

INTRODUCTION

Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu, Wq 240 (H 777; BR-CPEB D 3), is the last of the three oratorios that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach composed during his years in Hamburg. Bach set the work to a libretto by Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725–98) that was first published in 1760. This libretto, after the famous *Der Tod Jesu* (1755, revised in 1760) and *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem* (1757), forms the conclusion of a trilogy that was widely disseminated in several authorized and unauthorized editions under the title *Geistliche Kantaten*. The librettist orients himself in the recitative movements, as Martin Petzoldt has shown in an exemplary study, on the “narrative connections from the Easter and Ascension traditions” (Erzählzusammenhänge aus den Oster- und Himmelfahrtsüberlieferungen), which are interpreted with continual reference to Old Testament texts.¹ The underlying biblical story is embedded between choral movements based on biblical *dicta*. Bach clarified the latent division of the text into an Easter and a post-Easter part through the bipartite structure of the work: Bach preceded each of the two parts with a short instrumental introduction. Part I, aside from the introduction, is framed by two choral movements (nos. 2 and 12); part II concludes with a three-part choral movement (no. 22). Biblical passages serve as the basis for the texts of these movements, with minor modifications to the text of the Luther Bible.² Chorus no. 2 is based on Psalm 16:10, which is cited in the New Testament in connection with the Resurrection of Jesus (Acts 2:27 and 13:35). Chorus no. 12 combines verse segments from 1 Corinthians 15:55 and 57. For the final chorus (no. 22), Ramler’s 1760 text print explicitly cites the individual segments of text, beginning with Psalm 47:6–7, which was also adopted in the original librettos for Wq 240 (sources OT 1 and OT 2 in the critical report). Petzoldt also makes it clear that in part I the resurrection event is depicted in four pairs of movements composed of recitative and aria (nos. 3–4, 6–7, 8–9, and 10–11); while in

part II the Emmaus story (nos. 14–16), the episode about doubting Thomas (nos. 17–19), and the Ascension (nos. 20–22) are respectively portrayed in three-part movement sequences (recitative–aria–chorus).

Ramler may have created the text of his *Auferstehung* cantata with a view toward a double setting—by Georg Philipp Telemann in Hamburg and by Johann Friedrich Agricola in Berlin.³ The text of *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* was set to music anew in the first decades of the nineteenth century by Carl Friedrich Zelter (1807), and by Friedrich Wilhelm Grund and Eduard Grell (both 1823), all of whom may have been inspired by Bach’s setting. While the work is today usually categorized as an oratorio (as it is in CPEB: CW, series IV), Bach and Ramler always referred to *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* as a cantata. This designation appears to agree with Johann Georg Sulzer’s definition of “cantata”: “A small poem of touching content, created for music, where in different types of verse observations, reports, feelings, and passions are expressed, which occur on the occasion of an important event.”⁴ A significant aspect of cantata poetry is that it should not be dramatic. The cantata is “the moral of a story, and not the story itself” (Moral einer Handlung, und nicht die Handlung selbst).⁵

Bach ignored certain specifications of the libretto in his composition: unlike Telemann, Agricola, Johann Adolph

1. Martin Petzoldt, “Zur theologischen Spezifik der von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach vertonten Texte am Beispiel des Oratoriums *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998a*, 137–58, esp. 142–43.

2. In later text revisions (see below), Ramler diverges still further from the text of the Luther Bible.

3. The first performance of Telemann’s setting (TVWV 6:6) apparently took place on 28 April 1760 in the Hamburg Drillhaus; a text print included with the autograph (PL-Kj, Mus. ms. autogr. Telemann 6) is undated. A performance of Agricola’s composition can first be confirmed for 1761; see *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und Gelehrten Sachen* 33 (17 March 1761), 129. See also Barbara Wiermann, “Werkgeschichte als Gattungsgeschichte: Die *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” *BJ* (1997): 117–43, esp. 133–34, n. 64 and 136, n. 70.

4. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1771), 1:191: “Ein kleines für die Musik gemachtes Gedicht von rührendem Inhalt, darin in verschiedenen Versarten, Beobachtungen, Betrachtungen, Empfindungen und Leidenschaften ausgedrückt werden, welche bey Gelegenheit eines wichtigen Gegenstandes entstehen.”

5. Ibid., 1:192. No sharp distinction between “cantata” and “oratorio” can be drawn from Sulzer’s *Allgemeine Theorie*, since both articles take Ramler’s *Tod Jesu* as their model.

Scheibe, and Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, C.P.E. Bach set the “Triumph!” texts not as chorales, as prescribed in the 1760 text print, but as choruses (nos. 5, 16, and 19, each with its own strophe of text), and by means of their necessarily expanded scope, lent them particular emphasis.⁶ The layout of the 1760 text print also leaves no doubt that Ramler had a double choir in mind for the concluding movement (“Chor 1.”; “Chor 2.”; “Chor 1. 2.”). Bach refrained from this—not least out of consideration for the small number of singers who were at his disposal in Hamburg—which is also reflected in the original librettos for Bach’s setting, where the corresponding text sections are simply through-numbered as “Chor 1,” “Chor 2,” and “Chor 3.”⁷ The choral movements thereby take on particular meaning, where nos. 16 and 19 are repetitions of the only inner choral movement (no. 5) from part I. These choruses and the concluding chorus are all in E-flat major, therefore determining the overall tonality of Bach’s setting; they constitute more than a third of the work.

In the course of the work on CPEB:CW (which gained impetus after 1999 through the rediscovery in Kiev of the sources of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin) it was discovered that not only aria no. 7 from the early version of Wq 240 (“Sei begrüßet, Fürst des Lebens!”; see appendix A), whose music stemmed from Bach’s *Trauungs-Cantate* (H 824a), drew on an older work by the composer. Two additional movements have been identified as self-parodies: chorus no. 5 (“Triumph! Triumph! Des Herrn Gesalbter sieget!”), which stems from the opening chorus of the *Einführungsmusik Hornbostel*, H 821e (there with the text “Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes”); and aria no. 11 (“Ich folge dir, verklärter Held”), which stems from aria no. 9 of the *Einführungsmusik Klefeker*, H 821b (there with the text “Dies ist mein Mut! Wohlan!”).⁸

6. The background for this is possibly that Ramler’s text is a parody of the chorale “Triumph! Triumph! Gott, Gott hat überwunden” by Johannes Saubert d. J. (Z 879), first attested in 1674, whose melody by Johann Loehner was evidently known only locally in Germany. In fact the “Triumph!” choruses by Telemann, Agricola, Scheibe, and J.C.F. Bach have chorale-like melodies, but are newly composed. Besides, the use of chorales in church music was considered as specifically Protestant, with greatly limited acceptance in Catholic parts of the German-speaking world.

7. Of the examined settings, only Agricola’s is scored for double choir; the extant autograph (D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Agricola 4), however, is incomplete; see also Wiermann, “Werkgeschichte,” 137, n. 72.

8. On the relationship between H 821e and Wq 240 see CPEB:CW, V/2.6, xvii and CPEB:CW, V/3.2, xxiv; on the relationship between H 821b and Wq 240 see CPEB:CW, V/3.1, xxiii; see also Jason B. Grant, “Die Herkunft des Chors ‘Triumph! Triumph! Des Herrn Ge-

Performance History

According to the entry in the estate catalogue (NV 1790, p. 55: “Ramlers Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt. H. 1777 und 1778. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Flöten, Hoboen und Hörnern.”), the work supposedly was composed in Hamburg in the years 1777 and 1778. But this date can only refer to a major revision, as will be shown below. The history of Bach’s *Auferstehung* is extraordinarily complex—from its apparent origin as early as 1774 to its eventual publication in 1787 and subsequent reception—and is not yet known in every detail. Many important sources are undated, and rendering things still more difficult is the fact that in the original musical sources changes were made at different times. The evidence of the original score (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 336; source A) and the original set of parts (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 178; source B) is mutually consistent, though, and thereby easily allows a relative, but not an absolute, chronology of the revision phases to be established.⁹ Before the details of the work’s compositional stages can be presented, the most important facts about its reception history are given first (see table 1 for all known performances in Bach’s lifetime).

The earliest document is a report by Johann Heinrich Voß to his friend Ernst Theodor Johann Brückner from 2 and 3 April 1774. It states that on the Saturday before Easter of that year Bach “performed his new *Auferstehung*” (seine neue Auferstehung aufführte).¹⁰ This citation was long misunderstood in the research literature as evidence of a concert performance. This is unlikely, however, for on Easter days the participation of Bach and the town musicians at the principal and vesper services at St. Petri and St. Nicolai can be presupposed. One can hardly imagine that the additional performance of an entire oratorio in that narrow timeframe could have been accommodated. Further, one may assume that an event of this level—the

salbter sieget’ aus dem Oratorium ‘Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu’ von C.P.E. Bach,” *BJ* (2011): 273–86; revised and expanded as “The Origins of the Aria ‘Ich folge dir, verklärter Held’ and the Recurring Chorus ‘Triumph!’ from the Oratorio *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 44, no. 2 (2013): 6–24.

9. For methodological reasons the information given here was independently researched for the present edition; only later was the exemplary study in Wiermann, “Werkgeschichte,” consulted (and found to be substantially in agreement). Another important study is Rifkin 1985.

10. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:381. See also Voß’s letter of 4 April 1774 to Johann Martin Miller, in which Voß reports that Bach “performed his new composition of Ramler’s *Auferstehung*” (seine neue Composition von Ramlers Auferstehung aufführte); *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:382–83.

TABLE I. DOCUMENTED PERFORMANCES OF WQ 240 IN BACH'S LIFETIME

Date	Place	Remarks
2 April 1774	Hamburg	Vespers of Easter at St. Petri, possibly only part I performed; possibly also performed Easter Sunday (3 April) if performed as <i>Quartalstück</i> ; cf. CPEB-Briefe, I:381–84 (see also CPEB:CW, V/2.I, xv)
18 March 1778	Hamburg	Concert at Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp (see OT 1 and Wiermann, 452)
6 April 1778	Hamburg	Concert at Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp (see Wiermann, 455–56)
29 March 1779	Hamburg	Concert at Kramer Amthaus (see Wiermann, 458)
31 March 1782	Hamburg	Nos. 2–7 only (revised version), as part I of Easter <i>Quartalstück</i> at St. Petri (see BR-CPEB F 11 and CPEB:CW, VIII/3.3, 153–56); presumably also performed at other Hamburg main churches during Easter season (see CPEB:CW, V/2.I, xvi, table 1)
30 April 1783	Hamburg	Service on Wednesday after Quasimodogeniti at Waisenhauskirche (see OT 2 and Wiermann, 412)
26 February 1788	Vienna	Private performance conducted by Mozart at home of Count Johann Esterházy; see Wiermann, 472
2 or 4 March 1788	Vienna	Private performance conducted by Mozart at home of Count Johann Esterházy; see Wiermann, 472
7 March 1788	Vienna	Concert conducted by Mozart at Hoftheater; see Wiermann, 472

premiere of a major work—would have been announced in the Hamburg newspapers, whereas music for church services was mentioned there only exceptionally. As Voß spoke expressly of a performance in a church setting (“Yesterday afternoon Bach took me with him to the choir” [Gestern Nachmittag nahm mich Bach mit aufs Chor]), it can thence be concluded that Bach’s *Auferstehung* was heard for the first time in the vesper service on the Saturday before Easter. Here the question arises whether the work was performed just once, or whether it was not also performed as the Easter *Quartalstück* for the year 1774—for which any other evidence is lacking—and thus was performed in more than one of the Hamburg main churches. A libretto from the year 1782 gives a hint in this direction, which includes as part I of the Easter *Quartalstück* nos. 2–7 of *Die Auferstehung* (in a revised version) and a concluding chorale; whether at that time an instrumental introduction preceded the piece is, as usual, not apparent from the libretto. Perhaps only an excerpt, limited to the Easter part (the Resurrection), was thus performed in 1774 in the church service. That the scope of the biblical story in Wq 240 extends beyond Easter Sunday speaks against the inclusion of any additional narrative: for example, the story of the disciples in Emmaus (no. 14) is liturgically not meant for Easter Sunday, but rather was then, as today, the reading for Easter Monday.

Several public performances of the complete work took place in the years 1778 and 1779 in Hamburg and are attested through ample newspaper reports and a libretto. The first of these performances was given on Wednesday 18 March 1778, at 5:30 p.m., in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp. The entry fee was 2 Marks, and librettos could be

purchased at the door for 4 Schillings, or in advance from the composer. In addition Bach played a solo on the fortepiano.¹¹

In a detailed and expert report in which the author described his impressions of a visit to the rehearsal, a reference is made to the libretto, which can be clearly identified because of the title and a printer’s error that was surely noted by Bach; this pertains to the undated libretto printed by Johann Philipp Christian Reuß (source OT 1).¹² A discussion of the concert, dated 19 March 1778, is quite brief, as was then customary, and offers no conclusions on the version of the work or the other participants.¹³

“Pursuant to the wishes of many friends of music” (dem Wunsche vieler Musikfreunde zufolge) Bach performed *Die Auferstehung* a second time in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp on Monday 6 April 1778, also at 5:30 p.m.¹⁴ This time the program was expanded to include a keyboard concerto and a trio, as well as the double-choir Heilig, Wq 217. A newspaper announcement published two days before the concert refers explicitly to the two-part structure of Wq 240: “After the end of part I, Mr. Kapellmeister will play a new concerto on the fortepiano, and at the end

11. *Hamburger Relations-Courier* (12 March 1778), 4; Wiermann, 452 (text A). On the same day in the Werk-, Armen- und Zuchthaus, Telemann’s *Seliges Erwägen* was performed, apparently not under Bach’s direction; see Wiermann, 425.

12. *HUC* (17 March 1778), 4; Wiermann, 452–54 (text B). The error mentioned in the report is in the text of no. 12 in OT 1, which reads “Gott sey Dank!” instead of “Dank sey Gott!”

13. *HUC* (20 March 1778), 4; Wiermann, 454 (text C).

14. *Hamburgische Adreß-Comtoir Nachrichten* (6 April 1778), 224; Wiermann, 455–56 (text C).

of part II he will play a trio. At the conclusion an aria and the well-known, excellent double chorus: Heilig, heilig, heilig, etc., composed by Mr. Bach, will be performed.”¹⁵ Again the offer of tickets and librettos “from Mr. Bach and at the door” (bey Herrn Bach und am Eingang) is mentioned. But it is unlikely that a dedicated libretto containing both Wq 240 and Wq 217 would have been printed for the event.

Finally, within the framework of a concert series given by Bach in 1779, in which *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* (Wq 238) was performed on 15 March, and the Magnificat (Wq 215, in its revised version) on 22 March, a further performance of *Die Auferstehung* took place on 29 March.¹⁶ A libretto prepared specifically for this performance is not extant, although here too copies could be purchased under the usual conditions.

As mentioned above, several performances of nos. 2–7 of Wq 240 (likely with the introduction, no. 1), as part I of the 1782 Easter *Quartalstück*, evidently took place in the Hamburg main churches.¹⁷ As the extant libretto documents, Bach by this time had replaced the original aria no. 7, “Sei begrüßet, Fürst des Lebens!,” with a new composition on the text “Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint!”

Although Bach, in December 1781, considered selling the oratorio with all the associated rights to the organist Johann Gottlieb Georg Lehmann (c. 1745–1816) in Berlin, a reason for which Bach mentioned in a letter to Ramler of 5 December (“I will not readily perform it again.” [Ich werde sie nicht leicht wieder aufführen.]),¹⁸ an additional performance nevertheless took place in Hamburg, under the direction of the composer, on Wednesday 30 April 1783. This was announced briefly in several Hamburg newspapers.¹⁹ The performance took place in the Waisenhauskirche as part of a service, thus without entrance fee, at 7:15 a.m.; it makes sense to associate the undated libretto, which Dieterich Anton Harmsen printed for a performance “in

the local orphanage” (im hiesigen Waisenhause), with this occasion (source OT 2).²⁰ While the performances in 1778 and 1779 took place at Bach’s own expense and risk, the performance in the church service took place in his official capacity, for Bach submitted an invoice for a total of 150 Marks:²¹

Für die Probe u. Aufführung der Auferstehung im Waisenhause 83	
11 Rollbr. a 3 Mk f.	33 Mk
10 R. Mus. u. Exp. a 4 Mk f.	40 —
H. Lüd. für Bem. und Fl.	5
Calcant	2
Knoph	1
	<hr/> 81 Mk.
H. Illert.	4 —
Hoffm.	4 —
Michel	4
Hartm.	4
Schief.	2
Seidel	3
Delver	3
Hofg.	3
Nehrl.	3
Schuchm.	2
Lau	3
Schwenke	4
	<hr/> 120 Mk.
Für mich und Copialien.	30 —
	<hr/> 150 Mk

Bach charged 30 Marks for himself “and copying expenses” (und Copialien); the original parts, however, do not allow us to ascertain whether new copies were made on a larger scale. The only newly copied part that can be associated with this performance is a third copy of the soprano part (S rip), in an otherwise unattested hand, which contains only the choral movements. Despite the small size of the church,²² Bach was uncharacteristically able to deploy there a total of twelve singers, of whom some were

15. HUC (4 April 1778), 4: “Nach Endigung des ersten Theils wird der Herr Kapellmeister ein neues Concert auf dem *Forte piano*, und zu Ende des zweyten Theils ein *Trio* spielen. Zum Schluß wird eine Arie und das bekannte vortreffliche Doppel-Chor: Heilig, heilig, heilig, etc. nach der Composition des Herrn Bach, gemacht werden.”; Wiermann, 455 (text B).

16. HUC (24 March 1779), 4; Wiermann, 458 (IV/22).

17. The expected performance rotation (each with Vespers the day before) would have been St. Petri on Easter Sunday, St. Nicolai on Easter Monday, St. Catharinen on Quasimodogeniti, St. Jacobi on Misericordias Domini, and St. Michaelis on Jubilate. See Sanders, 18, and CPEB: CW, V/2.1, xiii, table 1.

18. CPEB-Letters, 180; CPEB-Briefe, 2:911.

19. Wiermann, 412 (III/68).

20. Harmsen is documented as a book printer in Hamburg between 1753 and 1795; apparently he was located near the Waisenhaus and had already published the *Rede bey Legung des Grundsteins zum Waisenhaus* by Johann Martin Michaelsen (exemplar in D-Ha) in 1781.

21. D-Ha, 462 (*Rechnungsbuch der Kirchenmusiken*), p. 158; also transcribed (partly incorrectly) in CPEB-Briefe, 2:969.

22. See Dorothea Schröder, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Aufführungsorte in Hamburg: Die Nebenkirchen und der Konzertsaal auf

not among the regular Hamburg church singers (see below, “Aspects of Performance Practice”).

Further performances in Hamburg in Bach’s lifetime are not known; the original set of parts shows isolated corrections, however, which permit one to guess at a further occupation with the work after 1783. Only with the printing completed in 1787 (source C) did a dissemination of the composition begin outside of Hamburg. Astonishingly there is no hint that Bach made the composition available in advance at least to his librettist or to people in his closest circle, such as Johann Friedrich Hering and Princess Anna Amalia in Berlin or his half-brother J. C. F. Bach in Bückeburg. Bach’s explicit note “Nobody has this” (Hat niemand) on the title leaf of the autograph score points to this. With the exception of some extra parts added to the original set, which relate to performances by the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin after 1805, all known handwritten copies of the work are dependent on the original print; many of them, however, show adaptations to local performance customs.

That the actual number of performances of the work in the first decades after its publication is high is shown by a comparison of the extant manuscript sources and contemporary documents. According to the present state of knowledge, through newspaper reports or contemporary printed librettos, only a few performances outside of Hamburg before 1800 can be shown. That the reception really began only in 1788 is clear from the fact that the oratorio was seasonally linked to Easter and the Ascension, and the distribution of the print began at the earliest at the end of February 1787, that is, just some five weeks before Easter (8 April 1787).²³

In addition there is an undated libretto that was printed by Spener in Berlin, probably no later than 1800, but for which no performance date can be determined.²⁴ A good

dozen copies with performing material based on the original print confirm early performances, even in smaller locales, chiefly in central Germany, about which nothing else is known.²⁵

The Original Print

More than thirty documents, mostly letters from Bach to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, some of which contain notes on Breitkopf’s replies, relate to the printing of Wq 240; they are excerpted here. Bach considered printing the work as early as October 1780, as is evident from some casual remarks in his letter of 27 October of that year to Breitkopf. In the margin Bach noted: “What do you think? Are there perhaps a few dozen to be hunted up in your neighborhood, who might risk 1 louis d’or if I have my *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt* by Ramler printed?”²⁶ Since Bach received no answer from Breitkopf, he followed up on 31 January 1781. Bach pointed out that the publication of *Die Israeliten* was at his own expense; *Die Auferstehung* would be about the same size, and as with *Die Israeliten* he would assume a printing of 360 copies.²⁷ Although Breitkopf confirmed that starting at Easter a typesetter would be available, on 14 February 1781 Bach entertained doubts as to the profitability of the undertaking, since in the meantime he estimated the size at 50 score sheets (as opposed to 112 music pages, or barely 30 sheets, with *Die Israeliten*).²⁸ From Breitkopf’s notes on the letters it appears that he advised Bach to carry out a publication by subscription (*Pränumeration*)—that is, to gather the payments even before the printing—not by purchase agree-

(in which he incorporated Bach’s own “incomparably” [unvergleichlich] composed aria “Ihr Tore Gottes, öffnet euch!”) seems to have detracted from the standing of Bach’s setting in Berlin. In BR-CPEB, 2:109, a libretto from Breslau (1776), which for chronological reasons cannot relate to Bach’s setting, is erroneously listed.

25. In light of the numerous manuscript sources known today but not included in Helm, the assumption that the reception of Bach’s *Auferstehung* would have declined markedly as contrasted with the *Passions-Cantate* (Wq 233) and *Die Israeliten*, as Ulrich Leisinger suggests in “Die Rezeption der Oratorien Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs an den östlichen und südlichen Rändern des deutschen Sprachgebiets,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 2009*, 133–50, esp. 142 and 145, is no longer tenable.

26. CPEB-Letters, 167; CPEB-Briefe, 1:864: “Was meynen Sie? Sollten wohl in Ihrer Nachbarschaft ein Paar Dutzend aufzutreiben seyn, welche 1 Louis d’or dran wagen dürften, weñ ich meine Auferstehung u. Himmelfa[h]rt von Ramlern drucken ließ?”

27. As noted in the commentary on this letter (CPEB-Briefe, 1:876), in fact only 350 (not 360) copies of *Die Israeliten* were printed, along with three presentation copies on better paper; cf. CPEB-Briefe, 1:489.

28. CPEB-Letters, 171–72; CPEB-Briefe, 1:876.

dem Kampf,” in *Impulse—Transformationen—Kontraste*. Georg Philipp Telemann und Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz, Magdeburg, 17. und 18. März 2014, anlässlich der 22. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage, ed. Carsten Lange, Brit Reipsch, and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 214–30, esp. 220–21; also 229–30 (plates 6 and 7).

23. There is no evidence for a Leipzig performance of Wq 240 by Johann Friedrich Doles or Johann Adam Hiller in 1787. Hiller’s comprehensive music library apparently contained parts only for two unspecified choral movements from Wq 240; see *Erste Fortsetzung des Catalogs geschriebener, meist seltener Musikalien, auch theoretischer Werke, welche im Bureau de Musique von Hoffmeister et Kühnel zu haben sind*. N. B. Grösstentheils aus J. A. Hiller’s Nachlaß (Leipzig, [1804]), 1, no. 25. Hiller also intended excerpts of the work, beginning with the accompaniment no. 20 (“Auf einem Hügel”), to be a now-lost Ascension cantata; *ibid.*, no. 80.

24. Exemplar in D-B, Tb 85/1. From 1807 on, Zelter’s new setting

ment (*Subskription*). Bach quite soon gave up the plan again, however, and advised Breitkopf on 8 March 1781 of his “changed intention” (geänderten Vorsatz), whereby he projected first tackling the printing of his third collection “für Kenner und Liebhaber” (Wq 57).²⁹

A further attempt at publication followed in 1784. On 28 April of that year, Bach asked Breitkopf to reduce the size of the print run of the *Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste* (Wq 239) then in preparation, because the number of subscribers had fallen short of his expectations; if Breitkopf had already purchased the paper, then the excess paper could be used for *Die Auferstehung*, which Bach wanted to advertise on St. John the Baptist’s Day (24 June; “at Johannis” [auf Johāni]), and which would have the same format and the same paper as the *Morgengesang*.³⁰ The plans were solidified on 23 June 1784.³¹ In the meantime Bach had a fair copy made of Wq 240, which he believed would correspond to the layout of the print of *Die Israeliten*; this copy—without a title or the expected list of subscribers—consisted of 35 sheets, or 140 pages. Based on Breitkopf’s calculation for *Die Israeliten*, Bach thus calculated that with a subscription price of 3 Reichsthaler, approximately 120 orders would cover the costs. The closing sentence of the first paragraph of the letter of 23 June remains cryptic: “I must have it printed for certain reasons, no matter how it may go.” (Aus Ursachen muß ichs drucken lassen, es mag gehen, wie es will.)³²

That Bach was in earnest this time is clear from advertisements that he published, for example, in *HUC* (9 July 1784, pp. 3–4), which in turn derived in large part from the detailed concert announcement of 17 March 1778 (cited above). Only the actual announcement of the print run (at the beginning) and the details of the subscription process with announcement of its publication at Easter 1785 (at the end) were added. Additionally the replacement of aria no. 7, “Sei begrüßet, Fürst des Lebens!” with “Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint!” was mentioned: “Herr Professor Ramler [has], at the request of Herr Kapellmeister, written another aria, which is composed as an *Adagio*.” (Herr Professor Ramler [habe], auf Ersuchen des

Herrn Kapellmeisters, eine andere Arie gemacht, welche als ein *Adagio* componirt worden.) Bach assumed a size of 36 to 37 sheets, and set the subscription price at 3 Thalers and 8 Grosschen; the wholesale price was set at no less than 4 Thalers. The names of the subscribers were to be submitted to him by Easter 1785, so that the work might be delivered to them. As Bach could not count on similar numbers of subscribers as for his keyboard works, the agents, who would solicit the buyers, received a generous discount for the oratorio. With eight subscription copies, a free copy was pledged; and with four copies, one copy at half price was promised.³³ Bach included in his letter to Breitkopf of 17 July 1784 “2 newspaper announcements of my Ramler cantata” (2 Ankündigungen in der Zeitung von meiner Ramlerschen Cantate);³⁴ whether this meant two copies of the already-mentioned notice of 9 July in *HUC*, or whether it referred to two different announcements, is not clear from the correspondence. Breitkopf apparently asked how he should deal with the announcements, for on 18 August 1784 Bach confirmed: “The advertisement of the *Auferstehung* can be short.” (Das Avertiß.[ement] der Auferstehung kan kurz seyn.)³⁵ However, a corresponding Leipzig advertisement has not yet been identified; Breitkopf apparently did not charge Bach for a newspaper announcement.

Since the response was minimal, Bach elected on 9 October 1784 to have altogether only 250 copies printed, and advised Breitkopf at the same time of the shipping of the copy text for the typesetting.³⁶ This was then actually sent on 6 November 1784—the letter is erroneously dated two years later (“86”).³⁷ Bach warned Breitkopf against having the print set “too widely” (zu weitläufig). The composer further mentioned that he had closely looked through the copy text and had “changed various things” (unterschiednes geändert). In particular he noted a difficult-to-read spot on p. 106 of the now-lost manuscript, where he pointed out the proper interpretation of a correction: “the first 2 bars in the first trumpet are to be set as I have written above them” (die 2 ersten Takte in der ersten Trompete [sind] so zu set-

29. CPEB-Letters, 172; CPEB-Briefe, 1:878.

30. CPEB-Letters, 203–4; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1006–7.

31. CPEB-Letters, 206; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1013–14.

32. Similar formulas also appear in later letters from Bach to Breitkopf, e.g., on 6 November 1784 (again about Wq 240): “An unpleasant circumstance forces me to the printing, whereby I will certainly suffer losses.” (Ein unangenehmer Umstand zwingt mich zum Drucke, wobei ich gewiß Schaden leiden werde.) See CPEB-Letters, 216; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1046.

33. Wiermann, 303–6. The advertisement also appeared, in a slightly different form, in Carl Friedrich Cramer, *Magazin der Musik* (1784): 256–61.

34. CPEB-Letters, 207; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1016–17.

35. CPEB-Letters, 211; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1027.

36. CPEB-Letters, 216; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1044.

37. CPEB-Letters, 216–17; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1045–46. The correct date of 1784 is clearly indicated by the postmark (“1784”) and the date of receipt (17 November) that Breitkopf noted on the letter. See commentary in CPEB-Briefe, 2:1046–47.

zen, wie ich sie drüber geschrieben habe). The passage in question—apparently in the final chorus—cannot be precisely identified; most likely it involves mm. 72–74, which were heavily corrected in the autograph. Additionally Bach included a printed libretto for reference, but noted that a libretto—in contrast with the *Morgengesang*—should not be included with the printed score.

Breitkopf did not immediately confirm receipt of the manuscript, so Bach followed up on 8 December 1784;³⁸ almost at the same time he repeated the subscription appeal in *HUC*.³⁹ From Breitkopf's notes on the letter it is apparent that on 18 December he answered to the effect that he would fulfill the commission for 300 copies of the print and one dedication copy; Bach would receive the dedication copy and further copies as needed in advance, before the other clients were served. Breitkopf himself had not solicited a single subscriber; and he estimated the size of the print at 45 sheets, for which the composer would be charged a total price of 465 Thalers.

When Bach realized that his own calculation was wrong and the print would turn out to be considerably larger and therefore more expensive than he had expected, he asked Breitkopf to stop the printing immediately. He actually sent a duplicate (now lost) as well as the original of the corresponding letter of 23 December 1784,⁴⁰ to be absolutely sure that Breitkopf received it. Since Bach had only 50 subscribers, and the subscription price could not be raised, he decided: "The printing of my cantata in score will not be continued and will be abandoned." (Meine Cantate in Partitur wird nicht fortgedruckt u. bleibt liegen.) He asked Breitkopf to return the copy text and proposed, after receiving it, making a keyboard reduction that would then be printed. Bach wanted Breitkopf to use the time needed for this to print the fifth collection "für Kenner und Liebhaber" (Wq 59). Bach asked for information regarding how much of the oratorio had already been printed, and offered to pay for the incurred costs. Bach asked Breitkopf to send him the portions of the work that were already printed: "Would you please send me the sheets that have been printed at the same time. They are of no use to you and I will pay, as mentioned, everything very gladly." (Die

Abdrucke belieben Sie mir zugleich mitzuschicken. Sie sind Ihnen nichts nutze, u. ich bezahle, wie gesagt, alles alles sehr gerne.) Bach pointed out that the printer could certainly use the excess paper for other things in any case: for instance, J.C.F. Bach's intended publication of his setting of Ramler's *Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem* (BR-JCFB D 4);⁴¹ or perhaps for Wq 59. Breitkopf could, however, also wait for the planned keyboard reduction of *Die Auferstehung*; C.P.E. Bach would prepare a corresponding announcement.

Breitkopf answered promptly this time and charged Bach 25 Reichsthaler for 2½ typeset and printed sheets. Breitkopf was convinced it was sufficient to advise the subscribers of the changed plan through a new public announcement, and not to inform them individually (see commentary in *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1060). On 14 January 1785, Bach had already received back the copy text, but complained of a few "large ink-stains" (große Dintenflecke).⁴² The subscription appeal (dated 11 January 1785) for the keyboard reduction of *Die Auferstehung* and for Wq 59 had already appeared a few days before.⁴³ In various letters of January 1785—among others, to Ramler and apparently also Hering in Berlin, Johann Joachim Eschenburg in Braunschweig, the brothers Dietrich Ewald and Johann Ulrich von Grotthuß in Gieddutz and Leipzig, and Artaria in Vienna—Bach informed friends and agents of his changed plans and requested their support in its implementation.⁴⁴

Curiously, Bach announced just a few months later, on 15 April 1785, that he was once again thinking about publishing the work; Breitkopf immediately offered to publish a new advertisement.⁴⁵ In a letter of 8 July 1785, Bach was still waiting,⁴⁶ yet he told Breitkopf on 26 August 1785: "For the Ramler cantata in score I have eighty or so [subscribers]." (Zu der Raml. Cantate in Partitur habe ich etliche und achtzig [Pränumeranten].) Whereupon Breitkopf

38. *CPEB-Letters*, 218–19; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1050–51.

39. *HUC* (17 Dec. 1784), "Beilage," 2; Wiermann, 309.

40. *CPEB-Letters*, 219–21 (without mention of the duplicate); *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1054–57 (see 2:1061 for more on the duplicate, known from a 1926 catalogue of the Breitkopf archives). It remains unclear how Bach came to believe that the print could be shorter than his autograph score, which consists of 176 pages, in which the vocal parts for choruses nos. 16 and 19 are not even written out.

41. First mentioned in a letter from J.C.F. Bach to Breitkopf dated 15 March 1784; Leisinger 2011, 166–67. The work was never printed, due to a lack of subscribers, and is now lost.

42. *CPEB-Letters*, 222 (slightly modified); *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1061. This letter is lost but is excerpted in *Versteigerung XCVII. Autographen in der Hauptsache aus dem Nachlasse des verstorbenen Geheimrats Albert Köster, Leipzig, sowie aus altsächsischem Privatbesitz, Teil II* (Berlin: Karl Ernst Henrici, 1924), 1, no. 3.

43. *HUC* (12 Jan. 1785), 4; Wiermann, 311–12.

44. *CPEB-Letters*, 222–24; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1062–67.

45. *CPEB-Letters*, 226–27; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1073–74. For Breitkopf's reply see commentary in *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1076.

46. *CPEB-Letters*, 228; *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1079–80.

ran a new calculation, by which with a print run of 300 exemplars and the use of the already-printed sheets, a total of 145 exemplars sold at the subscription price would be needed to cover the printing costs.⁴⁷ Bach felt encouraged by this answer to make a new effort at enrolling subscribers, which he first mentions in a letter to Artaria on 4 October 1785.⁴⁸

On 30 November 1785, Bach finally approached Breitkopf with a new proposal: "The Ramler cantata must come out. How would it be if you published it, but NB not co-operatively, rather by yourself. I can supply you with eighty or so subscribers. Give me your honest opinion about this in writing."⁴⁹ Only on 11 February 1786 did Breitkopf cautiously inquire as to Bach's thoughts on an honorarium, particularly if the number of subscribers did not cover the production costs,⁵⁰ whereupon Bach responded on 28 February 1786 in an extensive letter.⁵¹ Believably, he based his wish to give the publishing rights to Breitkopf on his advanced age and heavy workload; also, in his situation he was reluctant to take on the high production costs, due upon publication, and could send Breitkopf a list of "nearly 100" (an 100) subscribers. Bach requested the following: an honorarium of 100 Reichsthalers after publication of the print; a reimbursement of 20 Thalers and 16 Groschen, which he had already paid at the beginning of 1785 for the copies of the first eight pages of music, which had already been printed and were in Bach's safekeeping; six to ten free copies of the print, which he wished to give only to non-subscribers; and, as appropriate, the right to dedicate the work to a person of his choice (which, as it turned out, did not happen). The printing of the keyboard reduction was expressly rejected by Bach, and there is no indication that Bach ever set about preparing one. Breitkopf once again calculated the costs on the letter itself.⁵² The basic cost for 500 copies ran to 443 Thalers and 4 Groschen; since the price of paper was the only cost factor dependent on the print run, the cost for 400 copies fell to 424 Thalers and 8 Groschen; and for 300, disproportionately, to 393 Thalers

and 4 Groschen, since only in this last case could the 300 already-printed initial sheets be used again. This resulted in unit costs of 22 Groschen (500 copies), 1 Thaler and 2 Groschen (400 copies), and 1 Thaler and 4 Groschen (300 copies); thus with a net sales price of 3 Thalers, the break-even points would be reached at 142, 136, and 125 copies, respectively. Bach's 109 subscribers appeared to be secure customers despite the long period since the first advertisement.

Breitkopf's calculations show, on the one hand, that he had charged Bach almost twice the actual production costs for the printed sheets, and on top of that, added for himself a long-term profit margin of 50 percent. This meant that Breitkopf would still have to sell 105, 99, or 89 further copies for print runs of 500, 400, or 300 copies, respectively, on the open market. This calculation was unfavorable, however, since the retail price would be higher than the subscription price, and additional discounts were not always necessarily granted. Only after Bach again inquired on 8 July 1786 did Breitkopf communicate a positive answer on 19 July 1786,⁵³ for which Bach thanked him on 28 July 1786. Apparently in answer to the question whether a keyboard reduction would not suffice, Bach defended the necessity of a printed score through a comparison with Carl Heinrich Graun's *Tod Jesu* in Hiller's already-published arrangement: "Keyboard reduction, particularly for 2 lines, is not possible. . . . Mine has a thicker texture and more counterpoint than that one." (Clavierauszug, zumahl für 2 Linien, ist nicht möglich. . . . Das meinige hat mehr starkes u. Arbeit, als jenes.)⁵⁴ At the same time Bach sent the copy text to Leipzig once again, as well as one copy each of the first and second sheets, "so that you know how far along you are" (damit Sie wissen, wie weit Sie sind), and he requested "one or 2 copies of my cantata on Dutch paper" (ein, oder 2 Exemplare auf holländischem Papier von meiner Cantate). Already on 2 August 1786 Bach once again published a brief appeal, according to which one could subscribe or purchase in advance as late as December.⁵⁵ In a letter of 18 November 1786 that is no longer extant, Breitkopf apparently communicated to Bach the publication date, to which Bach responded gratefully on 25 November 1786.⁵⁶ In this

47. CPEB-Letters, 232–33; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1090–92. For Breitkopf's calculation see CPEB-Briefe, 2:1092–93.

48. CPEB-Letters, 236–37; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1114–15.

49. CPEB-Letters, 239–40; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1124–25: "Die Ramlersche Cantate muß heraus. Wie wärs, wenn Sie sie verlegten, aber NB nicht gemeinschaftlich, sondern allein. Einige u. achtzig Praenummeranten kann ich Ihnen liefern. Schreiben Sie mir hierüber Ihre aufrichtige Meynung."

50. See commentary in CPEB-Briefe, 2:1125–26.

51. CPEB-Letters, 245–47; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1142–44.

52. See commentary in CPEB-Briefe, 2:1148–49.

53. CPEB-Letters, 248–49; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1159 (see commentary for the date of Breitkopf's reply).

54. CPEB-Letters, 249–50; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1160–61. See also Herrn Carl Heinrich Grauns . . . Passions-Cantate: Der Tod Jesu, in einem Clavierauszuge herausgegeben von Johann Adam Hiller (Breslau: Gottlieb Löwe, 1785).

55. HUC (2 Aug. 1786), 1; Wiermann, 320–21.

56. CPEB-Letters, 253–54; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1185–86.

letter of reply Bach instructed Breitkopf not to print the names of the subscribers. Bach also conveyed the work title, which Breitkopf in the end unilaterally altered, printing Ramler's surname as "Rammler" and Bach's given name as "Karl"; also he did not follow Bach's wish for dating the print "1786" but instead put the year 1787 (see plate 10). On 3 January 1787 Bach requested the two dedication copies, for which he halfheartedly offered payment, together with his free copies, as well as the eight copies for an unnamed Hamburg agent.⁵⁷ On 10 February 1787 he was able to confirm receipt of twenty-one copies and requested a delay of fourteen days before the start of sales and the delivery to subscribers, so that "my fine copy" (mein feines Exemplar) could be bound and sent to its intended recipient in Berlin, presumably Ramler.⁵⁸ The brief review announced by Bach on this occasion finally appeared a month later.⁵⁹

Until now, it had remained unnoticed in the literature that Breitkopf prepared a printed libretto of Wq 240 as well as the printed score. On 6 November 1784 Bach sent Breitkopf a copy of the Hamburg libretto along with the music copy text; there were no plans to incorporate a libretto into the printed score of Wq 240. That Breitkopf on this basis independently prepared a separate printed libretto is clear for the first time from a remark in Bach's letter of 8 September 1787, in which he asked Breitkopf to send him two copies of the oratorio as soon as possible, which Bach would forward by ship to Charles Burney: "Include 2 texts; I will pay for them" (Legen Sie 2 Texte mit beÿ, was dafür ist, bezahle ich an Ihnen).⁶⁰ Bach mentioned the libretto again on 4 November 1787, when he offered Johann Hieronymus Schröter the printed score "together with the text printed separately" (samt dem a part gedruckten Texte).⁶¹ Similarly, in a letter of 9 February 1788, altogether nine copies of the score purchased from Breitkopf "together with 5 texts" (samt 5 Texten) are mentioned, of which three belonged to an order by Hans

Adolph Friedrich von Eschstruth.⁶² The printed librettos were thus not automatically included with the score. How Breitkopf referred potential buyers to the libretto is unknown.

There is one exemplar of a printed libretto that may be connected with Breitkopf; its title accords with that of the printed score, but lacks the name of the printer.⁶³ The type used may well have come from Breitkopf's press; nevertheless there is but little material for direct comparison, since different font sizes also have different shapes in detail.⁶⁴ In any case it is remarkable that the version of the text in this libretto agrees neither with the printed score nor with any of the Hamburg librettos. Rather it follows the original version (with the aria "Sei begrüßet, Fürst des Lebens!"), and the numbering of the individual sections within the final movement agrees with the Berlin prints of Ramler's *Geistliche Kantaten* from the 1760s. Thus the libretto dated 1787—even if in fact it was distributed with the printed score—cannot be counted as an original libretto. That it relies not on the published score, but on another libretto, was already to be assumed for practical reasons.

Unlike with Bach's self-published works, details are lacking regarding the actual size of the print run of his *Auferstehung* and the precise distribution of the copies. That Breitkopf produced more than 300 copies in light of the minor cost differential—and thereby refused to reuse the sheets already printed in 1784—can be deduced from observations of the paper quality. In the examined copies the paper of the sheets with the signatures A, A2, B, and B2 does not differ from the rest of the work, not even as regards the tone of the paper, which with separate storage and multiple mailings between Leipzig and Hamburg seems hardly avoidable. Only the title page—as is often the case—is printed on another, somewhat thinner type

57. CPEB-Letters, 255–56; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1189–90.

58. CPEB-Letters, 257 (n. 3 suggests that the letter's recipient was more likely "a member of the nobility such as King Friedrich Wilhelm II or Anna Amalia"); CPEB-Briefe, 2:1193–94. The basis of the discrepancy, that is, twenty-one copies received compared to the twenty that Bach had requested in January 1787, is unclear. It is conceivable that Breitkopf gave the agent (per subscription conditions) an extra free copy with his eight copies. It would be unlikely that Breitkopf would have delivered only one dedication copy and that this would not have been commented on by Bach.

59. HUC (10 Mar. 1787), 6; Wiermann, 327–28.

60. CPEB-Letters, 268–69; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1225–26.

61. CPEB-Letters, 274; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1239–40.

62. CPEB-Letters, 277–78; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1251–52. See also Bach's letter to Breitkopf dated 21 September 1787 (cited below).

63. Karl Wilhelm Ramlers *Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*. In *Musik gesetzt von Karl Philipp Eman. Bach*. 1787. The only known exemplar is D-ERu, Hoo/THL-XVII 845. The substantial agreement of title between score and libretto has led to the latter's being listed erroneously as a copy of the score in RISM online (with the obsolete library siglum D-ERik) and in BR-CPEB, 2:105. In the *Allgemeines Verzeichniß derer Bücher, welche in der Frankfurter und Leipziger Ostermesse des 1787 Jahres . . . gedruckt . . . sind* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, [1787]), 632, the printed score is listed but not the libretto.

64. This libretto for Wq 240 closely resembles the appearance of *Das Privilegierte Ordentliche und Vermehrte Dreßdnische Gesangs-Buch* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1784). The evidence, however, is inconclusive. On the basis of the type used, it can be ruled out that the libretto stemmed from Johann Althans in Bückeburg, the only other place where a pre-publication performance of the work would even be conceivable.

of paper that shows only chain lines, but no watermarks. Additionally Bach complained in his letter of 21 September 1787: “My local friends are not quite satisfied with the penetrating paper of the cantata.” (Meine hiesigen Freunde sind mit dem durchgeschlagenen Papiere der Cantate nicht recht zufrieden.)⁶⁵ The original printed sheets apparently did not show this fault.

Following the instructions in Bach’s letter of 25 November 1786, Breitkopf did not include the subscribers’ names in the print. Unfortunately the copy of the list of subscribers that Bach had sent to Leipzig on 28 February 1786 has not come down to us. Nor is the whereabouts known of the copy that Bach sent on 21 September 1787, when Breitkopf complained about the foot-dragging of those subscribers who had not paid ahead of time as per agreement, or who had withdrawn from purchasing after the publication of the work. Bach’s famous statement about his work is found in this letter:

Although this Ramler cantata is by me, I can nevertheless claim, without ridiculous egotism, that it will wear well for many years, because it is among my masterpieces an important one, from which young composers can learn something. In time, it will also sell as well as Graun’s *Tod Jesu*. Initially, there is a hitch with [sales of] all such things that are written for teaching and not for ladies and musical windbags. My *Heilig* and my *Israeliten* are also stuck now. It is not of concern to me, they will eventually be sought after again.⁶⁶

Some of the subscribers, agents, and early buyers of the work can be determined from Bach’s correspondence, but a complete picture is not apparent. For instance, Artaria had originally subscribed for several copies, but then did not take any.⁶⁷ Six copies did go to Vienna, but to Gottfried van Swieten (who, however, never made advance payments) and one to Peter von Braun. Niels Schjørring, who was active as an agent in Copenhagen, received six copies and apparently one free copy; and H.A.F. von Eschstruth in Kassel received three copies. The book dealers Hartknoch

in Riga (who wanted to take six copies) and Ettinger in Gotha purchased several copies, whereas on the contrary Johann Christoph Westphal in Hamburg, even at the end of 1787, apparently had no copies in store.⁶⁸ Charles Burney in London and Baron Podmanitzky (presumably József Ludwig Podmaniczky von Aszód und Podmanin in Pest) each took two copies; Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal in Schwerin, Johann Heinrich Grave in Greifswald, and the organist Sauppe in Hadersleben, one each. Eschenburg in Braunschweig, Hering in Berlin, Johann Nikolaus Forkel in Göttingen, David August Appell in Kassel, “Cramer” (probably C.F. Cramer in Kiel rather than Johann Tobias Cramer in Gotha, who had died at the end of 1787), Israel Gottlieb Wernicke in Copenhagen, Christoph Friedrich Wilhelm Nopitsch in Nördlingen, Eucharius Florschütz in Rostock, as well as a Herr Kayser in Havelberg and a not firmly identifiable subscriber named Rosen (or Rose),⁶⁹ had also at times shown interest in the work. The same applied to the two von Grotthuß brothers in Gieddutz in Courland; however, the older, Dietrich Ewald, had died in 1786. After publication of the work, Bach contacted—with unknown result—the lawyer Findeisen in Itzehoe (letter of 9 October 1787) and offered to lend the performing material to him, as well as Johann Hieronymus Schröter in Lilienthal (letter of 4 November 1787).⁷⁰

Sources

The three main sources for Wq 240 (sources A, B, and C) are described in detail in the critical report, but some details are worth mentioning here. Below C.P.E. Bach’s inscription on the title leaf of the autograph score, J.C.F. Bach, who himself had set the Ramler text for Easter 1772 (BR-JCFB D 3), added a remark that he had received the score as a gift from his brother. This gift is also confirmed in a letter from J.C.F. Bach to Breitkopf dated 14 March 1789. Breitkopf had sent a copy of the print of Wq 240 to the Bückeburg Bach, who returned it with the words “*Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt* by my departed brother will come back via Meyer’s book shop, because my de-

65. CPEB-Letters, 269–71; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1227–30.

66. Ibid.: “Diese Ramlersche Cantate ist zwar von mir, doch kann ich ohne närrische Eigenliebe behaupten, daß sie sich viele Jahre erhalten wird, weil sie von meinen Meisterstücken ein beträchtliches mit ist, woraus junge Componisten etwas lernen können. Mit der Zeit wird sie auch so vergriffen werden, wie Grauns Tod Jesu. Anfänglich haperts mit allen solchen Sachen, die zur Lehre u. nicht für Damen u. musikalische Windbeutel geschrieben sind. Mein Heilig u. meine Israeliten stocken jetzt auch; mir ist aber nicht bange, endlich werden sie wieder vorgesucht.”

67. CPEB-Letters, 255–56; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1189–90.

68. CPEB-Letters, 275–76; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1244–45.

69. That “Rosen” refers to Friedrich Wilhelm Rose in Herford (CPEB-Letters, 276, n. 10; commentary in CPEB-Briefe, 2:1247) is plausible, since he is confirmed to be among those interested in the sixth collection “für Kenner und Liebhaber” (Wq 61) with subscription location of Hamburg, whereas others of the same name are listed as buyers of this collection with the subscription location of Danzig, which Bach usually did not supply directly.

70. CPEB-Letters, 272–74; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1235–40.

parted brother sent me such in manuscript.”⁷¹ It is clear that C.P.E. Bach had left the autograph during his lifetime to his younger brother, but probably only after the work had been printed, that is, in 1787 or 1788. The autograph score of Wq 240 is published as a facsimile supplement to CPEB: CW, series IV. It offers fascinating glimpses into Bach’s working methods and his grappling over many years with a work that he himself considered to be one of his most important creations.

The autograph score contains numerous corrections, which generally are included in the original set of parts. Today this set consists of eighteen instrumental and nine vocal parts, which, with the exception of a third soprano part that includes only the choruses, were written by Johann Heinrich Michel.⁷² This is the first appearance of Michel as the main copyist of a C.P.E. Bach vocal work; the alto Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein had mainly been responsible for copying Bach’s regular church music until around 1780. The corrections in the autograph are taken into account in the original set of parts in various ways. In most cases Bach entered the corrections himself in the parts; according to the handwriting evidence, these alterations occurred in various stages. In isolated cases the parts already show the final reading from the very beginning. The corresponding changes were therefore already part of the compositional process before the first performance.

Compositional Revisions

The score and original set of parts for Wq 240 appear to have been already completed in 1774, then thoroughly revised in 1777–78. All these changes were, if not otherwise stated, also adopted in the original print.

The bipartite division of the work, which was compatible with the conditions of a church service as well as a concert performance, and also is based on the contents, was emphasized by Bach—apparently before the first performance in 1774 but certainly before the performances in 1778—by the addition of a slow introduction to each part.

71. Leisinger 2011, 234–35: “Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt von meinem seel. Bruder wird mit der Meyerschen Buchhandlung zurückkommen, weil seel. Bruder mir solche in *Mspt*: gesandt.”

72. The S II part lacks an inserted leaf containing the aria “Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint!”; in light of an autograph entry identical to one in the S I part (“NB Statt der folgenden Arie wird die, auf dem halben Bogen gemacht.”) this leaf must have existed at one time. For clues that there might also have been a now-lost transposing organ part, see below, “Aspects of Performance Practice.”

These introductions are evidently later additions to the autograph score: the one for part I is entered at the bottom of the first page of music on the two lowest staves; the one for part II is squeezed in immediately after chorus no. 12. In the original instrumental parts, both introductions were in each case written out from the beginning. Further revisions, which were also made before the first performance, concern the instrumentation: the repeated “Triumph!” chorus (nos. 5, 16, and 19) was expanded with parts for two horns, which were entered into the score (fols. 9v–14v) on the lowest, originally empty staff or on a hand-drawn extra staff, but were copied from the outset in the set of parts.

In 1778 the oratorio was apparently performed with further changes, including the addition of timpani to the accompanied recitative no. 3 (“Judäa zittert”). The announcement of 17 March 1778 (cited above) provides a *terminus ante quem* for this change, which was entered as an afterthought in the score and parts (sources A and B).⁷³ Bach’s handwriting admits the possibility that this afterthought had already been entered in 1774, but only after the timpani part in B had been copied.

Shortly after the performances of 1778, Ramler, perhaps inspired by the reports in the nationally distributed *HUC*, had sought contact with the composer via a now-lost letter, to which Bach responded on 5 May 1778.⁷⁴ With modest phrasing typical for that time, Bach reported on the success of the performances and expressed his thanks for the text changes sent by Ramler. Bach conceded that Ramler’s changes had their logic and that he could perhaps make use of them. Ramler’s changes seem at first glance mostly to affect only the surface of the text, but entailed changes in the text scansion, so that Bach demurred: “However, it cannot be realized as easily as you believe, dearest friend.” (So leicht aber, wie Sie, liebster Freund, glauben, wird es nicht angehen.) Bach apparently disregarded Ramler’s ideas at first.

Unfortunately the correspondence between Bach and Ramler is only partially extant, so that the revision process over time is not clear in all details. Two scenarios are conceivable: either Bach, in a now-lost letter from autumn 1780, voluntarily requested a new aria text to replace “Sei begrüßet, Fürst des Lebens!” for the print (as is unani-

73. The announcement explicitly mentions that no. 3 was scored “with muted timpani” (mit gedämpften Pauken); the timpani are in fact not muted. Nevertheless, the change in instrumentation in no. 3 is of great effect: the impression of the sublime is evoked in the description of the earthquake by the timpani part. Telemann’s famous *Donnerode* (TVWV 6:3) from 1756 may well have served as inspiration.

74. CPEB-Letters, 122–23; CPEB-Briefe, 1:681–82.

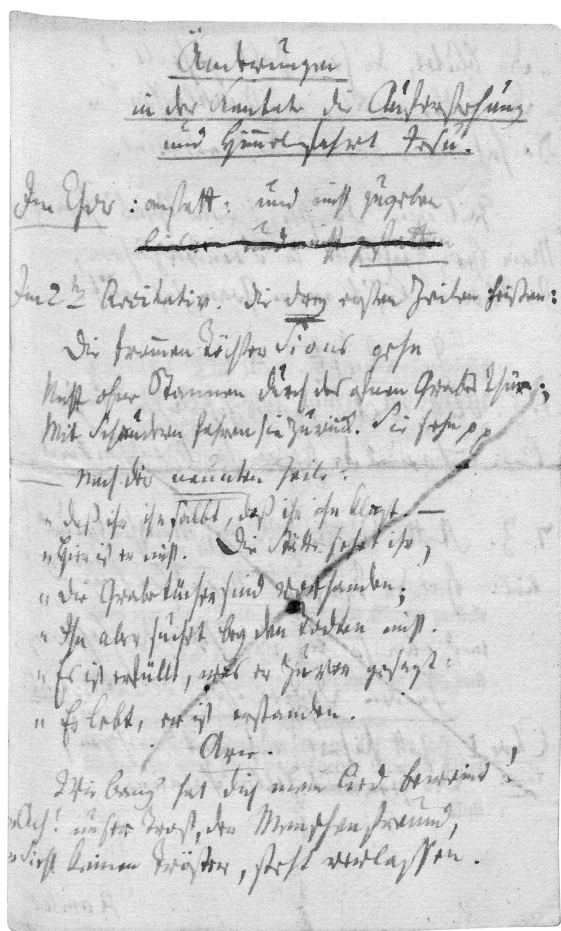


FIGURE 1. Recto of MS leaf (inserted in OT 1) in the hand of Ramler with changes to the text of Wq 240; the change in no. 2 struck through by C.P.E. Bach. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. T 1923 R

Änderungen
in der Kantate die Auferstehung
und Himmelfahrt Jesu.

Im Chor [no. 2]: anstatt: und nicht zugeben
lies: und nicht gestatten [struck through by CPEB]

Im 2^{ten} Recitativ [no. 6]. die drey ersten Zeilen heißen:
Die frommen Töchter Sions gehn
Nicht ohne Staunen durch des ofen Grabes Thür;
Mit Schauern fahren sie zurück. Sie sehn etc. etc.

—Nach der neunten [recte "achten"] Zeile:
„daß ihr ihn salbt, daß ihr ihn klagt. —
„Hier ist er nicht. Die Stätte sehet ihr,
„Die Grabetücher sind vorhanden;
„Ihn aber suchet bey den Todten nicht.
„Es ist erfüllt, was er zuvor gesagt:
„Er lebt, er ist erstanden.

Arie. [no. 7]
Wie bang' hat dich mein Lied beweint!
„Ach! unser Trost, der Menschenfreund,
„Sieht keinen Tröster, steht verlassen.

mously assumed in the literature), perhaps because its being a parody of a movement from the *Trauungs-Cantate* was felt to be a shortcoming;⁷⁵ or Bach did not resume the correspondence until 20 November 1780, referring to the changes already made in the spring of 1778. In any case, Bach informed Ramler that he had already taken into account the desired changes in recitative no. 6, but did not want to change the text of the opening chorus as Ramler had wished. Bach thanked Ramler additionally for the aria that he had sent, but suggested structural modifications of

his own. Bach noted that the work already contained four arias with fast main sections and slower middle sections, and asked for an aria with a more extended first section in a slow tempo and a shorter second section that could be set in a quicker tempo. Accordingly, he made a concrete suggestion on the basis of the submitted aria text. Bach plainly eliminated the aria text that was originally intended as the main section, up to the last three lines, which were then moved to the end, and sent the sheet back to Ramler with the text changes.⁷⁶

The copy of the 1778 Hamburg libretto from Bach's library (source OT 1) includes a leaf with text changes in Ramler's hand (D-B, Mus. T 1923 R, originally shelved

75. See Ulrich Leisinger, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs verschollen geglaubte Trauungskantate H 824a im Kontext des Bearbeitungs- und Parodieverfahrens," *JbSIM* (1999): 9–31. At that time it was not known that other movements of Wq 240 also relied on their own models.

76. *CPEB-Letters*, 169; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:869–70.

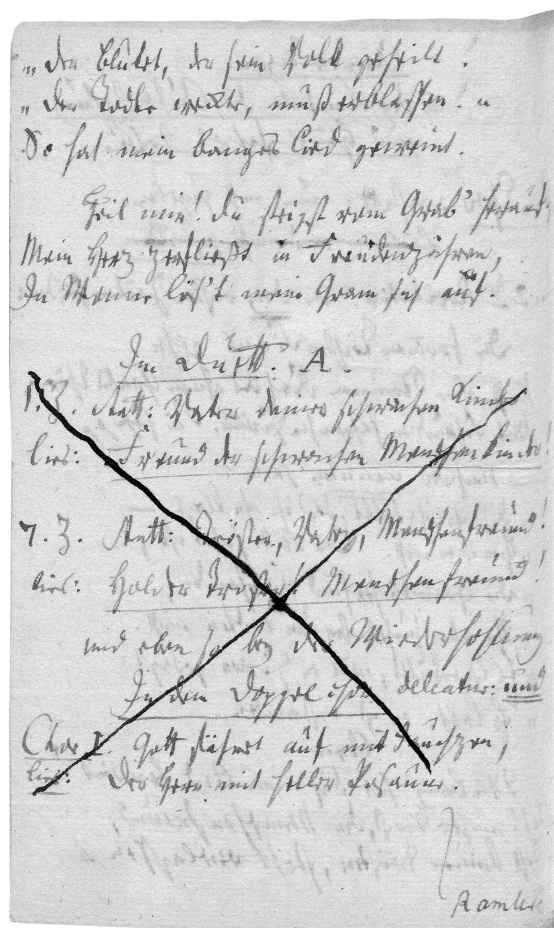


FIGURE 2. Verso of MS leaf (inserted in OT 1) in the hand of Ramler with changes to the text of Wq 240; the changes in nos. 9 and 22 struck through by C.P.E. Bach. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Mus. T 1923 R

with P 336; see figures 1 and 2). Since this leaf contains the version of the aria “Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint!” in the modified form suggested by Bach, it cannot relate to the original text document of 1778. Here too, however, Bach did not adopt all of Ramler’s changes in the remaining movements, but rather crossed out part of them. That Ramler, however, regarded his own changes as unequivocal improvements is shown by the fact that these made their way into *Karl Wilhelm Ramlers Poëtische Werke* (Berlin, 1801–2), prepared during his lifetime but published only posthumously (part 2, pp. 167–82), in which the aria “Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint!” is reproduced in the version with Bach’s adaptations, confirming that Ramler had adopted that form of the aria text and rejected the originally contemplated version.

„Der blutet, der sein Volk geheilt.
„Der Todte weckte, muß erblassen.“
So hat mein banges Lied geweint.

Heil mir! Du steigst vom Grab’ herauf.
Mein Herz zerfließt in Freudenähren,
In Wonne löst mein Gram sich auf.

Im Duett. [no. 9] A.

[all below struck through by CPEB]

1. Z. statt: Vater deiner schwachen Kinder
lies: Freund der schwachen Menschenkinder!

7. Z. statt: Tröster, Vater, Menschenfreund!
lies: Holder Tröster! Menschenfreund!

und eben so bey der Wiederholung

In dem Doppelchor [no. 22] *deleatur: und*

Chor I. Gott fährt auf mit Jauchzen,

lies: Der Herr mit heller Posaune.

§
Ramler

Bach’s correspondence with Ramler and the extant “later” text leaf are an important help in dating the most important change in the original conception of the work in terms of scope and aesthetic significance, namely the revision of the recitative movements. In the original version Bach had allocated many of the recitatives, which do not convey the biblical story word for word but are poetic paraphrases, as in an epic oratorio, by means of a suggestive choice of singers for particular *soliloquentes*; so that, for example, Mary Magdalene is represented by a soprano and doubting Thomas by a tenor. In the revision, which took place (as is suggested by Wiermann) under the influence of the parallel setting by Agricola,⁷⁷ whose original score

77. Wiermann, “Werkgeschichte,” 138.

Bach apparently received from Agricola's widow Emilia Molteni soon after the death of the composer in 1774, Bach assigned each recitative to a single voice throughout and thereby eliminated all dialogue. This revision required major changes in the original score, which occurred partly through over-writing, partly through erasure (scratching the surface of the paper) with a penknife and writing anew, and partly with the help of autograph paste-overs that covered the original readings. The source evidence, particularly the violin I part, makes clear, together with Bach's letter of 20 November 1780, that such changes had already taken place by then. For example, in the violin I part there is the first revised version of the conclusion of recitative no. 6, which was then crossed out and notated in its final form on the inserted leaf for aria no. 7 ("Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint!"), which was apparently composed only after 20 November 1780. Conversely, the entry of the singer's name ("Lau") confirms at least one performance of the original dialogue version after 1774, and indeed not earlier than 1778 (see "Aspects of Performance Practice" below). From this it follows that the change in conception was apparently made in view of the revival of the work on 29 March 1779. Bach's handwriting suggests that a simplified version of the trumpet I part for no. 22 (see appendix B) also originated no later than 1779; this change was taken over neither into the autograph nor into the copy text for the printed score. The fact that Bach performed his Magnificat in a revised version a week earlier, on 22 March, also points in this direction. It is noteworthy that only in the concert advertisements for the Magnificat was it emphasized that the piece "had been changed in various places" (an verschiedenen Stellen verändert worden) by Bach,⁷⁸ whereas a corresponding indication is lacking for *Die Auferstehung*.

The 1783 performance featured the new aria no. 7 for the first time in a concert performance; apparently for this occasion Bach added embellishments to the soprano part as he did for the soprano and tenor parts of the duet no. 9. These embellishments were entered only into the performance parts and are found neither in the autograph score nor in the original print (see appendix B). As for aria no. 21, the shaky handwriting in which Bach made revisions both in the autograph score as well as in the set of parts (mainly, but not exclusively, in the trumpet and horn parts) makes us assume that the final revision of that movement was undertaken no earlier than 1783.

78. HUC (17 March 1779), 4; Wiermann, 457, text A; the changes are discussed in CPEB: CW, V/1.2.

By the summer of 1784, Bach had a fair copy of the score made that could be sent to the printer. In preparation of the publication he revised the autograph in many details, such as dynamics or voice leading, after the 1783 performance; these spots can easily be identified by a comparison with the original set of parts which still have the original readings in these instances. The copy text definitely contained a considerable number of autograph changes when it was sent to Leipzig for the first time in November 1784.

The only substantial change that occurred after the performance of 30 April 1783 is in the conclusion of *accompagnement* no. 14. This change is based not on the text but on the harmony: apparently it seemed more appropriate to Bach to precede the A-flat-major aria no. 15 ("Willkommen, Heiland!") with a cadence in E-flat major (no. 14 originally concluded with a cadence on F minor). The revision, which could be carried out relatively easily in the autograph score and was limited to the last three measures of no. 14 (see plate 3), perhaps has to do with the fact that Bach also wanted to musically emphasize the link between the *accompagnement* and aria.

In comparing the original score and the print, it is striking that for the latter Bach—probably in one of his reviews of the copy text, which is mentioned several times in his correspondence with Breitkopf—had replaced with Italian or otherwise modified the originally predominantly German tempo markings (see table 4 in the critical report). Further changes for the print affect only smaller details.

Although the printing led only to corrections of details in the musical text, it seems justified to evaluate the print as its own step in the history of the composition and transmission of Wq 240: only through the print was the oratorio known at all outside Hamburg. Bach had taken pains in advance to ensure that the work—in contrast with the *Passions-Cantate* (Wq 233), whose wide manuscript dissemination made a printing unlikely—could not be performed elsewhere without his knowledge.

Aspects of Performance Practice

Since Bach used and modified his original performance materials many times, it is difficult to specify the forces used in any given performance during his lifetime. Only for the last Hamburg performance under Bach's direction on 30 April 1783 in the Waisenhauskirche, which was preceded by a rehearsal, is a detailed listing given on the invoice from the *Rechnungsbuch der Kirchenmusiken* (see transcription above). According to this, there were twenty-one instrumentalists: ten town musicians and *Expectanten*

(next in line to become town musicians) and eleven *Rollbrüder* (a brotherhood of musicians who were next in the hierarchy). Possibly the continuo player was not included in this number. As usual both flutes and oboes were played by one pair of players. The extant full set of parts comprises altogether eighteen individual parts (in which the “Fagotto. Obligato” part contains only no. 15); thus, with the exception of the two violin parts, only one or two additional parts were doubled. The participation of the bassoon is, as usual, typically not indicated; but the remark “Ohne Fagott und Flügel” on the two introductory movements (nos. 1 and 13) reveals that a bassoon was probably included throughout, not just in movements with winds.

While the instruments are only summarily listed, all twelve singers are listed by name in the invoice (but without naming the voice part). This is because the singers received different payments, whereby only the regular church singers, who also performed as soloists, received the full rate of 4 Marks.⁷⁹ The names of these singers, at first glance, do not contradict those on the original parts.⁸⁰ From the higher payment he received it appears, however, that the solo in no. 7 was now taken by the fifteen-year-old Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwenke and no longer by Lau. The order of the singers on the invoice is likely, as in other cases, according to voice part, beginning with the basses. Taking all this information together, it appears that the twelve singers were not evenly distributed across voice groups. Rather, four of the singers have been identified as sopranos at this time. It is to be assumed that the unidentified “Hofg.” would have been an alto.

The evidence of the original continuo part is important. It is marked as “Fundamento” and notated as non-transposing,⁸¹ which permits the conclusion that Wq 240 was not conceived for a church venue. Additionally, nos. 1 and 13 in the autograph score as well as in the original bass parts—as mentioned—show the scoring indication (with minor variants) “Ohne Flügel und Fagott.” Even though the first documented performance took place on Easter Eve

1774 in a church, Bach must have actually intended a concert performance of the work, for which the material was already fully prepared; possibly this was then thwarted by the first Hamburg performance of the *Passions-Cantate* on 17 March 1774 in the Waisenhauskirche. The inserted part for the second version of no. 7, which was copied by Easter 1782 at the latest, has the heading “Orgel.” According to the invoice for the performance in the Waisenhauskirche on 30 April 1783, a “Calcant” was paid; thus at that time an organ was available. Nevertheless, a harpsichord was also used in this performance: the invoice entry “H. Lüd. für Bem. und Fl.” is analogous to an invoice entry for the performance of Graun’s *Tod Jesu* in the Waisenhauskirche in 1779 (“Lüders ... für Bemühung, für den Flügel u. das Stimen”).⁸² How this double accompaniment with harpsichord and organ was realized is not known; the continuo part gives no further information about this. It is noteworthy in this respect that the *particella* for soprano and basso continuo with the new aria no. 7 and the violoncello part for duet no. 9 contain figuration in Bach’s hand throughout. Nevertheless, a second figured continuo part seems absolutely necessary; it must have been notated as transposing, since the Waisenhauskirche’s Arp Schnitger organ from the year 1694, which was moved to Grasberg (near Bremen) in 1785, was unlikely tuned to concert pitch. It is not out of the question that a transposing organ part has gone missing: for performances of Wq 240 as an Easter *Quartalstück*, which—as mentioned above—can be assumed for the years 1774 and 1782, a transposing organ part would have been necessary, at least for nos. 2–7, since the organs in all the main churches except St. Michaelis were tuned higher than *Kammerton*.⁸³

For the performances before 1783, only incomplete data is available. The singers’ names on the vocal parts offer some clues, but these seem to refer mostly to the participants in 1783. Friedrich Martin Illert, Johann Andreas Hoffmann,

79. The S I and S II parts have the same content. The new aria no. 7 is currently only in the S I part, but it must have originally also been in the S II part, as is clear from Bach’s remark (cited above), which reads the same in both copies.

80. On the singers see Sanders, 105–59.

81. An entry in the continuo part in chorus no. 5 remains puzzling: Bach added the heading “Organo.” in his late handwriting, but at the same time corrected the instrumental part to match the model chorus (H 821e, no. 1), although the other parts remained unchanged. The short entries are hard to date, but the handwriting suggests that they were written only years after 1783.

82. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:737–38. For this purpose, 5 Marks were recorded in both invoices. In 1779 Lüders seems to have participated actively in the performance, for as “Accompagnist” he received an additional 2 Marks, which are not shown in the invoice of 1783. Whether this Lüders is identical with the trumpeter Hartwig Christian Lüders at St. Jacobi, as suggested in Sanders, 153, seems questionable. Rather, it may have been J.P.A. Lüders; see *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:155.

83. It is possible that a transposing organ part was included in an amount that was charged in 1783 for copying (“Copialien”), which was not exactly specified, but was paid together with Bach’s conducting fee. In light of the current state of the performing materials, the not negligible sum does not seem to be justified, even in the case of a later billing for the “new” aria no. 7, already performed at Easter 1782, and the preparation of a ripieno soprano part.

and Michel indeed were among the longtime church singers. Hartmann (given names unknown) and Peter Nicolaus Friedrich Delver are also documented as church singers beginning in 1779 and 1780, respectively. While the name on the S II part is erased, the S I part shows the name “Lau.” Johann Christian Lau is documented for several years as a capable soprano.⁸⁴ The performance of 1783 is among his last appearances. In fact Lau was already present for at least one of the performances of 1778–79: in the S I part his name is on the crossed-out original version of *accompagnement* no. 14, where he was supposed to sing the final measures (from m. 71; see appendix A). Possibly he was already fully available as a soloist in 1778; his earliest firmly datable participation in a Hamburg performance was the Michaelmas *Quartalstück* for 1778, *Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt* (BR-CPEB F 21; see CPEB:CW, V/2.5). At the performance of Wq 240 in 1779, Hartmann was apparently already present, as we may conclude from Bach’s note “Tenor. H” on one of the newly written pages for recitative no. 17 in the T II part (source B, p. 153). Upon closer inspection it becomes apparent that most if not all of the singers’ names in the autograph score were entered after the music had been written; when Bach reworked the recitatives—as argued above—in 1779, some names were erased there again, but almost all entries can still be deciphered. They correspond to the names on the vocal parts (Lau, Michel, Hartmann, Illert, and Hoffmann); Only the short alto solo in no. 14 (original version, mm. 1–12) is simply assigned to “Alt.” instead of giving a singer’s name.

Unfortunately the names of the singers of the Passions for 1774, 1778, and 1779, which would permit conclusions about the approximately contemporaneous performances of *Die Auferstehung*, are only incompletely known. For the 1779 St. Luke Passion the tenors Hartmann and Michel and the bass Hoffmann can be shown to have participated, and almost certainly the bass Illert. For the 1774 St. Mark Passion, other than Hoffmann, a “Hartmann” and Julius Theodor Rauschelbach can be documented as sopranos and Carl Rudolph Wreden as tenor; their names, however, are not entered into the parts for *Die Auferstehung*. The material for the 1778 St. Mark Passion regrettably contains no singers’ names.

84. See Jürgen Neubacher, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Hamburger Kirchensänger Johann Christian Lau und dessen spätere Notenschere in Altona,” in *C.P.E. Bach und Hamburg: Generationenfolgen in der Musik*, ed. Tobias Janz, Kathrin Kirsch, and Ivana Rentsch (Hildesheim: Olms, 2017), 167–78.

Among the remaining performances of *Die Auferstehung* during Bach’s lifetime, those conducted by Mozart in Vienna on 26 February, 4 March, and 7 March 1788 have received disproportionate attention. In the contemporary press they were discussed throughout German-speaking lands,⁸⁵ and later—especially in the field of Mozart research—they were taken up several times in the literature.⁸⁶ Here, only the aspects relevant to performance practice are discussed in brief. The performing forces for the first Vienna performance included an “orchestra of 86 persons” (*Orchester von 86 Personen*) and “30 choristers” (30 *Choristen*). The performance was based on the original print, yet only three vocal soloists must have been engaged—the soprano Aloysia Lange, the tenor Johann Valentin Adamberger, and the bass Ignaz Saal—since the print does not reflect the differentiated Hamburg performance conditions. Mozart is known to have made various changes. Aria no. 15 (“Willkommen, Heiland!”) was transposed from A-flat major to G major, which related not just to the strings, but presumably also was due to the high tessitura of the bassoon part, which in Hamburg had been played by the excellent bassoonist Johann Gottlieb Schwenke.⁸⁷ Additionally, perhaps due in part to the modest abilities of Viennese trumpeters, Mozart simplified many passages in the trumpet I part by setting them lower or reassigning them to woodwind instruments.⁸⁸

Mozart was not the only one who modified the brass parts of Wq 240. The copy of the print from the Hochschule für Musik in Weimar (D-WRh, Cg 347; complete

85. The familiar report in Forkel’s *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1789* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1788), 121–22, is likely based on a report “of 15 March” (vom 15. März) in *HUC* (25 March 1788), 2–3; see Wiermann, 472. Not mentioned in Wiermann is another reprint of this report in the Altona newspaper *Reichs-Post-Reiter* (22 April 1788), [4], which is embedded in various “reports from Vienna of 12 April” (*Berichte aus Wien*, vom 12 April). The reports in the Hamburg and Altona daily newspapers are therefore based on a correspondent’s report on Vienna. A reprint in the Vienna or Bratislava (Pressburg) daily press is currently not confirmable.

86. For example, see Andreas Holschneider, “C.Ph.E. Bachs Kantate ‘Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu’ und Mozarts Aufführung des Jahres 1788,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1968–70): 264–80. See also NMA, X/28, Abt. 3–5/2, esp. 3–13 and 128–29.

87. The pitch *a*′, which is called for several times in this aria, was considered the utmost that could be required of an orchestral player. See Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1790), 438.

88. Most striking is aria no. 11 (“Ich folge dir, verkklärter Held”), where Mozart divided the solo trumpet part among trumpet, flute, and oboe (Mozart’s *particella* is listed as K 537d; see source D 1 in the critical report).

scan on library website) shows radical interventions in an unknown hand in the horn as well as the trumpet parts. Even Bach himself, probably no later than 1779, wrote out a simplified trumpet I part for the final chorus (no. 22; see appendix B), which, however, was not included in the original print.

Acknowledgments

For C.P.E. Bach, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (Wq 240) was a project that required many efforts until it was finally ready for print. The same is true for the present edition, which extended over a number of years, many more than anticipated. I am obliged to Jason B. Grant for his diligence, patience, and persistence as in-house editor, and to Paul Corneilson for his steady encouragement. Wolfram Enßlin and particularly Peter Wollny, my former colleagues at the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, were always instru-

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I dedicate this edition to the memory of Barbara Mahrenholz Wolff (1936–2020).

Ulrich Leisinger