/4 must have been added later; evidence includes the layout of the page, and differences in the quality of the handwriting and the color of the ink. For reasons of space, this motet appears to have been squeezed in on the empty staves and on an additional staff drawn freehand after the end of Wq 208/2. Thus, while Wq 208/1–3 were probably composed successively within a short period, Wq 208/4 originated somewhat later and was then added to the autograph accordingly. This corresponds with the order in NV 1790 (pp. 63–64), in which—deviating from the scores but matching the parts—the Sturm-based motet follows the three Gellert settings; Wotquenne’s numbering was more likely based on NV 1790 than on the set of parts. This means, however, that for Wq 208/1–3 a date of origin before 1781, probably even the 1770s, must be assumed.

The opposite case, namely, the arrangement of a motet as a song, is found with “Der 4. Psalm” (Wq 206). The *bicinium*, printed in 1761 in part II of Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel’s *Musikalisches Allerley*, was the model for the solo song Wq 196/2 that appeared thirteen years later in *Cramer Psalmen*. Johann Andreas Cramer’s *Poetische Überset-*

zung der Psalmen had already appeared in four volumes between 1755 and 1764 in Leipzig. The reworking of Wq 206 as a song probably took place with Bach’s setting of the other psalms in 1772, at the latest in the fall of 1773. The middle voice of the motet is preserved almost unchanged in the song and differs only slightly in the antepenultimate measure. In the motet, the continuo accompaniment begins with the vocal lines; in the song, the entrance of the bass line of the keyboard part is slightly delayed, but otherwise corresponds to the motet with only a few additional differences (for example, in the transition in m. 4 the two successive quarter-note Gs are playfully broadened into a triad with octave, and the straight 16th notes in the triads of mm. 8 and 13 become dotted figures).

The question remains: why did Bach not also arrange the four-voice motet “Der 2. Psalm” (Wq 205) as a song for publication in *Cramer Psalmen*? Like Wq 206, Wq 205 was a setting from Cramer’s *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen* and appeared in part II of *Musikalisches Allerley* in 1761. In any event this Germanized Psalm—in its four-part, homophonic setting—also possesses very songlike traits, such as periodicity and emphasis on the upper voice.

While both Wq 205 and 206 (created between 1755 and 1761) are clearly characterized by songlike qualities, the three-part “Veni, Sancte Spiritus,” Wq 207—likely composed shortly after 1767 in the early Hamburg period—shows aria-like and imitative traits. The determining formal elements of the Gellert pieces revamped in the 1770s as motets are, in “Trost und Erlösung,” imitation and polyphony; in “Der Kampf der Tugend,” a stately, songlike quality; and in “Bitten,” a strictly periodic, structured songlike character. Finally, the Sturm song “Menschenliebe Jesu,” arranged after 1781, represents the type of a strict chorale movement. This development of the Bachian motet toward chorale-like form must be seen in connection with a generally observable turn by the composer toward pure, four-voice chorale movements, particularly from the second half of the 1770s, which is also reflected in the choruses used in his Passions and cantatas. The musically fully convincing transfer by C.P.E. Bach of the archetypal Protestant chorale into the most traditional sacred genre of the motet—as evidenced in an isolated case, Wq 208/4—appears on the one hand entirely logical, and on the other hand practical in the highest degree.

Doubtful and Spurious Works

Helm lists a number of entries for choruses and motets that are not published in CPEB: CW. These are summa-

TABLE 3. CHORUSES AND MOTETS LISTED IN HELM NOT PUBLISHED IN CPEB:CW

H	Wq	Scoring	Remarks
855	220	SATB, tpt I–III, hn I–II, timp, ob I–II, vn I–II, va, bc	“Veni, Sancte Spiritus”; by Telemann (TVWV 3:84), arr. CPEB, who apparently added hn I–II (doubling tpt I–II) and ob I–II (doubling SA) Sources: B-Bc, 86 MSM (scribe: Alfred Wotquenne, dated 1895, copied from a now-lost MS from the collection of J.J.H. Westphal; attribution: “da C.P.E. Bach”); D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Telemann, G.P. 125; D-B, SA 263 (scribe: Michel; attribution “da. C.P.E. Bach.”); F-Pn, Ms. 9123 (scribe: Johann Friedrich Hering; attribution: “da C.P.E. Bach.”)
857	n.v. 5	SATB	“Ecce enim in iniquitatibus” (Helm: “Ecce cui in iniquitatibus”) Source: D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 349 (scribe: possibly Poelchau; no attribution)
858	n.v. 6	5-part voices (possibly ATTB)	“Miserere mei” Source: D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 349 (scribe: possibly Poelchau; no attribution)
865	deest	SATB	Motet “Kommt, lasset uns anbeten,” apparently first published in Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, <i>Fugen-Sammlung</i> , pt. 1 (Berlin, 1758), 10–18 without attribution. Also transmitted as a work by Fasch, Graun, and Marburg. Sources: PL-Wu, 6997 (attribution to CPEB in pencil); US-BETm, 85.2; US-WS, Herbst Collection, A219
866	deest	SATB	Eleven motets; Helm, 230: “By J.E. Bach (1722–77)?” (listed as doubtful works of Johann Ernst Bach in <i>NG^{II}</i> , s.v. “(10) Johann Ernst Bach,” by Peter Wollny) Source: D-ARK (no shelf mark, no attribution)

rized in table 3.⁴⁴ In one case, as noted, it is possible to clearly attribute a work to another composer. Elsewhere, individual works may be authoritatively ruled out by their absence from NV 1790 or from sources clearly associated with Bach.

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Clemens Harasim

44. Helm lists H 855, 857, and 858 as “Doubtful” and H 865 and 866 as “Spurious.”