Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was born in Weimar on 8 March 1714. He was the third child and second son of Johann Sebastian Bach. C.P.E. Bach studied music with his father, and had an extraordinarily long career, writing music up to his death in December 1788.1 He was probably the most famous Bach at the end of the eighteenth century, but his music did not enjoy a revival in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries, in spite of the efforts of a few devoted scholars.2 This is in stark contrast to his famous father, J.S. Bach, who has had successive advocates, beginning with Johann Nikolaus Forkel’s pioneering biography in 1802, and featuring such landmarks as the performance of the St. Matthew Passion at the Berlin Sing-Akademie under Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in 1829, the erection of the monument near the Thomaskirche in Leipzig in 1843, the publication of Philip Spitta’s two-volume biography in 1873–80, and the completion of the Bach-Gesellschaft’s edition of his music (1851–99). J.S. Bach’s music has continued to be “reinvented” in the twentieth century by such proponents as Albert Schweitzer, Pablo Casals, Leopold Stokowski, Glenn Gould, Leonard Bernstein, Yo-Yo Ma, and others.3 C.P.E. Bach has had his admirers, including Johannes Brahms, Heinrich Schenker, and Peter Schickel (whose alter ego P.D.Q. Bach seems modeled in part on C.P.E.), but no one has championed his music as individuals have championed Antonio Vivaldi (Ezra Pound), Johann Stamitz (Hugo Riemann), or Joseph Haydn (H.C. Robbins Landon).

C.P.E. Bach’s best-known work is probably the Solfeggio in C Minor, often reprinted in anthologies and album notes as the “Solfeggietto.”4 In fact, the work (Wq 117/2; H 220) was first published in 1770 in the Musikalisches Vielerley (Musical Miscellany), a collection that Bach himself edited, and it was reprinted after his death by E.H.G. Christiani in Berlin.5 From the mid-nineteenth century to the present the Solfeggio in C Minor has been a staple in keyboard anthologies, learned or at least attempted by generations of piano students. But C.P.E. Bach’s music was much admired by his contemporaries, including Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.6 In short he was hardly the “one-

1. His last completed work, a St. Matthew Passion, H 802, was only performed posthumously during Lent 1785. Until the recovery of the Berlin Sing-Akademie archive in 1990, this was the only complete Passion music that survived. For a summary of the importance of this collection, see Christoph Wolff, “Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al. a Preliminary Report on the Music Collection of the Berlin Sing-Akademie,” Notes 58/2 (2001): 259–71. See also Enßlin.


4. Although this corruption was exposed years ago by John A. Parkinson, “The Solfeggietto,” The Musical Times 105 (1964): 89, it continues to be misstated.

5. There are three main catalogues of C.P.E. Bach’s works: NV 1790, Wotquenne (Wq), and Helm (H). Bach’s estate catalogue, NV 1790, was the first published thematic catalogue devoted to the work of a single composer. It has been published in three facsimile editions, the most recent with an introduction by Peter Wölfli (Los Altos: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2014). Wotquenne remains the most familiar, though it is based almost entirely on the Westphal collection in Brussels and therefore lacks some of the vocal music. Helm is the most complete and scholarly of the three, but it was compiled before the recovery of the Sing-Akademie archives in 1999 (see fn. 1). Wotquenne assigned the Solfeggio in C Minor two numbers: 117/2 and 271. For an explanation of the idiosyncrasies of Wotquenne’s thematic catalogue, see Helm’s introduction to his Thematic Catalogue.

6. Haydn (as reported by Georg August Griesinger): “I did not come away from my clavier till I had played through them [Wq 48], and whoever knows me thoroughly must discover that I owe a great deal to Emanuel Bach, that I understood him and have studied him diligently.” Mozart (as reported by J.F. Doles, Leipzig, 1785): “He is the father; we are the boys. Those of us who know anything at all learned it from him . . .” Beethoven (letter to Breinkopf & Härtel, 12 October 1810): “In addition I would like to have all the works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, which have been published by you . . . .”
hit wonder" that musical history has too often made him out to be. The new critical edition now under way, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works (hereafter CPEB:CW), addresses this problem.7

C.P.E. Bach was renowned as an improvisor, as were his father and elder brother, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784). Burney’s description of his playing at the clavichord in 1772 is justly famous and worth quoting here:

> After dinner, which was elegantly served, and cheerfully eaten, I prevailed upon him to sit down again to a clavichord, and he played, with little intermission, till near eleven o’clock at night. During this time, he grew so animated and possessed, that he not only played, but looked like one inspired. His eyes were fixed, his under lip fell, and drops of effervescence distilled from his countenance . . . .

His performance to-day convinced me of what I had suggested before from his works; that he is not only one of the greatest composers that ever existed, for keyed instruments, but the best player, in point of expression; for others, perhaps, have had as rapid execution; however, he possesses every style; though he chiefly confines himself to the expressive. He is learned, I think, even beyond his father, whenever he pleases, and is far before him in variety of modulation; his fugues are always upon new and curious subjects, and treated with great art as well as genius.8

Other writers also emphasized Bach’s keyboard skills, so it is no wonder that his keyboard music and treatise have received more attention than his vocal music.

C.P.E. Bach has always been known primarily as a keyboard player and theorist. His Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (Essay on the true manner of playing the keyboard) set the standard on figured bass accompaniment and embellishment since it was first published in 1753–62.9 The earliest surviving keyboard works by C.P.E. Bach are found today in the second Clavierbüchlein of Anna Magdalena Bach, begun in 1725 but with entries as late as the 1740s.10 Judging from the early handwriting, C.P.E. Bach wrote or copied his pieces into the volume by around 1732, and thus these are works of a teenager. J.S. Bach did not compile a Clavierbuch for C.P.E. Bach, as he did for Wilhelm Friedemann, but according to Charles Burney, book I of the Well-Tempered Clavier was prepared by his father for him.11 Some time after compiling his list of works for solo keyboard in 1772, perhaps at the request of Burney, C.P.E. Bach decided to destroy his earliest attempts at composition, for being "too youthful."12 Aside from four short pieces in the Clavierbüchlein, the only other keyboard work that we have from his time in Leipzig is a Menuet pour le Clavesin, Wq 111, that the young composer engraved himself (see plate 3 in CPEB:CW, I/8.2). More recently, the autograph score of a hitherto unknown cantata dating from c. 1734, Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande, was discovered in a parish church in Mügeln, Saxony.13

C.P.E. Bach’s estate catalogue (NV 1790) gives priority to his solo keyboard music, with 210 items spanning more than fifty years, from the Sonata in B-flat major, Wq 62/1 (1731, rev. 1744) to the Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 67 (1787). Next come the 52 concertos, mostly for keyboard, dating from 1733 (Wq 1) to the last year of his life, 1788 (Wq 47).14 Many of the 46 trios include obbligato keyboard (and even the trio sonatas for two treble instruments and bass could be played on keyboard),15 and there

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13. See CPEB:CW, V/5.2; a facsimile of the autograph with an introduction by Peter Wollny is also available (Los Altos: The Packard Humanities Institute, 2011).

14. Some of the concertos were written for a different solo instrument then arranged for keyboard (e.g., Wq 170 and probably Wq 171 and 172 were written for violoncello and later arranged for keyboard, as Wq 26, 28, 29, respectively).

15. Title page of Zwei Trio, Wq 166 states that "however both can be played [as a trio] with one of the upper voices in the harpsichord" (bey...
are also a dozen "Sonatinas" for one or two keyboards with accompaniment. The Quartets (Wq 93–99) and some of his other chamber music also include keyboard. His more than 250 songs all have keyboard accompaniment, and can be played and enjoyed without a vocalist (see figure 6 for the preface to the "Gellert" songs). Nevertheless, Bach published some of his vocal music and this too is an important though less well-known aspect of his output. Some of his sacred music is clearly indebted to his father, but like his instrumental music, it displays his own unique voice.

Unlike Beethoven, C.P.E. Bach did not assign opus numbers to his publications.18 Burney included a list of his publications through 1772, because "The works which he produced, during his residence at Berlin, are so numerous, and, in general, so unknown in England, that I shall specify the principal of them here, for the satisfaction of those who may wish to procure them." There follows a list of fourteen works, including the "Prussian" and "Württemberg" Sonatas, Wq 48 and 49; the Zwey Trio, Wq 161; three keyboard concertos Wq 11, 25, 14 (in that order); the Versuch and "Probestücke" Sonatas, Wq 63; twelve miscellaneous sonatas (in Wq 62); the "Gellert" songs, Wq 194; the "kleine Stücke" Wq 81; Sonatas with Varied Reprises, Wq 50, 51, 52; and Oden mit Melodien, Wq 199.17 The German translation of Burney's travels is even more extensive and mentions that Bach had just finished a set of six string symphonies (Wq 182).18

Like his father before him, C.P.E. Bach published much music at his own expense and risk (im Verlag des Autors), including the first edition of the Versuch (1753–63).19 The hypothetical list below includes all the music Bach published during his lifetime, either at his own risk or by contract with a publisher. It does not include individual works that were published in anthologies or "kleine Stücke" (little pieces) like Wq 81–82 and 113–114; I assume that C.P.E. Bach, like Beethoven, would have reserved his opus numbers for more substantial works.20 Bach treated the three Sonatinas, Wq 106–108, as separate works, but these are given one opus number below as if they were a set of three. On the other hand, the list includes a few works that were only published posthumously (e.g., the Magnificat and Passions-Cantate) as well as a few works that were probably intended for publication (enclosed in square brackets below). Had C.P.E. Bach lived a few more years, he might have published his set of three quartets for flute, viola, and keyboard, Wq 93–95 (1788), as well as his Concerto in E-flat Major for harpsichord and fortepiano, Wq 47 (1788).21 It is clear that Bach published some of his music in order to help support his wife and daughter after his passing,22 and some of the overstock of printed music is listed in NV 1790, along with his musical instruments and portrait collection. The following list of publications is not meant to replace Wq or H numbers, but rather show his major works in chronological order.

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Hypothetical Opus Numbers
Assigned to Publications of C. P. E. Bach's Music

1. "Prussian" Sonatas, Wq 48 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, c. 1742), dedicated to Friedrich II
2. "Württemberg" Sonatas, Wq 49 ("OPERA II", Nuremberg: Johann Wilhelm Windter, c. 1744), dedicated to Prince Carl Eugen
3. Concerto in D Major, Wq 11 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1745)
4. [Magnificat, Wq 215 (1749; rev. 1779); piano-vocal score (Bonn: Simrock, c. 1829)]
5. Zwey Trio, Wq 161 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1751), dedicated to Count Wilhelm
6. Concerto in B-flat Major, Wq 25 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1752)
7. "18 Probestücken in 6 Sonaten," Wq 63/1–6 (Berlin: the author, 1753); published with 1st ed. of Versuch I
8. "Gellert" Lieder, Wq 194 (Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1758)
9. Symphony in E Minor, Wq 177 (Nuremberg: B. Schmid, 1759)
10. Sonatas with Varied Reprises I, Wq 50 (Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1760), dedicated to Princess Anna Amalia
15. Sonata in A Minor for Solo Flute, Wq 132 (Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1763)
16. Sonata in B-flat Major for Two Violins and Bass, Wq 128 (Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1765)
17. "Gellert" Anhang, Wq 195 (Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1764)
22. Die Wirth und die Gäste, Wq 201 (Berlin: G. L. Winter, 1766)
23. "Damen" Sonatas, Wq 54 (as "Oeuvre premier," Amsterdam: J.J. Hummel, 1770), dedicated to Princess Anna Amalia
24. [Passions-Cantate, Wq 233 (1770); piano-vocal score (Hamburg: Herrmann, 1789)]
25. Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato, Wq 43 (Hamburg: the author, 1772), dedicated to Princess Anna Amalia
26. [Six Symphonies, Wq 182 (1773), commissioned by Baron van Swieten]
32. Double-choir Heilig, Wq 217 (Hamburg: the author, 1779)
34. "Sturm" Lieder I, Wq 197 (Hamburg: J.H. Herold, 1780)
35. Kenner & Liebhaber II, Wq 56 ("Zweyte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1780), dedicated to Prince Friedrich Heinrich
36. Orchester Sinfonien, Wq 183 (Berlin: Winter, 1780), dedicated to Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm
37. Kenner & Liebhaber III, Wq 57 ("Dritte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1781), dedicated to Baron van Swieten
40. Klipstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste, Wq 239 (Leipzig: the author, 1784)
41. Kenner & Liebhaber V, Wq 59 ("Fünfte Sammlung"; Leipzig: the author, 1785), dedicated to Peter Friedrich Ludewig
42. Sonata in C Minor, Wq 60 (Leipzig and Dresden: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1785)
43. Zwey Litaneien, Wq 204 (Copenhagen: A.F. Stein, 1786)
44. *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Wq 240 (Hamburg: Breitkopf, 1787).
46. “Sechs neuen Clavier-Stücken,” Wq 63/7–12 (Leipzig: E. B. Schwikkert, 1787); published with 3rd ed. of Versuch I.
49. [Quartets for keyboard, flute, and viola, Wq 93–95 (1788)].
50. [Concerto in E-flat Major for fortepiano and harpsichord, Wq 47 (1788)].

In general, C. P. E. Bach has been given short shrift in music history textbooks. One published index of anthologies lists eighteen works (or individual movements) by C. P. E. Bach. Of these eighteen, only five multi-movement works have been published complete: Wq 48/1 (in *Analytical Anthology of Music*, 1984), Wq 49/1 (in *Schröner Scores*, 1975), Wq 55/6 (in *Music in the Classic Period*, 1979), Wq 177 (in *Music of the Bach Family*, 1955), and Wq 183/3 (in *The Development of Western Music*, vol. 2, 1991). Also included as representative pieces of C. P. E. Bach are three fantasias, two songs, one “character piece,” and several separate movements from keyboard sonatas or trios. The anthology accompanying *A History of Western Music* contains only a single movement by C. P. E. Bach, the *Poco adagio* from the Sonata in A Major, Wq 55/4, offered as an example of the “empfindsam style.” Two of the most recent anthologies—*Music in the Eighteenth Century* and *Music in Western Civilization*, volume B, *The Baroque and Classical Eras*—include the same piece by C. P. E. Bach: his Fantasia in C Minor, Wq 63/6/iii. Even the most generous of the anthologies, *The Anthology of Classical Music*, includes only eight works by C. P. E. Bach (out of 76 selections in total) but only two complete works: the Sonata in B Minor, Wq 55/3 and the Rondo in G Major, Wq 57/3. To be sure, all anthologies are selective, but taken altogether these present only about 1–2% of C. P. E. Bach’s total output of more than a thousand works. But is C. P. E. Bach underrepresented because his music is unpopular, or is his music unpopular (not well known) because he has been underrepresented?

This collection of C. P. E. Bach’s “greatest hits” attempts to redress this problem, bringing together some of the best of his music in the principal genres for which he composed: solo keyboard music, chamber music, symphony, concerto, and vocal music. The works are arranged here by genre and roughly chronologically within each section, corresponding to the organization of the new complete works edition, CPEB:CW. In choosing the works for this collection, I have tried to select works that C. P. E. Bach himself would have considered his best, rather than only choosing the best-known works today. It is no coincidence that most of them come from this list of works published in his lifetime. Some will be quite familiar, like the Solfeggio in C Minor, but many are not. Certainly, some of the music is difficult, and will only be appreciated by connoisseurs, as it was in his own day. But most of it is as accessible and as great as Haydn’s symphonies, Mozart’s concertos, and Beethoven’s sonatas. If this anthology of “greatest hits” leads to further interest in less-well-known works of C. P. E. Bach, it will have served its purpose.

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23. Sterling E. Murray, *Anthologies of Music: An Annotated Index*, and ed. (Warren, Michigan: Harmonic Park Press, 1992), items 878–895. The same index lists more than 250 pieces by J.S. Bach (items 921–1174). The anthologies surveyed were published between 1946 and 1992; the list includes two German anthologies that were translated into English.
27. Ed. Philip G. Downs (New York: WW Norton, 1992). The other pieces by C. P. E. Bach are: the first movement of the Trio Sonata in B-flat Major, Wq 161/2; the first movement of the Sonata in D Minor, Wq 66/3; the first movement of the Sonata in C Major, Wq 65/16; the first movement of the Symphony in D Major, Wq 183/1; the first movement of the Sonata in D Major, Wq 61/2; and the first movement of the Sonata in C Minor, Wq 67/49. In his book, *Classical Music: The Era of Haydn*, Mozart, and Beethoven (New York: WW Norton, 1992), Downs discusses C. P. E. Bach’s music and career in some detail, but his summing up (on p. 36) is not too favorable: “Like his father before him, Emanuel died still attached to a style that had fallen from favor.”
28. Eugene K. Wolf was fond of saying “We know what we like, and we like what we know.” In a self-selected survey of readers of the AMS-List, I asked people to describe C. P. E. Bach’s music in a few words or a phrase. The half-dozen responses included: “dynamic, inventive, underestimated”; “transitional”; “C. P. E. Bach represents all the wonderful things that are threatened by over-focus on Vienna as the home of the so-called classic style”; “the Liszt of the 18th century”; “C. P. E. Bach voice leading is exquisite, his harmonies can be innovative, and his melodies are stirring.”
In the brief discussion that follows, I give some basic background to the pieces in the anthology without attempting exhaustive analysis. For more information on particular works or repertories, readers should consult the introductions to volumes in CPEB:CW, available on the website www.cpebach.org (under Organization of the Edition). A complete list of the surviving sources and commentary on the music is found in volumes of CPEB:CW. The series Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung has published a number of source catalogues on libraries and collections in Austria (Blanken), the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin (Enßlin), and Brussels (Leisinger/Wollny).

**SOLO KEYBOARD MUSIC**

**Sonata in F Major, Wq 48/1**

The six sonatas dedicated to Friedrich II (Frederick the Great) are known today as the "Prussian" Sonatas. If Bach had given his works opus numbers, this collection would have been his opus 1. The first keyboard sonata, Wq 48/1, is a special piece, already exhibiting some of the advanced qualities that made Bach a forward-looking composer. This taste for galant music was no doubt encouraged by the music-loving king. Bach was among the first to join the royal kapelle—he first appears on the payroll in 1741—and with so much satisfaction, that he afterwards frequently commanded the prince's ears, his royal highness, sent for him to his court, and heard him play with so much satisfaction, that he afterwards frequently commanded him to attend; but from the circumscribed power of the prince at that time, he did not take him into actual service till his accession to the throne in 1740, and then M. Bach had alone the honour to accompany his majesty upon the harpsichord in the first flute-piece that he played at Charlottenburg, after he was king. But Friedrich had first heard Bach perform several years earlier and wrote to his sister Wilhelmine about him: "Right now we have here a son of Bach, who plays the clavichord quite well and is a good composer, too, but his taste is not fully formed." It is remarkable that Friedrich already knew of J.S. Bach, who must have been familiar enough to him and his sister that he didn't have to explain that "Back" was cantor in Leipzig. Presumably, Friedrich heard the birthday cantata that C.P.E. Bach wrote for the crown prince in Frankfurt/Oder in 1735 (see appendix to CPEB:CW, V/5.2), and perhaps also one of Bach's early keyboard concertos. In any event, Bach himself seems to have agreed that his earliest compositions needed revision, because virtually all such works included in his estate catalogue were "erneuert" (i.e., thoroughly revised). But the "Prussian" Sonatas were among the earliest works of his Berlin period and reflected his new, improved taste.

The Sonata in F Major is in three movements: Poco allegro, Andante, Vivace. The first movement starts like a two-part invention, but has all the characteristics of sonata form in a 31-measure exposition. The main disruption is the abrupt shift to C minor in m. 18, just as Bach is establishing the new key on the dominant. Then in the closing group (mm. 24–26) he adds a third voice to his invention. The development section (mm. 32–55) features an inversion of his theme and modulates through several keys, eventually settling on D minor (submediant) before pivoting back to the tonic recapitulation in m. 56. Bach shifts to the tonic minor (F minor, in m. 68), parallel to the move to C minor in the exposition, before ending in the tonic major.

The middle movement is remarkable for introducing two passages of untexted recitative (mm. 4–8 and 12–14), something Beethoven used rhythmically in his Ninth Symphony before introducing a human voice. Composers were wrestling with meaning in instrumental music in this period (see Wq 161/1 below), and the angular gestures of simple recitative were already well known to Bach's contemporaries, not only through Italian opera (the Berlin Court Opera opened on Unter den Linden the same year)

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29. *Autobiography*, 199–200: "Als ich 1738 meine akademischen Jahre endigte und nach Berlin ging, bekam ich eine sehr vortheilhafte Gelegenheit einen jungen Herrn in fremde Länder zu führen: ein unvermuteter gnädiger Ruf zum damaligen Kronprinzen von Preussen, jenzen König, nach Ruppin, machte, daß meine vorhabende Reise rückgängig wurde. Gewisse Umstände machten jedoch, daß ich erst 1740 bey Antritt der Regierung Se. preussischen Majestät forschlich in Desen Dienste trat, und die Gnade hatte, das erste Flötensolo, was Sie als König spielten, in Charlottenburg mit dem Flügel ganz allein zu begleiten." Burney, who provided a shortened paraphrase of the autobiography in English (Burney 1775, 2:260–66), renders this: "In 1738 he went to Berlin, but without expectation that the prince royal of Prussia, who was then secretly forming a band, would invite him to Ruppin; he was not disappointed, the fame of his performance soon reaching this prince's ears, his royal highness, sent for him to his court, and heard him with so much satisfaction, that he afterwards frequently commanded his attendance; but from the circumscribed power of the prince at that time, he did not take him into actual service till his accession to the throne, in 1740, and then M. Bach had alone the honour to accompany his majesty upon the harpsichord in the first flute-piece that he played at Charlottenberg, after he was king."


31. See for example his first keyboard concerto, Wq 1, published in CPEB:CW, III/6.1 in both the early version (1733) and later revised version (1744). These two versions are published in CPEB:CW OFFprints, no. 3.
Fantasia in C Minor, Wq 63/6/iii

Following the lead of his Berlin colleague Johann Joachim Quantz, who published a flute treatise in 1752, C.P.E. Bach decided to write a treatise on keyboard playing, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (see CPEB:CW, VII/1–3, ed. Tobias Plebuch). The first part, concerning ornaments and proper embellishment, was completed and published in 1753; the second part, on realizing a figured bass, followed in 1762. As a supplement to part I of his text, Bach published engraved “Exempel” (musical examples) and “Probestücke” (literally, test pieces), eighteen movements divided into six sonatas. At the end of part II, Bach included a figured bass in an example and provided a realization in the form of a fantasia; see figures 1 and 2 on p. 9.

These “Probestücke” are not unified compositions, but rather illustrate various aspects of different types of keyboard music. The last of the eighteen movements is a Fantasia in C minor, and as such represents a freer form of composition. Indeed, fantasias were meant to be improvisatory, and it may represent how Bach went about improvising. As is typical of Bach’s fantasias, this one mixes measured and unmeasured music, freely modulating to binary form, and features a rising chromatic scale in the bass with sequential counterpoint in the treble voices (mm. 17–24; repeated *piano*, mm. 25–32). As Daniel Heartz points out, this sonata recalls works of his father—such as Prelude 24 of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, book I, and the Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue—but also looks ahead to works by Mozart, Haydn, and Brahms.

L’Aly Rupalich, Wq 117/27

Bach grouped his “character pieces” with other short pieces labeled ”Petites Pièces” in his estate catalogue. These seem to have been of particular interest to him in the 1750s, when he and his colleagues attempted to portray individuals or particular characters in music. Whether Bach was attempting to create musical portraits of some of his friends or was just amusing himself is impossible to say for sure. But he did have a life-long interest in collecting portraits of player to realize the embellishment, especially the arpeggios (though a few are written out, in mm. 1e and 22d).

The poet Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg later arranged this fantasia as an accompaniment for two speeches: Hamlet’s “To be or not to be” soliloquy and the dying monologue of Socrates. Although C.P.E. Bach did not endorse this experiment, it shows the urge for writers to tease out the meaning of instrumental music and provides clues to eighteenth-century performance practice. Bach’s own words on the subject are worth quoting:

A musician cannot move others unless he too is moved. He must of necessity feel all of the affects that he hopes to arouse in his audience, for the revealing of his own humor will stimulate a like humor in the listener. In languishing, sad passages, the performer must languish and grow sad. Thus will the expression of the piece be more clearly perceived by the audience. Here, however, the error of a sluggish, dragging performance must be avoided, caused by an excess of affect and melancholy. Similarly, in lively, joyous passages, the executant must again put himself in the appropriate mood. And so, constantly varying the passions he will barely quiet one before he roues another. Above all, he must discharge this office in a piece which is highly expressive by nature, whether it be by him or someone else. In the latter case he must make certain that he assumes the emotion which the composer intended in writing it. It is principally in improvisations and fantasias that the keyboardist can best master the feelings of his audience.

Although Bach was a prolific composer of fantasias that the keyboardist can best master the feelings of his audience.

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musicians, and at the time of his death he had more than 400 portraits in paintings, drawings, engravings, and silhouettes (see CPEB:CW, VIII/4, ed. Annette Richards). Burney estimated that about 150 of these were in frames and hanging on his wall when he visited Bach’s home in October 1772.

Curiously, the character piece known as “L’Aly Rupalich,” Wq 117/27, originally had the heading “La Bach,” which was at some point crossed out and replaced by the more fanciful heading indicating a trickster. Bach’s piece is a “murky” with an ostinato bass in octaves underpinning the rhythmic chords in the treble. (In Tom Beghin’s recording, Pièces de caractère, it sounds like a disco piece for clavichord.) It was published in the Musikalisches Mäschnerly (an anthology published by G.L. Winter in Berlin, 1762–65), and although no editor is named, it is possible that C.P.E. Bach assisted the publisher. It is a humorous piece, with its caesuras (mm. 58 and 145) followed by shifts to unexpected keys (e.g., from G to E major in m. 59), and it even has a “development” section with an ascending chromatic passage in the bass from C to G (mm. 118–31). It is an excellent foil to all the pieces he wrote in minor keys.

Sonata in C Minor, Wq 50/6

This sonata concludes Bach’s first collection of Reprisen Sonaten (sonatas with varied reprises). Bach wrote a preface to the collection explaining how he wanted to show keyboard players how to embellish repeats in sonatas and other pieces.

While composing these Sonatas I thought especially of beginners and of those amateurs who, on account of their years or of other business, have neither patience nor time enough to practice much. Apart from giving them something easy I wanted to provide them with the pleasure of performing alterations without having to resort to either inventing them themselves or getting someone else to write them and then memorizing them with much difficulty. Finally, I have indicated clearly everything that belongs to a good performance, so that these pieces can be played with all possible freedom even by those who have no special disposition.

Unusually, the sonata is a single movement with two sections, both of which have two themes that are reprised several times with increasingly florid embellishments. (The sonata is diagrammed in table 1.) Naturally, the contrast between C minor and C major is striking. Bach provides a catalogue of potential embellishments for the material, and performers today who want to learn how to introduce their own embellishments for da capo arias and repeats in general would do well to study these sonatas. Elaine Sisman claims that this work is “The most important predecessor for Haydn’s alternating [variation] procedures.”

The middle movement of Mozart’s overture to Die Entführung aus dem Serail (which is also used as the head motive in Belmonte’s first aria but in major mode) bears a striking resemblance to the first theme (4) in Bach’s sonata (see example 1). Leopold Mozart specifically offered Breitkopf a set of sonatas with varied reprises as a sequel to C.P.E. Bach’s collections (Wq 50–52). Mozart scholars use the term “double variation” to refer to Mozart’s sonatas with varied reprises (e.g., K 309 and 311) which are actually based on C.P.E. Bach’s models.

Solfeggio in C Minor, Wq 117/2

The term “solfeggio” denotes an untexted piece of music, usually associated with vocal music, meant to teach a singer how to sing intervals accurately; the most famous piece in the repertory today is the “Solfeggio” by Richard Strauss. Bach’s solfeggi for keyboard are clearly intended to exercise the fingers of the player, to ensure technical facility in playing arpeggios and passagework. (When I asked a pianist recently what music she knew by C.P.E. Bach, she confessed that she only knew the Solfeggio in C Minor and played it to test her arthritis.) Indeed, the Solfeggio in C Minor is an excellent pedagogical piece, and shares the impassioned affects of some of C.P.E. Bach’s other music.

One can find a dozen or more recordings of this famous Solfeggio on iTunes, including “straight” performances on piano or harpsichord as well as arrangements for jazz en-

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38. The preface, dated July 1759, was published in German and French by Winter, and these texts, along with an English translation, are given in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Sechs Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen (1760), ed. Etienne Darbellay (Winterthur: Amadeus Verlag, 1976), xxiii.
semble (Bob Malone; Vernizzi Jazz Quartet; Bach to the Future), electric guitar (At Vance; Shir Nash), Latin style (Joshua Edelman), and even voice (the Swingle Singers on “Anyone for Mozart, Bach, Handel, Vivaldi”). My favorite is a New Age arrangement by Dino Kartsonakis (on Classical Peace), which begins with a thunderstorm accompanied by the Solfeggio in C Minor, followed by J.S. Bach’s Prelude in C Major from the Well-Tempered Clavier, as the storm passes and birds start to sing again. That C.P.E. Bach’s Solfeggio has entered popular culture is a tribute to its enduring fame. The piece has depth and character, and it is appealing, in the same way the études of Chopin and Paganini continue to appeal to performers and audiences.

**Concerto in C Major, Wq 112/1**

The Concerto in C Major for solo keyboard was originally conceived as a Concerto in D Major for keyboard with orchestra. There are sketches of the first movement, and Bach wrote about a page and a half before abandoning it as an orchestral piece (see appendix to CPEB:CW, I/8.1). It is not entirely clear why he didn’t finish it; maybe he didn’t need a piece for orchestra but rather decided to use it as a solo concerto to open his collection of Clavierwerke verschiedener Art (keyboard pieces in different styles), Wq 112. As its title suggests, this collection includes a variety of pieces: a concerto (no. 1), a sonata (no. 7), a sinfonia (no. 13), three fantasias (nos. 2, 8, 15), three solfeggios (nos. 10, 18), three songs (nos. 6, 12, 14), minuets and polonaises (nos. 3, 5, 9, 11, 16, 17), and a fugue (no. 19). It is not unlike his father’s Clavierübung publications with the French and English Suites, an “Italian” Concerto, and the 30 Variations on an Air in G Major (the “Goldberg” Variations). Each can be seen as a primer for young musicians, demonstrating how to approach various types of keyboard works both as performer and composer. Perhaps the collection was written and compiled to encourage C.P.E. Bach’s own three children in their studies. More likely, they were an attractive collection for other keyboard teachers to use as lessons.41

Wq 112/1 is very similar to Bach’s keyboard concertos with orchestra; indeed, the Sei concerti, Wq 43 were published in a form that could be played on solo keyboard

41. Peter Wollen, in his introduction to CPEB:CW, I/8.1, has suggested that C.P.E. Bach might have planned a second collection, consisting of works he later published in the Musikalisches Vielerley (Hamburg, 1770): a sonata, Wq 62/23; a symphony, Wq 122/1; three fantasias Wq 117/2–4; three solfeggios, Wq 117/11–13; a song, Wq 222/D; minuets and polonaises, Wq 116/3–8; plus the unpublished concerto, H 242.
as well as with orchestral accomplishment (see below). Wq 112/1 is certainly virtuosic as a solo keyboard piece, and though it is placed first in the collection, it was probably the last piece written in 1765. Although C.P.E. Bach did not orchestrate this concerto, it is fairly clear which parts would have been the solo and tutti. For instance, the concerto begins Allegretto in C major with an abbreviated double exposition: first a "tutti" passage in octaves, ending in a full cadence in m. 10; this is followed immediately by a reprise for "solo" keyboard (mm. 11–14); after which the "tutti" enters in the bass with repeated chords in the treble (mm. 14–16), leading to a second cadential flourish in octaves (mm. 17–20). There is even an opportunity for a cadenza in m. 113. The middle movement, a Large in ¾ in A minor, is a song. Burney claimed:

[Bach's] principal wish has been to play and compose in the most vocal manner possible, notwithstanding the great defect of all keyed instruments, except the organ, in not sustaining their tone. But to make a harpsichord or piano-forte sing, is not easily accomplished; as the ear must not be tired by too thin a harmony, nor stunned by too full an accompaniment. In his opinion, music ought to touch the heart, and he never found that this could be effected by running, rattling, drumming, or arpeggios.43

The third movement, an Allegro in 2/4, is a typical finale with several interruptions (mm. 33, 84, 116, 161, 236, and 268) followed by modulations of the kind Burney remarked on: "the bold modulation, rests, pauses, and free use of semitones, and unexpected flights of Haydn, remind us frequently of Bach's early works more than of any other composer."

**Sonata in F Minor, Wq 57/6**

Bach's "Kenner und Liebhaber" collections, published in the last ten years of his life between 1777 and 1787, were among the first "cross-over" works. This was an innovative idea, though other composers also published collections of keyboard works for "Kenner und Liebhaber" (for connoisseurs and amateurs) around the same time. Mozart, in working on a set of three keyboard concertos (K 413, 414, 415) to publish in the new year, wrote to his father in December 1782:

These concertos are a happy medium between what is too easy and too difficult; they are very brilliant, pleasing to the ear, and natural, without being rapid. There are passages here and there from which the connoisseurs [kenner] alone can derive satisfaction; but these passages are written in such a way that the less learned [nichtkenner] cannot fail to be pleased, though without knowing why.44

In referring to his first collection, Bach mentions that "a few of the sonatas are somewhat more difficult," and therefore wondered whether he should print less than a thousand copies.45

Wq 57/6 is one of Bach's most famous sonatas. It received an extensive review by Johann Nikolaus Forkel in 1784 and had been praised by Johann Friedrich Reichardt even before it was published in 1781.46 In his essay, Forkel identifies three types of sonatas on the basis of feelings, which he relates to musical rhetoric in Bach's sonata. In particular, Forkel likened the piece to an ode and praised the work as having a coherent program of contrasting affects in its three movements.47 Perhaps in part because of these early notices, the sonata was edited and published in numerous editions in the late nineteenth century, including those by Hans von Bülow, Ernst Friedrich Baumgart, Hugo Riemann, and Heinrich Schenker.48 One of the pas-

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44. See letter of 16 September 1778 in CPEB-Letters, 125. Bach eventually did opt to print 1,050 copies, but the number of copies sold fell off dramatically with his later collections.

45. Forkel, "Ueber eine Sonate aus Carl Phil. Emanuel Bachs dritter Sonaten-sammlung für Kenner und Liebhaber in F moll, S 39. Ein Sendschreiben an Herrn. von * *", *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1784 (Leipzig, [1784]),* 22–38. Reichardt, writing in *Musikalischen Kurznachrichten* (Berlin, 1782), 87, called it "by far the best" in the collection. "I can think of nothing that exceeds it in rhetoric, in lyricism, nothing more overpowering in every application of genius and art." He also revealed that this was the sonata he had been given by Bach and had written about in his earlier book *Briefe einer aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend,* 2 (Frankfurt and Breslau, 1776), 10–13: "This is really one of the most original pieces that I have ever heard; and everyone, everyone for whom I play it breaks out, as though speechless, in these words: 'I've never heard anything like it!'" Cited and translated in Kramer, *Unfinished Music,* 9.


47. In a letter dated October 16, 1860, Hans von Bülow complained to Felix Draeseke: "I am in the process of editing some of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's keyboard sonatas. The work is very dry and it puts me in a bad mood." (Bin jetzt bei der Bearbeitung von Ph. Em. Bach's Cla
sages that caused particular trouble was the development section of the opening Allegro (mm. 53–66), in which the music modulates from C minor through A minor to F minor and back to F minor. Bach used a large flat sign for double-flats (which he recommended in Versuch II; see CPEB:CW, VII/2, p. 21), but this symbol is easy to miss.

**Rondo in E Minor, Wq 66**

Rondos became especially popular in the 1770s and 1780s, and Bach included many Rondos in his "Kenner und Liebhaber" collections. The Rondo in E Minor, Wq 66, was written as a farewell to his Silbermann clavichord (the key of E minor was associated with mourning and the autograph score has the caption title "Abschied von meinem Silbermannischen Clavier"), which he sold to Dietrich Ewald von Grotthuś in August 1781. The piece was not published during C.P.E. Bach's lifetime, and it survives in relatively few contemporaneous copies, so it must have been a private and personal work. Bach had owned the Silbermann clavichord for 35 years, and he was sorry to part with it. In a note sent with his (now lost) autograph score to Grotthuś, he wrote, "It stands as proof that it is possible also to compose a mournful rondo, and it cannot be played on any other clavichord than on the one you possess."

One of the attractions of the Rondo form for composers, and C.P.E. Bach in particular, was the opportunity to develop the recurring theme in the course of the piece. Thus, it is similar to his sonatas with varied reprises (Wq 50–52), in which the binary sections are written out with embellishments.

**Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 67**

The Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 67 seems to have had special significance for C.P.E. Bach. It was his last composition for solo keyboard listed in NV 1790, and he arranged it for keyboard and violin with the caption heading, "C.P.E. Bachs Empfindungen" (see Wq 80 below). It is a summation of his fantasies, which formed an increasingly important part of his output for keyboard, especially in the late "Kenner und Liebhaber" collections. The opening theme returns in various guises throughout the piece. It is very close but not identical to a transposed version of the B–A–C–H motive (biv–a–c–b2): a–g5–b–a. The whole piece unfolds from this simple progression, and it could be analyzed as free varied reprises interspersed with virtuosic flourishes (see Allegretto, at m. 44; Largo, mm. 34–38; Allegretto, at m. 42a; and finally at m. 43c). The range of his modulation is audacious, from F-sharp minor to B minor (at m. 3d) to D major (at m. 15) to B-flat minor (at m. 23) and C minor (at m. 25), and back to B minor (at m. 39) and finally F-sharp minor (just before m. 42a). This piece combines the logic and development of a sonata form with the free improvisatory fantasia, and it captures some sense of C.P.E. Bach's style of playing the keyboard.

**CHAMBER MUSIC**

**Sonata in A Minor for Unaccompanied Flute, Wq 132**

Wq 132 is C.P.E. Bach's only piece for unaccompanied flute. It was written in 1747 and published in Musikalisches Mancherley in 1763. Since it was also issued as an offprint, it is the only one of Bach's flute sonatas that circulated widely in the eighteenth century. The blind flutist, Friedrich Ludwig Dülon, played it for Bach when he visited the composer in Hamburg in 1783; Bach responded to the performance by claiming that "the one for whom I wrote this piece couldn't play it; the one for whom I did not write it can."

The piece is difficult, with notes (f5 and f7) near the top of the range of most eighteenth-century flutes, though Quantz's flutes could play high a. The piece begins with a Poco adagio in A minor, and keeping in the same vein, the second and third movements, one an Allegro in 4 and the other an Allegro in 3, are both in A minor. The sequence of movements (slow–fast–fast) is the same as the flute sonatas of Friedrich II and Quantz, which in turn follow the example of Giuseppe Tartini.

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48. Quoted in Leta E. Miller, "C.P.E. Bach and Friedrich Ludwig Dülön: Composition and Improvisation in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany," Early Music 23 (1995): 68. Miller suggests that Bach was referring to Friedrich II, but Mary Oleksiewicz points out that if that were the case, Bach would not have been allowed to publish the sonata; see CPEB:CW, II/1, p. xv.


50. It was probably the influence of Johann Gottlieb Graun, the first musician that Friedrich (as crown prince) hired at Ruppin, who had
Wq 132 is modeled on the Partita in A Minor, BWV 1013, of his father, which not only shares the same key but also uses the same sort of hidden polyphony in a single melodic line. In the first movement of Wq 132, for example, C.P.E. Bach wrote a two-part piece with a clear bass line in the lower register of the flute and a cantabile melody in the high register. In comparison to his father’s Partita, however, he added the chiaroscuro of dynamic contrasts and nuances. C.P.E. Bach’s godfather G.P. Telemann also published solo fantasias for flute, including a prominent piece in A minor and using the same two-part writing style with strong contrasts between low and high registers. But C.P.E. Bach wrote neither a baroque suite nor a fantasia, rather a typical galant solo sonata based on the Berlin model.

Sonata in C Minor for Two Violins and Bass, Wq 161/1

Several years after Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle asked the famous question, “Sonate, que me veux-tu?” (Sonata, what do you want of me?), C.P.E. Bach attempted to deal with the problem of musical expression in the first trio in his publication, Wq 161. He gave the programmatic caption heading “Gespräch zwischen einem Sanguineus und Melancholicus” (dialogue between a Sanguine and Melancholy person), using footnotes in the music to make his intentions clear about the contrasting sections. What is not entirely clear is whether Bach was joining in the aesthetic debate or making fun of the philosophes regarding something self-evident. But it seems that his preface is genuine, and he provides footnotes “to assist those who do not yet possess sufficient insight into the musical expression.”

The first movement alternates between Allegretto in C (Melancholicus), played by the violin II con sordino (with mute), and Presto in G (Sanguineus), played by the violin I senza sordino (without mute). Bach explicitly states that one measure of the Presto should be equal to one beat of the Allegretto (3\(\frac{1}{4}\) in C = 4 \(\frac{1}{4}\) in G). It is clear in the opening dialogue that the two characters are debating, each trying to win over the other. The two violins start playing together in m. 55, where Bach’s footnote says “Melancholicus removes his mute here and follows Sanguineus.” But after a rest in m. 100, Melancholicus resumes his mournful theme in F minor. Melancholicus seems to be getting the upper hand in the Adagio, but Sanguineus will not give in (maintaining triplets throughout). Although it takes some time to convert Melancholicus, the two come together at the end of the Adagio, and play together in the final Allegro. Here the interplay is typical of Bach’s other trios, with friendly competitive counterpoint.

Sonata in C Major, Wq 91/4

Around 1776, C.P.E. Bach published three sets of accompanied sonatas for keyboard, violin, and cello (Wq 89, 90, 91). The first set had been requested by a publisher in London, possibly on the advice of J.C. Bach, who had published his Op. 5 a few years earlier with some success. This set was reprinted by Hummel in Amsterdam, and Bach published the other two sets at his own expense. The Sonata in C Major, Wq 91/4, is the last piece of the set, perhaps a bonus fourth added to the normal set of three sonatas in Wq 90 and 91. This Ario is certainly the easiest to listen to, and Bach left instructions for it to be converted to a set of variations for solo keyboard, as Wq 118/10 (see CPEB:CW, I/7, ed. Ulrich Leisinger). There are some subtle changes Bach made to accommodate the violin and cello accompaniment, but the interest remains mostly in the keyboard part. The theme (mm. 1–16) is in a four-square binary form (I–V, x–I), made up of two four-measure phrases which are repeated. Although they are not labeled in the original print, the variations follow the same structural pattern: variation 1 begins in m. 17; variation 2, in m. 33; variation 3, m. 49; variation 4 (in the parallel minor), m. 65; variation 5, m. 81; variation 6, m. 97; variation 7, m. 113 (plus a two-measure transition); variation 8 (in E major), m. 131; variation 9, m. 147 (plus a four-measure coda). This set of variations can stand with the best of Haydn’s and Mozart’s.

Fantasia in F-sharp Minor, Wq 80

The Fantasia in F-sharp Minor exists in two distinct versions: Wq 67 for solo keyboard and Wq 80 for violin and keyboard (see figures 3 and 4 on p. 61). While such reworkings are rare with other composers, Bach seems to have liked to return to his earlier works to tinker and improve. Sometimes this meant minor revisions to update

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51. I am indebted to Karl Böhmer for these observations (private correspondence).

52. An exception is Mozart’s reuse of the Kyrie and Gloria from his Mass in C Minor, K 427 (1783), as the basis for his oratorio Davide penitente, K. 469 (1785).
a passage; other times he wrote a new middle movement; and occasionally he seems to have become obsessed with certain works, adapting them for different scoring or thoroughly revising them.\(^53\) To his Fantasia Wq 80 for violin and keyboard, Bach added the subtitle: “C. P. E. Bach’s Empfindungen” (C. P. E. Bach’s feelings). There is no music more abstract and advanced until Beethoven’s late quartets and sonatas, written some 30 years later. A few passages sound like Schoenberg (see, e.g., mm. 94–95). Both Fantasias were composed in 1787, the year before Bach died, and the music obviously had some special significance for him. Heinrich Poos notes that Bach quotes from his song “Andenken an den Tod” (thoughts about death), Wq 198/12, in mm. 31, 49, and 100 in both versions (see example 2).\(^54\)

The opening of Wq 80 is marked “Sehr traurig und ganz langsam” (very sad and entirely slow) which suggests that Bach was thinking of his own approaching death. (He was also very sad about his youngest son’s death in Rome in September 1778.) While most of Wq 67 is unmeasured, most of Wq 80 is measured, but the music of the latter follows the former rather closely, even if it appears to have many more measures. The main difference between Wq 80 and 67 is the addition of an Allegro in A major (m. 104; Wq 67 ends at the equivalent place in m. 101 in Wq 80). This postscript, derived from his sonata Wq 58/2/iii, in the fourth collection for “Kenner und Liebhaber,” seems to be life-affirming in the face of C. P. E. Bach’s own mortality.

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\(^53\) One of the more extreme cases is the Sinfonia for two violins and bass, H 585, also arranged for keyboard and violin, Wq 74 (1754), then arranged for solo keyboard as a character piece, “La Louise,” Wq 317/36 (1756), and finally incorporated in the Sonatina for keyboard, with two flutes, two horns, and strings, Wq 102 (1763).


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**ORCHESTRAL MUSIC**

**Symphony in E Minor, Wq 177**

When Burney visited Johann Adolf Hasse in Vienna, the elder composer recommended that the Englishman visit C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg to hear him play the clavichord.
Hasse singled out Bach’s Symphony in E Minor, Wq 177, “which he thought the finest he had ever heard.” This symphony was written in 1756 and published in 1759 by Schmid in Nuremberg. The print was issued with four string parts; Bach later added two flutes, two oboes, and two horns. Although it is generally known and performed today (as Wq 178) with extra winds, it would have been better known in the eighteenth century in the original string version. Bach told Burney that he had written “a couple of dozen symphonies (ein Paar Duzend Sinfonien) in 1772, but NV 1790 only lists eight symphonies he wrote in Berlin (all in major keys except Wq 177), plus the set of six string symphonies that he had just finished (Wq 182, commissioned by Baron van Swieten). Several years later Bach wrote a set of four orchestral symphonies he later published (Wq 183, see below). But if you count the trios titled “Sinfonie,” Wq 74 and 156 (see CPEB:CW, II/3.1 and II/2.2), and the “symphony improvised with Prince Lobkowitz one measure at a time” (listed in NV 1790, p. 65, but now lost), plus the other symphonies like Wq 177 for which Bach eventually added wind instruments, the total is closer to Bach’s estimate.56

The Symphony in E Minor opens with an agitated Allegro assai that has a unison opening, with a little turn (e–d–e–f–e–c), then starts to gather momentum over a repeated dominant B in the bass, coming to a half cadence in m. 10. Instead of landing back on the tonic in m. 11, Bach continues with the first of a series of unexpected harmonic progressions over a diminished seventh chord (c+d+e+f+a). This was a bold move, and the symphony is full of such twists. Later commentators have praised Haydn’s monothematic expositions, and Wq 177 similarly can be praised for its concentration of ideas. One of Haydn’s early works, structurally, stylistically, and harmonically. Though the opening chorus of Iphigénie en Tauride, adding the indication “Tempete” (storm; see example 3).57

The second movement, Andante moderato, is only 20 measures of music but is doubled in length with repeats. Bach arranged this movement as a keyboard piece for the second movement of his Sonata in G Minor, Wq 62/18 (1757).58 The third movement, Allegro, features the rhythm of which Bach was so fond. The overall structure is that of a three-movement sinfonia similar to an opera overture, but Bach goes beyond his immediate contemporaries (the Graun brothers, Quantz, and Franz Benda, to mention the most familiar) in harmony and form. The concert symphony was just beginning to be established in places like Berlin, Dresden, and Mannheim. Bach’s contribution to the genre, though modest in quantity, led the way to later developments in the symphonies of Mozart and especially Haydn.

Symphony I in D Major, Wq 185/1

The four Orchester-Sinfonien mit zwölf obligaten Stimmen (orchestral symphonies with 12 obbligato parts), Wq 183, written in 1775 and published as a set in 1780, are mature pieces, and were probably written for concerts that Bach gave at Hamburg in the 1770s.59 Any of these four symphonies might have been included in the present volume, and they are among the most frequently recorded and performed of Bach’s works. Is it a coincidence that Bach published four symphonies, the same number of orchestral suites by his father that he had in his music library? These four of C. P. E. Bach’s symphonies are quite advanced works, structurally, stylistically, and harmonically. Though each work has only three movements, arranged fast–slow–fast, they are closer to the late symphonies of Haydn and Mozart than Bach’s Berlin symphonies.

The Symphony in D Major, Wq 183/1, is a veritable catalogue of “Sturm und Drang” topoi set in a conventional sonata form (without repeat of the exposition). The Allegro di molto opens with a syncopated violin I phrase outlining the triad, which gives the first theme exceptional drive.

55. According to Burney 1775, 1:344: “As he [Hasse] was born near Hamburg, he told me, that he was not only glad I was going thither, as it was his country, but, as I should see the great Emanuel Bach there, whom he very much respected, and hear the best organists and organs, of any part of the world, unless they were much degenerated since he was there. Above all things, he recommended to me the soliciting Bach, to let me hear him upon the clavichord; and likewise desired me to enquire after a symphony of that author in E la mi, minor, which he thought the finest he had ever heard.”


57. Gluck conducted C. P. E. Bach’s oratorio Die Israeliten in der Wüste in Vienna, as Bach informed Forkel in a letter dated 3 January 1778; a libretto for the performance is extant but the performing material is lost. See Blanken, xxvi, 2:735 and 902.

58. See CPEB:CW, I/5.2. Bach published a few of his symphonies in keyboard arrangements; these are published in CPEB:CW, I/6.1 and 1/6.2.

59. One such concert in August 1776 featured all four of the symphonies. See Wiermann, 448–49.
EXAMPLE 3. Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride*, act 1, scene 1, mm. 108–16, woodwinds omitted
(cf. Christoph Willibald Gluck Sämtliche Werke, 1/9, ed. Gerhard Croll)
This gives way to a second contrasting theme featuring counterpoint between the solo bassoon and oboes. Virtually all of the movements run together, usually with a short transition from the tonic key of one movement to that of the next. In this case Bach pivots to B-flat to modulate to the remote key of E-flat major for the Largo. His scoring is reduced to flutes and solo viola and violoncello, with pizzicato violins to punctuate cadences. The brief, tender Largo abruptly yields to a Presto in D major. Several times (mm. 31, 34, 38, etc.) Bach interrupts the continuity. But overall the movement brings the symphony to an energetic, brilliant conclusion.

Concerto in B-flat Major, Wq 25

How to choose one or two from among C.P.E. Bach's more than fifty keyboard concertos? Bach himself might have chosen another, possibly Wq 31 in C minor, which he called one of his "Paradörs" in a letter of 28 April 1784. That work was one of several that he held back from the public and kept for himself to perform. The Concerto in B-flat Major, Wq 25, on the other hand, is a work full of public appeal. It was the second of three concertos that Bach published separately while in Berlin: Wq 11 was the first, and Wq 14 was the third. He eventually published a set of six concertos in Hamburg (Wq 43, discussed below). But Wq 25 can stand as representative of the many keyboard concertos he composed in the 1740s and 1750s.

The first movement, an Allegro di molto, begins with an opening tutti, a brilliant, extroverted theme. Though it is on a smaller scale than the keyboard concertos of Mozart, it exhibits the formal structure of a double exposition, first orchestra then the soloist. This is followed by a Largo mezzo in D minor. It is ultra-expressive in the empfindsam style. Notice the rising chromatic line in bass in mm. 7–10, which returns in mm. 65–67. In this restatement C.P.E. Bach calls for mutes (con sordini) in the strings, a frequent sound quality for his slow movements. An embellished keyboard part survives for this movement (it is published in the appendix to CPEB:CW, III/7, ed. Elias N. Kulu-kundis). The last movement, marked Prestissimo in 42, is in B-flat major; it is an early rondo-style theme that Bach expands to more than five hundred measures.

Concerto IV in C Minor, Wq 43/4

The Sei concerti per il cembalo concertato, Wq 43, were written in 1771 and published in the fall of 1772. They were written so that they could be performed with or without orchestra; Bach played some of the concertos for Burney on his clavichord at home on 12 October 1772. It is clear from announcements in the local newspapers and his correspondence with Breitkopf that Bach was writing mainly for an amateur market, though like Mozart in writing his first set of concertos for Vienna a decade later, Bach also wanted to impress connoisseurs as well. Like the other three concertos and symphonies (Wq 177 and 183), the Sei concerti were published in parts rather than in score, and Bach included cadenzas in the keyboard part.

The Concerto in C Minor, Wq 43/4 is one of the most advanced of the set, and the only concerto of Bach to introduce a Tempo di minuetto—all the other concertos have only three movements and the majority are connected by a short transition. Bach brings back the opening ritornello in his final movement, marked Allegro assai like the first movement but transposed to F minor. So after two intervening movements, a Poco adagio and Tempo di minuetto, the last movement sounds like a development section of a giant Allegro movement. Then at m. 107, Bach brings back the opening bars of the Poco adagio, followed immediately at m. 110 by the Tempo di minuetto, succeeded by the Allegro assai and a cadenza for solo keyboard. Coincidentally, at almost the same time as Bach’s concerto, Haydn wrote his “Farewell” Symphony, which has been held up as a harbinger of the Classical style.

60. “Das Concert C mol war vor diesem eines meiner Paradörs.” CPEB-Briefe, 2:1009. Stephen Clark translates this as “show pieces” (related to the French Paradeurs) in CPEB-Lettres, 204. Fifteen of Bach’s 52 concertos are in minor keys, a rather high percentage compared to a composer like Mozart, who only wrote two concertos in minor keys (K 466 and 489).

61. Burney 1775, 2:1272: “He played to me, among many other things, his last six concertos, lately published by subscription, in which he has studied to be easy, frequently at the expense of his usual originality; however, the great musician appears in every movement, and these productions will probably be the better received, for resembling the music of the world more than his former pieces, which seem made for another region, or at least another century when what is now thought difficult and far-fetched, will, perhaps, be familiar and natural.”


xxviii
VOCAL MUSIC

Bitten, Wq 194/9

C. P. E. Bach published his “Gellert” Lieder, Wq 194 just a year after the poet’s volume of Geistliche Oden appeared in print in 1756. Like all the songs in the collection, “Bitten” is a strophic setting. Its four verses are a prayer, asking for God’s mercy and forgiveness. The keyboard accompaniment is purposefully simple, since the songs were meant for devotional use in the home, not the concert hall. In the preface to the collection, Bach emphasizes his attempt to consider the entire poem, even though he generally only wrote music for one verse:

In the preparation of the melodies I have, so far as possible, considered the entire Lied. I say so far as possible because no one who understands music can be unaware that one must not require too much of a melody to which more than one strophe is sung, because the variety of the distinguishing marks, of the single- and multiple-syllable words, also often of the subject matter, etc. of the musical expression make a great difference. One will perceive from my work that I have sought in various ways to avoid many of these kinds of disparities.

I have added to my melodies the necessary harmony and embellishments. Thus I did not leave them to the caprice of an inflexible figured-bass player, and, consequently, one can use them as keyboard pieces. Since the voice part is always on top, untrained voices will thereby have a considerably easier experience.

His goal is to be both edifying and practical in order to reach as wide an audience as possible. Beethoven included the same poem as the first song in his setting of “Gellert” Lieder, Op. 48.

1. Gott, deine Güte reicht so weit,
   So weit die Wolken gehen,
   Du krönst uns mit Barmherzigkeit
   Und eilst, uns beizustehen.
   Herr! Meine Burg, mein Fels, mein Hort,
   Vernimm mein Flehn, merk auf mein Wort;
   Denn ich will vor dir beten!

2. Ich bitte nicht um Überfluss
   Und Schätze dieser Erden.
   Laß mir, so viel ich haben muß,
   Nach deiner Gnade werden.
   Gib mir nur Weisheit und Verstand,
   Dich, Gott, und den, den du gesandt,
   Und mich selbst zu erkennen.

3. Ich bitte nicht um Ehr und Ruhm,
   So sehr sie Menschen rühren;
   Des guten Namens Eigentum
   Laß mich nur nicht verlieren.
   Mein wahrer Ruhm sei meine Pflicht,
   Der Ruhm vor deinem Angesicht,
   Und frommer Freunde Liebe.

4. So bitt ich dich, Herr Zebaoth,
   Auch nicht um langes Leben.
   Im Glücke Demut, Mut in Not,
   Das wollest du mir geben.
   In deiner Hand steht meine Zeit;
   Laß du mich nur Barmherzigkeit
   Vor dir im Tode finden.

* * *

1. God, your goodness reaches so far, as far as clouds go; you crown us with mercy and rush to assist us.
2. Lord! My fortress, my rock, my refuge, hear my plea, mark my words; for I will pray before you!
3. Give me only wisdom and understanding, to know you, God, and those you have sent to myself.
4. My true fame is my obligation, the fame before your face, and pious love of friends.

65. See figure 6 for a facsimile of the German text; see CPEB:CW, VI/1 for a complete translation of the text in English.

Laß mir, so viel ich haben muß,
Nach deiner Gnade werden.
Gib mir nur Weisheit und Verstand,
Dich, Gott, und den, den du gesandt,
Und mich selbst zu erkennen.

3. Ich bitte nicht um Ehr und Ruhm,
   So sehr sie Menschen rühren;
   Des guten Namens Eigentum
   Laß mich nur nicht verlieren.
   Mein wahrer Ruhm sei meine Pflicht,
   Der Ruhm vor deinem Angesicht,
   Und frommer Freunde Liebe.

4. So bitt ich dich, Herr Zebaoth,
   Auch nicht um langes Leben.
   Im Glücke Demut, Mut in Not,
   Das wollest du mir geben.
   In deiner Hand steht meine Zeit;
   Laß du mich nur Barmherzigkeit
   Vor dir im Tode finden.

* * *

1. God, your goodness reaches so far, as far as clouds go; you crown us with mercy and rush to assist us.
2. Lord! My fortress, my rock, my refuge, hear my plea, mark my words; for I will pray before you!
3. Give me only wisdom and understanding, to know you, God, and those you have sent to myself.
4. My true fame is my obligation, the fame before your face, and pious love of friends.

So I ask you, Lord of host,
also not for a long life.
Humility in fortune, courage in need, that you will give me.
My time is in your hand; let me find only mercy before you in death.
Bitten, Wq 208/3

This motet for four voices and continuo is based on the song of the same title, Wq 194/9. It was one of only a handful of vocal works by C.P.E. Bach published in the nineteenth century. While the song is strophic, for the motet Bach set each of the four verses with different combinations of voices and harmony, thus creating varied reprises. (See text and translation above.) The first stanza begins with a homophonic chorale-like setting with the melody in the soprano, but for lines 3–4 Bach reduces the texture to the top three voices. In lines 5–6, the soprano and tenor have the melody in octaves, while the alto and bass weave a countermelody in eighth notes. Then the voices come together chorale style for the last line. Stanza 2 begins (at m. 29) with a tenor and bass duet, followed (in m. 57) by a soprano and alto duet. The two pairs of voices alternate through the rest of the verse and throughout most of stanza 3, as well (beginning at m. 57), but the melody is increasingly decorated. Finally, in stanza 4 (at m. 85) the four voices are arranged much the same as in the first stanza until the last line where the phrase “im Tode finden” (found in death) is extended in whole notes over eight measures, forming a short coda to the piece.

Der Frühling, Wq 202/A

Der Frühling was published as the result of a special challenge to composers (C. H. Graun, Bach, and J. F. Agricola), to set poetry written in hexameter: Drey verschiedene Versuche eines einfachen Gesanges für den Hexameter (Berlin, 1760). The preface to the first edition calls attention to the experimental quality of the exercise. The poet of “Der Frühling” was Christoph Martin Wieland, who was basing at the Weimar court in the 1770s and who worked with Anton Schweitzer to produce serious operas in German. Bach set the text through-composed in several sections, and at 150 measures it is one of his longer songs. The keyboard accompaniment consists of a figured bass and presumably doubles the vocal line; Bach added some cue-size notes (e.g., mm. 7 and 16) to fill in the first violin line that he later added to make a short chamber cantata, Wq 237 (see below). The song version begins in E major; Bach uses recitative (mm. 13–17) to modulate to D major (Allegretto, 3/4), and another recitative passage (mm. 28–32) to pivot to G major (Allegro, C). The tempos change frequently until settling in an Allegretto, 3/4, at m. 49. Then in m. 86, the music arrives at C major. Allegretto, 3/4, on the words “Singet mir, ihr Kinder der Schöpfung” (sing with me, you children of creation). Bach writes an ABA’ ariette for this closing section, with a recapitulation at m. 125. (The text and a translation by Ruth B. Libbey are given below.)

Freude, du Lust der Götter und Menschen, Gespielin der Unschuld,


* * *

Joy, you delight of gods and men, playmate of innocence, come forth to my song, down from yonder hill or out from that valley, where Springtime embraces you,

66. See Thomas Bauman, North German Opera in the Age of Goethe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). Schweitzer’s Alcest was published by Breitkopf in 1774, and Bach owned a portrait of the composer.
come, come from the meadow of the lilies and from the fragrant groves!

Who is this, who emerges there from the fragrant fields, lovely as modest Moon and sublime as Earth?

Oh! it is she, come in answer to my plea.

See, ambrosial flowers swarm out shimmering from her footstep! Thence she comes, the sister of Springtime.

Now joy spreads its gentle wings, and bears me high into the clouds. I see nature grow green here beneath me. On the wings of joy, drawn near to your throne, I sing, O Creator, your praise. Nature mixes with mine her hymns, harmonious sounds arise to you from the grove, and out of the valleys a flower-laden incense as for a holy offering.

Sing with me, you children of creation, sing praise to the love that gave us birth; tell its praises, seraphic heaven. You who glide forth there over the flowers, crystalline source, rustle it to the blossoms, from one wave to the other. Let all that lives praise the Lord and rejoice in Him.

Der Frühling, Wq 237

Bach rarely passed up a chance to experiment with new forms, and having set the poem “Der Frühling” (Wq 202/A) for voice and keyboard, he revised it as a cantata for tenor and string accompaniment (as Wq 237), probably around 1770–72. Although no trace of an opera by Bach survives, at least one reviewer claimed that he had attempted to write a Singspiel:

Because the late Bach in Hamburg had so fortuitously set to music the most excellent odes and oratorios, it was suggested that he would have been equally successful in opera as well. Once he was persuaded to undertake the composition of a Singspiel, Bach did it and delivered one act. It was rehearsed and failed utterly. The error lay only because Bach didn’t recognize dramatic effect.

We cannot be certain the reviewer had his facts straight; perhaps he was confusing C.P.E. Bach with his half-brother, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, whose setting of Brütis by Johann Gottfried Herder, completed in 1774 and now lost, was not successful. In spite of C.P.E. Bach’s lack of experience in opera, he certainly was capable of writing dramatic music.

The vocal line of the cantata follows closely that of the song but with minor variants, as does the sequence of modulation, though the cantata begins in D major and ends in B-flat major, transposed a whole step lower than the song. Bach expanded the one-measure keyboard introduction in Wq 202/A to a full opening ritornello (mm. 1–10) in Wq 237. The opening statement of the song (mm. 2–12) is repeated and developed in the cantata (cf. mm. 11–21, 22–25) with a short interlude in the strings (mm. 25–29) leading to a section of recitative (beginning at m. 30). melody and bass follow the song closely in the first Allegretto (mm. 35–43), with three additional measures before the Andantino (at m. 47), marked recitative in the cantata. In the second Allegretto (beginning at m. 60) even the string accompaniment is very similar to the keyboard accompaniment in the song. This continues in the third Allegretto (m. 73), but once again Bach extends the instrumental interlude (mm. 87–92). In the following section (“Die Natur vermischt …”), Bach extends the vocal line as well, repeating the phrase “eine harmonisch Geröne” (mm. 101–4), then repeats more of the text in mm. 112–22, with an opportunity for a coda in m. 121. The final Allegretto (“Singer mir” at m. 130) has many interpolations by the string accompaniment between phrases. As in the song, there is a contrasting B section (mm. 173–96), then a recapitulation (at m. 197) with the text “Alles, was lebt, das lobe den Herrn” (paraphrasing Psalm 150). Even the closing postlude is based on the song’s ending.

C.P.E. Bach was involved in concerts as well as church services at Hamburg, and he likely adapted his song for one of his tenors for a special occasion. In the last years of his life he used songs as the basis for choruses in his cantatas and Passions.

Magnificat, Wq 215

Chorus: “Magnificat anima mea Dominum”

According to the autograph score, C.P.E. Bach completed his setting of the Magnificat in Potsdam, on 25 August 1749. His first major choral work was thus completed almost a year before his father died at the end of July 1750. Although no specific documentation has yet come to light, the work almost certainly had its first performance in Leipzig before J.S. Bach passed away, probably either
during Advent/Christmas 1749 or on one of the Marian feasts in early 1750. Presumably, this was intended as an audition piece in the hope of eventually succeeding his father as cantor at the Thomaskirche. C. P. E. Bach's setting is compressed into nine movements instead of the twelve of J. S. Bach's setting (see table 2); nonetheless, there are some significant similarities between the two works. First, both begin with a tutti chorus in D major and the music is reprinted near the end of each work (as also in the case of Vivaldi's Gloria); where J. S. Bach reuses the music of the opening chorus for the "Sicut erat in principio," C. P. E. Bach reuses his "Magnificat" music in the "Gloria Patria" (example 4) then adds a grand double fugue for the "Sicut erat in principio" and final "Amen" (see examples 5–6). A couple of the movements of C. P. E. Bach's version seem modeled on his father's work, especially the head-motive of the "Deposuit potentes" with triplets instead of 16th notes. But perhaps the most striking difference is the "Sicut locutus est," which J. S. Bach set as a four-voice fugue and which C. P. E. Bach set as an aria for alto in his most sentimental style.

Because he initially had no opportunity to perform his Magnificat in Hamburg, C. P. E. Bach used most of the movements with parody texts in other cantatas. For instance, he adapted the first movement with a German text "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn" as a pasticcio cantata for the Feast of the Visitation of Mary in 1768. The Latin setting was easily adapted to fit the German words (see example 7). Eventually, in 1779 Bach revised the Magnificat for a concert in Hamburg. Since the fourth movement ("Et misericordia eius") had become known as a chorus (no. 4, "Fürwahr, er trug unsre Krankheit") in his Passions-Cantate (see below), which was performed every Lent in various churches in Hamburg, Bach wrote a new setting of this movement. (People who knew "Meine Seele" probably assumed incorrectly that he had adapted the Latin text to his original German setting.) He also took the opportunity to add horns to two movements, and three trumpets and timpani to the opening and closing choruses and aria no. 5; on the first page of the autograph score he added indications for the trumpets and timpani (see figure 7). Several years later, at a benefit concert in 1786, C. P. E. Bach performed his Magnificat again, along with the Credo from his father's Mass in B Minor, two movements from Messiah, one of his symphonies (perhaps Wq 178), and his double-choir Heilig (see figure 9).

**Passions-Cantate, Wq 233**

_Aria: Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze_

Bach spent the last 21 years of his life in Hamburg, where he was music director of the five principal churches. Burney wrote of the rather bleak state of music in Hamburg in October 1772:

After this visit, M. Bach accompanied me to St. Catherine's church, where I heard some very good music, of his composition, very ill performed, and to a congregation wholly inattentive. This man was certainly born to write for great performers, and for a refined audience; but he now seems to be out of his element. There is a fluctuation in the arts of every city and country where they are cultivated, and this is not a bright period for music at Hamburg.

At church, and in the way home, we had a conversation, which was extremely interesting to me: he told me, that if he was in a place, where his compositions could be well executed, and well heard, he should certainly kill himself, by exertions to please. 'But adieu music! now, he said, these are good people for society, and I enjoy more tranquility and independence here, than at a court; after I was fifty, I gave the thing up, and said let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die! and I am now reconciled to my situation; except indeed, when I meet with men of taste and discernment, who deserve better music than we can give them here.'

The Passions-Cantate was arguably Bach's best-known work, at least in Hamburg, where it was performed every Lent, and possibly in Berlin and other cities where it circulated in manuscript scores. Almost all of the music originated in his first setting of the St. Matthew Passion, H 782, in 1769, which he probably started writing in Berlin in 1768. One of the most beautiful arias in the work is "Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze," written to depict

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72. This cantata, H 819, was performed a few other years. Movements 4–7 are by the otherwise unidentified composer "Hoffmann," but the first aria, no. 3 was written by C. P. E. Bach. See the introduction to CPEB: CW, V/11 for a summary of his reuse of all movements in Wq 215: H 819 is published in CPEB: CW, V/6.3.

73. Burney 1775, 212–31, 52.

74. In the entry for the 1769 St. Matthew Passion, NV 1790, p. 59, states: "Aus dieser Paßion ist, nach Weglassung des Evangelisten und verschieden genommenen Veränderungen, die Paßions-Cantate entstanden." For an overview of C. P. E. Bach's Passions, see Ulrich...
### Table 2. Comparison of Magnificat Settings by J. S. Bach and C. P. E. Bach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J. S. Bach Magnificat, BWV 243</th>
<th>C. P. E. Bach Magnificat, Wq 215</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Aria (S): Et exultavit spiritus meus</td>
<td>2. Aria (S): Quia respextit humilitatem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aria (S): Quia respextit humilitatem</td>
<td>4. Chorus: Omnes generationes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Chorus: Omnes generationes</td>
<td>5. Aria (B): Quia fecit mihi magna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Aria (B): Quia fecit mihi magna</td>
<td>6. Chorus: Fecit potentiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Aria (T): Et misericordia eius</td>
<td>7. Chorus: Fecit potentiam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus: Gloria Patri—Sicut erat in principio</td>
<td>Chorus: Gloria Patri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chorus: Gloria Patri</td>
<td>Chorus: Sicut erat in principio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Example 4. C. P. E. Bach, "Gloria Patria et Filio," Soprano line, mm. 4–7, in the Magnificat, no. 8

#### Example 5. C. P. E. Bach, "Sicut erat in principio," Bass line, mm. 1–5, in the Magnificat, no. 9

#### Example 6. C. P. E. Bach, "Amen," Alto line, mm. 87–91, in the Magnificat, no. 9

Peter’s sorrow after denying Jesus outside the trial of the High Priest. Burney heard this aria and some other music from the work performed at a private concert in Hamburg:

Several of C. P. E. Bach’s vocal compositions were performed, in all which great genius and originality were discoverable; though they did not receive the embellishments, which singers of the first class might have given to them. M. Bach has set to music, a Passione, in the German language, and several parts of this admirable composition were performed this evening. I was particularly delighted with a chorus in it, which for modulation, contrivance, and effects, was at least equal to any one of the best choruses in Handel’s immortal Messiah. A pathetic air, upon the subject of St. Peter’s weeping, when he heard the cock crow, was so truly pathetic as to make almost every hearer accompany the saint in his tears.26

The aria, an Adagio in B minor for tenor accompanied by strings con sordini, is in Bach’s pathetic style. It is a dal segno form without any significant contrast in the B section; the singer, depicting Peter asking forgiveness for his betrayal, wallows in his shame and sorrow. (See text and a translation by Ruth B. Libbey below.) The Passiones-Cantate was published in an unauthorized keyboard-vocal score by A. J. Steinfeld in 1789 in Hamburg, a year after C. P. E. Bach’s death (see frontispiece in figure 8).

Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze,
Gott der Huld! sieh mein zerschlagnes Herze,
nimm es dir zum Opfer an!

Ach, ich sinke, wirst du mich nicht heben,
Gütigster, der schonen und vergeben,
Vater, der nicht ewig zürnen kann.

Turn toward my pains,
God of graciousness, see my downcast heart,
accept it as sacrifice!

If I can hope for 100 subscribers, which will become apparent within 4 weeks, I want to come out with my Heilig; this Heilig is an attempt to inspire far greater attention and sentiment through entirely natural and ordinary harmonic progressions than one can attain with any amount of nervous chromaticism. It is to be my swan song of this type, and thereby serve the purpose that I may not be forgotten too soon after my death.27

If I can hope for 100 subscribers, which will become apparent within 4 weeks, I want to come out with my Heilig; this Heilig is an attempt to inspire far greater attention and sentiment through entirely natural and ordinary harmonic progressions than one can attain with any amount of nervous chromaticism. It is to be my swan song of this type, and thereby serve the purpose that I may not be forgotten too soon after my death.27

Bach did publish his Heilig, mit zwei Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung (Heilig, with two choirs and an aria as an introduction; Wq 217) in 1779, “im Verlage des Autors” (published by the author) in Hamburg and printed by Breitkopf in Leipzig. Bach first performed the piece in an arrangement of his father’s cantata Es erhub sich ein Streit (BWV 19), as the Michaelmas Quartalstück for 1776.27 The double-choir Heilig was incorporated into several other works for Hamburg, including three other Quartalstücker: Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt, based on the cantata Michaels Sieg (Wf XIV/5) by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, in 1778; Nun danket alle Gott (Wq 241) in 1780 and 1783; and Der Freveler mag die Wahrheit schmähn (Wq 246) in 1785. He also used the chorus in Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft (Hymn of thanks for friendship, H 824e) in 1785, and in Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelis-Thurms (Music celebrating the completion of St. Michael’s spire, H 825) in 1786.28 Finally, he performed the Heilig as the concluding piece in a benefit concert for the “medizinische Armeninstitut” (medical institute for the destitute; see figure 9).

The work poses challenges mainly in its scoring for two full orchestras and chorus (SATB): Chor der Engel (choir of angels) and Chor der Völker (chorus of people). The ariaette for alto voice sets up the entrance of the “Engelchor,”

**Heilig, mit zwei Chören und einer Ariette,**

Wq 217

On 16 September 1778, C. P. E. Bach wrote to his publisher Breitkopf:


76. CPEB-Letters, 125. CPEB-Briefe, 6:441: “Wenn ich Hoffnung zu 100 Pränumeranten, habe, welches sich binnen 4 Wochen zeigen wird, wollte ich mit meinem Heilig herausbringen; dieses Heilig ist ein Versuch, durch ganz natürliche und gewöhnliche harmonische Fortschreiungen eine weiträumigere Auffassung und Empfindung zu erregen, als man mit aller ingediechen Chromatik nicht im Stande ist zu thun. Es soll mein Schwanen Lied, von dieser Art, sein, und dazu dienen, daß man meiner nach meinem Tode nicht zu bald vergessen möge.” A facsimile of the autograph score and first edition have been published as a supplement to series V in CPEB:CW.


shifting abruptly from G major to E major.\textsuperscript{79} The Heilig (German Sanctus) eventually gives way to an \textit{Alta breve moderato} double fugue on the words “Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll” (the whole earth is full of his glory). In the middle of the fugue Bach inserts the first two lines of the German Te Deum. In short, it is a monumental piece, a fitting “swan song” for a son of J. S. Bach. The English translations of the Heilig and Te Deum texts below are based, respectively, on Isaiah 6:3 (King James Version) and the Book of Common Prayer.

\begin{quote}
Herr, wert, dass Scharen der Engel dir dienen
und dass dich der Glaube der Völker verehrt,
ich danke dir, Herr!
Sei mir gepriesen unter ihnen!
Ich jauchze dir!
Und jauchzend lobesingen dir Engel und Völker mit mir.

Heilig, heilig, heilig ist Gott der Herr Zebaoth!
Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.
\textit{Herr Gott, dich loben wir!}
\textit{Herr Gott, wir danken dir!}

Lord, who is worthy to be served by angels,
and who is honored by all peoples who believe,
I thank you, Lord!
Let me praise you along with others!
I laud you!
And the angels and people joyfully sing your praises with me.

Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts.
The whole earth is full of his glory.
\textit{We praise thee, O God,}
\textit{We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.}
\end{quote}

Klopstock's \textit{Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste, Wq 239}

Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock was one of the leading contemporary poets of the late eighteenth century. His semi-sacred text celebrating the “morning song at the creation of the world” might have been written expressly for C.P.E. Bach (see text and a translation by Ruth B. Libbey below). Though Klopstock was a generation younger than the composer, both were seen as progressives and were occasionally compared and contrasted by critics. Bach's setting, scored for flutes and strings with two soprano soloists plus chorus, was published almost immediately after it was written in 1783.

Helm grouped Wq 239 with the “major choral works,” despite its modest scoring and relatively short duration (10–12 minutes); CPEB-CW published it in series VI, volume 4 with the \textit{Arias and Chamber Cantatas}. Clearly, the work falls somewhere between Bach's major choral works and vocal chamber cantatas. It was the last vocal work that Bach published at his own expense, and along with the late “Kenner und Liebhaber” collections, Wq 239 is representative of his late style. Far from sounding old-fashioned, the \textit{Morgengesang} shows Bach keeping up with the times.

1. \textit{Accompagnement}
Noch kommt sie nicht die Sonne, Gottes Gesendete,
noch weilt sie, die Lebensgeberin.
Von Duftes schauert es noch ringsumher
auf der wartenden Erde.

2. \textit{Arienmäßig}
Heiliger, Hocherhabner, Erster,
du hast auch unseren Sirius gemacht!
Wie wird er strahlen, wie strahlen
der hellere Sirius der Erde!

3. \textit{Arie}
Schon wehen und säuseln und kühlen
die melodischen Lüfte der Frühe!
Schon wallt sie einher, die Morgenröte, verkündiget
die Auferstehung der toten Sonne.

4a. \textit{Duet}
Herr, Herr, Gott, barmherzig und gnädig!
Wir, deine Kinder, wir mehr als Sonnen
müssen dereinst auch untergehen
und werden auch aufgehn!

4b. \textit{Chor}
Herr, Herr, Gott, barmherzig und gnädig!
Wir, deine Kinder, wir mehr als Sonnen
müssen dereinst auch untergehen
und werden auch aufgehn!

5. *Duett*
Halleluja! Seht ihr die Strahlende, Göttliche kommen, wie sie da an dem Himmel empor steigt, Halleluja, wie sie da, auch ein Gotteskind, aufersteht?

6. *Accompagnement*
O der Sonne Gottes und solche Sonnen, wie diese, die jetzo gegen uns strahlt, hieß er, gleich dem Schaum auf den Wogen, tausend Mal tausend werden in der Welten Ozeane!

Und du solltest nicht auferwecken, der auf dem ganzen Schauplatz der unüberdenklichen Schöpfung immer und alles wandelt und herrlicher macht durch die Wandlung?

7. *Chor*
Halleluja! Seht ihr die Strahlende, Göttliche kommen, wie sie da an dem Himmel empor steigt, Halleluja, wie sie da, auch ein Gotteskind, aufersteht?

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1. *Accompanied Recitative*
It still does not appear, the sun, God's messenger, it yet delays, the giver of life.
A shower of perfume still lies
on the waiting Earth.

2. *Arioso*
Holy, most exalted, first one,
you also made our Sirius!
How it shall shine forth, how shall shine forth
the brighter Sirius of Earth!

3. *Aria*
Already the melodious breezes of the early hours waft and rustle and refresh!
Already it flows in, the blush of day, and heralds the resurrection of the dead sun.

4a. *Duet*
Lord, Lord, God, gracious and merciful!
We, your children, we more than suns must one day also set and will also rise again!

4b. *Chorus*
Lord, Lord, God, gracious and merciful!
We, your children, we more than suns must one day also set and will also rise again!

5. *Duet*
Hallelujah! Do you see the radiant, divine one arriving, as it ascends there in the sky, Hallelujah, as it rises up there, also a child of God?

6. *Accompanied Recitative*
O of God's sun and such suns as this one, which now shines upon us, He commanded that there be, like the froth upon the waves, a thousand times a thousand in the oceans of the world!
And should you not be resurrected, you who on the whole stage of immeasurable creation always and all things transfigure, and render more glorious by transfiguration?

7. *Chorus*
Hallelujah! Do you see the radiant, divine one arriving, as it ascends there in the sky, Hallelujah, as it rises up there, also a child of God!