

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, a close friend of some of the most distinguished and significant German literati of the pre-Goethe period, devoted nearly five decades to the setting of poems. The vast majority of his more than 250 songs were published during his lifetime. 1741 saw his first song in print and around the time of his death in December 1788 his last collection of songs was published. In terms of both productivity and quality, Bach holds an unmatched position among the composers of eighteenth-century German song.

For about the last twelve years of his life Bach planned to publish a collected edition of his miscellaneous songs previously published in various poetic anthologies and supplemented by newly composed songs. We have dubbed the material gathered and prepared for this composite collection the “Polyhymnia Portfolio” for reasons explained below. The manuscript complex is reproduced as an annotated facsimile in the present volume. This volume complements the edition of Bach’s miscellaneous songs in CPEB: CW, VI/3 in several ways. First of all, it reproduces the most important single complex of pertinent sources that was not available for studying, let alone editing and performing, Bach’s songs until the repatriation in 2001 of the musical archive of the Berlin Sing-Akademie.¹ Second, the Polyhymnia Portfolio contains the single most important collection of a substantial body of songs compiled by the composer himself that covers virtually the entire span of his creative involvement with this genre. Third, the reproduced source material documents in an unparalleled fashion the great care with which Bach—ever most critical of his own work—reviewed over the years the songs he had written, exploring in particular the relationship between poetry, melody, and accompaniment. Moreover, the facsimile reflects much physical evidence of his way of composing songs and dealing with poetry as well as linguistic and declamatory details. It also provides much evidence of his varied methods of revising older songs for re-

1. Christoph Wolff, “C.P.E. Bach’s Unknown Late Collection of Songs,” in *Kultur- und Musiktransfer im 18. Jahrhundert—Das Beispiel C.P.E. Bach in musikkultureller Vernetzung Polen—Deutschland—Frankreich*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt/Oder: Musikgesellschaft Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 2010), 255–68.

publication. Finally, the images of the reproduced source materials document the history of an ambitious publishing project, even though it took more than 225 years after the composer’s lifetime for it to be realized.

Carl Friedrich Cramer’s *Polyhymnia* Project

After Bach had moved to Hamburg and became engaged in contributing songs to various literary periodicals, the idea of another collected edition of more recently composed songs apparently appealed to the composer. The plan was brought before him in the fall of 1774 by Carl Friedrich Cramer (1752–1807), a youthful and entrepreneurial admirer, prolific writer, publisher, and from 1775 professor of classics at the University of Kiel. He was the son of the theologian Johann Andreas Cramer, a friend of Bach’s and author of the “Cramer” songs, Wq 196, published in 1774 (see CPEB: CW, VI/2). The first mention of the plan occurs in the younger Cramer’s correspondence with Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg of Copenhagen, another Bach friend and author of song texts.² Cramer wrote on 30 October 1775, referring to a visit with Bach in October of the previous year: “Bach has allowed me to gather together and publish his scattered pieces; he wants to give me as-yet unpublished pieces too. I have asked him do so, for I want to please my Betty.”³ Betty was Cramer’s girlfriend, the unhappily married amateur singer Bettina von Alvensleben (née Hansen),⁴ whose name appears throughout a love poem Cramer had written and asked Bach to set (which he did). This song, “Auf den Flügeln des Morgenrots” (Wq 202/O/1), apparently composed in 1774–75, was obviously one of the unpublished pieces promised by Bach.

2. Busch, 198–99, with reference to Bernhard Engelke, “C.Fr. Cramer und die Musik seiner Zeit,” *Nordelbingen* 8 (1930–31), 334–87; 13 (1937), 434–59. I am grateful to Ulrich Leisinger for providing the original texts from the Cramer–Gerstenberg correspondence in D-Ff.

3. *CPEB-Briefe*, 524: “Bach hat mir erlaubt seine zerstreuten Stücke zu sammeln u[nd] herauszugeben; er will mir noch ungedruckte Stücke dazu geben. Ich habe ihn darum gebeten, weil ich meiner Betty eine Freude machen möchte.”

4. Christian Gottlob Neefe dedicated to her his *Oden von Klopstock, mit Melodien* (Leipzig, 1776).

On 18 December 1775 Cramer reported to Gerstenberg: “Bach has now sent me all his dispersed as-yet unprinted and printed pieces that he wishes to have in the collection.”⁵ He also indicated that the publication was supposed to appear by Easter 1776. This turned out to be unrealistic. In a letter dated 27 April 1776 Cramer requested Gerstenberg’s literary advice for making changes in some texts:

Would you thus be kind enough to remove those texts in the Wever collection [Wq 199] (you have them already) that don’t please you, and put others in their place?— . . . Then I would just ask to have the songs copied at my expense and sent to me as soon as possible. For the remainder I’ll take care of as much as possible. Would it not be good to trim back a bit Haller’s unbearably long *Doris* and to get rid of the unendurable words in it? If you would do that, you would be greatly looking after the breathing of the singers of this piece.⁶

Gerstenberg reacted positively by return mail, and Cramer wrote to him again on 8 May:

How quick you are with the songs! I thank you a thousand times for it and now I too will set about it in earnest. . . . The devil of a song: “Es war ein Mädchen” [Wq 199/17] you endowed with life and maidenly form.⁷

The publishing project still did not move forward and, moreover, Cramer’s personal life also took a new turn when his love Betty became seriously ill and died in 1779. Nevertheless, he pursued the matter on a new scale when he publicly announced in the Hamburg journal *Altonaischer gelehrter Mercurius* a new musical subscription series. Under the general title *Polyhymnia*, the series was to contain vocal music, including solo and choral songs by the most significant German and foreign composers. Volume 1 was to present a piano-vocal score of Salieri’s opera *Armida*; vol-

5. “Bach hat mir nunmehr alle zerstreueten noch ungedruckten und gedruckten Stücke gesandt, die er in der Sammlung haben will.” D-Ff, 1695.

6. “Wollen Sie denn also wohl die Güte haben und diejenigen Texte in der Weverschen Sammlung (Sie haben sie ja) die Ihnen nicht gefallen heraus zu nehmen, und an deren Stelle andre hineinsetzen?— . . . Wärs nicht gut, Hallers unausstehlich lange *Doris* ein wenig abzukappen und die unerträglichen Wörter daraus zu merzen? Wollten Sie das thun, so würden Sie sehr für den Athem der Sänger dieses Stücks sorgen.” D-Ff, 1695. For Bach’s handling of the changes made by Gerstenberg, see Christoph Wolff, “Singcompositionen, unter denen hervorsteckende Meisterstücke sind: Albrecht von Hallers ‘Doris’ in Vertonungen von C.P.E. Bach,” *Die Tonkunst* 8 (2014): 62–73.

7. “Was Sie fix sind mit den Liedern! Ich danke Ihnen tausendmal dafür und werde mich auch nun mit Ernst daran machen. . . . das Aaß von Liede: Es war ein Mädchen etc. etc. haben Sie mit Leben und einem jungfräulichen Körper begabt.” D-Ff, 1696.

ume 2, the complete vocal works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau; and volume 3, a collection of C.P.E. Bach’s miscellaneous songs. The “Avertissement” of 20 March 1777 specified: “This [third volume] comprises some fifty songs . . . which are in part wholly new, in part from unknown or out-of-print collections.”⁸

However, nothing much happened in either 1777 or subsequent years. Finally, on 15 January 1783 Cramer published a specific and elaborate announcement that emphasized in particular the importance of Bach’s songs as works of “this prolific and unique master for voice and instrument” and continued:

His [Bach’s] friends have wished for a long time to own these songs among which there are extraordinary masterpieces in addition to his other compositions. I have compiled a complete collection. I have altered or exchanged the older texts, in high esteem at former times—everything with his permission and under his supervision. Besides, through his friendship (which I pride myself of!) these compositions were supplemented by several completely new works that nobody knows. Because Bach’s name says it all, I need not say more.⁹

He wisely concluded with a cautionary note: “I will not specify the date of publication so that I don’t run the risk of not keeping my word.” But he added: “My manuscript for all three parts is completed (because the idea is not from yesterday); all that matters is your [the subscribers’] support and the printer’s efficiency.”

Volume 1 of the *Polyhymnia* series appeared in 1783 with Salieri’s *Armida*; volume 4 followed in 1784 with settings of Cramer songs by Friedrich Kunzen; and volume 5 appeared in 1786 with choruses and songs from *Athalia* by Johann Abraham Peter Schulz. In conjunction with the latter volume Cramer announced in the Hamburg newspaper on 4 December 1786: “As is well known, we have already published volumes 1 and 4 of the *Polyhymnia* series. The 2nd and 3rd will contain the promised works by

8. “Dieser enthält einige funfzig Lieder von Philipp Emanuel Bach, die zum Theil ganz neu, zum Theil in unbekanten oder vergriffenen Samlungen . . . befindlich sind”; quoted in Wiermann, 214.

9. “Seine Freunde haben längst gewünscht, diese, unter denen hervorsteckende Meisterstücke sind, nebst seinen übrigen Sachen sich anschaffen zu können. Ich habe sie vollständig gesammelt; die ältern Texte dazu, die zu ihrer Zeit galten, jezt aber misfallen würden, theils geändert, theils mit bessern vertauscht;—alles mit seiner Genehmigung und unter seiner Aufsicht. Seine Freundschaft übrigens, deren ich mich rühme! hat diese Compositionen auch ausserdem noch mit einer Anzahl ganz neuer und niemandem bekannter vermehrt.—Mehr habe ich, da Bachs Nahme genug sagt, nicht hinzu zu setzen”; quoted in Wiermann, 273.

Rousseau and Bach.”¹⁰ Although this is the last official mention of the Bach volume made by Cramer, Bach seems to have kept up his hopes at least through 1787, since he kept adding more new pieces to the portfolio of songs he had prepared for the projected edition over the years. Meanwhile, the *Polyhymnia* series continued with volumes 6–8, but when the final volume appeared in 1790, Bach had been dead for nearly two years.

The reason is clear why Bach’s second collected edition of songs as part of the *Polyhymnia* series never saw the light of day: Bach himself only reluctantly abandoned the project; rather, Cramer lost interest in it and seems to have encouraged Bach to seek another publisher. This led to the publication of *Neue Lieder-Melodien* (Wq 200) by Christian Gottfried Donatius of Lübeck. What actually happened becomes clear in the two last pieces of Bach’s correspondence with his old friend and trusted publisher Breitkopf, who was supposed to print the music for Donatius. On 26 July 1788 Bach wrote to him:

Herr Donatius, so I hear, is having you print all the little songs I ever published in various mixed collections, along with a cantata.¹¹ Together these were my portion of Herr Cramer’s *Polyhymnia*. Since, however, the latter preferred young people over me, I gave up *Polyhymnia* and informed Herr Cramer. A friend of Herr Donatius persuaded me to have him publish these things. I did so and added a few new songs to them which, along with the cantata [Wq 200/22], have never been printed. I left out the Gleim drinking song [Wq 201] with the cantata Phillis and Thyrsis [Wq 232].¹²

Yet for Donatius the collected edition of all the songs originally planned to be included turned out to be too big and too expensive. Thus, he decided to scale down the publication, as Bach explained a little over four months before his death, in a letter to Breitkopf on 6 August 1788:

10. “Bekantlich haben wir schon den 1sten und 4ten Theil der Polyhymnia. Der 2te und der 3te wird die versprochenen Rousseauischen und Bachischen Compositionen enthalten . . .”; quoted in Wiemann, 275.

11. For the music typesetting, Donatius had to collaborate with Breitkopf.

12. *CPEB-Letters*, 282–83; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1271–72: “Meine kleinen, in verschiedenen vermischten Sammlungen von mir von jeher herausgekomen Lieder, nebst einer Cantate läßt, wie ich höre, H. Donatius bey Ihnen drucken. Diese zusammen, waren meine Portion zu H. Cramers Polyhymnia. Da aber dieser letztere jungen Leuten mich vorzog, so stand ich von der Polyhymnia ab, u. meldete es H. Cramern. Ein Freund des Herrn Donatius überredete mich, diesem H. diese Dinge in seinen Verlag zu geben, ich thats, u. machte einige wenige neue Lieder dazu, welche, nebst der Cantate, noch nie gedruckt sind. Das Gleimsche Trinklied habe ich, nebst der Cantate: Phillis u. Thyrsis, davon weggelaßen.”

Herr Donatius asked for only unpublished songs from me. I gave them to him and he will send them over to you for printing in a few days. They will amount to perhaps 8 or 9 sheets, but I do not know the format. Accordingly, you are now completely certain about everything that you have already printed of my songs and will want to print.¹³

The Donatius-Breitkopf edition of most of Bach’s unpublished songs in *Neue Lieder-Melodien* (Wq 200) appeared in print in 1788, within a few weeks of the composer’s death. However, his last words in the letter quoted above (“you . . . will want to print”) seem to express a glimmer of hope that perhaps one day Breitkopf himself might undertake the publication of the scattered songs from anthologies.

This wish did not come true, but the physical evidence of the ambitious original project survives in the *Polyhymnia* Portfolio, Bach’s carefully compiled manuscript for a collected edition of all his secular songs from published anthologies with a considerable number of additional unpublished pieces—a composite manuscript that transmitted materials from the composer’s estate. NV 1790 does not specifically refer to the portfolio as such, but its contents are subsumed under the last entry in the category of “Sing-Compositionen” (on pp. 64–65):

Altogether the number of songs is 95; this includes those which were printed by Wever in Berlin in 1761 and Donatius in Lübeck in 1788, as well as those which appeared in print individually, scattered throughout the collections of odes by Gräfe, Krauss, and the bookdealers Lange and Breitkopf; in the *Clavierstücken verschiedener Art, Unterhaltungen, Musen-Almanachen*; in Münter’s *Lieder*; in the *Musikalisches Allerley* and *Vielerley*, etc., along with the just-mentioned Freemason songs and some still unpublished ones.¹⁴

At the end of the heterogeneous portfolio that has come down to us from the Bach estate, the composer provided

13. *CPEB-Letters*, 284; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1281–82: “Herr Donatius hat bloß ungedruckte Lieder von mir verlangt. Ich habe sie ihm gegeben, und er wird sie Ihnen in wenigen Tagen zum Druck überschicken. Sie werden vielleicht 8 oder 9 Bogen betragen; nur weiß ich das Format nicht; folglich sind Sie nun in allem, was Sie ehemals von meinen Liedern gedruckt haben und noch drucken wollen, völlig sicher.”

14. “Ueberhaupt beträgt die Anzahl der Lieder, die theils durch Wever, B 1761, durch Donatius in Lübeck 1788 in Druck herausgekomen sind, theils einzeln zerstreut in den Gräfischen, Krausischen, Buchhändler Langeschen und Breitkopfschen Oden-Sammlungen; in den Clavierstücken verschiedner Art, Unterhaltungen, Musen-Almanachen; in Münters Liedern; im Musikalischen Allerley und Vielerley, u.s.f. gedruckt sind, mit den eben benannten Freumäurer-Liedern und noch einigen ungedruckten 95.” For further details, see introduction to *CPEB: CW*, VI/3.

a summary account of the miscellaneous songs he had assembled for publication (see p. 135). The total number of what has survived equals exactly his count of 86+1: “86 Lieder . . . sind hierin u. eine Cantate.” This means no more and no less than the entire collection has been transmitted to the present day in astonishingly complete form, with only a single song missing from the manuscript.¹⁵

Bach’s Polyhymnia Portfolio

The large composite manuscript of songs transmitted in C.P.E. Bach’s estate had its origin in Cramer’s *Polyhymnia* project but was continually expanded to the end of the composer’s life. What was once a bound volume with an inserted unbound supplement of loose sheets with a continuous pagination is today represented by three separate units, each with its own shelf mark: D-B, SA 1689, SA 1690, and P 349 (see the source descriptions A 4, A 5 and A 1, respectively, in the critical report to CPEB: CW, VI/3).

The Polyhymnia Portfolio has different layers of pagination and foliation, but the present edition uses a continuous pagination in order to emphasize the coherent character of this principal source. The old numbers in ink (a pragmatic mix of pagination, foliation, and counting of songs) were added by Anna Carolina Philippina Bach and correspond with an alphabetical list of the songs, including text incipits, which she prepared for and kept with the portfolio sometime after her father’s death (SA 1691; reproduced in appendix B). Her numbers end with no. 87 (Wq 205) in the bound book (SA 1689) but continue throughout its original inserted supplement (P 349 and SA 1690). Since the organization of the divided supplement reproduced in the present facsimile differs from that which existed before the inserted loose sheets were separated from the bound book, the table below presents the order of the Polyhymnia Portfolio as once kept by Bach’s daughter. Although inconsistent (e.g., skipping pages with empty staves and sketches, not counting additional folios of longer songs, etc.) A.C.P. Bach’s numbers, confirmed by her index (appendix B), demonstrate conclusively that nos. 89–104 constituted a single supplement; no. 88 is unaccounted for. Her numbers further verify that only Wq 202/O/5 is missing from the otherwise intact portfolio. When and why the presumably autograph manuscript

no. 89 was removed from the top of the supplement remains unknown.

A separate numbering scheme, likewise in ink, by C.P.E. Bach himself also confirms that this section of the manuscript originally represented an integrated unit. These numbers, which pertain specifically to the composer’s selection of unpublished songs for the publication of Wq 200 (see CPEB: CW, VI/3), were most likely made only in 1788 and hence represent the last entries Bach made in the portfolio. (Subsequent references to pagination will be to that of the present volume.)

ACPB No.	CPEB No.	Wq No.	CPEB: CW, VIII/2
89		202/O/5	[MS lost]
90		202/O/3	153–54
91		200/20	145–46
92	13, 14	200/4, 200/9	149–50
93	16	200/16	141
94	17	200/11	142
95	15	200/21	170–73
96	4, 5	200/10, 200/7	163
97		200/6, 200/12	164
98	10	200/18	155–56
99	9	200/1	143
100	3, 1	200/5, 200/2	144
101	7	200/14	162
102	8	200/17	159–61
103	6	200/8	151–52
104	2	200/3	165–68
105		200/13	175–76

Bach’s numerical summary of 87 miscellaneous songs assembled for publication (cited on p. xiii) includes all the songs in the combined supplement. Moreover, the wording “sind hierin” clearly refers to an enclosure or insert in the bound volume (SA 1689) and thereby points to the location of the supplement inside the book.

The ownership of the Polyhymnia Portfolio after 1805 is not entirely clear. In 1811 it came into the possession of the Berlin Sing-Akademie, probably as part of the large contingent of Bach materials that Abraham Mendelssohn, the father of Felix, purchased from the collector Georg Poelchau and subsequently donated to the Sing-Akademie.¹⁶ An undated note by Carl Friedrich Zelter, apparently kept with the portfolio itself, seems to refer to the intact collection of altogether 87 pieces:

15. “Die Schönste soll bei Sonnenschein” (Wq 202/O/5) is the only song included in ACPB’s list of songs (see p. 189) that is currently missing; see CPEB: CW, VI/3, no. 97.

16. Helmut Hell, preface to *Die Bach-Sammlung. Katalog und Register, Musikhandschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Teil 1 (Munich: K. G. Saur, 2003), xii–xiii.

Manuscript of a new edition of Bach's songs and a cantata, which the composer prepared for printing with his own hand shortly before his death. Thus it is most probably the very last thing written by the composer. Inside the second cover, he commented that the edition, which was to be put out by Herold,¹⁷ was to contain 86 songs and a cantata. Gerber considers this work in his *Lexicon* from the year 1790.¹⁸

The collector Georg Poelchau apparently had purchased the entire *Polyhymnia* Portfolio from the Bach estate in 1805 and in 1811 retained only a small group of songs, a selection of loose autograph pages in P 349.¹⁹ However, since Poelchau moved from Hamburg to Berlin, and after 1813 functioned as librarian of the Sing-Akademie, this material may have been kept near the rest of the Portfolio. After the Poelchau collection was acquired by the Berlin Royal Library in 1841, the Portfolio was definitely split up and the Sing-Akademie retained only SA 1689 and SA 1690. As a result of World War II, the music archive of the Sing-Akademie was removed from Berlin in 1943 and eventually ended up in Kiev, Ukraine, where it remained hidden for more than a half century, until 1999 (see note 1). However, after the repatriation of the archive in 2001 and its placement on deposit in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, the separate parts of the portfolio were reunited and are now kept under the same roof for the first time since the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The Compilation of the *Polyhymnia* Portfolio

The compilation of Bach's miscellaneous songs for the *Polyhymnia* publication extended over altogether about

17. This information is apparently based on CPEB's reference to Herold, bottom entry on p. 135. However, Herold was the intended publisher for only two songs (H 763), and never under consideration for the *Polyhymnia* volume.

18. See p. 195 for a plate and transcription of Zelter's note in SA 1691. The pertinent entry in Ernst Ludwig Gerber's *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790), vol. 1, col. 78 reads: "4. A quantity of separate song melodies in the collections of odes by Graf, Lang, and Breitkopf, in the *Vierlerley* and other periodicals." (4. Eine Menge zerstreuter Liedermelodien in der Gräfischen, Langischen, Breitkopfischen Odensammlung, in den *Vierlerley* und andern periodischen Werken).

19. Poelchau's own manuscript catalogue of his holdings (D-B, Mus. ms. theor. Kat. 41) lists on p. 27 under the CPEB items: "13b. Zehn Lieder am Clavier zu singen, von eigner Hand." Even though D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 349 contains only nine autograph songs, there is no alternative to the identification of the catalogue entry and P 349. Poelchau gave away the autograph of Wq 231 (now in F-Pn) which might have been the tenth song.

fifteen years. Although no firm dates can be established for the preparation of the portfolio—only one autograph date, "1785, d. 1 Nov.," can be found in the entire composite manuscript (on p. 156)—a general time frame for the principal stages in the compilation process can be derived from documentary and other evidence.

The Initial Phase, 1774–77

Besides the twenty songs of Wq 199, the manuscript under consideration most likely included all or most of the thirty-one scattered songs published by late 1776 and suitable for the projected collection: Wq 201 (1766), Wq 202/B/1–3 (1765), Wq 202/C/1–13 (1768–70), Wq 202/D (1770), Wq 202/E/1–6 (1773), Wq 202/F/1–2 (1774), Wq 202/G/1–2 (1775), Wq 202/H (1776), Wq 202/I/1–2 (1776). This total of fifty-one songs fits the statement in Cramer's announcement of 22 March 1777 that refers to "einige fünfzig Lieder" (some fifty songs) and indicates a very high and probably deterring subscription price (2 thaler, 2 groschen or 1 louis d'or)²⁰—perhaps the main reason for the many delays and eventual failure of the publishing project.

This group of fifty-one songs did not include any of Bach's unpublished songs, which he intended to add in order to make the collection more attractive. The song Wq 202/O/1, written for Cramer's girlfriend Bettina von Alvensleben, would definitely have been included. According to Cramer's *Polyhymnia* announcement of 20 March 1777, the two cantatas Wq 200/22 and 232 were to be included as well.²¹ Other possible candidates might have been the following four songs, the texts of which were published and accessible to Bach before 1775: Wq 202/O/2 (1772), Wq 202/O/4 (1773), Wq 200/15 (n.d.),²² and Wq 200/19 (1751). However, no specific evidence exists for their dates of composition.

It seems that most of what is contained in SA 1689 originates from this initial phase: (1) a copy of the second edition of Wq 199, edited and annotated by C.P.E. Bach (pp. 5–36); (2) leaves clipped from first editions, edited and annotated by Bach (pp. 37–48, 53–62); and (3) a manuscript copy of the cantata Wq 200/22 revised by Bach and the autograph manuscripts of two songs (pp. 63–80). As the differences between the characteristics of Bach's hand-

20. Wiermann, 214.

21. Wiermann, 215. The cantata Wq 232, published in 1766, would have been among the reprinted pieces.

22. The date of the poem is unknown but most likely composed during the initial phase, since the song is found in the section of SA 1689 (pp. 81–134) copied by Michel.

writing indicate, the four pages with two autograph songs based on texts published in 1781 (pp. 49–52) do not belong to this phase. They must have been slipped into their present position, along with the 1755 print of Wq 199/14 (pp. 45–46), when the volume was bound. It also appears that the coherent manuscript section on pages 81–134, which contains songs from 1781 (pp. 112–115), was copied by Johann Heinrich Michel well after 1777, perhaps as replacement for a collection of printed and edited leaves similar to those from pages 37–46, because they were deemed unsuitable for a printer's copy.

The Intermediate Phase, c. 1781

Betty von Alvensleben, to whom Cramer wanted to dedicate the volume of Bach songs, died in 1779. This may not have been the only reason for Cramer to put aside the planned publication; but in any case no announcements about volume 3 of the *Polyhymnia* series occurred until 15 January 1783 when Cramer returned to publicly mentioning the “collection of scattered song compositions from Father Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.”²³ The leading Hamburg newspaper had also announced on 10 September 1782 the upcoming publication of the first three *Polyhymnia* volumes, including volume 3 with Bach's miscellaneous songs and volume 1 with Salieri's *Armida*, which indeed appeared in 1783.²⁴

Bach apparently made every effort to get the long-planned-but-delayed project ready for publication. Frustrated with Cramer, he apparently began to look for alternatives and in late 1780 contacted the Berlin publisher Wever²⁵ about a significantly expanded edition of *Oden mit Melodien*. Many years later, in 1788, when involved with the collection Wq 200, Bach mentions Wq 199, the *Polyhymnia* collection, and the publisher Wever himself: “The Wever collection is indeed among the songs. I offered the additional songs to him years ago, but he turned me down. Therefore I am free [to re-publish them].”²⁶

23. “. . . Sammlung zerstreuter Singcompositionen von Vater Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach . . .” See Wiermann, 273, and quote on p. xii at n. 9.

24. Wiermann, 273.

25. The letter is lost, but is referred to in a letter to Ramler of 20 November 1780: “Will you be so good as to arrange soon the delivery of the enclosed letter to Herr Wever.” See *CPEB-Letters*, 169; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:870.

26. *CPEB-Letters*, 283; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1272: “Unter den Liedern ist zwar die Weversche Sammlung mit: ich offerirte ihm vor Jahren die Vermehrung; aber er schlug mirs ab, folglich bin ich dadurch frey gemacht.”

At any rate, by 1781 the number of songs strewn around in various published anthologies had increased further, so at that point the material included Wq 202/J (1778) and Wq 202/K/1–2 (1781). These songs are found among those copied out by Michel in source SA 1689 (pp. 63ff.) and the two autographs (pp. 43–44), and they mark the end of this stage in the compilation process when the entire collection of songs was put together in the form of a bound book as represented by SA 1689. Unpublished songs in Michel's copies were limited to six: Wq 202/O/1–O/2, and O/4, the early version of Wq 200/2, Wq 200/15 and Wq 200/19. To these must be added the copy by an unknown scribe of Wq 200/22, as well as the two autographs of Wq 202/L/1–2 (pp. 51–52) for the *Musen Almanach für 1782*. This fact helps determine a relatively exact *terminus ante quem* for the binding that must have occurred well before the end of 1781, when the almanac for 1782 had to be in bookshops.

Bach's summary account on the inside back cover (for transcription of German text, see p. 135) confirms the state of the composite manuscript by the end of 1781.

11 [changed from 10]	64 songs altogether
unpublished songs are,	41
if I compose 2 songs	1 cantata
by Unzer and 1 by Campe. ²⁷	
8 [changed from 7] unpublished	
songs are already contained	
in this book	
5 bifolios, the cantata and	} copying costs,
Gleim's Trinklied ²⁸	
25 [bifolios] the remainder	20 songs up front ²⁹
86 [changed from 84] songs (including the last two ones	
for Mr. Herold) ³⁰ are enclosed and one cantata.	

The first line refers to “64 Lieder überhaupt” (64 songs altogether), a number that gives the total content of SA 1689 as it stands today. Moreover, the number of unpublished songs among the total is equally accurate: “8 ungedr. Lieder sind bereits in diesem Buche” (8 unpublished songs are already contained in this book). The three songs he intended to compose, according to his cover note from 1781—that is, two more on poems by Unzer and one by a certain

27. One Unzer song (Wq 200/19) was already included in the book; see p. 83.

28. Wq 200/22 and 201.

29. Wq 199, 1774 edition (= pp. 5–28).

30. H 763/1–2, commissioned by J. H. Herold.

“Camp[e]”³¹—never materialized. The bottom line in ink is a late entry (c. 1787) with a final count (86) of the book’s contents, including its supplement.

It is unlikely that the bound volume SA 1689 contained inserted loose leaves by 1782. The only autograph leaf then kept with the book may have been the composing score for the early version of Wq 202/J, dating from 1777 (p. 140). It bears no pagination by A. C. P. Bach but must at one point have been added to the material in SA 1690.

The Final Phase, 1785–87

The originally integrated supplement SA 1690 and P 349 as a whole shows no evidence of having originated before 1785. A specific composing date of 1 November 1785 exists only for Wq 200/18. By late 1785 Bach apparently was still thinking of expanding the *Polyhymnia* project, probably encouraged by the publication in 1784 of volume 4 of Cramer’s *Polyhymnia* series. Moreover, volume 5 appeared in December 1786 when Cramer announced yet again “the promised works by Rousseau and Bach.” Although this remains the last official mention of Bach’s *Polyhymnia* volume made by the editor-publisher, the composer seems to have kept up his hopes through much of 1787. However, Cramer did not move things forward, quite possibly also because the composer kept adding to the collection that had long grown well beyond the original plan.³²

Chronological evidence exists for the autographs of six newly composed songs originating from between November 1785 and the fall of 1787:

Wq 200/18, dated “1785, d. 1 Nov.” (p. 156), corresponding to an entry “Hamburg, | den ersten November | 1785.” in an album leaflet for Elisa von der Recke³³

Wq 200/4 and 200/9, notated on the back of a sketch for the *Einführungsmusik Willerding* (H 8210), performed 11 September 1787 (pp. 149–50)

Wq 200/8, notated on the back of a sketch for the keyboard trio Wq 80 of 1787 (pp. 151–52)

H 763/1–2, commissioned “in the composer’s last years” by the Hamburg publisher Johann Heinrich Herold, accord-

ing to the widow Johanna Maria Bach in a letter of 1791 to Westphal³⁴

Therefore, and in the absence of additional information, the entire body of songs in the supplement SA 1690 and P 349—with the exception of the composing score for Wq 202/J of 1778 in SA 1690 (p. 140)—roughly dates from 1785–88, a time span consistent with Bach’s handwriting characteristics.

The end of Bach’s *Polyhymnia* project is marked by the publication of the 22 songs Wq 200 in a newly fashioned collection that contained the majority of unpublished songs from the portfolio. Bach, initially hoping that the publisher Donatius would take over the aborted Cramer project in its entirety, made the selection himself and excluded only songs that were committed to another project—like the two Herold songs, H 763—or were otherwise deemed unsuitable—like Cramer’s love song for Betty (Wq 202/O/1), which more or less started it all.

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Christoph Wolff

31. Johanna Charlotte Unzer (1725–82) was the daughter of the Halle music director Johann Gotthilf Ziegler and wrote several books of poetry. Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), pedagogue and linguist, was active 1778–85 in Hamburg, thereafter in Brunswick.

32. The *Polyhymnia* series was completed in 1790 with volumes 6–8, but volumes 2–3 never saw the light of day.

33. Date in SA 1690 crossed out; autograph fair copy (see CPEB: CW, VI/3, source A 5).

34. No date is known except for the general reference “. . . in der letzten Zeit des Lebens meines lieben seel. Mannes” in the correspondence of Bach’s widow; see Manfred H. Schmid, “Das Geschäft mit dem Nachlaß von C. Ph. E. Bach. Neue Dokumente zur Westphal-Sammlung des Conservatoire Royal de Musique und der Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brüssel,” in *Hamburg 1988*, 494.