

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 and instrumental forces. Three main categories of works are included in this volume, V/6.2. First are the two double-choir Litanies (Wq 204), for voices and basso continuo. Second are the individual choruses and chorales used for funeral music (including Wq 225, 228, and 229). Third are the chorales, both those collected for hymnals (including Wq 203, H 842–844, and BR-CPEB H 57) and those individually transmitted. A few chorales with disputed authorship are presented as *incerta*. Alternative settings of some of the funeral choruses, as well as two choruses used in funerals that were originally written for Passions (including Wq 230), are shown in appendix A. Sketches for the H 842 chorales are shown in appendix B. 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/6.1, including the individually transmitted choruses (such as the double-choir Heilig, Wq 217) and the motets (Wq 205–208). Miscellaneous church cantatas are published in volumes V/6.3 and V/6.4.

Zwei Litaneien, Wq 204

Bach received the commission to compose two litanies in the course of the new organization of a Danish hymnal at the beginning of the 1780s, which was to be followed by a corresponding chorale book edited by Niels Schiørring (1743–98), harpsichordist of the royal *Kapelle* of Copenhagen as well as royal chamber musician and former student of Johann Adolph Scheibe and Bach.

Litanies are among the earliest liturgical prayers; the Jewish tradition already included the psalmody, in which a cantor's recitation is followed by a short choral response.¹ In the church, litanies go back to invocations of the saints, and were also antiphonal or for alternating choirs from the beginning. The respective response consisted primarily of

1. On this and the following, see *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Litany," especially the sections by Michel Huglo/Edward Foley and David Nutter/John Harper, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/> (accessed 13 June 2022).

the words "Kyrie eleison," "Domine miserere," and "Ora pro nobis," and accordingly a three-part form for this litany of the saints developed, already established since the Middle Ages.² The multitude of litanies in liturgical use was not limited by the papacy to the Litany of All Saints and the Litany of Loreto until the beginning of the seventeenth century. While the Litany of Loreto, with its strong reference to Mary, has no specific liturgical assignment, the Litany of All Saints—which had long been the principal litany—was sung at holy consecrations, especially the blessing of the baptismal water at the Easter Vigil; but also at Pentecost, in the Good Friday liturgy after the Passion, and during Holy Week, in each case before the offertory. Often a connection to the commemoration of the dead is expressed in the response formulas "ora pro eo/ea" and "libera eum/eam Domine." The three-part form consists of the invocation of Christ or the Trinity, the invocation of the saints (Mary, apostles, martyrs, etc.), and the supplications. Litanies of All Saints found their way into psalters, books of hours, and even (for Easter) graduals. In polyphonic settings, the antiphonal effect is often achieved by division into high and low voice groups; mostly, however, the formal structure of invocation/response corresponds musically either to the use of solo and choir or two choirs, the latter especially from the second half of the sixteenth century.

In 1529, under the impression of the threat to Vienna by the Ottoman army, Martin Luther wrote a "Latina Litanía correctá" in which, while largely preserving the form and melody established for the Litany of All Saints, any textual reference to the saints and Mary was edited out and emphasis was placed on the concrete petitions and intercessions of the time, as well as the hope of redemption through Christ.³ The new Latin setting was followed in the

2. Also the first part of the Ordinary of the Mass (Kyrie) was originally a litany, which Gregory the Great first shortened to the form common today.

3. Luther's text is ultimately a free poem of supplications without reference to the saints; the model of the Litany of All Saints is thus merely formal. The antiphonal nature is expressed here by the alternation of choir and congregation; the framework is formed by the Kyrie with invocations to the Trinity and the final invocation of the Agnus

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>	n/a (by G.P. Telemann)
p. 63. <i>Motetto</i> : <i>Veni &c.</i> H. Für 2 Discante, Baß und Fundament.	207	825	E 5	V/6.1
p. 63. <i>Motetto</i> : <i>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</i> : <i>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</i> : <i>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</i> : <i>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)

same year by the German translation, which remained in use in Protestant churches until the nineteenth century.⁴ The first polyphonic setting of the German text seems to have been Hans Leo Hassler's seven-voice double-choir "Litanei teutsch Herrn Dr. Martini Lutheri" from 1619.

Die alte Litanei (Wq 204/1) by Bach is based on Luther's version of the melody and sets Luther's text nearly verbatim in the form of a strict alternating-choir motet. *Die neue Litanei* (Wq 204/2) is written in the same way; it adheres just as closely to the text by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, "Allgemeines Gebet um geistliche Gaben. Eine Litanei,"⁵ itself a new version of the corresponding text by Luther, which it also resembles in form.

The new Hamburg hymnal of 1787 (NHG 1787), which was prepared in the context of the overall redesign of German Protestant hymnals in the spirit of the Enlightenment, no longer contained Luther's (old) Litany, whereas

the Schleswig-Holstein hymnal, which was closely related to the Danish one, continued to include it. The hymnal of the Germans in Copenhagen had been republished by Balthasar Münter in 1782.⁶ It was largely based on the Schleswig-Holstein hymnal newly published by Johann Andreas Cramer in 1780.⁷ Cramer's hymnal served Bach as the direct text model for the composition of his Litanies, since both texts were printed there for the first time in the variants set to music by Bach.

Klopstock, a friend of the editor Cramer, had slightly edited Luther's text of the old Litany.⁸ The adaptation, however, consisted only in the revision of the introductory German Kyrie; otherwise Luther's text was adopted nearly unchanged.⁹ Strictly speaking, the text of Bach's old Litany is a poem by Luther that was revised by Klopstock. The text of Klopstock's "Allgemeines Gebet" was in turn slightly

Dei, each time answered with "Have mercy!" or "Hear us!" etc. The petitions are answered with "... protect us, dear Lord God!" or "... hear us, dear Lord God!"

4. An early exhaustive theological analysis of Luther's text is found in Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Einfältige Erklärung der Litanei* (Lübeck, 1661). Fundamental on the creation of Luther's melody is Christhard Mahrenholz's 1937 essay "Zur musikalischen Gestaltung von Luthers deutscher Litanei," in *Musicologica et Liturgica: Gesammelte Aufsätze von Christhard Mahrenholz als Festgabe zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 11. August 1960*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Müller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), 169–95.

5. Klopstock's text was first published in *Geistliche Lieder: Erster Theil* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, [1757]), 127–35; also in *Friedrich Klopstocks geistliche Lieder: Erster Theil* (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1758), 77–82.

6. *Allgemeines Gesangbuch, auf Königlichen allergnädigsten Befehl zum öffentlichen und häuslichen Gebrauche der Deutschen in Kopenhagen herausgegeben* (Copenhagen, 1782).

7. *Allgemeines Gesangbuch, auf Königlichen Allergnädigsten Befehl zum öffentlichen und häuslichen Gebrauche zu den Gemeinen des Herzogthums Schleswig, des Herzogthums Hollstein, der Herrschaft Pinneberg, der Stadt Altona, und der Grafschaft Ranzau gewidmet und mit Königlichen Allerhöchsten Privilegio herausgegeben* (Altona, 1780).

8. See Johann Friedrich Johannsen, *Historisch-Biographische Nachrichten von ältern und neuern geistlichen Liederdichtern, deren Lieder in dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen sowohl alten als neuen Gesangbuche befindlich sind* (Schleswig and Leipzig, 1802).

9. Cf. Magda Marx-Weber, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Litaneien," in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998a*, 181–205, esp. 183.

altered by Cramer, and as “eine andere Litaney” it became the text for Bach’s new Litany.¹⁰

Schiørring endeavored to publish a chorale book for the Schleswig-Holstein hymnal, and for this purpose he asked his former teacher Bach to collaborate. The preliminary work was obviously already well advanced,¹¹ but in the end the project failed, because before its completion a chorale book was published in 1785 under the leadership of Benedix Friedrich Zinck.¹² This contained both Litanies, but just the melody without organ accompaniment; the contributions by Bach and Schiørring were apparently hardly included, for Schiørring remarked: “The litanies, for which Bach as well as I took so much trouble, are completely unrecognizable.”¹³ Even though he received financial compensation of 200 Reichstaler for the advances he had made, Schiørring’s ultimately fruitless commitment to the chorale book was doubtless an entrepreneurial and artistic disappointment. At the end of April 1785 he learned of the publication of the Schleswig-Holstein chorale book from the directorate of the Schleswig orphanage:

His Royal Majesty bestowed the *piis corporibus* on the publishers of the new hymnal in the year 1782. We had to have the chorale book prepared by the royal chamber musician Schiørring completely reworked, partly so that the melodies would better fit the content of the hymns, and partly so the deliberate variation of some measures introduced in various congregations could be taken into account, but principally to organize it according to the current taste. With assistance from some connoisseurs of chorale music, who took great pains to check and correct the reworking by the local cathedral organist Zinck, we have finally brought the new chorale book to fruition.¹⁴

10. From the only five minor changes made by Cramer (*ibid.*, 183, n. 8), it is clear that Bach actually chose the text from Cramer’s hymnal as his model. For further textual background see *ibid.*, 185–88; see also Gerhard Kaiser, *Klopstock: Religion und Dichtung* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1963).

11. On Bach’s collaboration with Schiørring, see Busch, esp. 145–76; see also Ea Dal, “Omkring Niels Schiørrings tyske Korallbog,” *Dansk kirkesangs aarskrift* (1975–76): 43–74.

12. *Vollständige Sammlung der Melodien zu den Gesängen des neuen allgemeinen Schleswig-Holsteinischen Gesangbuchs* (Leipzig, 1785).

13. Cited in Busch, 169: “Die Litaneien, die sowohl Bach als auch mir so viel Mühe gemacht haben, sind völlig unkenntlich.”

14. Cited in *ibid.*, 165: “Das von S. Königl. Majestät im Jahre 1782 den auf den Verlag des neuen Gesangbuchs privilegirten piis corporibus geschenkte, von dem Königl. Kammer-Musicus Schiørring verfertigte Choral-Buch mußten wir ganz umarbeiten lassen, damit eines Theils die Melodien den Inhalt der Gesänge gemäßer würden und andern Theils um die in verschiedenen Gemeinden eingeführte willkürliche Abweichung einiger Tacte zu bemerken, überhaupt aber um es nach

Schiørring had earlier persuaded Bach to collaborate on the Danish hymnal and the corresponding chorale book (cited in “Chorales from Hymnals” below), which contained the old Litany, but—even if in the “Bachian spirit”—the resulting work was predominantly Schiørring’s arrangement.¹⁵

The hymnal of the Germans in Copenhagen, newly published in 1782 by Münter, was followed in 1783 by a melody book and a chorale book, both edited by Schiørring.¹⁶ In the chorale book only the title, foreword (“Vorerinnerung”), table of contents, and index were printed; the music of the chorales—and thus also of the two Bach litanies—are each handwritten as a melody with figured basso continuo (see critical report, source B 3 in the “Zwei Litaneien” section). Bach’s authorship of the early versions of the Litanies in the chorale book is undisputed. In the foreword, dated 10 February 1783, we read: “The two litanies come last, because they are seldom used, and because they should not be in the way if one needs to select another melody while playing.” (Die beyden Litaneien stehen zuletzt, weil sie selten gebraucht werden, auch darum, daß sie nicht im Wege seyn sollen, wenn man im wählenden spielen, eine andere Melodie aufsuchen muß.)

The traditional dual purpose of the Litanies both for the liturgy and for private devotions is already expressed in the versions for (and their position in) the chorale book. But with the separate printing of the “eight-voice” (that

dem itzigen Geschmack einzurichten. Bei Beyhülfe einiger Kenner der Choral-Musik, welche sich viele Mühe gegeben, die Umarbeitung des hiesigen Dohm-Organisten Zinck zu prüfen und zu berichtigen haben wir endlich das neue Choral-Buch zu Stande gebracht.”

15. In the foreword to the chorale book Schiørring wrote about the Litany: “In melody it is so simple, yet by contrast in harmony it is so rich. Just try how difficult it is to find variety through modulations for such a long and monotonous chant, without falling too much into chromaticism or total monotony. Bach’s spirit is easy for connoisseurs to discover in this work.” (Saa simpel det er i Melodie, saa rig er det derimod i Harmonie. Man forsøge kun hvor svoert det er til saadan en lang og eenformig Sang at finde Afverling i Modulationer, uden at falde for meget i det Chromatiske eller alt for Monotoniske. Bachs Geist vil let af Kiendere spores i dette Arbeide.) Cited in Marx-Weber, “Bachs Litaneien,” 193, n. 44. Even if the extent of Bach’s involvement in this version of the Litany cannot be precisely determined, it seems by no means justified to assume Bach’s authorship in the sense of an early version of the Litany.

16. *Kirchen-Melodien des Allgemeinen Gesangbuchs der Deutschen in Kopenhagen in Uebereinstimmung mit dem Choralbuche; den Canto allein, mit untergelegten Texte, von N. Schiørring* (Copenhagen, 1783) and *Choral-Buch, in welchem alle Melodien des Allgemeinen Gesangbuchs der Deutschen in Kopenhagen enthalten sind, auf Königlich allergnädigsten Befehl verfertigt durch N. Schiørring* (Copenhagen, 1783). The contents of the chorale book match that of the Schleswig-Holstein chorale book of 1785; to all appearances the latter was intended to serve as a model for the former. See Marx-Weber, “Bachs Litaneien,” 194.

is, two four-voice choirs) version of 1786,¹⁷ the pieces acquire a largely autonomous character. Magda Marx-Weber summed it up as follows: “The harmonization of a liturgical chant, as it is in the chorale book . . . of 1783, became an independent work of art employing a variety of means.”¹⁸ Carl Heinrich Bitter questioned the liturgical function of these versions, which were familiar to him: “Whether the litanies can be considered church music in the stricter sense may be doubtful. Yet the present arrangement cannot be denied a church-liturgical character.”¹⁹ Heinrich Miesner understood the Litanies merely as didactic works; he stated concisely and reservedly in one sentence: “They are to be viewed as the application of almost all the possibilities of Sebastian Bach’s chorale art in a single case, an admirable collection of examples for the teaching of figured bass, albeit hardly more, for the whole comes across as decidedly *recherché* and stilted.”²⁰

The new arrangement of the Litanies for two four-voice choirs, and their separate printing, were due to the express wish of Schiørring. At least that is how it is expressed in his “Editor’s Note” (Nachricht des Herausgebers) included in the 1786 print, according to which the new versions were made “without significant alteration” (ohne wesentliche Abänderung).²¹ With reference to his own arrangement of

the (old) Litany in the chorale book for the Danish hymnal, Schiørring went on to explain:

I already wished at that time . . . that the church song in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein would undergo a similar revision through the excellent collaboration of my great teacher, Kapellmeister Bach; and I had especially directed my attention to the two Litanies in the local hymnal, which, in view of the previous monotony of the chant, under which even the most persevering devotion succumbs, stand in a particular contrast to their poetic energy.²²

And he continued further:

In the meantime, I had been so fortunate to find Kapellmeister Bach not only willing to review all the chorales again, . . . but also, through this work itself, to have given rise to the thought that the Litany was capable of a new revision in a four-voice chant, without any significant alteration of its liturgical nature, and to receive a copy of this reworked two-fold Litany with the added permission that I might make it known in print.²³

That Bach was more than sympathetic to the idea of having the double-choir Litanies printed as independent works is hardly surprising and is also clear from his own comments. He also found practical use for the Litanies in his church works, for he arranged the concluding section of Wq 204/1 combined with the expansive cadential “Amen” of Wq 204/2 as the opening and closing choruses of his 1789 St. Matthew Passion (H 802; see CPEB: CW, IV/4.6). In a letter of 4 November 1787, when the pieces had already found a certain circulation through their publication, Bach wrote to Johann Hieronymus Schröter:

22. *Zwey Litaneyen*, fol. 4r: “Ich wünschte schon damals, . . . daß der Kirchengesang in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein einer ähnlichen Revision durch die vorzügliche Mitwirkung meines großen Lehrers, des Herrn K. M. Bachs, unterzogen würde; und ich hatte mein Augenmerk dabey insbesondere auch auf die in dem dortigen Gesangbuch befindlichen beiden Litaneyen mitgerichtet, die bey der bisherigen Eintönigkeit des Gesangs, unter der selbst die ausdauerndste Andacht erliegt, in einem sonderbaren Contrast zu ihrer poetischen Energie stehen.”

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 4v: “Ich war unterdessen so glücklich gewesen, den Herrn K. M. Bach nicht allein zu einer wiederholten Durchsicht der sämtlichen Choräle bereitwillig zu finden, . . . sondern auch durch diese Arbeit selbst zu dem Gedanken Anlaß gegeben zu haben, daß die Litaneey einer neuen Ueberarbeitung in einem vierstimmigen Gesang, ohne wesentliche Abänderung ihrer Liturgischen Beschaffenheit, fähig sey, und von dieser also bearbeiteten zwiefachen Litaneey eine Abschrift mit der hinzugefügten Erlaubniß zu erhalten, daß ich sie durch den Druck bekannt machen dürfte.”

17. *Zwey Litaneyen aus dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen Gesangbuche . . . in Partitur gesetzt, und zum Nutzen und Vergnügen Lehrbegieriger in der Harmonie bearbeitet von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*. Herausgegeben von Niels Schiørring (Copenhagen, 1786); see critical report, source C in the “Zwei Litaneien” section.

18. Marx-Weber, “Bachs Litaneien,” 200: “Aus der Harmonisierung eines liturgischen Gesangs, wie sie im Choralbuch . . . 1783 vorliegt, wurde ein eigenständiges, vielfältige Mittel einsetzendes Kunstwerk.” For a brief harmonic comparison of the early versions with the printed versions, see *ibid.*, 195; for more detailed formal and harmonic analyses of the printed versions, see Ute Ringhandt, “Die Litaneien von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach als ‘musikalische Lehrgedichte,’” in *CPEB-Beiträge*, 197–219, esp. 202–17; see also Paavo Soinne, “Die Litaneien Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in satztechnischer Hinsicht,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998a*, 206–25.

19. Bitter, 1:306: “Ob die Litaneien in strengerem Sinne zu den Kirchenmusiken gezählt werden können, möchte zweifelhaft sein. Doch ist der vorliegenden Bearbeitung ein kirchlich-liturgischer Charakter nicht abzusprechen.”

20. Miesner, III: “Sie sind zu betrachten als die Anwendung fast aller Möglichkeiten der Seb. Bachschen Choralkunst auf einen einzigen Fall, eine bewundernswerte Beispielsammlung zur Generalbaßlehre, allerdings auch schwerlich mehr, da das Ganze überaus gesucht und geschraubt wirkt.”

21. *Zwey Litaneyen*, fol. 4v. On the not “significant alteration” see Marx-Weber, “Bachs Litaneien,” 196–200. The complete German text with English translation of Schiørring’s “Editor’s Note” is given in the critical report under source C in the “Zwei Litaneien” section.

This cantata [*Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*] . . . and the litanies (as clarified in my foreword to them) are among all my works the most highly contrapuntal pieces, and from which I may hope, without being a conceited fool, that they can bring me much honor even after my death and much profit to lovers of the art. Herewith I conclude my works for the public and lay my quill aside.²⁴

It is not without reason that Bach placed the Litanies with his *Auferstehung*—as he did a few years earlier for his “swan song,” the double-choir Heilig, Wq 217 (see CPEB: CW, V/6.1)—in the list of works that form the quintessence of his body of church music and that he quite deliberately designated for printing, and thus both as a lasting proof of his “opus ultimum” and of his works for the public. Bach’s detailed foreword is also significant: on the one hand it shows that such a singular compositional premise and challenge, and the resulting manner of writing, required explanation; on the other hand it shows Bach’s high esteem for his own body of work and accordingly expresses a certain pride.²⁵ For in view of the fact that the Litanies consist almost entirely of a large number of repetitions of two short phrases, the compositional treatment of the pieces offered little opportunity for free artistic expression. The slow tempo, the melody, and the rhythm were invariable. Bach recognized this as an opportunity to use all the more harmonic means for variety. This was done to a great extent and—as he acknowledged in his foreword to the print—often in a blatant manner: “For the benefit of those who are eager to learn, I have marked certain passages [with “NB.”] to indicate my consideration of the words. However, I do not deny that there are also passages where no foreign harmony was necessary, but which I used for the sake of variety, if it was not contrary to the expression.”²⁶ It is indisputable that the composer was far

24. CPEB-Letters, 274 (slightly modified); CPEB-Briefe, 2:1240: “Diese Cantate . . . und die Litanejen (wie aus meiner Vorrede dazu erhellet) sind unter allen meinen Sachen die am stärksten gearbeiteten Stücke, und von welchen ich, ohne ein eigenliebiger Geck zu seyn, hoffen darf, daß sie mir auch nach meinem Ableben viele Ehre und Kunstliebhabern großen Nutzen bringen können. Hiermit beschließe ich meine Arbeiten fürs Publikum und lege die Feder nieder.”

25. The handwritten “Vorrede” in the autograph score, which was also the copy text (see critical report, source A in the “Zwei Litaneien” section), departs only slightly from what was then printed; on this see Marx-Weber, “Bachs Litaneien,” 201.

26. *Zwey Litaneien*, fol. 2v: “Den Lehrbegierigen zu Gefallen habe ich gewisse Stellen bezeichnet, um meine Rücksicht auf die Worte dadurch anzudeuten. Dem ohngeacht läugne ich nicht, daß auch Stellen vorkommen, wo eben keine fremde Harmonie nöthig war, welche ich

ahead of his time with often unexpected harmonic turns and extremely daring chord progressions. Of course, Bach did not intend it to be a purely didactic work, for he states:

Finally, I wish that my work may be pleasant and partly useful to lovers of harmony. This would be the best reward for the effort that I have expended to arrange a song that has a few hundred times no other than only two modulations, in such a way that one can be satisfied and not easily fear to fall asleep or even get nausea while reading through and performing it.²⁷

At the same time, Bach felt that the listener should not be overtaxed by too fast a tempo: “In general, a very slow tempo is necessary, partly to avoid babbling, and partly not to let the frequent *forte*, *piano*, etc. follow each other too quickly.”²⁸

The author of a detailed advertisement for the print called it a “masterpiece of the deepest insight into all the secrets of harmony” (Meisterstück der tiefsten Einsicht in alle Geheimnisse der Harmonie) and prophesied: “this artistic challenge that our Kapellmeister Bach has set for himself will surely be admired in later times, as it is now, by every connoisseur.” (dies Kunstmoment, das sich unser Herr Kapellmeister Bach gesetzt hat, wird gewiß in späten Zeiten, so wie jezt von jedem Kenner bewundert werden.) The advertisement continues:

The new Litany has dignity of expression and power of thought above the old one, but also such very long periods that the previous babbling will likely never cease, unless, according to Bach’s composition, it is sung in churches at a slow tempo, accompanied by suitable instruments. For this purpose it is uncommonly well composed. The melody of the upper voice was not allowed to be changed, but the middle and bass voices have been altered in such a masterly way according to the meaning of the words that suddenly all monotony, everything boring, is gone. But these newly added voices are difficult, and require the most thoroughly rehearsed choir for intonation. The first has . . . even more art, which, however, is suited to the words, and never degenerates into darkness and

aber der Verschiedenheit wegen nahm, wenn es nicht wider den Ausdruck war.”

27. Ibid., fol. 3v: “Endlich wünsche ich, daß meine Arbeit den Liebhabern der Harmonie angenehm und zum Theil nutzbar seyn möge. Dieses sey die beste Belohnung für die Mühe, die ich angewandt habe, einen Gesang, der ein Paar hundertmahl keine andere, als nur zweyerley Modulationen hat, so zu bearbeiten, daß man zufrieden seyn kann, und nicht leicht befürchten darf, bey der Durchsicht und Ausführung desselben einzuschlafen, oder gar einen Eckel zu bekommen.”

28. Ibid., fol. 2v: “Ueberhaupt ist ein sehr langsames Tempo nöthig, theils, um das Plappern zu vermeiden, theils, um die häufigen *forte*, *piano* u. s. w. nicht zu schnell auf einander folgen zu lassen.”

confusion . . . Here the composer has also allowed himself some musical allusions to the words . . .²⁹

Johann Friedrich Reichardt recognized the special value of the Litanies both in their didactic orientation (for those “eager to learn” [Lehrbegieriger]) and in their intended lively effect on the listener: “Invention, richness, diligence, courage, correctness, and wit make this work one of the most memorable and enduring monuments of German style and art. Certainly no connoisseur of art or person interested in learning will ever put it down without having derived some benefit and pleasure from it.”³⁰ Shortly before the publication of the Litanies, Bach led a performance of the pieces, probably using the original set of manuscript parts (see critical report, sources B 1 and B 2 in the “Zwei Litaneien” section). The following comment of Reichardt refers to this: “I have never felt more vividly the powerful and determined effect that can be produced in people by the purposefully chosen and distributed harmonies than in this performance.”³¹

Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern, Wq 203

As already indicated, hymnal reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment took place throughout Protestant northern Germany beginning in 1780.³² In connection with re-

29. HNZ (16 Aug. 1786), “Beyträge,” 28: “Die neue Litanei hat Würde des Ausdrucks und Kraft der Gedanken vor der alten voraus, aber auch so sehr lange Perioden, daß dabei das bisherige Plappern wohl nie wegfallen wird; es sei denn, daß man ihn nach Herrn Bachs Komposition in langsamem Tempo, mit passenden Instrumenten begleitet, in den Kirchen singe. Dazu ist sie nun jetzt ungemein gut gesetzt. Die Melodie der Oberstimme durfte nicht verändert werden, dagegen sind Mittelstimmen und Baß auf eine so meisterhafte Art dem Sinn der Worte gemäß abgeändert, daß auf einmal alle Einförmigkeit, alles Langweilige wegfällt. Aber schwer sind diese neu hinzugekommenen Stimmen, und verlangen ein äußerst sicher intonirendes geübtes Chor. Die erstere hat . . . noch mehr Kunst, die aber den Worten gemäß ist, und nie in Dunkelheit und Verwirrung . . . ausartet. Hier hat sich der Tonkünstler auch einige musikalische Anspielungen auf die Worte erlaubt . . .” Quoted in Wiermann, 319 and Ringhandt, “Die Litaneien,” 197.

30. Reichardt, *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, vol. 2, part 5 (Berlin, 1791), 29: “Erfindung, Reichthum, Fleiß, Muth, Korrektheit und Witz machen dieses Werck zu einem der merckwürdigsten und dauerndsten Denckmahle deutscher Art und Kunst. Gewiß wird es kein Kunstkenner und Lehrbegieriger nicht einmahl aus den Händen legen ohne Nutzen und Vergnügen daraus geschöpft zu haben.”

31. *Ibid.*, 32: “Ich habe aber auch nie lebhafter gefühlt welche kräftige und bestimmte Wirckung durch die zweckmäßig gewählte und vertheilte Harmonie im Menschen hervorzubringen sey, als bey dieser Ausführung.”

32. See, among others, Heinz-Hermann Grube, “Ideen einer aufklärerischen Gesangbuchkonzeption,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 32 (1989): 170–76.

prints, chorale melodies were changed; new chorales were added and some that were no longer in use were omitted; and texts or individual verses of well-known chorales were changed, omitted, or newly composed. One of the later new editions ultimately affected the Hamburg hymnal as well. This was connected with a new order of service that was introduced at the same time as the hymnal on New Year’s Day 1788. Almost inevitably the church musician Bach, who had then been in municipal service for almost two decades, was directly involved in the revision of the Hamburg hymnal. Apparently the work on it started at the beginning of 1786 at the latest, for on 28 February of that year Bach casually wrote to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf in Leipzig: “Our Hamburg hymnal is supposed to get some new melodies and some corrections to the old ones; the printing has already been started.”³³ A year later and even before the introduction of the hymnal, the print of the fourteen (as the title suggests) *Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern des neuen Hamburgischen Gesangbuchs* was published by Gottlieb Friedrich Schniebes (see critical report, source C in the “*Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern*” section). In accordance with standard chorale book practice, the print contains in each case the melody part and figured basso continuo with all verses. Bach undoubtedly composed all the settings of the chorales, and the melodies were mostly composed by him.³⁴ Bach wrote the melodies for all of the chorales except Wq 203/5 (most likely composed by Adam Drese),³⁵ Wq 203/8 (composed by Johann Joachim Quantz),³⁶ and Wq 203/14 (composer unknown, according to the note next to the caption heading in the print: “Nach der etwas unbekanntnen Melodie: Das walte Gott etc.”).³⁷

Ten of the chorales (Wq 203/1–4 and 203/6–11) use chorale adaptations by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert.³⁸

33. *CPEB-Letters*, 246 (slightly modified); *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1143: “Unser Hamburgisches [Gesangbuch] soll einige neue Melodien u. einige Berichtigungen der alten bekommen; man hat schon den Anfang mit dem Druck gemacht.”

34. On this and the following, see Enßlin/Rimek 2010. Also fundamental is Ada Kadelbach, “Die Kirchenliedkompositionen C.Ph.E. Bachs in Choralbüchern seiner Zeit,” in *Hamburg 1988*, 389–402. See also Kadelbach, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und das Kirchenlied,” in *CPEB-Musik und Literatur*, 101–22.

35. With the text “Seelenbräutigam, Jesu Gottes Lamm,” printed as no. 17 in *Geistreiches Gesang-Buch* (Darmstadt, 1698).

36. Printed in *Neue Kirchen-Melodien zu denen geistlichen Liedern des Herrn Professor Gellerts* (Berlin, 1760), 4.

37. On the possible authorship of Ernst Ludwig Gerber for the melodies of Wq 203/10 and 203/11, see Busch, 179.

38. *Geistliche Oden und Lieder von C. F. Gellert* (Leipzig, 1757).

The text for Wq 203/5 is by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen. For Wq 203/12 Bach used a poem by Klopstock.³⁹ Wq 203/13 uses a text by Gottfried Benedikt Funk (1734–1814).⁴⁰ And for Wq 203/14, a poem by Johann Samuel Dietrich (1721–97) provides the model.⁴¹

Bach adapted five of the Wq 203 chorales (sometimes several times) for use in multi-movement church works such as cantatas, Passions, and *Einführungsmusiken*, as follows:⁴²

Wq	Adaptation	CPEB: CW
203/1	H 801, no. 25, transposed	IV/7.5
203/3	BR-CPEB F 15, no. 6 (cf. BR-CPEB F 81, version 1) H 8210, no. 17, transposed	V/2.3 V/3.5
203/5	H 801, no. 19, transposed	IV/7.5
203/6	Wq 247, 1788 version, no. 8	V/2.4
203/13	Wq 247, 1788 version, no. 4, transposed	V/2.4

Additional arrangements of Wq 203/3 and 203/13 are known (respectively, BR-CPEB F 81, version 2 and arr. Wq 203/13), but so far they cannot be assigned to any specific performance; they are therefore published in the present volume along with the other “Chorales from Manuscripts” (see below).

Funeral Music

During his tenure in Hamburg, Bach was responsible for the funeral music for at least seven burial services for Hamburg *Bürgermeister*.⁴³ Regardless of the source situation, it can be documented that Bach provided funeral music for the following *Bürgermeister*: Martin Hieronymus Schele in 1774 (*Trauermusik Schele*, BR-CPEB F 68), Peter Greve in 1780 (*Trauermusik Greve*, BR-CPEB F 69),

Vincent Rumpf in 1781 (*Trauermusik Rumpf*, BR-CPEB F 70), Nikolaus Schuback in 1783 (*Trauermusik Schuback*, BR-CPEB F 71), Frans Doormann in 1784 (*Trauermusik Doormann*, BR-CPEB F 72), Albert Schulte in 1786 (*Trauermusik Schulte*, BR-CPEB F 73), and Johann Luis in 1788 (*Trauermusik Luis*, BR-CPEB F 74). Usually the relatives of the deceased bore the costs of the music.⁴⁴ The source material for the funeral music varies; for the *Trauermusiken Schele* (1774) and *Greve* (1780), neither musical nor libretto sources have survived. For the *Trauermusiken Schuback* (1783), *Doormann* (1784), and *Luis* (1788), printed librettos and thus the sequence of movements have survived. For the *Trauermusik Rumpf* (1781), the original set of parts and thus the music have survived at least to a large extent. Some movements of the *Trauermusik Schulte* (1786) can be reconstructed on the basis of various documents.

As can be seen from the surviving librettos and the largely complete set of parts for the *Trauermusik Rumpf* (BR-CPEB F 70), performed on 27 March 1781, Bach's *Trauermusiken* consisted of three choruses and three chorales performed in alternation. The scoring, typical of Bach's Hamburg church music, consisted of four-voice mixed choir, three trumpets (sometimes muted) and timpani, two oboes, strings, and basso continuo. The trumpets and timpani typically participated in the choruses but not in the chorales; at least this can be concluded from the *tacet* directions and other notes in the sources.

None of the *Trauermusiken* can be fully reconstructed; for a synopsis of the five whose music is known or can be inferred from the sources, see table 2.⁴⁵ Even though they are very similar, and several of the choruses and chorales appear multiple times in the various pieces, none of the works were given more than once without changes. Bach evidently possessed a stock of choruses and chorales from which he could draw in order to be able to compile *Trauermusiken* for the funerals, which were usually scheduled at short notice—generally six to eight days after the death of the respective *Bürgermeister* in question—at manageable expense.⁴⁶ Every now and then Bach expanded the repertory with a new choral movement.⁴⁷ Instead of showing partial reconstructions of the surviving *Trauermusiken*, CPEB: CW publishes four individual choruses and two

39. *Geistliche Lieder*, part 1 (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1758), 80–81.

40. Shown, among others, in Gottlieb Wenzelslaus Weis, *Versuch einer Theorie und geschichtlichen Uebersicht des Kirchenliedes* (Breslau, 1842), 245.

41. First printed in his publication *Lieder für den Gottesdienst* (Berlin, 1765).

42. Cf. Enßlin/Rimek 2010, 151–53.

43. On Bach's funeral music in general, as well as on the following, see above all Wolfram Enßlin, “Anmerkungen zu den Hamburger Trauermusiken von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” *BJ* (2014): 149–73. Two additional funeral pieces provided by Bach—for officials who were not Hamburg *Bürgermeister*—can be documented: *Trauermusik Hoffmann* in 1735 (BR-CPEB F-1nc-1; see CPEB: CW, V/5.2) and *Trauermusik Braunsdorf* in 1781 (BR-CPEB F 75).

44. *Ibid.*, 152.

45. See also *ibid.*, 172–73, table 2.

46. For example, BR-CPEB F 70 for *Bürgermeister Rumpf*, who died on 20 March 1781, was performed on 27 March; see *HUC* (30 March 1781), 3; quoted in Wiermann, 409 (III/62).

47. Enßlin, “Anmerkungen,” 154.

TABLE 2. SYNOPSIS OF C. P. E. BACH'S SURVIVING TRAUERMUSIKEN

Movement	Rumpf 1781 (BR-CPEB F 70)	Shuback 1783 (BR-CPEB F 71)	Doormann 1784 (BR-CPEB F 72)	Schulte 1786 (BR-CPEB F 73)	Luis 1788 (BR-CPEB F 74)
1. Chor	Selig sind die Toten	Selig sind die Toten	Gott, dem ich lebe, des ich bin (Wq 225)	Meine Lebenszeit verstreicht (Wq 228)	Meinen Leib wird man begraben (Wq 229)
2. Choral	Tritt im Geist zum Grab oft hin ^a	Jesus meine Zuversicht ^a	Tritt im Geist zum Grab oft hin ^a	Jesus lebt, mit ihm auch ich ^a	Dieser Leib, aus Staub gebaut ^a
3. Chor	Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebt (music unknown)	Mein Heiland, wenn mein Geist erfreut (= H 796, no. 27)	Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebt (music unknown)	Wann der Erde Gründe beben (Wq 230)	Auf kurze Zeit schließt sich zur Ruh (= H 796, no. 27)
4. Choral	Wir leben hier zur Ewigkeit ^b	Wer weiß, wie nahe mir mein Ende ^c	Wir leben hier zur Ewigkeit ^b	unknown	Hab ich dich in meinem Herzen ^d
5. Chor	Gott, dem ich lebe, des ich bin (Wq 225)	Meine Lebenszeit verstreicht (Wq 228)	Nur ein Herz, das Gutes liebt (= Wq 228)	Mein Heiland, wenn mein Geist erfreut (= H 796, no. 27)	Staub bei Staube ruht ihr nun (= Wq 228)
6. Choral	Jesus lebt, nun ist der Tod ^a	O Jesu Gottes Lämmelein ^b	Jesus lebt, nun ist der Tod ^a	text unknown ^a	Jesus lebt, nun ist der Tod ^a

NOTES

a. Melody: Jesus meine Zuversicht

b. Melody: O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht

c. Melody: Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten

d. Melody (?): Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele

chorales in the main text, plus two other choruses in full score (originally used in Passions) and alternative choral parts for three choruses in appendix A.

The chorus "Gott, dem ich lebe, des ich bin" (Wq 225) is Bach's arrangement of his setting of Christoph Christian Sturm's song "Todesfreudigkeit" (Wq 197/9; see CPEB: CW, VI/2). The first known use of Wq 225 was as chorus no. 5 in BR-CPEB F 70. The sources and dating suggest that the chorus was first arranged for that *Trauermusik* and did not previously exist as a separate movement. The chorus was reused as the opening chorus of the *Trauermusik* Doormann in 1784.

Bach arranged the chorus "Meine Lebenszeit verstreicht" (Wq 228) from his setting of Gellert's song "Vom Tode" (Wq 194/37; see CPEB: CW, VI/1). The first known use of Wq 228 was as chorus no. 5 in BR-CPEB F 71. The sources and dating suggest that the chorus may have been used in an earlier *Trauermusik* (such as BR-CPEB F 68 in 1774 or BR-CPEB F 69 in 1780). Bach revised and reused the chorus a few more times in later *Trauermusiken*, at times using different verses: as chorus no. 5 in BR-CPEB F 72 (using two different verses of Wq 194/37), as the opening chorus of BR-CPEB F 73 (reverting to the original text), and as chorus no. 5 in BR-CPEB F 74 (using two verses of Klopstock's song "Vorbereitung zum Tode").

The chorus "Meinen Leib wird man begraben" (Wq 229) also began as a song, in this case Bach's setting of Gellert's "Die Liebe des Nächsten" (Wq 194/19). The text of the chorus is not by Gellert; rather, Bach selected a verse of a hymn from HG 1766. Because the hymn text is considerably longer than the original song text (ten lines vs. six), Bach had to expand the setting more than he usually did in his choruses based on songs. The source evidence indicates that Bach arranged Wq 229 anew in 1788 as the opening chorus of BR-CPEB F 74.

The chorus "Selig sind die Toten," whose first known use was as the opening movement of BR-CPEB F 70 (though it may have been used earlier), is most likely not by Bach. Georg Philipp Telemann has been proposed as the composer of the chorus, but this is also in doubt.⁴⁸ The chorus is related to the opening movement of the "motet" H 856 (listed by Helm as a doubtful work; also listed among the *incerta* as the "Trauermusik" BR-CPEB F-Inc 5). Dependence of one version of the chorus on the other cannot be

48. Miesner, 100–101, proposed that Bach may have arranged the chorus from one of Telemann's lost cantatas entitled *Selig sind die Toten*. See also Helm, 228 and BR-CPEB, 2:701. Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch (private communication) has suggested that Telemann's authorship can be dismissed on stylistic grounds and that a contemporary of Bach, such as Johann Heinrich Rolle, may be a more likely candidate.

demonstrated, but both versions likely stemmed from the same model. Bach reused the chorus as the opening movement of BR-CPEB F 71.

One chorus, which was used in two *Trauermusiken* as the second chorus, is known only by a text incipit; a clear attribution of the movement has not yet been possible. In the vocal parts for BR-CPEB F 70 the incipit is simply “Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebt.” In the printed libretto for BR-CPEB F 72, on the other hand, it is given as a full citation of Job 19:25: “Ich weiß, dass mein Erlöser lebt; und er wird mich hernach aus der Erden auferwecken.” From this it is clear that it is not v. 12 of the Gellert song “Trost der Erlösung.” Bach had set that text as a song (Wq 194/30) and arranged it as a motet for three voices and basso continuo (Wq 208/1), and he could have arranged it further as a chorus with instruments in the *Trauermusiken*; at least Miesner (p. 101) inferred as much. This procedure cannot be entirely ruled out, but it would mean that Bach would have used a chorus on a text that was identical only to the first part of the text incipit, but otherwise differed, which is extremely unlikely in view of Bach’s practice for his Hamburg occasional works. Another hypothesis is that Bach used an arrangement of the motet of the same name by Johann Michael Bach, of which C. P. E. Bach owned a copy (D-B, SA 5146). However, there are no traces of a performance by Bach in the corresponding musical material, so this hypothesis is also rather unlikely.

Two choruses that had been arranged from songs and first used in Passions were later used in *Trauermusiken*. The first is “Mein Heiland, wenn mein Geist erfreut” (from the 1783 St. Luke Passion, no. 27), which was used as BR-CPEB F 71, no. 3 and BR-CPEB F 73, no. 5. It was used again on a different text, “Auf kurze Zeit schließt sich zur Ruh,” as BR-CPEB F 74, no. 3. The second is “Wann der Erde Gründe beben” (Wq 230; from the 1782 St. Mark Passion, no. 30), which was probably used as BR-CPEB F 73, no. 3 with added trumpets and timpani. These choruses are given in appendix A rather than the main text of the edition.

Two chorale settings were used multiple times with different verses (often using Gellert texts) in the surviving *Trauermusiken*. The melody “Jesus meine Zuversicht” was used as many as nine times, and the melody “O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht” was used three times. Both of these settings are given in the present edition, with the verses used in the various *Trauermusiken* included as residual text below the music. Two chorale texts are indicated in the librettos whose melodies and settings are unknown. For BR-CPEB F 71, no. 4, the text “Wer weiß, wie nahe mir

mein Ende” (HG 1766, no. 581, v. 1) may have been sung to the melody assigned in the hymnal, “Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten.”⁴⁹ For BR-CPEB F 74, no. 4, the text “Hab ich dich in meinem Herzen” may have been sung to the melody “Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele.”

It is unclear but possible that the congregation sang along with the chorales in the funeral compositions. In the libretto for BR-CPEB F 71, only text incipits and references to the chorales in the Hamburg hymnal (then HG 1766) are given. But in the librettos for BR-CPEB F 72 and F 74 of 1784 and 1788, respectively, the chorale texts are given in full without any hymnal references.

Chorales from Hymnals

Bach made several contributions to new hymnals during his Berlin and Hamburg periods. Presumably Bach’s connection to Heinrich Ernst, Count of Stolberg-Wernigerode, was established via Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim or Anna Louisa Karsch, poets whom Bach knew personally.⁵⁰ In any case, before he left Berlin for his new position in Hamburg, Bach supplied ten chorales (H 842) for the chorale book entitled *Melodien zu der Wernigerödischen Neuen Sammlung geistlicher Lieder*, which was printed in 1767 in Halle (see critical report, source C 1 in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section) as a supplement to the hymnal *Neue Sammlung geistlicher Lieder* of 1752. The 348 chorales and songs in it are printed as usual with melody and figured bass; in the autograph, however, the chorales are notated for four voices in keyboard score (PL-WRu, 60067 Muz.; see critical report, source A in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section). The present edition includes the autograph and print versions; surviving sketches for five of the chorales are shown in appendix B. Bach’s authorship could be proven beyond doubt only after the rediscovery of the autograph in Wrocław (Breslau) by E. Eugene Helm a few decades ago. The texts of H 842/1–10 originated in the four volumes of *Geistliche Gedichte* compiled by Heinrich Ernst, published between 1748 and 1752. Bach’s direct text model was presumably the 1752 hymnal (*Neue Sammlung*). The 1767 chorale book (*Melodien*) also contains three other songs by Bach: the newly texted Gellert songs “Der Schutz der Kirche” (Wq 194/12), “Am neuen Jahre” (Wq 194/45), and “Ermunterung zur Buße” (Wq 195/4).

49. According to BR-CPEB, 2:705, Bach may have used his setting H 336/5 (see CPEB:CW, I/9) for this chorale. But that setting is clearly a keyboard chorale and unlikely to have been sung in the context of a *Trauermusik*.

50. Busch, 82.

Bach wrote the individual chorale “Naglet til et Kors paa Jorden” (H 843), on a text by the poet Benjamin Georg Sporon, around 1780 for the new Danish chorale book edited by Schiørring. The oldest copy of H 843 is a manuscript in Schiørring’s hand, which is annotated by Schiørring and Bach (DK-Kk, mu 7708.0831; see critical report, source B 3 in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section). Schiørring notated the chorale in A minor, presumably copying from a *Vorlage* provided by Bach, in three different settings: four-voice open score, four-voice keyboard score, and melody with basso continuo. In the annotations, Schiørring asked if the chorale could be transposed to G minor, and Bach agreed (Schiørring: “G moll?”; Bach: “Ja!”). Each version was published separately in the new key. The corresponding hymnal (*Psalm-Bog*) had been published in 1778, and the chorale book with the keyboard score was finally printed by Morten Hallager in Copenhagen in 1781 (*Kirke-Melodierne til den 1778 udgangne Psalmebog. For Claveer med udsatte Middelstemmer samlede og udgivne af N. Schiørring. Med Kongelig allernaadigst Privilegium*; see critical report, source C 2 in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section). Two years later, in 1783, Søren Gyldendal published the version of the chorale book with melody line and figured bass (*Choral-Bog, hvori findes alle Melodierne til Psalm-Bogen af 1778. Efter Kongelig allernaadigst Befaling udgivet ved N. Schiørring. Med Kongelig allernaadigst Privilegium*; see critical report, source C 3 in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section). In the same year four part-books for the chorale book, corresponding to the open-score version, were published by Gyldendal (*Firestemmige Choralsange for fire Syngestemmer, Zinke og Basuner, eller andre bequemme Instrumenter*; see critical report, source C 4 in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section). All three versions of H 843 are shown in the present edition.

Like the two Litanies (Wq 204) and the single chorale for the Danish hymnal (H 843), the fifteen chorales for the hymnal of the Germans in Copenhagen (BR-CPEB H 57) are fruits of Bach’s collaboration with Schiørring. In a letter to Carl Friedrich Cramer dated 17 February 1784, Schiørring announced the chorale book with reference to the draft of the Schleswig-Holstein hymnal, which was closely related to the hymnal of the Germans in Copenhagen:

The newer [chorale melodies], for instance the Halle and Quantz ones for Gellert’s songs, have been changed here and there by the Kapellmeister C.P.E. Bach, just as all the new melodies that appear in it are of his composition. — My own diligence, however, would hardly prompt me to publicize the book; only Bach’s excellent harmonies for it, which I prize

above all that I know in the subject, have determined me to venture it.⁵¹

Of the 149 chorales ultimately included in the chorale book of the Germans in Copenhagen, fifteen can be clearly attributed to Bach’s authorship.⁵² In addition to J.A. Cramer (BR-CPEB H 57/1, 57/7, 57/8, and 57/13) and Münter (BR-CPEB H 57/2, 57/4, 57/11, 57/12, 57/14, and 57/15), other poets are represented: Klopstock (BR-CPEB H 57/3, 57/5, and 57/10), Gleim (BR-CPEB H 57/6), and Sturm (BR-CPEB H 57/9).

Chorales from Manuscripts

The chorales with orchestral accompaniment “Nun lasst uns gehn und treten” and “Du, meine Seele, singe” (BR-CPEB F 79, nos. 2 and 4) are transmitted as autograph scores and a set of parts in a composite manuscript (D-B, SA 815; see critical report, sources A 4 and B 2 in the “Chorales from Manuscripts” section) that originally consisted of a choral movement and four chorales whose purpose is unclear. The musical text of the fourth chorale, “Nun danket alle Gott” (BR-CPEB F 79, no. 5), is found only in the parts. (This chorale is not shown in the present edition; it is published in CPEB: CW, V/2.1 as the opening movement of the Easter cantata Wq 241 and in CPEB: CW, V/2.4 as the third movement of the Michaelmas cantata Wq 248.) The second chorale (BR-CPEB F 79, no. 3, with text incipit “Herr Gott, dich loben wir”) and the opening chorus (BR-CPEB F 79, no. 1), which apparently was part of a Michaelmas composition, are unidentified.

The untexted chorale movement on the melody “Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein Gunst” (H 337) was probably written around 1776 and in all probability was part of a multi-movement work. Bach’s authorship of the chorale is only assumed on the basis of the notation in his own hand. It is written on the verso of a sheet that contains a struck-through trumpet part for the double-choir Heilig, Wq 217 (D-B, Mus, ms. Bach P 339, p. III; see critical report, source A 2 in the “Chorales from Manuscripts” section; see also CPEB: CW, V/6.1).

51. C. F. Cramer, *Magazin der Musik* (1784): 122: “Die neuern [Choral-melodien], z. E. die Hallischen und Quanzischen Melodien zu Gellerts Gesängen, sind hin und wieder von dem Herrn Capellmeister C.P.E. Bach verändert worden, so wie auch alle darinn vorkommenden neuen Melodien von seiner Composition sind. — Mein eigener Fleiß würde mich indeß nicht bewegen, das Buch bekannt zu machen; allein Bachs vortrefliche Harmonien dazu, die ich über alles schätze, was ich in dem Fache kenne, haben mich dazu bestimmt, es zu wagen.”

52. See Dal, “Koralbog.”

Two arrangements of Wq 203 chorales are published in the present edition, both of which are transmitted in a composite manuscript with autograph entries (D-B, SA 816; see critical report, sources A 5 and B 3 in the “Chorales from Manuscripts” section). One is “Kann unsre Lieb im Glauben hier” (BR-CPEB F 81, version 2), which is an arrangement of Wq 203/3. An alternative to version 1, which is in C major with trumpets and timpani and has a different text (published in CPEB: CW, V/2.3 as BR-CPEB F 15, no. 6), version 2 is transposed to A major and lacks trumpets and timpani. Both versions were evidently intended originally for a cantata for Trinity XVII. Presumably version 2 was also performed as part of another Sunday cantata in 1788. The other Wq 203 arrangement in the present edition is “Bald oder spät des Todes Raub,” which is based on Wq 203/13. The autograph score in SA 816 is scored for four voices and basso continuo (fully realized with doubling instruments in the parts), which matches Wq 203/13 in terms of key and text, and is virtually identical in terms of the basso continuo figures and harmonization. The liturgical assignment of the chorale is unknown.

The chorale “Lass mich deine Wahrheit leiten” (Wq/H/BR-CPEB *deest*; described in BR-CPEB, 2:154 but not given its own number) is transmitted in an autograph score at the end of the assembling instructions for the 1777 St. Matthew Passion (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 374; see critical report, source A 3 in the “Chorales from Manuscripts” section; see also CPEB: CW, IV/4.3). The chorale has no apparent connection to this Passion, but there can be little doubt that Bach was the author.

The chorale “Johannes ging vor Jesu her” (Wq/H/BR-CPEB *deest*) survives in an autograph score that was inserted into a set of parts for Johann Gottlieb Goldberg’s *Johannis cantata Durch die herzliche Barmherzigkeit* that came from the collection of Johann Sebastian Bach. The parts were used by C.P.E. Bach in Hamburg; he replaced the original chorale with a new setting of the same text, which Anon. 304 (probably Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein) then copied into the parts (D-B, Mus. ms. 7918; see critical report, sources A 1 and B 1 in the “Chorales from Hymnals” section).

Incerta

Only three chorales that Bach had originally contributed to the chorale book prepared by Schiørring for the Schleswig-Holstein hymnal were included in Zinck’s edition, albeit in more or less heavily modified form (H 844/1–3; *Vollständige Sammlung der Melodien zu den Gesängen des neuen*

allgemeinen Schleswig-Holsteinschen Gesangbuchs; see critical report, source C 4 in the “*Incerta*” section). The changes, however, were so blatant that Schiørring later complained about them in principle. A direct comparison can be drawn between Zinck’s version of “Des Ewigen und der Sterblichen Sohn” (H 844/2) and Bach’s original setting, which survives in the chorale book of the Germans in Copenhagen (BR-CPEB H 57/5). The other two chorales, “Erheb, erheb, o meine Seele” and “Von ganzem Herzen rühmen wir” (H 844/1 and 844/3) are found only in Zinck’s modified forms. Impressions of the originals are conveyed in Schiørring’s commentary:

What is right to criticize is the following: that some of Bach’s melodies, in which the verse meter is not the usual one, are treated in such a way that it can excite both laughter and pity, especially in the melodies to [nos.] 76 [H 844/2] and 113 [H 844/3]. . . . [No.] 52. *Erheb, erheb, o meine Seele* [H 844/1]. An excellent melody by Bach, which has been unforgivably disimproved as by a know-it-all in the harmony as well as in the melody, and almost all of them have suffered the same fate. . . . [No.] 76. *Des ewigen und der [Sterblichen Sohn]*; H 844/2]. Original by Bach, which has been retained; however, with two additions that one would rather not see there. No. 113. *Von ganzem Herzen rühmen wir* [H 844/3]. Original by Bach, which has also been disimproved, so that now one must sing in the fourth verse: *Wie bist du dahin* and in the sixth: *Der Friede gewalt* [Schiørring’s symbols for short and long syllables represented here with roman and italic type].⁵³

The chorale “Helft mir Gotts Güte preisen” (BR-CPEB H 60) has been identified as C.P.E. Bach’s reworking of the final chorale “All solch dein Güt wir preisen” from J.S. Bach’s cantata *Herr Gott, dich loben wir* (BWV 16).⁵⁴ It is transmitted in a copy by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch

53. German translation of Danish original in Kadelbach, “Kirchenlied,” 120: “Was mit Recht zu tadeln ist, ist folgendes: daß einige von Bachs Melodien, in denen das Versmaß nicht das übliche ist, so behandelt sind, daß es sowohl Gelächter als auch Mitleid erregen kann, vornehmlich in den Melodien zu 76 und 113. . . . 52. *Erheb, erheb, o meine Seele*. Eine vortreffliche Melodie von Bach, die mit unverzeihlicher Besserwisserei in der Harmonie wie in der Melodie verschlimmbessert worden ist, und das Schicksal haben sie fast alle erlitten. . . . 76. *Des ewigen und der [Sterblichen Sohn]*. Original von Bach, das beibehalten ist; jedoch mit zwei Zutaten, die man lieber dort nicht sähe. No. 113. *Von ganzem Herzen rühmen wir*. Original von Bach, das auch verschlimmbessert ist, so daß man nun in der 4. Strophe singen muß: *Wie bist du dahin* und in der 6.: *Der Friede gewalt*.”

54. See comparison in Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Vierstimmige Chorale, aus den Kirchen Stücken des Herrn J.S. Bachs zusammen getragen: Eine Handschrift Carl Friedrich Faschs in der Bibliothek der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin,” *JbSIM* (2003): 12.

(D-B, SA 818; see critical report, source B in the “*Incerta*” section), attributed to both J.S. and C.P.E. Bach. Another chorale of uncertain attribution in SA 818 is “Befehl du deine Wege” (BR-CPEB H-Inc 2), attributed to C.P.E. Bach. BR-CPEB H 60 (= BWV 419) is also found in J.S. Bach’s *Vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, first published by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel (part II; Berlin, 1769) and later in a corrected edition by Breitkopf (part II; Leipzig, 1785). BR-CPEB H-Inc 2 (= BWV 272) is found in part IV of the Breitkopf edition (Leipzig, 1787). These editions were overseen at least in part by C.P.E. Bach, and it is possible that these two chorales were by him but published by mistake under his father’s name, as can be demonstrated in at least one other case (H 336/3, which was used in the pasticcio cantata BWV 145).⁵⁵

55. The chorales H 336/1–5 are transmitted in open score in SA 818, but they are not published in the present edition. Rather, they are shown in CPEB:CW, I/9 as keyboard chorales, based on the source from Bach’s library (D-B, SA 817).

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Clemens Harasim