Supplementary Material for David Schulenberg, *The Music of C. P. E. Bach*

The numbering of entries below corresponds with numbered references to the "online supplement" in the main text. Originally each entry was in a separate file; the present document, created May 16, 2022, concatenates all entries into a single file, each entry beginning on a new page.

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David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 1.1: An Outline of Bach's Works (table)

The table below provides an overview of Bach's output. The individual works range from miniature dances to hour-long oratorios and a two-volume book. Hence the numbers alone mean little, and the number of works within each category, even the names of some of the categories, are provisional. All figures are subject to revision, in part due to matters of definition—when does an arrangement become a new composition? what exactly is a "trio"?—in part because the complicated histories of many individual works have yet to be completely sorted out.

All figures should be regarded as approximate. Arrangements and parodies are not limited to those listed in the final section of the table, nor are the works listed there entirely devoid of matter original to C. P. E. Bach. Not all works are extant. Many if not most works were revised, sometimes multiple times; in general, revised and alternate versions are not accounted for here.

Instrumental Works		
for solo keyboard	349	
multi-movement sonatas and sonatinas		155
suites		6
concertos for unaccompanied keyboard instrument		2
variation sets		10
modulating rondos		14
free fantasias		13
character pieces		26
dances and marches		51
other pieces		64
fugues		8
for accompanied keyboard (keyboard plus secondary strings or winds)	45	
sonatas		13
smaller pieces		32
ensemble sonatinas (one or two solo keyboards and accompanying ensemble)	13	
solos (mostly for one solo instrument and basso continuo)	17	
duos (for two solo instruments without basso continuo)	3	
trios (for two melodic parts and basso continuo)	29	
quartets (for two melodic parts and obbligato keyboard)	3	
concertos for solo instrument(s) and larger ensemble	52	
sinfonias (symphonies)	19	
Vocal Works		
songs (lieder) and chorales for voice and keyboard	295	
oratorios, serenatas, and related extra-liturgical works	8	
regular church pieces ("cantatas") and other multi-movement liturgical works	18*	
special church pieces for the inaugurations of pastors and other occasions	18*	
miscellaneous secular vocal works	15	
miscellaneous sacred vocal works	10*	

Theoretical and pedagogic works, collections of cadenzas, canons, etc.	8
Works Comprising Chiefly Arrangements, Parodies, etc.	
clock pieces	30
ensemble sonatinas in alternate versions or scoring	2
trio sonatas in versions for alternate instrumentation, including obbligato keyboard	8
concertos in versions with alternate solo instruments	11
sinfonias arranged for solo kb	6
smaller pieces for various instrumental ensembles	
dances	22
other pieces	10
liturgical passions	21
other large sacred works derived or arranged largely from existing ones	**
songs (lieder) in versions for vocal and instrumental ensemble	13
other smaller vocal works derived from existing ones	**

*A significant portion of this material comprises parody or pastiche.
**Number uncertain; awaits identification of borrowed and arranged material.

David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 1.2:
Some Practical Matters: Work Lists, Sources, Editions, Performance

Bach's output was not unusually large by the standards of his contemporaries. But it was composed during a career longer than that of almost any other major eighteenth-century composer, and it includes many works that were revised or arranged from others. For these reasons Bach's music raises special problems for those seeking to identify particular works, find editions of them, or reach performance decisions about them.

Work lists and catalogs

Listing the works of a musician as prolific as Bach is a necessary but complicated task, as the composer himself understood. The nature of his output is such that no list or edition of his works will ever be able to sort out, in a straightforward way, its division into specific categories or genres. Bach's habit of returning to completed compositions, either to revise them or to recast them in other media, has meant that many, perhaps most, works exist in multiple versions. Existing lists of his works have dealt with this issue in different ways.

Bach's own lists of works, prepared for the mundane purpose of organizing his personal music collection and making works from it available to potential buyers, were the basis of subsequent catalogs, including those of the eighteenth-century collector Westphal and the nineteenth-century biographer Bitter. By the early 1770s, shortly after his move to Hamburg, Bach had prepared a manuscript thematic catalog of his keyboard compositions (CV). The surviving copy was probably one of several used by Bach himself and by booksellers and collectors to keep track of works that he sold in both manuscript and printed copies.[1]

After Bach's death, his wife and daughter issued the so-called *Nachlassverzeichnis* (NV), which served as a catalog of items available for sale from his estate.[2] Among these were, naturally, his own compositions, of which it included a nearly complete list, but there were other items as well, such as his portrait collection. The information about Bach's works in NV was surely based on earlier lists drawn up during the composer's lifetime, including CV.[3] Like the earlier catalog, NV

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[1] On this *Clavierwerke-Verzeichnis*, in SA 4261, see Wolff, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Verzeichnis seiner Clavierwerke." Bach apparently issued a printed list of his works shortly after his arrival in Hamburg, but no copy survives (see no. II/5 in Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 147).

[2] Wade, *Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate,* is an annotated facsimile of NV. At this writing, a scan of the copy of NV in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, is available online at imslp.org; for a searchable transcription, see http://www.cpebach.org/pdfs/resources/NV-1790.pdf.

[3] Surviving manuscript copies of keyboard music kept in Bach's household often bear two catalog numbers, one corresponding to the numbering in CV, the other (usually in parentheses) corresponding with NV. See, e.g., the title page for the Sonata W. 65/2 reproduced from P 775 in Berg, 3:101, with autograph CV number and NV number probably in the hand of Bach's

gives the dates and places of composition for Bach's works, also indicating which ones had been published and providing dates for the "renovation" of certain early works (see chap. 5). NV not only established an official or authorized corpus of Bach's works but organized it into particular genres or categories. As a predecessor of the thematic catalogs prepared by later scholars, it continues to influence present-day thinking about Bach's oeuvre.

An early example of a scholarly catalog is the manuscript list of most of Bach's works drawn up around 1800 by Johann Jacob Heinrich Westphal, an organist in the north-German town of Schwerin who collected manuscript copies of nearly all of Bach's works.[4] Better known today is the thematic catalog published in 1905 by Alfred Wotquenne; this is the source of the "W" numbers still used to designate most of Bach's works. Wotquenne based his list on the holdings of the library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, which had acquired Westphal's collection. Although Wotquenne numbered the works in a single series, he followed Westphal (and indirectly NV) in grouping works by genre; thus W. 1–47 comprise keyboard concertos, W. 48–65 are keyboard sonatas, and so forth. Unfortunately, Wotquenne failed to list many works that were preserved in other collections, in particular the unpublished vocal compositions whose manuscript sources were in the possession of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. He also failed to include all of NV's information about dates and places of composition.

Wotquenne's catalog was thus incomplete. Its "W" numbers nevertheless remain the most common means of identifying Bach's works, despite the publication in 1989 of the more complete catalog of E. Eugene Helm. Helm listed manuscript and printed sources of Bach's works, and he identified doubtful and spurious works as well as genuine ones. Yet Helm lacked access to items in the archive of the Sing-Akademie, which went missing during World War II and turned up only in the late 1990s.[5] For this reason, and because of numerous inaccuracies in Helm's catalog, most scholars now use "H" numbers only when referring to works missed by Wotquenne.[6] At this writing, a new multi-volume catalog of the composer's works has begun to appear, incorporating reliable information about chronology, sources, and other matters not found in older listings. Even when complete, however, it is unlikely to supersede the existing "W" and "H" lists for identifying individual works.[7]

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daughter.

[4] Westphal's catalog is now in B Br Fétis 5218; this and other items collected by Westphal are described in "Die Sammlung Westphal," in Leisinger and Wollny, *Die Bach-Quellen der Bibliotheken in Brüssel,* 25–74. Another early list occasionally useful to scholars is that in Bitter, *Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,* 2:325–44.

[5] On the recovery of the Sing-Akademie archive, see Grimsted, "Bach is Back in Berlin," also Wolff, "Recovered in Kiev."

[6] Some writings, including the first edition of the *New Grove Dictionary* (published in 1980), used "H" numbers from an early version of Helm's list that differ from those in the published catalog.

[7] Volume 2 on the vocal works, edited by Wolfram Enßlin and Uwe Wolf, has appeared first: *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke, Teil 2: Vokalwerke* (Stuttgart, Carus, 2014). This is volume 3.2 of the larger series known as the *Bach-Repertorium.*

Sources

Any list of works is ultimately an index to actual hand-written, printed, and (now) digitized musical scores and parts. Bach saw a substantial fraction of his output into print, some of it self-published, the remainder issued in authorized editions by publishers whom he knew personally. In most cases, NV indicates which works appeared in authorized editions; where these exist, they usually give the most reliable texts for Bach's compositions. Even published works could undergo revision, however, although it has been debated whether Bach's subsequent variations and arrangements of certain printed works constituted replacements or merely alternative versions.[8]

The majority of Bach's output remained in manuscript during his lifetime, and at this writing much of it remains unpublished. Yet Bach's concern for disseminating his music in accurate texts is evident in what seems to have been an unusually systematic approach to the production and sale of handwritten copies. Doubtless this reflected a highly profitable household business; even more than his father, Bach was a music seller as well as a composer and player. The system eventually involved Bach's wife and daughter as well as the composer himself, who employed trusted scribes to transcribe manuscripts for sale from so-called house copies. The latter included autograph manuscripts, but Bach had copyists prepare fresh scores and parts as old ones became worn through use or illegible through revision. Individual copies of printed editions could serve the same purpose after a print run was exhausted. Bach had no sentimental attachment to his student works and early drafts, however, and he evidently destroyed most of these. In a famous letter he mentions burning “a ream and more” of old works, implicitly comparing himself favorably to Handel, whose “youthful works” were still preserved; Bach regarded this as an embarrassment (he calls it “comical”).[9]

Exactly which of the many surviving manuscripts are Bach's house copies, and when Bach adopted the system, must be determined by scholars as part of the process of editing each individual work. Bach's practices must have evolved, a regular system emerging perhaps around 1750. By then, demand for his music had probably reached a point where ad hoc practices no longer sufficed and many faulty or unrevised texts were in circulation. Early works not listed in NV, and early versions of later ones, usually survive only in poor texts preserved in peripheral sources of doubtful provenance.

The largest single group of manuscript sources for Bach's works is still probably that in the library of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels, which includes not only the Westphal collection but numerous additional items gathered mainly during the nineteenth century.[10] Virtually all this material comprises not autographs but manuscript copies, many of them obtained by Westphal

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[8] See Kramer, *Unfinished Music,* 59, reflecting an argument of Darrell Berg (“C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments,'” 171).

[9] Letter of Jan. 21, 1786, to Eschenburg, who had recently translated Burney's *Sketch of the Life of Handel* (no. 287 in Clark, *Letters,* 244).

[10] Details on the Bach sources in this collection are in Leisinger and Wollny, *Die Bach-Quellen der Bibliotheken in Brüssel.* Some of the Brussels sources are kept not in the library of the conservatory (B Bc) but in the royal library (B Br).

himself from Bach's family, the remainder from various sources. Westphal sought to have an accurate copy of the final version of every work, but he did not always succeed. Hence, even for works preserved in late and seemingly authoritative manuscripts from his collection, editors must also consult sources from other repositories.

The most important of these are in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D B) and the Sing-Akademie archive (SA); the latter is legally distinct but since 2001 has been effectively incorporated within the Staatsbibliothek. The holdings in these two collections include most of Bach's surviving autograph material, as well as scores and individual parts made for his own performances (chiefly by his copyists). Both collections also contain many further sources that are less directly related to the composer, including sale copies made by publishers such as Breitkopf, who handled manuscripts as well as printed editions.[11] An essential guide to the Bach-family holdings of the Berlin library (D B), originally edited by Paul Kast and published in 1958, was reissued in 2003. The new edition adds the manuscripts of the SA and also serves as an index to a published reproduction of the entire Berlin Bach manuscript collection, available on microfiche in major research libraries.

Most manuscripts elsewhere are later and more remote in origin from the composer, but there are nevertheless important items in other collections. For instance, the Bibliothèque National in Paris holds autograph scores for a number of chamber works, and the Library of Congress in Washington has numerous copies of keyboard sonatas and concertos prepared by several professional copyists close to Bach.[12] At this writing, however, there is no up-to-date published listing of these sources; one must rely on the Helm catalog, supplemented by the critical reports in editions of individual works.

A number of manuscript as well as printed sources of Bach's works have been published in facsimile editions. Most important of these are six volumes containing his collected keyboard works, edited by Darrell Berg.[13] Individual sources for other works, especially some of the solo and trio sonatas, have also been published, and a growing number of libraries are making electronic facsimiles of selected holdings available online at websites such as imslp.org and hcl.harvard.edu/libraries/loebmusic/collections/digital.cfm. These reproductions, however, are of varying quality, and not all the manuscript sources available in print or online are reliable or particularly close to the composer.

Editions

Bach's own publications and reworkings of his music marked the first step in the editing of his

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[11] Breitkopf published thematic catalogs of music available for sale in manuscript copies, originally issued in installments; Brook, *Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue,* is a facsimile edition. The identification of extant manuscripts sold by Breitkopf and other publishers has been a major occupation of scholars and editors; see, e.g., Kobayashi, “On the Identification of Breitkopf's Manuscripts.”

[12] Details in, e.g., CPEBCW 3/9.2:186–87.

[13] *The Collected Works for Solo Keyboard by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788)* (abbreviated here as “Berg”).

compositions. But whereas a modern scholarly edition allows the reader to reconstruct the compositional history and transmission of a work, Bach's revisions suppressed it, and he and his heirs normally issued works only in what they regarded as their final, perfected forms. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century editions usually attempted to follow the same policy, but many actually gave early or faulty versions due to the inaccessibility of reliable sources or the failure to evaluate available sources properly. This remained true even of some of the scores in what was intended to be a scholarly critical edition of Bach's complete works, launched in the 1980s but abandoned after issuing just four volumes.[14] A new project to publish the composer's works, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works* (CPEBCW) issued its first volume in 2005. At this writing it has already issued somewhat more than half its projected volumes, which will number over one hundred.

Editions, like translations, are necessary falsifications. Like similar projects founded in the late twentieth century, the CPEBCW follows current scholarly preferences for limited editorial intervention and aspires to present early versions of works on an equal footing with later ones. Yet the application of uniform editorial policies to a diverse oeuvre inevitably suppresses aspects of the original notation that can provide subtle clues about performance practice, interpretation, and other matters.[15] Unavoidable, too, is the need to be selective in the presentation of early and alternate versions, given the great number of these. Editions such as the CPEBCW therefore favor late versions even of early works, and they sometimes suppress matter valuable for the performance practice and reception history of the music, such as cadenzas and alternative ornament signs, on the grounds that these are not assuredly by Bach himself.[16]

It is inevitable that any edition will contain errors and oversights, and the CPEBCW has begun publishing corrections on its website.[17] Some types of errors, however, are more matters of interpretation than fact, and some systematic problems may be evident only to specialists. For instance, like many such projects, the CPEBCW in principle bases the text for each work on a

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[14] The *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach Edition (*CPEBE), headed by Helm and Rachel W. Wade. See, e.g., the review of volume 2/23 by Ulrich Leisinger in *Early Keyboard Journal* 11 (1993): 146–52.

[15] See, e.g., Wollenberg ("Reviving C. P. E. Bach," 695) on the consequences of simplifying the original notation of dynamics in Bach's keyboard music. Together with the arbitrary regularization of the beaming of small note values and the grouping of notes belonging to different voices onto single stems, the edition's practice substantially alters the appearance of Bach's keyboard parts.

[16] For instance, in CPEBCW 3/9.2 (edited by the present author), containing the concertos W. 4–6, only the early version of W. 5 and an intermediate version of the slow movement of W. 4 are printed. The author's editions of early versions of the remaining movements, as well as several cadenzas and other material, are online at https://schulenbergmusic.org/concertos-by-c-p-e-bach/.

[17] Thus far, however, only a few lists of errata have apeared, e.g., for the two volumes of pieces for *Kenner und Liebhaber*. These are hidden deep within the structure of the website (one must scroll down to the bottom of the tables of contents at www.cpebach.org/toc/toc-I-4-1.html and www.cpebach.org/toc/toc-I-4-2.html) and are far from complete; cf. Wollenberg, "C. P. E. Bach for Connoisseurs and Amateurs," 438–39.

“principal” source, with several additional sources (where available) “used for comparison”; any further sources are dismissed as “not used for the edition.” This approach was a late-twentieth-century reaction against an earlier “collation” approach, in which the editor selected readings, sometimes arbitrarily, from any number of sources. But the so-called “best text” method can eliminate information about early or alternate versions that is preserved only in peripheral sources, which can also prove important for the historical context and reception of a work, including its performance practice. In some cases, moreover, what is in principle an edition based on a “best text” is in fact a collation—justifiably so when no one source is particularly accurate or close to the composer.

It is in the nature of Bach's music and its sources that no edition will ever be either complete or finished. Editions are ephemeral interpretations, limited by what their editors know or can know. They are only launching pads, whether for performances or scholarship, but already the CPEBCW has done more to clarify the nature of Bach's texts and their history than two centuries of previous efforts.

Performance

Performance practices changed significantly over the course of Bach's life, and even his own *Versuch* can be considered authoritative only for portions of his output. The existing literature on eighteenth-century practice is vast, and even studies and guides relevant specifically to Bach's music are too numerous to summarize here. General treatments of historical performance practice rarely provide useful details about the specific genres or styles in which Bach wrote, except perhaps during his earliest period at Leipzig. A serious student of the subject will, however, turn to Bach's own *Versuch* (1753–62), followed by that of Quantz (1752) and their Berlin colleague Agricola's annotated translation (1757) of the 1723 singing treatise by Tosi (all listed in the bibliography). Much information can be found in the prefatory material of individual volumes in the CPEBCW, and the author has published a few further contributions that some readers may find helpful, if only by providing suggestions for further reading.[18]

[18] See especially the sections designated “Performance Considerations” or the like in CPEBCW 1/4.1, 1.9, 2.1, 3/9.2, 3/9.4, and 4.1. The program booklets in Miklós Spányi's CD recordings of the solo keyboard works and concertos contain valuable commentaries on instruments and performance, and the author's article “'Toward the Most Elegant Taste'” presents matter on continuo realization.

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Supplement 1.3:
Works that were known in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century editions

The relatively early Prussian and Württemberg Sonatas (W. 48–49), as well as selections from the *Probestücke* (W. 63), the six late collections *für Kenner und Liebhaber*, and various sonatas from manuscripts (W. 65 and 70), were included in the *Trésor des pianistes* series edited by Aristide and Louise Farrenc (20 volumes, Paris, 1861–72). Hans von Bülow's heavily annotated selection of pieces from Bach's volumes for *Kenner und Liebhaber* came out in 1862, but in 1895 Carl Krebs issued the complete series in a reliable edition, and Heinrich Schencker edited his own selection in about 1902 (Vienna: Universal). By the 1960s roughly half of Bach's keyboard sonatas had appeared in modern editions alongside many other works.[19] As for concertos, in the 1880s Hugo Riemann issued characteristically marked-up editions of a number of works (W. 18 and 43/2–5); W. 23 appeared in Arnold Schering's much cleaner edition in a 1907 volume of the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst.* Not long after World War I, a selection of songs from the collections on poems by Gellert and Sturm (W. 194 and 197–98) was edited by Herman Roth.[20]

[19] See the overview of modern editions in Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, 416–18.

[20] *30 Geistliche Lieder* (Leipzig: Peters, 1921).

Supplement 1.4. "Dark" Sentiments

"Man hat die Musik schon lange eine Sprache der Empfindung genannt, folglich die in der Zusammensetzung ihrer und der Zusammensetzung der Sprachausdrücke liegende Ähnlichkeit dunkel gefühlt." The passage is quoted by Kramer, who renders *dunkel* as "deeply."[21] The word could, however, have had a less positive significance, as in Bach's reference in a letter five years earlier to an uncomprehending adversary who "remained in the dark" *(blieb im Dunkeln),* that is, in willful ignorance of the truth.[22]

[21] *Unfinished Music,* 35–36.

[22] See the letter to Engelhardt Benjamin Schwickert—publisher of Forkel's *Geschichte* and of the revised version of Bach's *Versuch*—dated Feb. 18, 1783, in Clark, *Letters,* 191. Kramer's discussion recurs in his "Diderot's *Paradoxe* and C. P. E. Bach's *Empfindungen*," 10–14.

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Supplement 1.5. *"Empfindsamkeit"*

Empfindsam was a fashionable word at the time, implying a "penchant for both morality and emotion, a conflation of reason and an emotional impulse or feeling" according to Barbara Becker-Cantarino.[23] She translates the word variously as "sentimental" and "sensitive," depending on the context. Lessing's suggestion that Bode should use the word to translate the title of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* should therefore not carry particular weight, even though Bach knew both German writers and used the related word *Empfindungen* in the title of the late keyboard fantasia with violin accompaniment, W. 80.[24]

[23] "Introduction: German Literature in the Era of Enlightenment and Sensibility," 11.

[24] See Lessing's letter from summer 1768, no. 201 in his *Briefe von und an Gotthold Ephraim Lessing*, 256.

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Supplement 2.1. Non-musical Aspects of Emanuel's Upbringing

Music was not the only thing that Emanuel studied. His urbane letters and other writings, although dating from much later in his life, must reflect his training at school and as a law student in the Leipzig and Frankfurt universities. In what sense and to what degree Sebastian was a "learned" musician (to use Christoph Wolff's characterization) is not entirely clear, but the adjective certainly applies to his two oldest sons and to many other pupils.[25] Growing up in Leipzig, Emanuel would have benefited not only from his father's burgeoning book collection but from exposure to some of the leading local intellects. He would have mastered Latin and perhaps French and Italian; legal training would have sharpened what was no doubt an innate capacity for rigorous logic and analytical thinking. This would stand him in good stead not only as a writer on music theory but as a reader of poetry to be set to music. Sebastian, to be sure, managed to become a sensitive composer of vocal music without university training, but throughout life he was reluctant to commit words to paper. Emanuel was not; more importantly, he could converse ably and wittily with his peers on matters ranging from theology and philosophy to literature and the visual arts. This would make him a valued member of the intellectual circles of Berlin and Hamburg, and we can imagine that he was already a respected conversationalist at Leipzig and Frankfurt.

Emanuel's learning would have been of a different type from that of his father. What Wolff describes as Sebastian's "major achievements in musical science"[26] are scientific only in an archaic sense or that of German *Wissenschaft;* they represent humanistic learning in traditional rhetoric, theology, and the like, not the experimental or observational science described mathematically by Newton and other contemporaries. The distinction might not yet have been entirely clear to Sebastian and his students during the 1720s and 1730s. Yet it could have been intuited by someone such as Friedemann Bach, who is said to have taken a serious interest in mathematics—presumably of a more advanced type than the simple arithmetic involved in calculating musical intervals or the formal proportions of a composition.

The rise of experimental science was an important feature of the Enlightenment, which coincides roughly with Emanuel's career. His recurring use of certain standard formal designs might, like the highly stylized systems of ornamentation and continuo figuration found in his music, be seen as products of the rationalistic, systematic thinking favored by this movement, although these also characterize music of his contemporaries. The same habits of thought are evident in the *Versuch,* his contribution to the library of encyclopedic writings on music that were produced during the eighteenth century. Together with the well-known works by Quantz (1752) and Leopold Mozart (1756), and the less famous but equally important one by Agricola (1757), these reflected the Englightenment interest in systematically chronicling the learning and technology of the day.

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[25] Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach,* 306–7, describes the "academic atmosphere" of the St. Thomas school and the university at Leipzig, noting that Sebastian's first three sons all "enjoyed the benefits of a university education not available to their father or grandfathers."

[26] *Johann Sebastian Bach,* 8.

Sebastian has also been claimed for the Enlightenment, but he is less likely than the university-trained Emanuel to have consciously adhered to its tenets—not that the latter can be easily summarized. Emanuel's identification with the movement is based in part on his professional and social associations later in life with such figures as Lessing and Moses Mendelssohn. The German version of the Enlightenment (the *Aufklärung*) was never antithetical toward religion, as the French version often was. After leaving Leipzig, Emanuel entered the service of a famously agnostic if not atheistic monarch, but there is no reason to suppose that Bach was in the slightest way antagonistic toward the orthodox Lutheran religion of his ancestors. Among his Berlin colleagues, those closest to King Frederick—the flutist Quantz and the opera composer Carl Heinrich Graun—expressed their Christian convictions by participating in the revival of sacred strophic song during the 1750s. Graun, who wrote many sacred vocal works for the Lutheran service early in his career, gives not the slightest indication of agnosticism in his letters to Telemann. We must suppose that Graun and his colleagues viewed the pagan heroes of his *opere serie* as models of probity and other virtues that were worthy of a Christian as well as a philosopher-king. Sebastian himself took a similar tack in his serenatas (secular “cantatas”) in honor of the Saxon ruling house, composed during the very years when Emanuel was entering maturity.

Particularly germane is Joel Speerstra's discussion of the organ sonatas BWV 525–30.[27] Emanuel Bach referred to "6 Claviertrio"—presumably these pieces—in a letter to Forkel of Oct. 7, 1774.[28] But the so-called Comparison of Handel and J. S. Bach, published anonymously in 1788 in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,*[29] describes the same pieces as "trios for the organ" (*Trios für die Orgel).* Both accounts stress that the pieces, although old, remain good; the Comparison claims that they are "written in such *galant* style that they still sound very good and will not age but will outlive all stylistic revolutions *[Moderevoluzionen]* in music."[30]

The Comparison, incidentally, has usually been attributed to Bach ever since Dragan Plamenac noticed parallels between that essay and a letter to his friend Eschenburg that Bach had written two years earlier.[31] In his letter to Eschenburg, Bach also, like the author of the Comparison, overlooks the simple pedal part in the first concerto in Handel's opus 7 set, published posthumously in 1761. It would be more logical, however, to conclude that Eschenburg himself wrote the Comparison on the basis of his exchanges with Bach. Bach's coaching of reviewers during his Hamburg years is well established, and Eschenburg would have had greater reason for preserving his anonymity, having recently translated Burney's *Account of the Musical Performances in Commemoration of Handel.* Bach, in his letter, is critical of the latter, and the Comparison is a response to contemporary "idolatory" of Handel, especially as expressed by Burney.

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[27] *Bach and the Pedal Clavichord,* chap. 2.

[28] Suchalla, 1:447; translation in Clark, *Letters,* 67.

[29] Item 927 in BD3, 442; translated in NBR, 407.

[30] See NBR, 401–9 (item no. 396), especially p. 406; original in BD 3:441 (no. 927).

[31] "New Light on the Last Years of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach." Bach's letter of Jan. 21, 1786 is no. 287 in Clark, *Letters,* 242–43.

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Supplement 2.3: Bach's Silbermann Clavichord

That Bach acquired the famous instrument around 1746 is based on a note dated Sept. 30, 1781. The latter reportedly accompanied a lost manuscript containing copies of Bach's Rondo W. 66 and another by Baron Dietrich Ewald von Grotthuß.[32] The note, signed by Grotthuß, is said to have indicated that Bach owned the Silbermann instrument for thirty-five years.[33] Richard Troeger asserts that Emanuel received the Silbermann instrument from his father in 1738,[34] but this appears to be an unsubstantiated inference drawn from a report that Emanuel owned the Silbermann instrument for "close to fifty years."[35]

Surprisingly, there seems to be no unequivocal evidence as to which member of the Silbermann instrument-making dynasty made Bach's instrument, although it is always assumed to have been Gottfried. Not is there direct evidence as to the construction of the instrument, which is usually assumed to have been unfretted. Passages in Bach's music that would be hard or impossible to play as written on a fretted clavichord include: Sonata W. 55/2, movement 1, measure 78 (d-flat–c slurred, with *Bebung*), and movement 2, measures 30 (simultaneous f"/g-flat") and 48 (a-flat'–g' slurred, with trill on latter); also the legato chromatic scales in the concerto W. 43/3, movement 1, measures 24–26 and elsewhere. Bach wrote W. 55/2 for his Silbermann clavichord, according to a review in the *Hamburger Correspondent.*[36] Burney reported Bach's playing "his last six concertos, lately published by subscription," i.e., W. 43, on the same instrument.[37]

[32] Is it merely a coincidence that the Prussian court was acquiring fortepianos by Silbermann around the same time? See Oleskiewicz, "The Trio in Bach's *Musical Offering*."

[33] See CPEBCW 1/8.1:xvi–xvii for the full text and translation.

[34] "Bach, Heinitz, Specken, and the Early *bundfrei* Clavichord," 144.

[35] "beynahe 50 Jahren lang"; Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon,* vol. 2, col. 515.

[36] July 31, 1779; extracted in Suchalla, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Briefe und Dokumente,* 1:763.

[37] Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany,* 3:271–72.

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Supplement 3.1: Works Probably Composed at Leipzig (Table)

Listed below are compositions that Bach probably first drafted before leaving Leipzig in 1733. Bold type indicates works of unquestioned attribution that survive in what is, or is likely to be, something close to their original Leipzig form. Abbreviations: C = concerto, So = solo; T = trio; bc = basso continuo, fl = flute, kb = obbligato keyboard, ob = oboe, org = organ, vn = violin.

Works are for solo keyboard and are listed in the first section of NV unless otherwise noted. Dates are from NV; one undated work that is definitely by Bach heads the list, whereas other works of less certain attribution are at the bottom.

On the three arias W. 211, possibly an early work, see online supplement 3.2 below. Oleskiewicz (CPEBCW 2/1:xii–xiii) places the flute sonata W. 134 in the later 1740s but allows the possibility that the extant version may be a revised form of an earlier work; it is regarded here as most likely originating at Frankfurt.

date	ren.	W.	NV	title	comment
?	**—**	**135**	**So1**	**Solo, g**	**for ob, bc**
1731	**—**	**111**	**—**	**Menuet, C**	**with crossing hands; listed in NV, no. 6 on p. 53**
1731	1744	62/1	1	Sonata, B-flat	published 1761
1731	1744	65/1	2	Sonata, F	earliest extant version dates from after 1731?
1731	1746	71	T1	Sonata, D	for kb, vn
1731	1747	72	T2	Duetto, d	for kb, vn
1731	1747	143	T3	Trio, b	for fl, vn, bc
1731	1747	144	T4	Trio, G	for fl, vn, bc
1731	**1747**	**145**	**T5**	**Trio, d**	**for fl, vn, bc; BWV 1036 = early version?**
1731	1747	146	T6	Trio, A	for fl, vn, bc
1731	1747	147	T7	Trio, G	for fl, vn, bc
1732	1744	65/2	3	Sonata, a	earliest extant version dates from after 1732?
1732	1744	65/3	4	Sonata, d	earliest extant version dates from after 1732?
?1733 –34	**—**	**—**	**—**	**Ich bin vergnügt**	**cantata, bass and strings (date is that of the autograph score)**
1733	**1744**	**1**	**C1**	**Concerto, a**	
1733	**1744**	**65/4**	**5**	**Suite, e**	**early version: no. 59b in CPEBCW 1/8.2**
1734	1743	2	C2	Concerto, E-flat	earliest extant version dates from after 1734?
1734	1744	64/1	6	Sonatina, F	earliest extant version (Wq. n.v. 31) dates from after 1734? orig. 2d movement = W. 64/6/2
1734	1744	64/2	7	Sonatina, G	early version lost
1734	1744	64/3	8	Sonatina, a	earliest extant version dates from after 1734? orig. 2d movement = W. 64/6/5

1734	1744	64/4	9	Sonatina, e	earliest extant version dates from after 1734? orig. 2d movement = W. 64/2/2
1734	1744	64/5	10	Sonatina, D	earliest extant version (Wq. n.v. 32) dates from after 1734? orig. 2d movement = W. 64/3/2
1734	1744	64/6	11	Sonatina, c	earliest extant version dates from after 1734? orig. 2d movement = W. 64/1/2
?	—	—	—	March, D	no. 61 in CPEBCW 1/8.2 (BWV Anh. 122)
?	—	—	—	Polonaise, g	no. 62 in CPEBCW 1/8.2 (BWV Anh. 123)
?	—	—	—	March, G	no. 63 in CPEBCW 1/8.2 (BWV Anh. 124)
?	—	—	—	Polonaise, g	no. 64 in CPEBCW 1/8.2 (BWV Anh. 125)
?	—	—	—	March, E-flat	BWV Anh. 127; later version of no. 67/2 in CPEBCW 1/8.2
?	—	116/1	—	Minuets, E-flat	early version (Wq. n.v. 53) in CPEBCW 1/8.2, no. 67/3
?	—	—	—	Polonaise, G	no. 66 in CPEBCW 1/8.2 (Kast Inc. 68/10; H. 340; no. 10 in the “suite” in G)
?	—	—	—	Suite, E-flat	no. 67 in CPEBCW 1/8.2
?	—	—	—	Suite, G	no. 68 in CPEBCW 1/8.2
?	—	—	—	Suite (?), E-flat	no. 69 in CPEBCW 1/8.2
?	—	—	—	Suite (?), G	6 mvts. (including H. 340), not clearly identified as to their location in the source (P 368), as no. 70 in CPEBCW 1/8.2
?	—	—	—	Suite, B-flat	no. 71 in CPEBCW 1/8.2 (H. 370)
?	—	—	—	Aus der Tiefen	no. 18 in CPEBCW 1/9 (BWV 745)
?	—	—	—	Ich ruf zu dir	no. 19 in CPEBCW 1/9 (BWV Anh. 73)
?	—	n.v. 19	—	Jesus meines Lebens Leben	for oboe and organ (Wq. n.v. 19; H. 639)
?	—	—	—	Auf, mein Herz	chorale setting later attached to BWV 145
?1732–34	—	—	—	Pedal-Exercitium	BWV 598
?1732–34	—	—	—	Reißt euch los	aria, soprano (fragment, BWV 224)

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Supplement 3.2: Three Arias W. 211

Bach's widow believed that the three tenor arias listed as W. 211 (edited in CPEBCW 6/4) were "composed in early years."[38] Their somewhat generic style, closer to that of a lied than an aria, is difficult to place. The song-like syllabic writing of the vocal part, as well as brief opening and closing passages for strings—hardly ritornellos in the usual sense—superficially recalls the little arias that were still beng sung in German operas during Sebastian's youth and perhaps later.[39] Emanuel, however, used these three arias at Hamburg as interludes during public *Trauerspiele*—plays based on ancient history put on by the students of the Johanneum. Could they really have gone back to his own academic years at Leipzig or Frankfurt? If so, then some of the arias in his Hamburg works, with their simplified musical rhetoric and lied-like manner, represented a turning back to a style he had cultivated his youth. That, however, seems unlikely. Their earliest known use was as interludes in a play based on the life and death of Julius Caesar, performed on four successive days in March 1776. The texts, otherwise puzzling, make sense as reflections on Caesar's career, although they were parodied two years later to comment on the death of Seneca and again after the death of Empress Maria Theresa in February 1781.[40] All three texts presumably had special meaning at Hamburg, which took seriously its status as an autonomous republic within an empire founded, in theory, by Caesar himself. Most likely, then, these are compositions from Bach's first few years at Hamburg.

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[38] Johanna Maria's letter of Sept. 5, 1789, to Sara Levy describes the three arias using the same phrase found in NV, p. 64 ("in jungen Jahren verfertigt"); see CPEBCW 6/4:xiv.

[39] See, e.g., the arias, at least some of them from lost operas, in Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's *Harmonische Freude musicalischer Freunde* (Nuremberg, 1710); modern edition by Otto Kinkeldey in *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, vol. 47 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1913).

[40] Both parodies are mentioned by Bitter (*Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, 1:191–93), who indicates that the arias followed acts 1, 3, and 4 of the five-act drama. At least the 1781 parody texts (not given in CPEBCW 6/4) were evidently sung under Bach's direction, as shown by the title of the original libretto, quoted by Leisinger and Wollny (*Die Bach-Quellen*, 136–37). Leisinger and Wollny also reproduce the parody text used in 1781 for the second aria—which came first in that performance.

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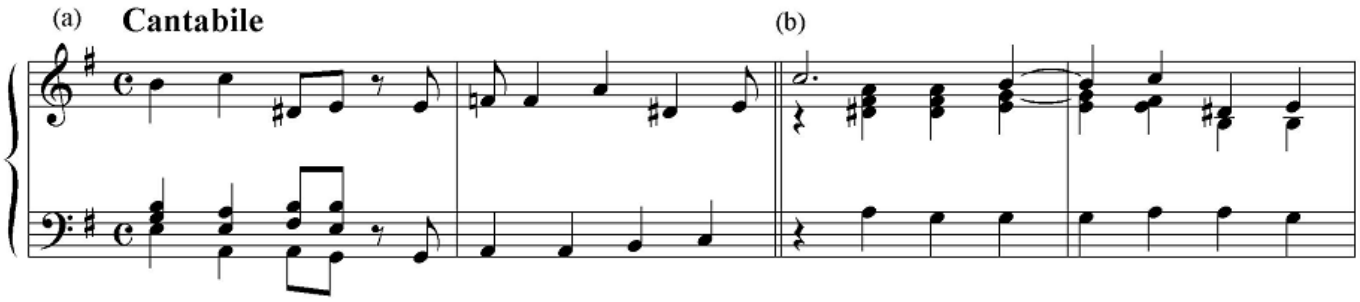
Supplement 3.3: The Cantabile from the Early E-minor Suite W. 65/4

The sole source for the suite's early version is a copy partly in the hand of Bach's Hamburg scribe Michel.[41] As in other Berlin "renovations" of early keyboard works, the later version eliminates the double bar in the center of the Cantabile and abbreviates the recapitulation, eliding into the latter only after the point shown in example 3.1b. A simplified version of the opening (example 3.1a), this recapitulation illustrates a process that has been described as *Dekolierung*—variation by melodic reduction rather than embellishment, which occurs in other early works as well.[42] The immediate verbatim repetition of this passage in the source might be an error.

BWV 844a is probably the early version of a Scherzo in D minor which, together with BWV 970, was incorporated into a spurious "Toccatina" and attributed to J. S. Bach.[43] A similar passage occurs in the first movement of the Sonata W. 65/11 (m. 7), a Frankfurt work.

Example 3.1. Suite in E minor, W. 65/4, early version, movement 3, (a) mm. 1–2, (b) mm. 17–18



[41] According to CPEBCW 1/8.2:209.

[2] Fischer, "C. Ph. E. Bachs Variationwerke," 210.
[43] See Schulenberg, *Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach*, 443–44.

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Supplement 3.4: Other Early Keyboard Pieces

Harmonic thinking is also evident in an anonymous suite in G composed probably while Emanuel was in Leipzig. All but three of its fourteen movements open with passages composed over one of two common bass-line types (see online example 3.5). Although reminiscent in this respect of the variation-suite published in 1706 by Niedt, the work is stylistically up-to-date, clearly inspired by Sebastian's keyboard partitas—as shown by the inclusion of a hand-crossing minuet—and perhaps also by the Goldberg Variations. The latter were not published until 1741, but their "theme" (designated "Aria"), which Anna Magdalena copied into P 225, is also composed over one of those two bass types.[44] Six of the movements have been selected for publication as Emanuel's; one of those movements recurs elsewhere attributed to him, but all might be his, or none.[45] In any case, their diverse elaborations of recurring harmonic patterms must reflect one type of compositional thought that Sebastian was encouraging in his pupils around the time Emanuel left Leipzig to continue his university studies in Frankfurt.

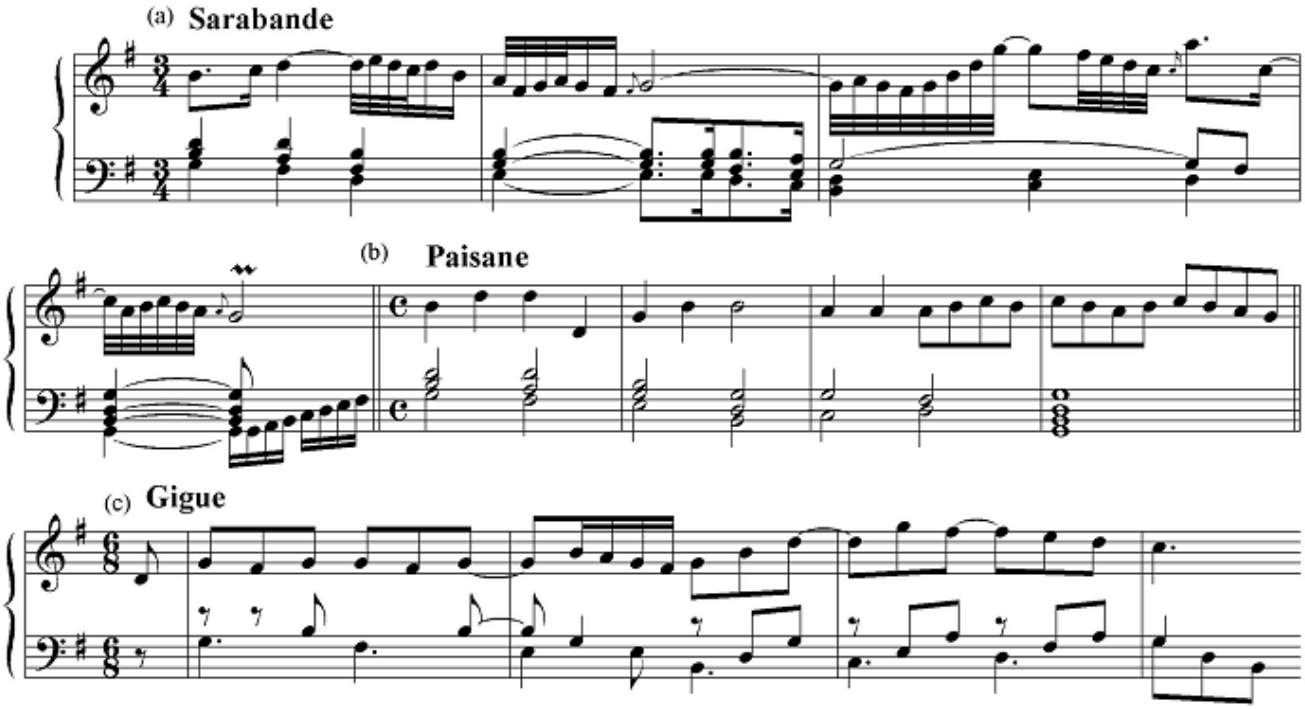
By then, however, Emanuel had already composed more distinctive pieces than these and was turning to larger compositions in the form of sonatas and concertos. Apart from the minuet W. 111, Emanuel would not acknowledge any of his smaller early keyboard compositions by listing them in NV. Even W. 111 is listed separately from other keyboard works in NV, and it is absent from the earlier list in CV, which begins with the Suite W. 65/4, followed by the six sonatas W. 64. The latter would be designated in NV as sonatinas; perhaps this was Bach's way of acknowledging their somewhat rudimentary character, despite the extensive revisions that he carried out on them sometime after 1772. The incipits given in CV for these sonatinas are those of the versions that Berg designated as "early";[46] this, however, implies that the "early" versions now surviving for all but no. 2 are actually the "renovated" ones of 1744. The original versions of 1734 are therefore lost, and the late versions must date from after 1772. Much the same appears to be true of all but the works shown in bold type in the lists of works shown in online supplements 3.1 and 4.1.

[44] Another suggestion that the Goldberg Variations might have originated somewhat earlier than usually thought is provided by the Locatelli Variations of 1735 (W. 118/7), discussed in chap. 4.

[45] Movements 1, 5, and 10–13 of the anonymous suite (untitled in the source, P 368) appear as no. 70 in CPEBCW 1/8.2. Their selection follows the editor's judgement that these are "of higher quality" (p. 212). What appears to be an earlier version of the polonaise no. 10 recurs in two other sources as H. 340 (= Wq n.v. 54).

[46] In her facsimile edition, *The Collected Works for Solo Keyboard by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.*

Example 3.5. Anonymous suite in G from P 368, fascicle 11: (a) Sarabande, mm. 1–4; (b) “Paisane,” mm. 1–4; (c) Gigue, mm. 1–4



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The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 3.5: More on the Alternate Scoring of Bach's Trios

The performance of trio sonatas as obbligato-keyboard pieces was probably common at Berlin by the 1740s, as witness the copies of six trios by Quantz that were most likely owned by Bach's Berlin colleague Nichelmann.[47] Bach seems to have prepared similar material for some of his own trios around the time of the "renovation" of his Leipzig works of this type (dated 1747 in NV). This material takes the form of autograph obbligato-keyboard parts that combine the original flute and bass lines of the Leipzig trios W. 143, W. 145, and 146.[48] These parts show no signs of correction at points where erasures in the autograph scores (P 357) indicate revisions of small details.[49] Hence Bach must have copied these keyboard parts after writing out the "renovated" scores. Yet the absence of many slurs, continuo figures, and other performance markings in the keyboard parts, as well as minor variants in those continuo figures that are present in both scores and parts, suggests that many of these indications were later additions in P 357 or were intentionally omitted from a part intended for a keyboard player. On the other hand, I know of no evidence to support the suggestion that W. 71 and 72 "may have existed in their revised form first as trio sonatas."[50] On the contrary, these pieces may have been modeled from the start on Sebastian's sonatas for violin and keyboard.

[47] See the edition of two of them, QV 2:28 and 2:35, in *Johann Joachim Quantz: Seven Trio Sonatas*, edited by Mary Oleskiewicz (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2001). Their sources are among the six manuscripts in the Thelemeier collection whose provenance Schwinger (*Die Musikaliensammlung Thulemeier,* 192–96) describes as "Nichelmann (?)".

[48] In B Bc 27904–6; full description and facsimile of the first page of W. 145 in Leisinger and Wollny (*Die Bach-Quellen,* 150–51 and 515–16).

[49] E.g., in W. 145, movement 1, measure 51, Bach replaced a rest with a tied sixteenth d" (not noted in the textual commentary of CPEBCW 2/2.1).

[50] CPEBCW 3/1:xiv, postulating that Bach prepared "renovated" versions of these Leipzig compositions as conventional trio sonatas before rescoring them with obbligato keyboard.

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Supplement 3.6. Problems of Origin in the Early Trios

The minuets that close Emanuel's Trio 1, for keyboard and violin (W. 71), recall those in the Flute Sonata BWV 1033 in C, whose authorship is disputed. Both pairs of minuets involve four-square phrases in which the obbligato keyboard plays mostly in decorated parallel thirds with the other instrument. Another point in common is the largely subsidiary character of one of the two upper voices, although the resulting texture (similar to that of the later accompanied-keyboard sonata) is found in many trio sonatas, even those of Corelli's opus 2. Emanuel certainly knew BWV 1033, which, as Jeanne Swack has shown, seems to borrow a theme by Christian Förster, violinist in Merseburg just a few miles from Leipzig.[51]

Whoever composed BWV 1033—Emanuel apparently attributed it to his father[52]—it shares with W. 71 and 72 the character of a pastiche: in each, the various movements are distinct in style and follow no conventional sequence. Perhaps this was the result of combining movements that had been composed separately, possibly even by different members of the Bach household. Emanuel would later shuffle movements while renovating the six sonatinas of W. 64; Quantz somewhat similarly would remove movements to produce sonatas in the three-movement form prevalent at Berlin.[53]

Another likely instance of Bach's shuffling of movements occurs in Trio 2 in D minor (W. 72), which now ends with a gigue-like movement in 6/8. This is hardly surprising, but it is odd that the second movement is not only shorter but incorporates a syncopated *(alla zoppa)* rhythm; both features would be more expected in the final movement of a sonata of this period. This raises the possibility that the two quick movements were separately composed and later incorporated into a synthetic sonata. The first Allegro, whose theme recalls the last movement of the triple concerto BWV 1063, must be a Leipzig product. The gigue, however, is a masterwork in Bach's mature style of the 1740s.

The three-movement design of Trio 4 (W. 144), again with slow movement first, is that of many Berlin works which originally interposed a second slow movement between the two quick ones.

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[51] Swack, "On the Origins of the *Sonate auf Concertenart*," 399–401. Emanuel's copy of BWV 1033 from around 1731 is preserved in St 460; further discussion in CPEBCW 2/1:xx. An argument that the keyboard parts in BWV 1020 and 1031 are unidiomatic and that these pieces must be arrangements of lute trios is groundless, however attractive a modern arrangement ("reconstruction") for lute, flute, and string bass might be. Equally doubtful is the proposed attribution to C. H. or J. G. Graun, whose trios with obbligato keyboard parts are far less idiomatic for the latter instrument while differing considerably in both style and form from the present works (Stephan Olbertz, "Verborgene Trios mit obligater Laute? Zu Fragen der Fassungsgeschichte und Autorschaft der Sonaten Es-Dur und g-Moll, BWV 1031 and 1020," *BJ* 2013: 261–77).

[52] The attribution to Sebastian in St 460 appears to be a later addition to the title page, probably by Emanuel himself.

[53] Oleskiewicz, "Quantz and the Flute at Dresden," 170–71.

One therefore must wonder whether the present sequence of movements is original. Equally suspicious is the presence of a slow movement in the tonic B minor at the center of Trio 3 (W. 143); was this movement originally in first place, or did it replace a movement in another key? In Bach's fair-copy autograph, probably made at the time of the renovation in 1744, the last two movements look as if they might have been copied some time after the first, raising the possibility of a distinct origin.[54]

The relationships between Emanuel's Trio 5 (W. 145) and the obbligato-keyboard trio BWV 1036 are summarized below:

BWV 1036	W. 145	comment
Adagio, 4/4	—	No corresponding movement in W. 145
Allegro, 2/4	Allegretto, 2/4	The first three beats are parallel
Largo, 3/4, in F	same	W. 145 substitutes 27 measures for mm. 19–31 of BWV 1036
Vivace, 3/8	Allegro, 2/4	W. 145 substitutes a new sonata-form movement; some passages roughly parallel to BWV 1036, movement 2

Thematic parallels with works of Sebastian confirm a likely origin during the 1720s or 1730s for BWV 1036—consistent, to be sure, with NV's date of 1731 for the early version of W. 145.[55] Whatever the exact history of the two works, W. 145 clearly represents a purging of the virtuoso yet slightly gauche elements of BWV 1036. These are evident from the very beginning: the close imitation of the two crossing upper parts; the little echoes; and the stuttering motivic idea that enters in measure 3. One senses an original mind in these things, and the chromatic harmony, particularly in measures 6–7, is worthy of a pupil of J. S. Bach (online example 3.13).

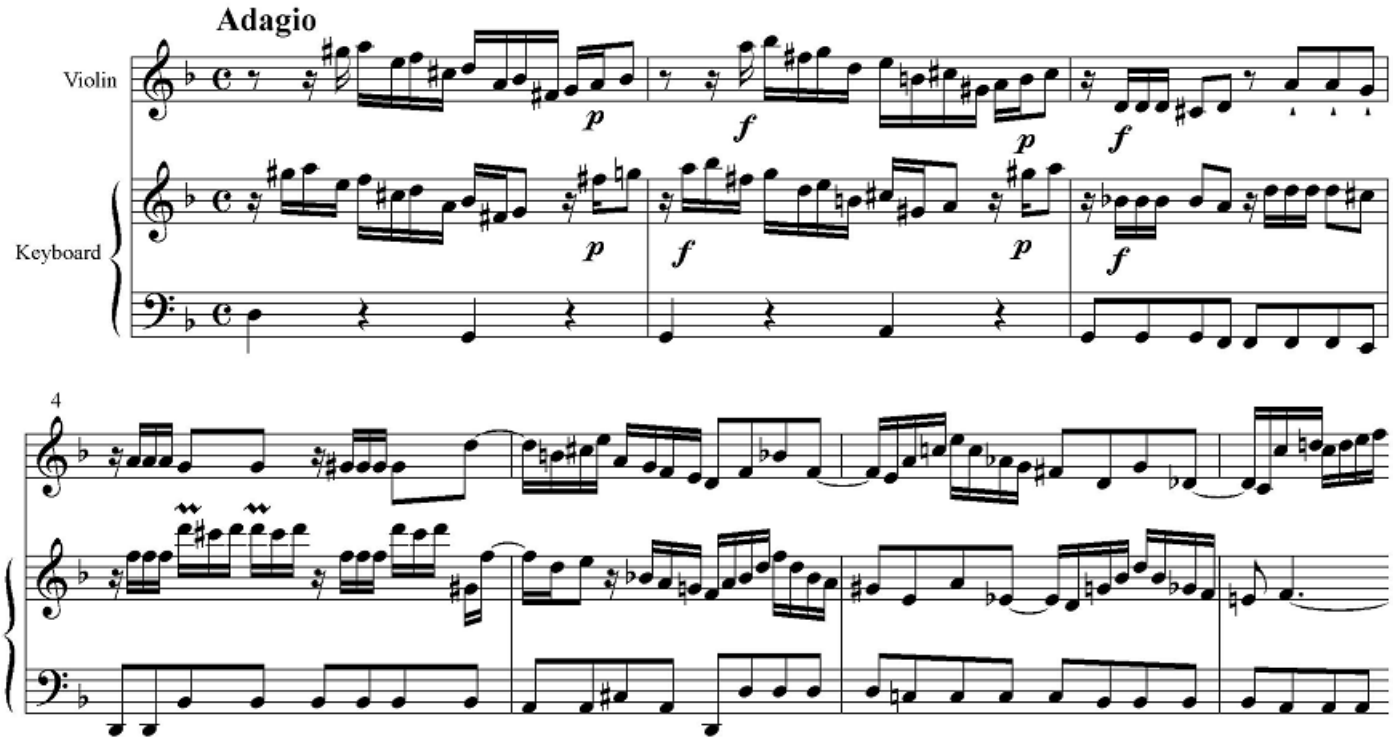
Comparable things occur in the music of Friedemann Bach, and he must be considered beside Emanuel as a possible composer of the opening movement. This example also raises the possibility that the young Emanuel was closer, stylistically and in other ways, to Friedemann than would be suggested by their separate paths after leaving Leipzig. That Emanuel retained similar writing in the Largo of W. 145 is a point favoring his authorship of BWV 1036 (online example 3.14). So too is the instrumentation of the latter, which occurs in no certain work by Fridemann; a sonata for obbligato keyboard and violin in the unusual key of B major, although included in the new edition of Friedemann's music as a possible work, is far too late in style to

[54] In the autograph score (P 357), the Adagio and Presto are written in a distinctly lighter and finer script than the opening Allegro, suggesting that Bach wrote the two following movements with a different pen. This is, however, a recurring phenomenon in Bach's autographs of the 1740s, including those of newly composed works such as Trio 9 (W. 149) of 1745.

[55] Wolff, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Trio in d-moll," 184–85, points out similarities in the theme of the first quick movement in both BWV 1036 and W. 145 to that of the opening ritornello in the aria "Nun mögt ihr stolzen Feinde schrecken" from Sebastian's Christmas Oratorio of 1734. Hermann Keller, in the foreword to his edition of BWV 1036 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952), pointed as well to parallels in the Double Concerto BWV 1060 and the Organ Sonata BWV 527. To these one might add more fleeting parallels in the Triple Concerto BWV 1063 (subject of the last movement) and the *Trauerode* BWV 198 (opening theme of the final chorus, perhaps echoed in the little coda of the second movement for solo keyboard).

have any relevance to BWV 1036.[56] The idea that BWV 1036 was originally for two violins and bass has no foundation in the sources.[57] Yet it is hardly ruled out by the *unisono* solo for the keyboard instrument at the end of the second movement, which could originally have been for continuo alone.

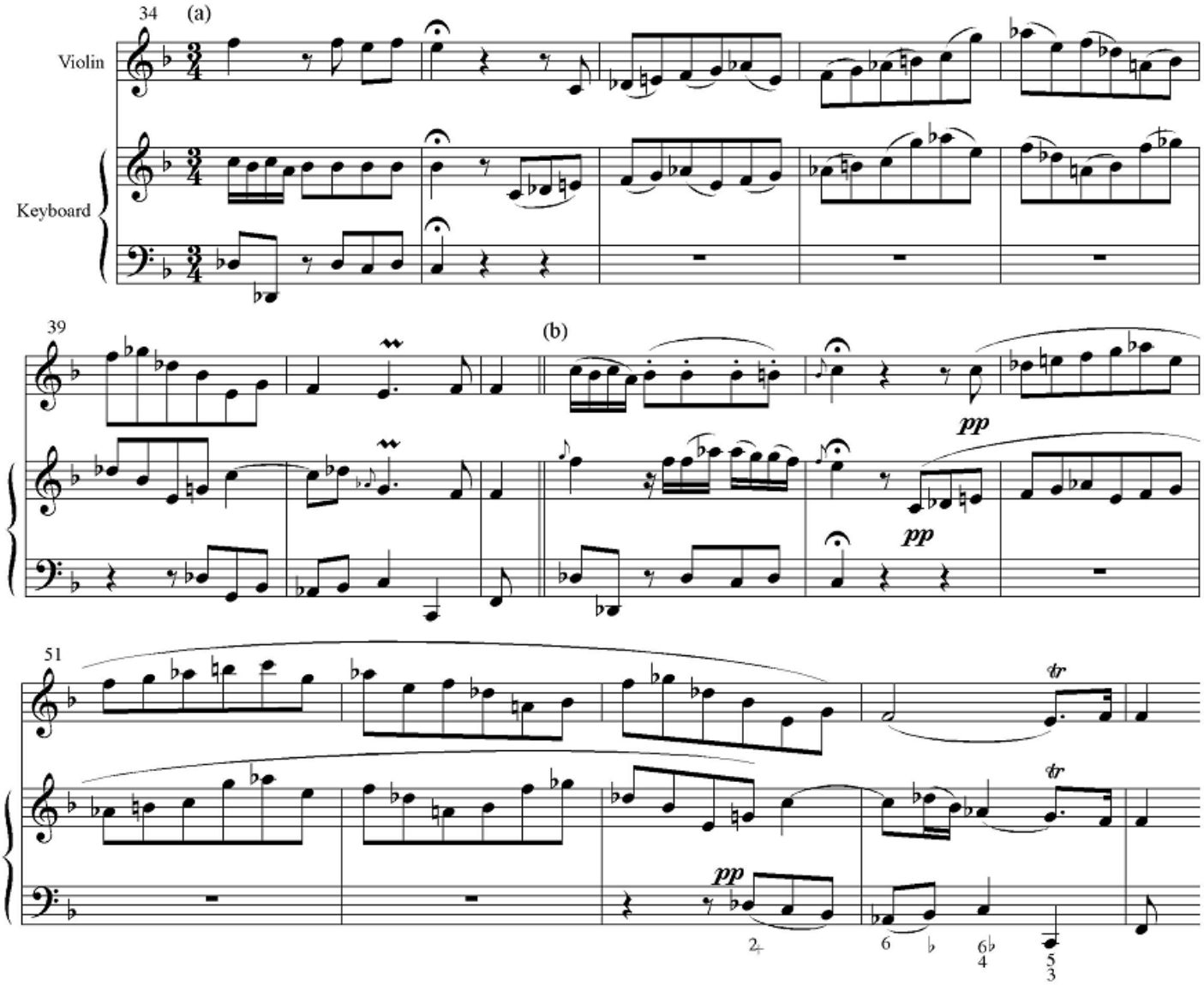
Example 3.13. Sonata in D minor for keyboard and violin, BWV 1036, movement 1, mm. 1–7



[56] See Schulenberg, *Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, 127.

[57] The possibility was raised by Max Seiffert when the work was first discovered (see the foreword to Keller's edition, op.cit.),

Example 3.14. (a) Sonata in D minor for keyboard and violin, BWV 1036, movement 3, mm. 34–41; (b) Trio in D minor for flute, violin, and bass, W. 145, movement 2, mm. 48–55



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Supplement 4.1: Works Probably Composed at Frankfurt (Oder) (Table)

Works are for solo keyboard and are listed in the first section of NV unless otherwise noted (for table notes, see below)

date	ren.	W.	NV	title	comment
?	?	134	So2	Solo, G	for flute, continuo (early version lost?)
?1733–4	**—**	**—**	**—**	**Ich bin vergnügt**	**cantata, bass and strings (date is that of the autograph)**
1735	**—**	**118/7**	**12**	**Variations**	**on a minuet by Locatelli; orig. only two variations (for fl, bc)?**
1735	1743	65/5	13	Sonata, e	movement 1 also as part of a sonata comprising W. 64/2/2 and 64/43; mvts. 2 and 3 originally belonged to W. 62/3 and W. 65/11 (in different keys)
1735	**—**	**123**	**So3**	**Solo, G**	**for flute, continuo**
1736	1743	65/6	14	Sonata, G	earliest extant version dates from after 1736?
1736	**1743**	**65/7**	**15**	**Sonata, Eb**	**early version in P 368; early version of movement 1 (BWV Anh. 129) in P 225**
1737	1743	65/8	16	Sonata, C	earliest extant version dates from after 1737?
1737	**1743**	**65/9**	**17**	**Sonata, Bb**	**early version in P 368**
1737	1745	3	C3	Concerto, G	
1737	**—**	**124**	**So4**	**Solo, e**	**for flute, continuo**
1738	**1743**	**65/10**	**18**	**Sonata, A**	**early version in P 368**
?1732–4	—	—	—	Pedal-Exercitium	BWV 598 (autograph fragment)
?1732–4	—	—	—	Reißt euch los	aria, soprano (autograph fragment, BWV 224)
1735	—	—	—	Die Hoffnung sank	homage to King Friedrich Wilhelm I in honor of the Märkische Stipendium, lost
1735	—	—	—	Streift die falben Blätter ab	funeral music for C. G. Hoffmann, lost
1736	—	—	—	[text lost]	wedding music for J. S. Ungnad, lost
1736	—	—	—	Ich freue mich	oratorio for dedication of Lower Church, lost
1737	—	—	—	Friedrich lebt	birthday serenata for Crown Prince Frederick, lost
1737	—	—	—	Frankfurt, lass in vollen Chören	music for Friedrich Wilhelm of Schwedt, lost
1737	—	—	—	Entdeckt durch tausend frohe Töne	music for King Friedrich Wilhelm I, lost

Table Notes

C = concerto, So = solo; T = trio
bc = basso continuo, fl = flute, kb = obbligato keyboard, ob = oboe, org = organ, vn = violin

Bold type signifies works certainly by C. P. E. Bach that survive in early versions (not necessarily the *original* versions). Undated works definitely by Bach are listed at the head of the list; others of uncertain attribution at the bottom, followed by lost works. A few works possibly composed earlier (at Leipzig) are repeated from table 3.1. Oleskiewicz (CPEBCW 2/1:xii–xiii) places the Flute Sonata W. 134 in the later 1740s but allows that the extant version may be a revised form of an earlier work; it is regarded here as possibly originating at Frankfurt.

Supplement 4.2: Speculation on Bach's Activities at Frankfurt

Emanuel's language implies a distinction between private concerts and public presentations, but both are likely to have involved the same musicians, most of them his fellow students. The latter would have included those whom he taught to play the "clavier"—at this date an activity that in Germany involved chiefly men, like amateur music making generally; despite regular participation in musical events by female members of the royal family during Bach's Berlin years, one reads little of such activity by other women until later.[58] Emanuel's teaching and direction of the collegium assuredly brought him into intimate contact with some of the future intelligentsia of King Frederick's Berlin—members of the nobility as well as lawyers and other professionals. Some doubtless were curious about his father's music, and Emanuel evidently performed some of Sebastian's more popular instrumental and vocal compositions at Frankfurt.[59] Most, however, like the crown prince, probably preferred the more purely Italianate style that prevailed, above all, in the operas that Hasse was now composing and directing at Dresden. Having presumably gained some familiarity with Hasse's style during his studies at Leipzig; at Frankfurt Bach plotted a musical course between the two poles represented by Dresden and Leipzig.

[58] A few female musicians appear to have been members of professional families, such as Therese Petrini, daughter of Frederick's court harpist, and a daughter of Johann Peter Lehmann, organist of the Berlin Nikolaikirche, whose keyboard playing was praised by Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, 1:505.

[59] Wollny, "Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 9–10, cites evidence in the form of manuscript performing parts that Emanuel apparently owned or prepared while at Frankfurt.

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Supplement 4.3: Problems of Chronology and Version in Early Works

The first movement of the keyboard sonata in E Minor W. 65/5, whose composition NV places at Frankfurt in 1735, apparently originated as part of a work whose two following movements were later transferred to the sonatinas W. 64. The sole source for the early version of the movement might have been copied by a pupil of Emanuel's at Frankfurt.[60] Yet NV lists the sonatinas as Leipzig compositions, albeit from 1734, the year Bach left for Frankfurt. This E-minor movement therefore has a status similar to that of the "Solo" in E-flat preserved in P 225, otherwise known as the opening allegro of the Sonata W. 65/7. NV lists the latter as a Frankfurt work of 1736, but in both cases it is possible that individual movements were composed separately, left in rough form until they were later incorporated into complete three-movement sonatas. Only at Frankfurt, perhaps, did Emanuel, now teaching regularly, require works of this sort for his students; following his father's model, he would have polished anything before giving it out. If he did return home for visits during this period, that would help explain the presence of the "Solo" alongside revised versions of one or two other pieces in P 225.[61]

[60] The manuscript, Hs ND VI 3191, is on paper manufactured at Frankfurt, according to CPEBCW 1/8.2:163–4, which describes this as an "earlier version" of W. 65/5. It is better understood as a distinct work comprising early forms of movements from W. 65/5, 64/2, and 64/4, respectively. For a facsimile of the second movement (identified as Wq 64.4^{II}), see Leisinger and Wollny, "'Altes Zeug von mir,'" 145.

[61] The March BWV Anh. 127, whose earlier version appears in CPEBCW 2/8.2 as the second movement of a Suite in E-flat, no. 67 (from another fascicle of the Frankfurt manuscript Hs ND VI 3191); and the Polonaise BWV Anh. 125, probably a later version of the second movement in a sonata from the same source (titled "Suite," no. 68, in CPEBCW 2/8.2).

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Supplement 4.4: Early Works with Cadenzas

Bach's earliest examples of movements that explicitly require cadenzas—as indicated by a fermata, with the preparation for the cadenza an original part of the composition—might be two of the sonatinas of W. 64, but their dating is hardly secure. Cadenzas occur in the slow movements of the sonatinas in F (W. 64/1), A minor (W. 64/3), and D (W. 64/5), but these are all late revised versions. In their original Leipzig forms, now lost, these movements were presumably the andantes of W. 64/6 in C minor, W. 64/5 in D, and W. 64/3 in A minor, respectively. The andantes in C minor and A minor survive in what are probably intermediate versions, and these both end with cadential formulas that call for cadenzas, although only the A-minor work includes an explicit fermata. These, however, are probably already the renovated versions of 1744, copied several decades later by the Berlin musician Johann Samuel Carl Possin (in SA 4779 and SA 4781). Possin himself, incidentally, is probably responsible for a cadenza written out in his copy of the Sonata in E-flat W. 65/7 (in SA 4783), which he also gives in what is likely a Berlin version.

The cantata is Emanuel's only extant vocal composition prior to a few lieder and the Magnificat of the 1740s.[62] But several four-part chorale settings may survive from otherwise lost compositions,[63] and six lines of the vocal part for another aria, "Reißt euch los," survive from what might be another lost vocal work.[64] Speaking for its composition by Emanuel or another pupil is the short-winded vocal writing, which reaches its first cadence—presumably concluding the first half of the A section—in just eleven measures. That suggests a disproportionately short first vocal section, despite a twenty-bar opening ritornello and another twelve measures of orchestral music that follow a so-called *Devisen* (motto) entry for the voice. Equally studentish is the concrete word painting, which juxtaposes a lively arpeggiated setting of the words "Free yourself" *(Reißt euch los)* against a chromatic melisma encompassing a diminished third for "troubled thoughts" *(gekränkte Sinnen);* the same notes occur early in the first aria of *Ich bin vergnügt* (online example 4.17). Yet the fragment, whose text might be from either a sacred or a secular work, also reveals direct parallels to the opening aria in Sebastian's Coffee Cantata (online example 4.18). Both works employ the same intense declamation and moderately chromatic sequences to express distraction, albeit for comic purposes in the Coffee Cantata, and there in common rather than 2/4 time.

Wollny has suggested that student cantatas such as Doles's and Emanuel's might have been incorporated into the so-called *Picander-Jahrgang:* Sebastian's third annual cycle of church pieces, supposedly all written on texts by the Leipzig poet, although only nine survive. Wollny has questioned Sebastian's authorship of one of these, *Ich lebe, mein Herze* (BWV 145), which Sebastian is usually thought to have composed in 1729.[65] BWV 145 in its present state is a pasticcio, connected in some way with Emanuel; it opens with a four-part chorale setting that is said to "reflect Bach's tuition with his father."[66] Although a few details in the harmonization indeed seem atypical of J. S. Bach, what are described as their "threadbare texture" and features "uncharacteristic" of his music do not constitute serious impediments to Sebastian's authorship of the arias. Rather, the 2/4 meter and relatively simple texture of the first aria are elements of

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[62] On the three arias W. 211, see online supplement 3.2.

[63] See Wollny, "C. P. E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate 'Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket,'" on the possible borrowing of the final chorale of W. 244 from an earlier work. The surviving evidence is hardly sufficient, however, for postulating that the latter was a complete setting of Picander's "Ich bin ein Pilgrim auf der Welt," whose minute fragment in Emanuel's hand (BWV Anh. 190) is usually considered a lost work of J. S. Bach.

[64] Formerly attributed to Sebastian as BWV 224, the fragment is published as Emanuel's in CPEBCW 5/5.2. The source (P 491), in Emanuel's early handwriting, is a broken-off fair copy of a single part, presumably taken from a completed composition.

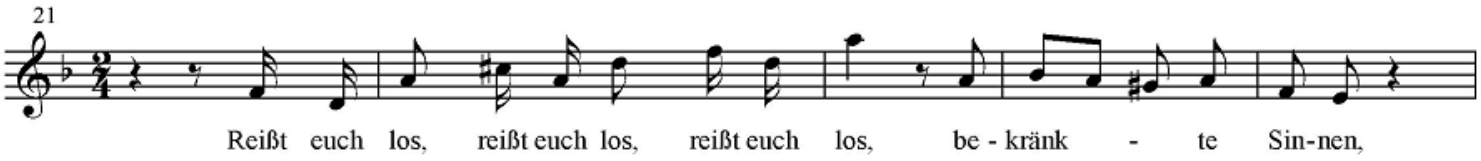
[65] CPEBCW 5/5.2:xvi.

[66] CPEBCW 1/9:xvii; the setting, H. 336/3, is one of five elsewhere copied on two staves as if for keyboard (in SA 817) and published as no. 15 in the new edition of Emanuel's organ music (CPEBCW 1/9). The second-movement chorus is from Telemann's church piece TWV 1:1350.

the *galant* style that Sebastian took up in other works of the period. The prolongation of a dominant harmony over "no fewer than five measures" in the opening ritornello also has precedents elsewhere in his music.[67] The second aria—hardly a "light minuet," although not unlike the dance arias and choruses common in Sebastian's vocal works—is no more problematical, and its simplified texture, with both violins as well as winds often in unison or octaves, is another gesture toward *galant* style, like the unison violins of the first aria in the Coffee Cantata.

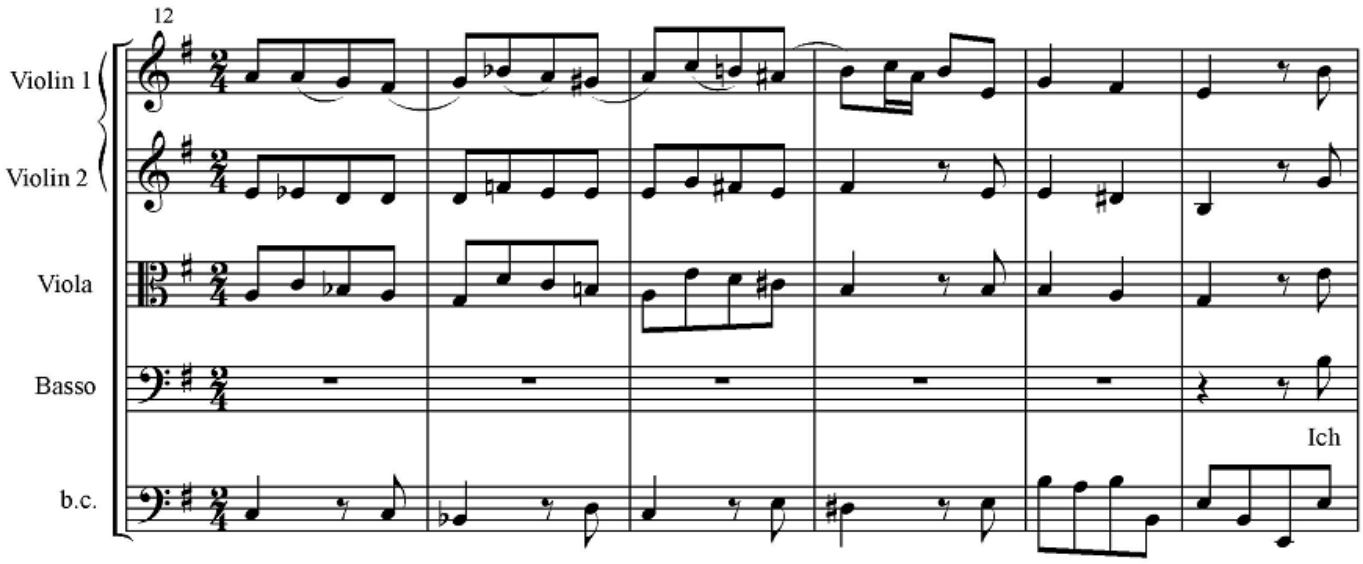
It must be admitted, however, that the ritornello theme of the aria "Merke, mein Herze" is more than a little reminiscent of that of movement 3 in Emanuel's keyboard concerto W. 10 of 1742, including the same unison or octave scoring. If not by the same composer, the two are clearly drawing on the same *galant* type. And BWV 145 surely does represent the type of sacred music that Emanuel might have aspired to compose at a time when his father was setting texts of Picander, in a style that combined elements of the *galant* with Sebastian's own, in varying proportions.

Example 4.17a. "Reißt euch los," BWV 224, mm. 21–25

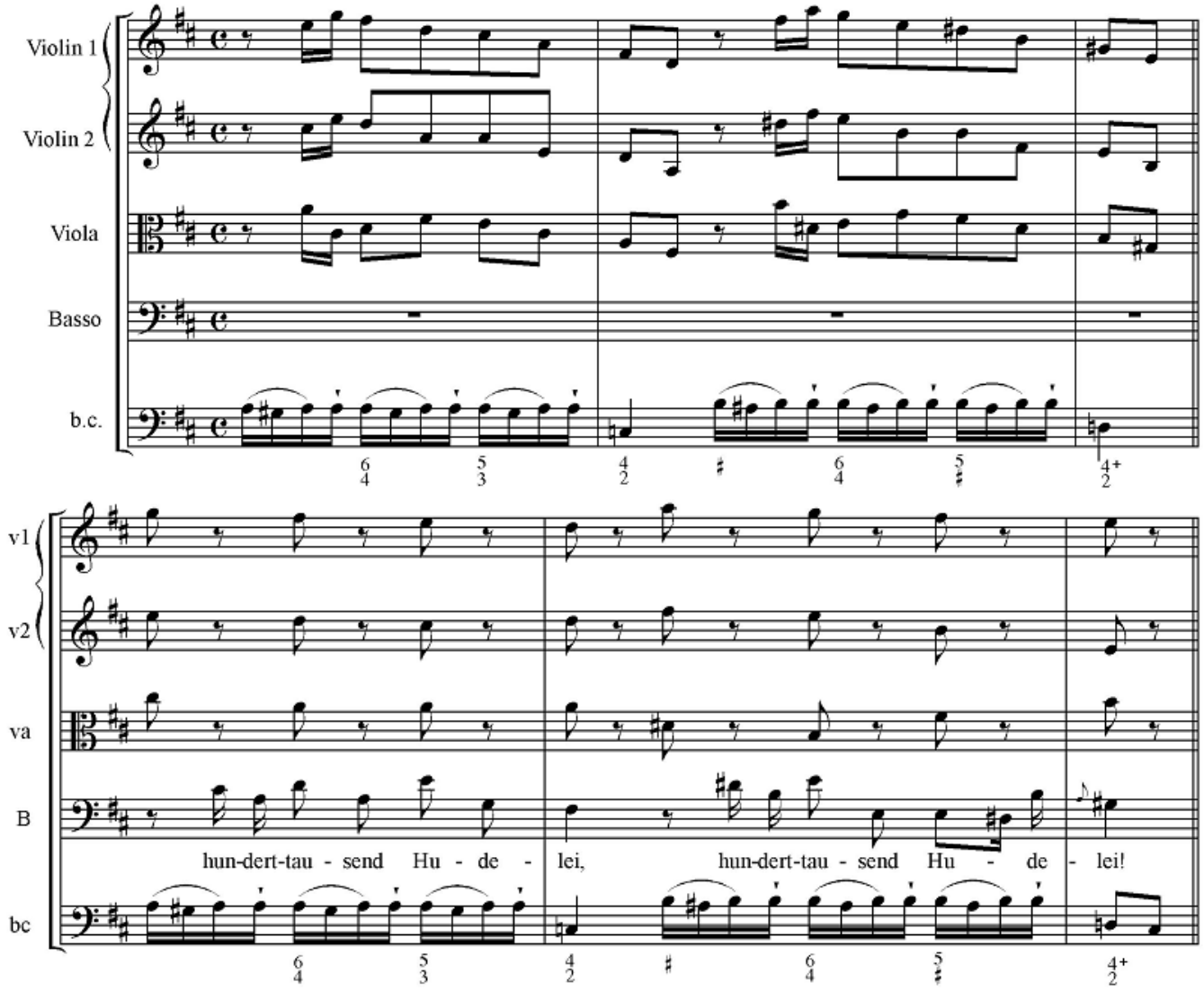


[67] E.g., at the first vocal entrance in the aria "Ach, nun ist mein Jesus hin" from the St. Matthew Passion, another Picander setting.

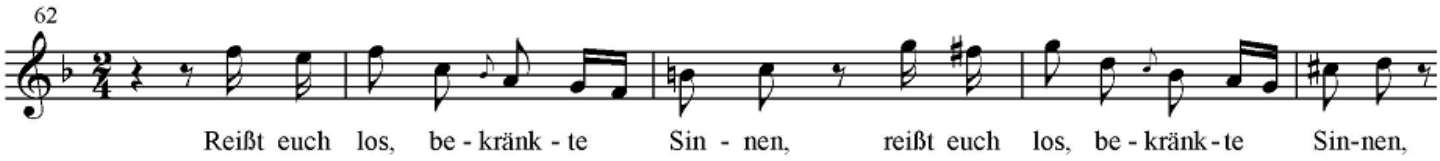
Example 4.17b. *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande*, movement 1, mm. 12–15



Example 4.18a. J. S. Bach, Coffee Cantata, BWV 211, movement 2, mm. 3b–5a and 13b–15a



Example 4.18b. “Reißt euch los,” BWV 224, mm. 62–66



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Supplement 5.1. The Berlin Opera

A study of the Berlin opera argues that a performance there was viewed "primarily as a political event, as an affair of state,"[68] but this cannot have been true generally. The seriousness with which Graun's operas were written about critically, even by non-musicians such as the "war councilor" J. F. Borchmann,[69] suggests that they were taken as more than mere "representation" of monarchy or "exercises in reflecting an ideal of rulership and an ideal of society." Still, that Frederick himself served in effect as producer of the Berlin opera demonstrated the conflation of his artistic with his political ends, and his view of himself as "first servant of the state" was self-serving even if genuinely held.[70] Yet, although present-day academics may think themselves clever for recognizing the political functions of opera and its music, they may be missing the point if they fail to understand that for Frederick the express purpose of the state was to improve the lives of its inhabitants. One way of doing this was by providing amenities such as opera, which was not merely entertaining but educational—and probably, in Frederick's view, preferable to the church as a means for inculcating the moral values on which he thought his state was founded (duty, modesty, clemency, and the like). Some of the church music that Bach would perform at Hamburg was no less operatic, and was certainly not meant to be any less morally uplifting, than Graun's operas. Of course, whether any of these compositions actually accomplished their supposed political or moral purposes is open to question—all the more reason, however, to focus on their artistic qualities rather than their supposed political functions.

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[68] Mangum, "Apollo and the German Muses, 113, referring to contemporary newspaper coverage of opera performances.

[69] Author of the anonymously published *Briefe zur Erinnerung an merkwürdige Zeiten aus dem witchtigen Zeitlaufe, von 1740 bis 1778* (Berlin: Spener, 1778). Mangum, p. 59, terms it an "epistolary novel," but it is also a memoir incorporating critical commentary on operas and their performances.

[70] The famous quotation is usually traced to Frederick's Political Testament of 1752, but in the previous year he had written "un Prince est le premier Serviteur & le premier Magistrat de l'Etat" (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la maison de Brandenbourg*, nouvelle edition, Berlin: Jean Neaulme, 1751), 250.

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Supplement 5.2. Bach's Berlin Pupils

Although Bach wrote one of the great pedagogic works of eighteenth-century music, his known pupils at Berlin are few in number. Most were connected to the court in one way or another, and it may be that Bach did not need to accept ordinary pupils after his reputation had been established. Among those whom he did accept—if he was not essentially required to take him on as a pupil—Duke Carl Eugen of Württemberg was only sixteen years old when Bach's sonatas dedicated to him were brought out by Windter of Berlin.[71] Carl Eugen was, with his two younger brothers (also dukes of Württemberg), Frederick's guest in Berlin at the time. Reigning but not yet ruling, he belonged to a dynasty with a strong musical tradition and historical ties with Prussia: the composer Froberger had served Carl Eugen's great-great aunt, and her mother had been a princess of Brandenburg. The still youthful king might have seen something of himself in Carl Eugen, and doubtless he hoped that his hospitality would serve his political ends. It was not to be; Württemberg would wind up on the opposite side of Prussia in the Seven Years' War. Carl Eugen, moreover, proved a poor ruler and an intellectual lightweight. But it speaks well for Bach that the king entrusted him with the potentially delicate task of teaching the young duke. No such engagement would have been possible without the permission of the king, who probably received regular reports about the duke's musical progress, and anything else worth knowing.

The king's confidence in Bach is further evident in his payments to the latter for teaching the court harpist Brennessell; no doubt this instruction focused on figured bass realization and accompaniment.[72] Bach may also have coached at least one court singer, as suggested by his ownership of the king's autograph embellishments and cadenza for a favorite aria in Hasse's opera *Cleofide.* The aria, in which the Indian or Afghan princess expresses her faithfulness to her beloved Poro after his capture by Alexander the Great, must have made an impression on the Frederick, who valued loyalty above almost everything else. Bach's note on the manuscript indicates that the king wrote out the "variations" for the castrato singer known as Porporino (Anton Uber), who was engaged in 1742.[73] From this we can deduce that it was Bach's task to instruct the new singer in the style of embellishment and improvisation approved in Berlin. Porporino, already in his twenties and a pupil of Porpora, cannot have been entirely happy to receive this sort of coaching, but it must have paid off, as his greatest talent is supposed to have

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[71] There was also a subsequent issue, using the same plates, by Haffner of Nuremberg; see Berg, 2:xvii. Johann Wilhelm Windter is not to be confused with Georg Ludewig Winter, Bach's later publisher (and landlord) in Berlin.

[72]On Brennessell, see Henzel, "Neues zum Hofcembalisten Carl Phlipp Emanuel Bach," 176–77. Bach probably learned something about writing for the harp as a result of his teaching Brennessell, for his one sonata for the instrument dates from the period of this instruction (as pointed out by Oleskiewicz, CPEBCW 2/1:xvii).

[73] Oleskiewicz, "The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia," 93. The manuscript, D B Mus. ms. Friedrich II, has been edited in facsimile by Wolfgang Goldhan (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1991).

been in adagios.[74] Praise for a performer's adagios presupposed that they were embellished expressively, as taught also by Quantz and accomplished ably by the king himself.[75]

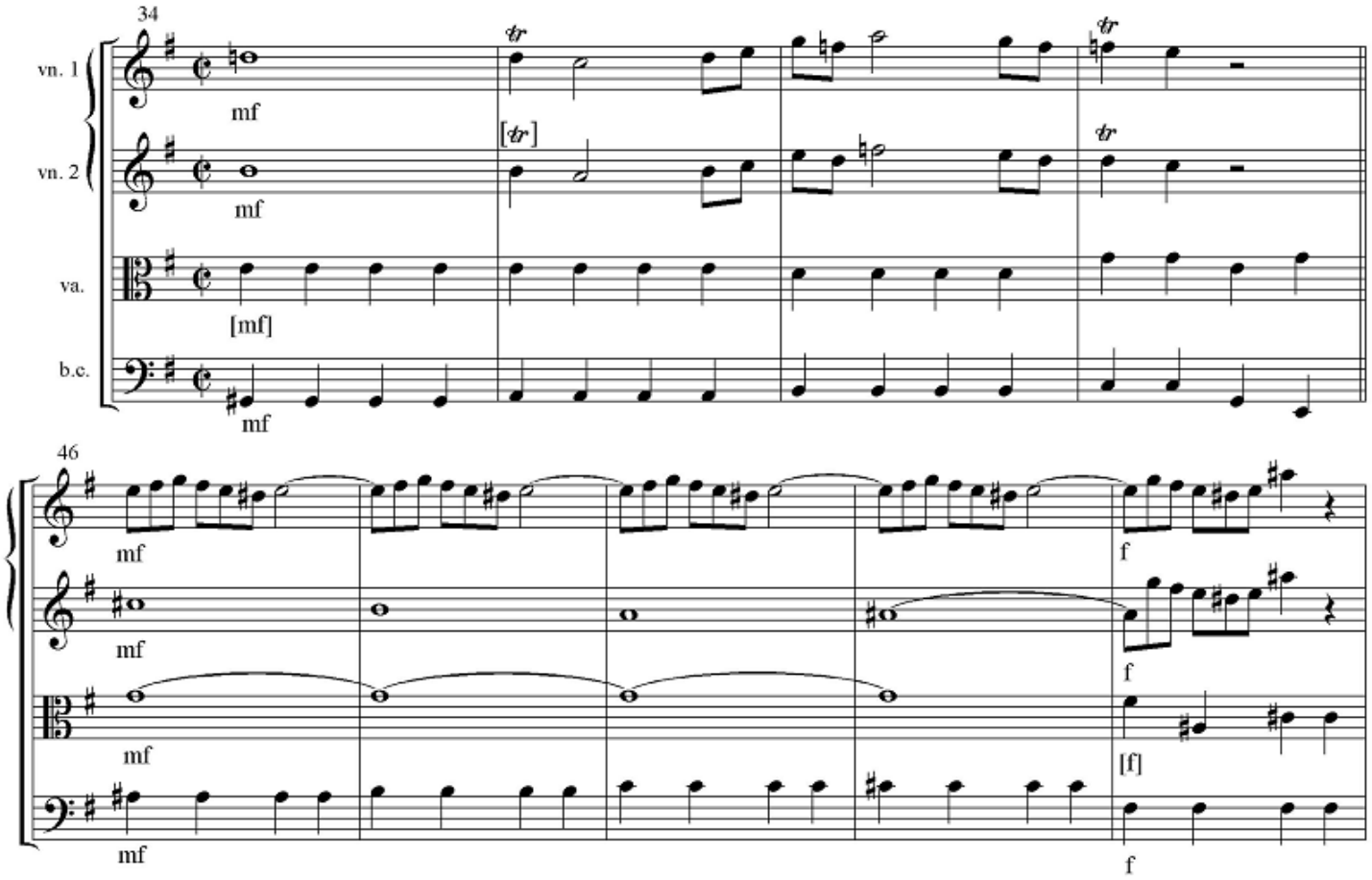
Another extraordinary pupil, Ferdinand von Lobkowitz, was a friend of the king despite his high rank in the Bohemian nobility. Bach, perhaps around 1750, composed a sinfonia jointly with Lobkowitz, each writing a measure at a time in alternation. Unfortunately the work is not preserved in any collection of Bach's music, and a sinfonia that has been identified as the one in question shows no obvious signs that it was composed in the manner described.[76] Although the absence of wind parts (which are mentioned in NV) could mean that the extant source preserves an early or alternate version of the work, numerous ***mf*** dynamic markings as well as open fifths and other details of the harmony are atypical of Bach. Nor does the work reveal discontinuities between measures such as one might expect if they had been written by alternating composers. On the other hand, Bach might well have edited a work composed in such a manner to eliminate any problems. A few modulations in the first two movements could be the sorts of things that Bach might have introduced into what is otherwise a fairly generic example of a mid-century sinfonia (online example 5.6). (Click here for a complete score with critical commentary; audio file here).

[74] Schneider, *Geschichte der Oper*, 88–89.

[75] On Frederick's concern for the "expressive" *(touchant)* performance of adagios even as crown prince, see the letter of 1732 quoted by Oleskiewicz, "The Court of Brandenburg-Prussia," 85. Another singer, Salimbeni, engaged in 1743, "owed his renowned skill in free ornamentation in part to the study of harmony with Schaffrath," Bach's colleague (ibid., 104).

[76] The description is in NV, p. 65; Suchalla, *Die Orchestersinfonien Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs*, 127–34, identifies the work as the Sinfonia in G, Wq. n.v. 69, whose unique source (St 228) attributes it to "Bach de Berlin" (the last two words probably a later addition).

Example 5.6. Anonymous Sinfonia in G, Wq. n.v. 69, movement 1, mm. 34–37, 46–50



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Supplement 5.3. Bach's Works, 1738–52 (table)

The table below summarizes Bach's output during the first half of his Berlin period, showing the number of new works in each genre composed annually (the number of "renovated" pieces appears in parentheses).

year	keyboard works	concertos	trios	solos	other works; notes
1738		1		2	
1739	2	1		1	
1740	4	3		3	
1741	3	1			Sinfonia in G (W. 173); song "Eilt, ihr Schäfer" (W. 199/2) published
1742	4	2			Prussian Sonatas (W. 48) published
1743	3 (5)	1 (1)			Songs "Entfernt von Gram und Sorgen" and "Ihr misvergnügten Stunden" (W. 199/10, 12) published
1744	7 (12)	3 (1)			Württemberg Sonatas (W. 49) published
1745	2	4 (1)	1	2	Concerto in D (W. 11) published
1746	4	2	(1)	2	?Also the keyboard fantasia in E-flat H. 348 (not in NV)
1747	5	2	4 (7)	1	Sonata in a for flute alone (W. 132)
1748	3	2	1		Duo in e for flute and violin (W. 140)
1749	4	1	2	1	Magnificat (W. 215)
1750	4	2			
1751	1	1			*Zwey Trio* (W. 161) published
1752	3				Duo in d for two violins (W. 141, lost); Concerto in B-flat (W. 25) published
Totals	49 (17)	26 (3)	6 (8)	12	

Although NV lists no renovations of Bach's solo sonatas, at least one of the works completed in the later 1740s was in effect a renovation of an earlier one. The flute sonata W. 130 of 1746 incorporates a revised version of the last movement of the earlier W. 125. The third movement of another flute sonata, W. 131, which Oleskiewicz descrbes as "to some degree a pastiche,"[77] shares substantial passages with the corresponding movement of the gamba sonatas W. 136 and 137, suggesting that these three works might all have derived from a common ancestor. The Sonata W. 131 is the one Berlin flute solo whose first movement fully adopts the repeated-note bass and arioso style that Bach was now using routinely in the slow movements of his trios and other works. This 1747 work suggests that Bach was now prepared to begin writing flute sonatas comparable to his more outgoing music in other genres. But after the unaccompanied A-minor work of the same year (W. 132) he would compose no further flute solos except for the late and utterly different Hamburg work W. 133.

[77] CPEBCW 2/1:xiii–iv.

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Supplement 5.4. Editorial treatment of Bach's revisions

Modern editions have treated Bach's revisions variously. An early effort by Wilhelm Altmann presented simultaneously the versions for cello, flute, and keyboard of the A-Minor Concerto W. 26.[78] This was the model for a similar edition of the Concerto in A major W. 29.[79] Other editions typically provide only a single version (not always Bach's latest one), or they may present alternate versions in ways that make it difficult to compare the latter with the main text.

The latest effort to issue Bach's complete works is inconsistent in its treatment of alternate versions. For instance, in CPEBCW 3/9.15, containing Bach's last two solo keyboard concertos W. 44 and 45, the main text incorporates many early readings; one must scan the textual commentary for readings that represent Bach's latest version of the solo part. The same is true in W. 25, edited in CPEBCW 3/7, where the aim to reproduce Bach's published version of 1752 perhaps justified the placement of a later "embellished solo keyboard part" in the appendix; although preserved only in manuscript, it is of unquestionable authenticity. More typically, the main text gives a late version, and early readings must be extracted from lists of variants. Yet the latter do not necessarily represent Bach's first version, which in some cases is entirely disregarded. For instance, the editor of the Concerto W. 28 asserts plausibly that its early version is extant in SA 2591, yet fails to report the readings of this source.[80] The early version of W. 4 is amply documented but can be accessed only in the present author's separate online edition. In the printed version, the designation of certain readings as "Bach's additions, corrections, and revisions" does not reflect the author's view that only a few of the individual readings listed in the editorial commentary can be ascribed with certainty to the composer.[81] Those seeking a detailed explanation of how Bach went about revising his compositions may nevertheless find one in the discussion of the revisions for the concertos W. 4, 5, and 6 as a group in CPEBCW 3/9.2: 167–69 and on the individual works on pp. 175–77 (W. 4), 187–88 (W. 5), and 200–203 (W. 6).

[78] Leipzig: Eulenburg, 1938. Altmann's edition is unreliable, as explained in CPEBCW 3/9.8:243.

[79] Edited by Hans Maria Kneihs (Zürich: Eulenburg, 1967).

[80] Despite the remark "see commentary below" (CPEBCW 3/9.9:148).

[81] CPEBCW 3/9.2:178.

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Supplement 6.1. More on the Sixth Württemberg Sonata (W. 49/6)

The decision to end the Württemberg set with the challenging B-Minor Sonata W. 49/6 suggests that Emanuel in 1744 still saw publication much as his father did. In 1730 or 1731, Sebastian had concluded the first part of his *Clavierübung* with the extraordinary E-Minor Partita. Emanuel's *Probestücke,* issued in conjunction with the *Versuch,* are even more clearly cumulative in design, starting simply and ending with the most ambitious work in the volume—but these pieces, unlike Sebastian's Partitas or Emanuel's Prussian and Württemberg Sonatas, are explicitly pedagogic in character.

That Bach recognized this sonata as particularly significant, and that he continued to use it as a challenging piece for teaching or concert use, is suggested not only by its rare mention in the *Versuch*—in which Bach hardly ever refers to specific compositions[82]—but by the fact that it is the earliest work represented in his collection of "variations and embellishments" (W. 68). Because Bach probably wrote these only during his Hamburg years, it is unknown to what degree they corresponded with his Berlin performance practice. From the start, however, he would have played a cadenza at the end of the Adagio, where it is signaled as usual by a fermata over the penultimate bass note.

Bach wrote out "variations and embellishments" only for the first two movements of W. 49/6, but these include a cadenza for the Adagio. Because the written-out decoration is just that, embellishing existing music but neither adding nor deleting any passages (apart from the cadenza), it does not constitute a "renovation." Yet the florid embellishment of the first movement, which includes elaboration of several of its fermatas, accentuates the already sharp contrast between passages that push forward in small notes and others that delay or hold back, pausing on unresolved dissonances. This intensifies the already dramatic juxtaposition of motion and stasis within the first movement. The *absence* of variations for the last movement also is significant, making the two-part counterpoint of the latter seem even more austere, perhaps an expression of the resignation that can be detected in the final movements of other works of the period.

[82] Even the *Probestücke* receive specific mention much less often than one might have expected; see the list of references to individual works in CPEBCW 7/3:84.

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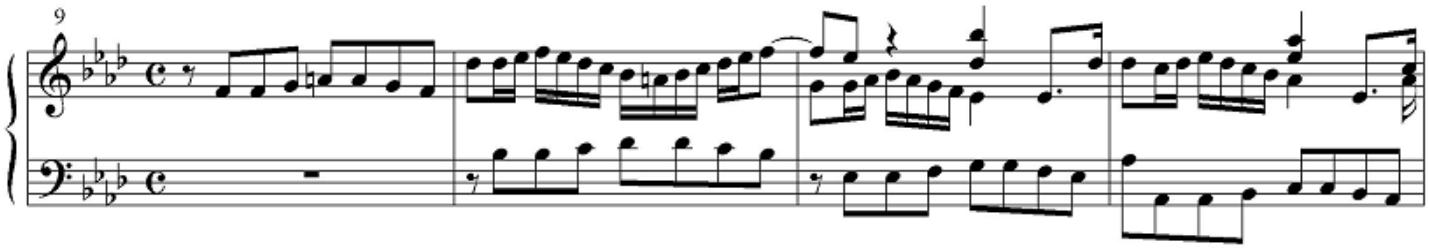
Supplement 6.2. Further Sonatas of the 1740s

Two further sonatas that deserve mention are W. 52/4 in F-sharp minor and W. 62/6 in F minor, which were composed consecutively during 1744. The first movement of W. 52/4 is another dialog between two opposing characters, now represented by contrasting dynamic levels and rhythmic textures within a regular sonata-form design. The opening Allegro of the F-minor sonata incorporates serious contrapuntal work, which helps explain why Bach withheld it from publication until 1761. In addition, the invertible counterpoint, together with the key, makes the first movement unusually awkward for the player.[83]

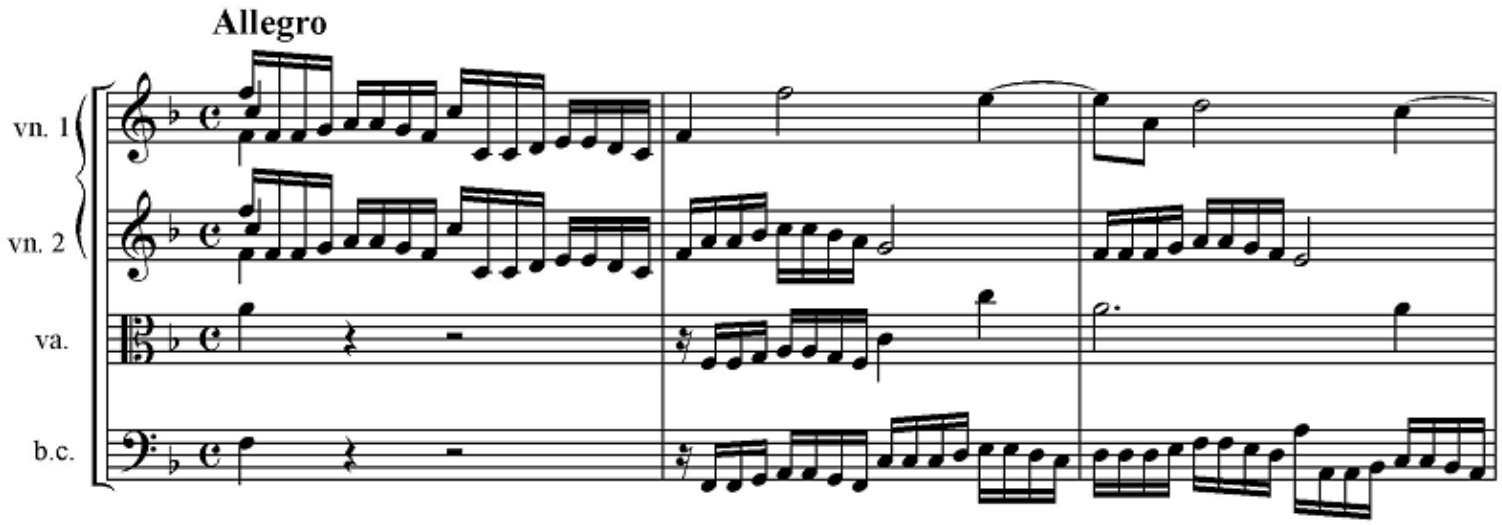
The difficulties in W. 62/6 recall passages in the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, which might have been on Emanuel's mind when composing these pieces (Part 2 of his father's work had probably been completed only a few years earlier). Several other ambitious sonatas of the period also explore rarely used tonalities, including E and A-flat, and imitative subjects similar to the one used in W. 62/6 recur in the contemporary concertos W. 12 and 15 (see online example 6.7). In no case is the counterpoint particularly complex, but it signals the aspiration to meld fugue with sonata or concerto form. Yet although these works might have seemed unusually serious or impressive to listeners unfamiliar with Sebastian's music, their counterpoint is essentially decorative, incorporated into a sonata design that does not differ in essence from that used in other works of the period.

Example 6.7a. Sonata in F Minor, W. 62/6, movement 1, mm. 9–13



[83] The voice leading is better, however, than shown in the most recent edition (in CPEBCW 1/5.1), which in measure 18 adds several d's suggested by a stray accidental in the original, and on the downbeat of measure 19 adds a superfluous b; the new edition also leaves out notes in measures 40–41, where the left hand states the theme, and fails to indicate the voice crossing suggested by the original notation in measure 72 (cf. the author's edition in CPEBE 1/18).

Example 6.7b. Concerto in F, W. 12, movement 1, mm. 1–3 (for W. 15, see online example 5.4a)



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Supplement 6.3 The Sketches for the Oboe Concerto W. 164

The sketches are written on a sheet that Bach had used previously for a keyboard piece of ten years earlier.[84] Although the page was already ruled in double systems (for writing solo keyboard music), the sketch employs each staff as a complete system; the bass, where present at all, appears on the same staff as the melody. The sketches begin with what was evidently meant to be a ritornello theme, but this was discarded, and the present opening theme of the first movement appears only toward the end of the sheet.[85] On the last few staves, however, the triplets of the original idea are taken up again, first in what became the opening theme of the third movement, then in several passages that were incorporated into the ritornello and first solo episode of the first movement. Does this mean that Bach considered using the new theme in the first movement, either within the ritornello or for the first solo entrance?

The ideas are entered in what seems almost random order, possibly jotted down to preserve thoughts that occurred to Bach at various times, or perhaps in some cases while waiting for the ink to dry on a page in a more complete score. That Bach created similar sketches for earlier works cannot be assumed, but the two- or three-part texture of the finished ritornellos in W. 164 is not essentially different from that in works written two decades earlier. Hence the sketches for W. 164 confirm the impression received from finished works that Bach's initial conception for a ritornello, if not for a complete movement, was a single line that could be jotted down on its own, requiring at most a sketchy bass line to characterize it uniquely. Bach evidently started from the premise of a complete melodic phrases, not the individual motive, which was more characteristic at the time of Friedemann's music and later that of Beethoven.

This approach to composition does not, in the present case, yield outstanding results. There is no strong logic to the order of ideas in the opening ritornello of W. 164. One might have expected the initial motive of two half notes rising by a fifth—the idea on which Bach settled for the opening measure—to be repeated, if not given some real development. But this does not happen even later within the finished movement, although Bach had done as much with the similar motive at the beginning of the B-Minor Concerto of 1753 (W. 30). One might conjecture, charitably, that W. 164 was commissioned for an instrument that Bach neither favored nor understood very well; perhaps the oboe was for Bach what the flute is supposed to have been for Mozart. The level of invention or tension in this work seems generally rather low, as in earlier concertos that are also relatively simple in style and technical demands. Yet there is no reason to think that Bach followed a different working method when composing pieces of a more serious or challenging nature. If works such as W. 23 of 1748 or W. 30 are more successful than W. 164, it is not because they involved different compositional procedures.

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[84] The sheet is reproduced in facsimile and transcribed in CPEBCW 3/5:84–85. Bach later adapted the work as the keyboard concerto W. 39.

[85] Staff 10, measure 2, in the transcription in CPEBCW 3/5:85. Two measures at the very beginning of the sheet (staff 7b, mm. 1–2) are probably an insert meant to follow measure 4 of the unused theme that begins on staff 7a (the first two pitches of the insert are better understood as g'–f', not a'–g' as in the published transcription).

David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 6.4. More on Bach's First Concertos

Unlike the Berlin versions of W. 2 and W. 3, preserved in Bach's autograph scores of the 1740s, the renovated version of W. 1 survives only in manuscript parts, including a set prepared jointly by Emanuel and Sebastian. This situation resembles that of Friedemann's concerto for two keyboard instruments (without accompaniment), whose revised version survives in a copy by J. S. Bach.[86] Presumably Sebastian was involved in performances of both works, and even if he refrained from making substantial alterations to either of them, he is likely to have suggested improvements and to have made small alterations while copying parts.[87]

Sebastian's parts for W. 1 have been dated 1745–47[88]—after Emanuel's renovation, which they presumably reflect. Emanuel later made small changes in his father's copies of the violin and keyboard parts, also completing the viola part and adding a basso part (probably around the period 1760–65). Together with a copy of W. 6 that seems also to have been made at Leipzig during the mid-1740s,[89] Sebastian's parts raise the possibility of an ongoing exchange of music, perhaps including public performances or visits to Leipzig by Emanuel during the 1740s. More pressing is the question of whether Sebastian had anything significant to do with the revision of this work—and of Emanuel's other early compositions during the period. Particularly striking, apart from the musical content, is that Sebastian's copy gives the parts in a format identical to that used in Schmidt's print of W. 11, produced during the same period. In the ritornellos, the upper staff of the keyboard part contains rests, not a doubling of the first violin part. The bass line includes figures, indicating that the soloist served as continuo player—following Berlin practice, rather than that of Sebastian's own keyboard concertos.

Several features of W. 1 suggest a close relationship to what may be Friedemann's earliest surviving concerto, F. 45. Both works are in A minor with slow movement in F. Moreover, W. 1 shares with F. 45 certain types of solo figuration hardly ever used in Emanuel's subsequent music. These include varieties of what Rameau called *batteries*,[90] a type of passagework involving rapid alternation of the two hands to play a single line of sequential or arpeggiated figuration. In W. 1, the second solo passage opens with such figuration, which also occurs prominently in F. 45 (online example 6.15). Another passage in W. 1 reminiscent of both J. S. and W. F. Bach, but not of Emanuel's own later music, requires crossing hands. The counter-

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[86] F. 10B, preserved in St 176, was copied by J. S. Bach about 1740.

[87] Wollny mentions a note in a copy of the early version of W. 1, made by Sebastian's pupil Agricola around 1740, "according to which J. S. Bach entered revisions in his own hand on the string parts" (CPEBCW 3/9.1:xii); the parts in question are lost.

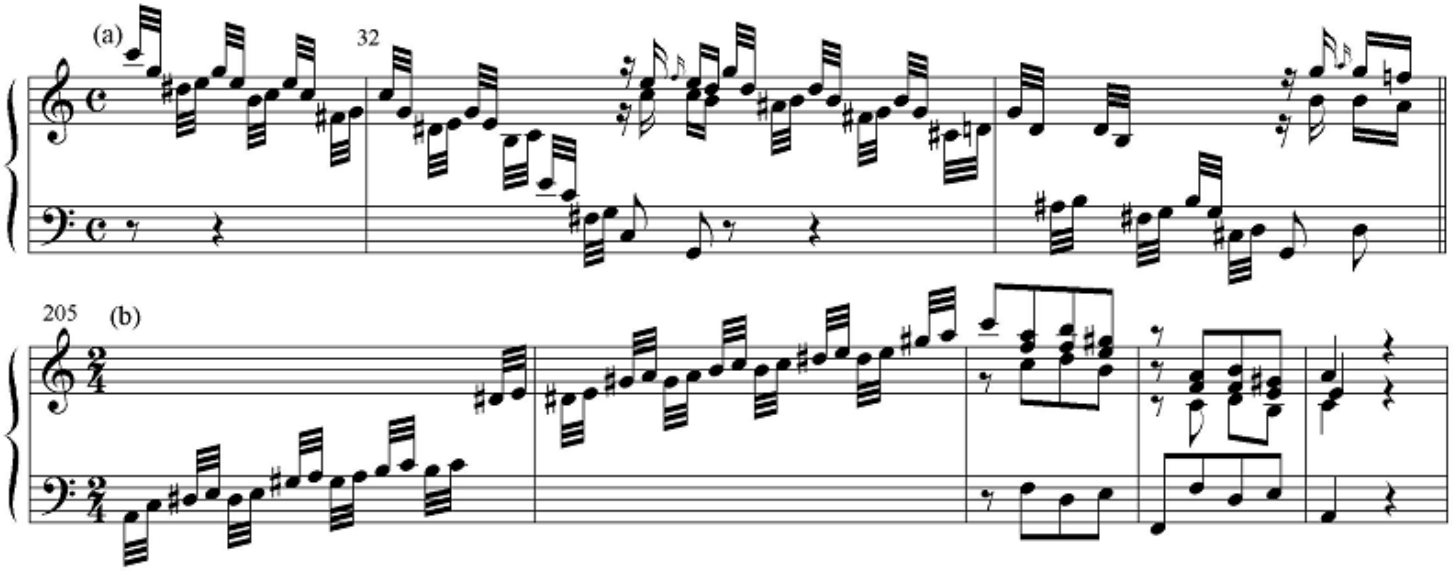
[88] CPEBCW 3/9.1:160. Wollny, the editor, believes that the version preserved in Agricola's manuscript score of 1739 or 1740 (B Bc 26537) was not "substantially" different from the "original version of 1733." All six manuscript sources giving early readings "show an unusually high number of small divergencies among each other" (p. 167), but the variants listed in CPEBCW 3/9.1:167–71, mostly involving missing ties, ornaments, and the like, are similar in number and type to those in other concertos that are preserved in comparable numbers of copies, such as W. 6 and 24.

[89] GB Lbl Add. 31679; see CPEBCW 3/9.2:198–99.

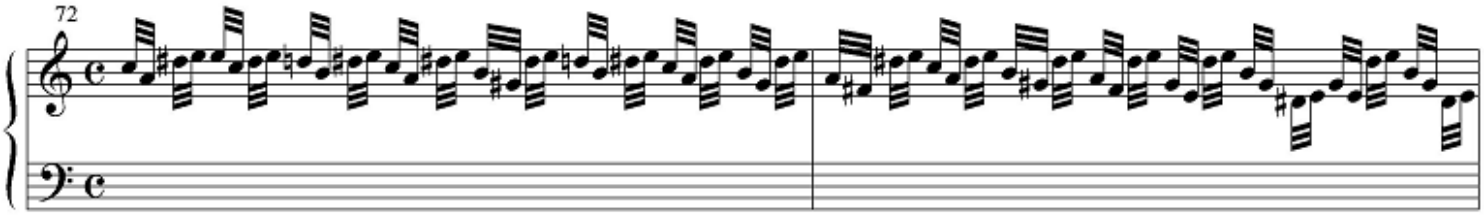
[90] In the preface to his *Pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1724).

intuitive division of the passage between the two hands must reflect the same sort of technical experimentation also evident in Emanuel's early hand-crossing minuet W. 111 (in the same key); chromatic neighbor tones add a distinctly Bachian touch of dissonance (online example 6.16). At the formal level, each movement of W. 1 originally had a short ritornello that was repeated in full at the end of the movement. Except in the third movement, however, very little of the material introduced within the solo episodes was subsequently recapitulated. Both features recall Friedemann's concertos (and indeed most early solo concertos).

Example 6.15. (a) Concerto in A Minor, W. 1, movement 1, mm. 31b–33; (b) W. F. Bach, Concerto in A Minor, F. 45, movement 3, mm. 205–9. Both keyboard only (strings omitted)

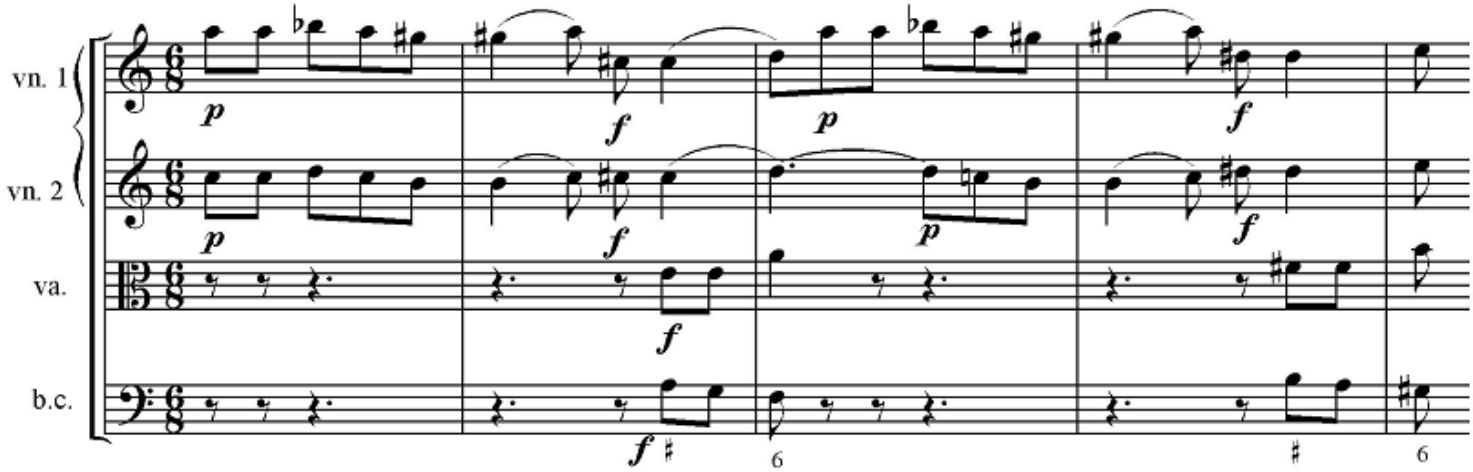


Example 6.16. Concerto in A Minor, W. 1, movement 1, mm. 72–3 (keyboard only)



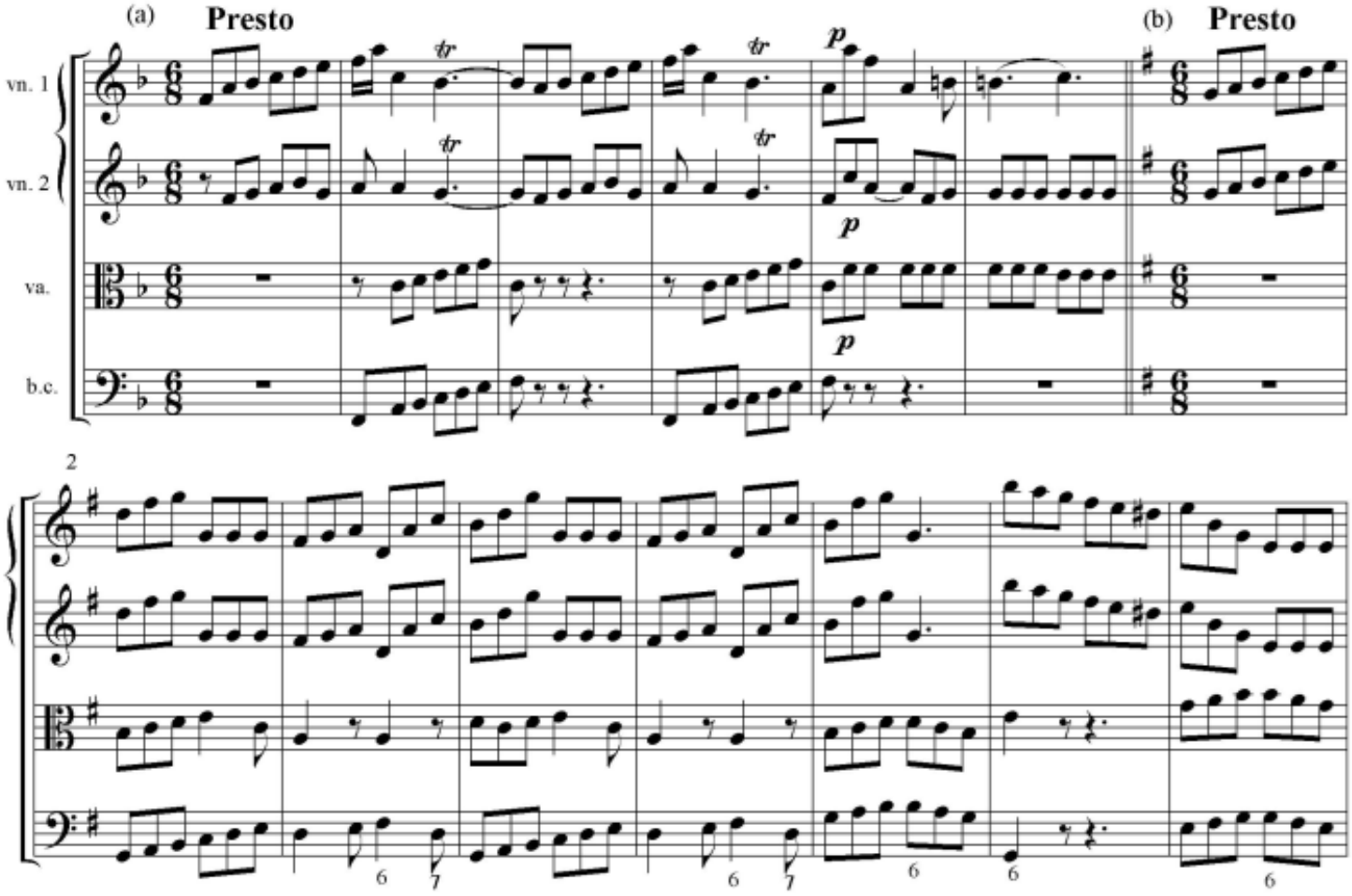
Friedemann's concerto is a more mature composition, yet despite the presence of parallels between the two works, it is striking how distinct were the styles of the two brothers already in these first essays within the same genre. Friedemann's concerto reveals his interest in canonic imitation and his fluency in composing four independent parts for the strings. His keyboard writing is more challenging technically than Emanuel's, but although he shows some of the same interest in chromatic harmony, he lacks Emanuel's genuine inventiveness in that sphere (already evident in both W. 1 and the early cantata). Although Emanuel's textures are simpler than Friedemann's, they are not simplistic. As in his early cantata, the string parts alternate between doubling of the soloist and free counterpoint; also recalling the cantata is the juxtaposition within the string parts of unison (or rather octave) passages with writing in parallel six-chords (online example 6.17).[91] Alternations of these sorts, rather than imitative counterpoint, would be typical of Bach's writing for strings at Berlin. Hence, despite commonalities suggesting that the two brothers knew one another's first concertos, their styles were probably already distinct before Emanuel left Leipzig. Even in two movements that share similar openings, Friedemann writes in four parts, whereas Emanuel composes in three and tends toward a more homogeneous texture (without rests in the lower parts). This yields a simpler but more direct effect (online example 6.18).

Example 6.17. Concerto in A Minor, W. 1, movement 3, mm. 13–16

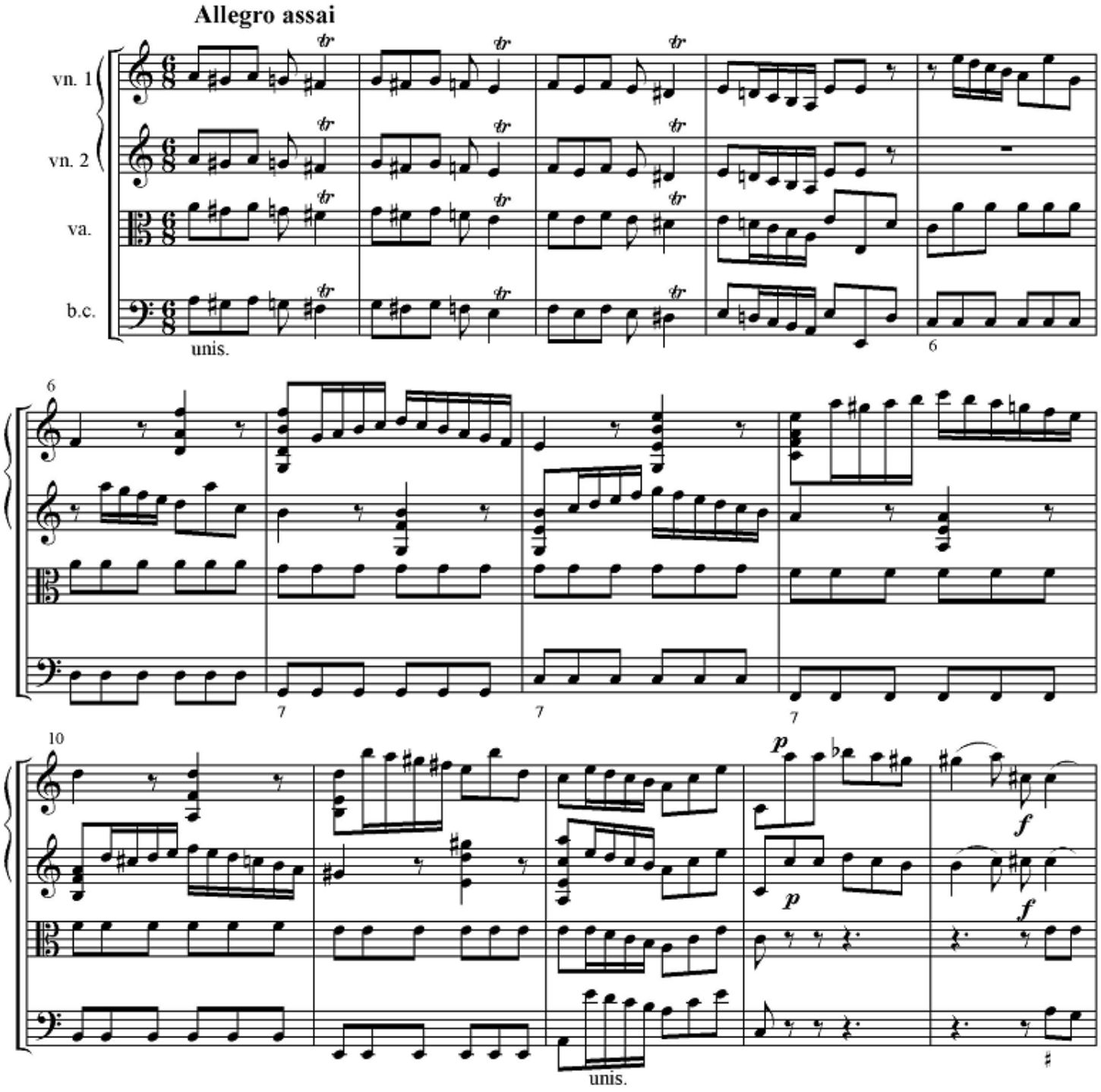


[91] The parallel 6/3-chords involve the same pitch classes in the early cantata (cf. online example 4.17b).

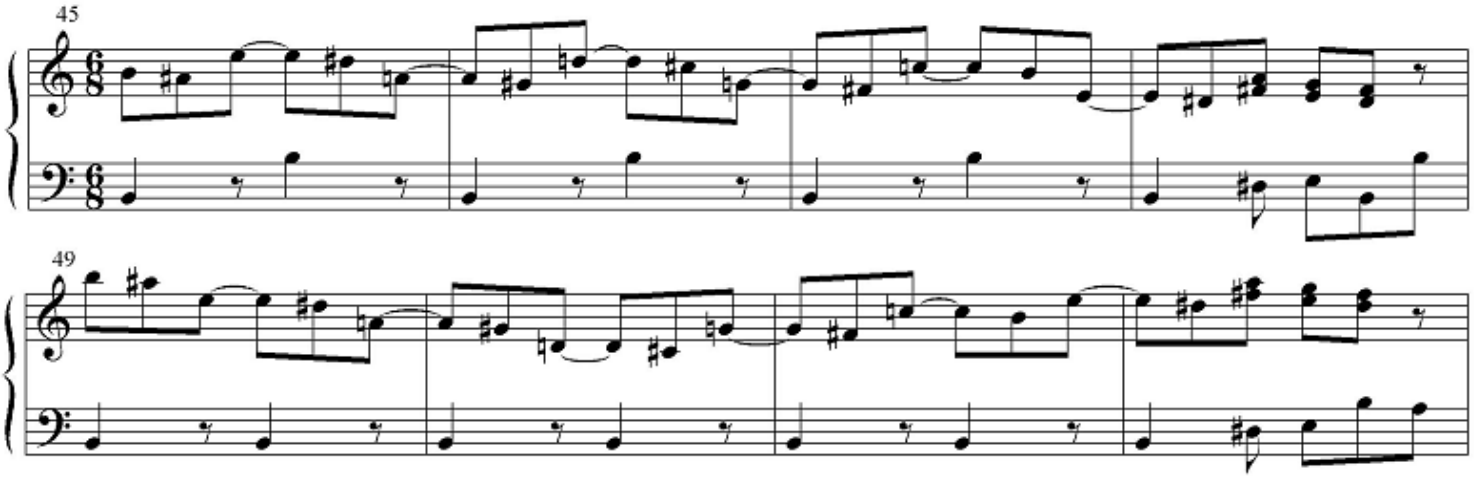
Example 6.18. (a) W. F. Bach, Concerto in F, F. 44, movement 3, mm. 1–6; (b) Concerto in G, W. 4, movement 3, mm. 1–8



Example 6.19a. Concerto in A Minor, W. 1, movement 3, later version, mm. 1–14 (mm. 5–12 were a later insertion)



Example 6.19b. Concerto in A Minor, W. 1, movement 3, early version, mm. 45–52 (keyboard only; this passage was later eliminated)

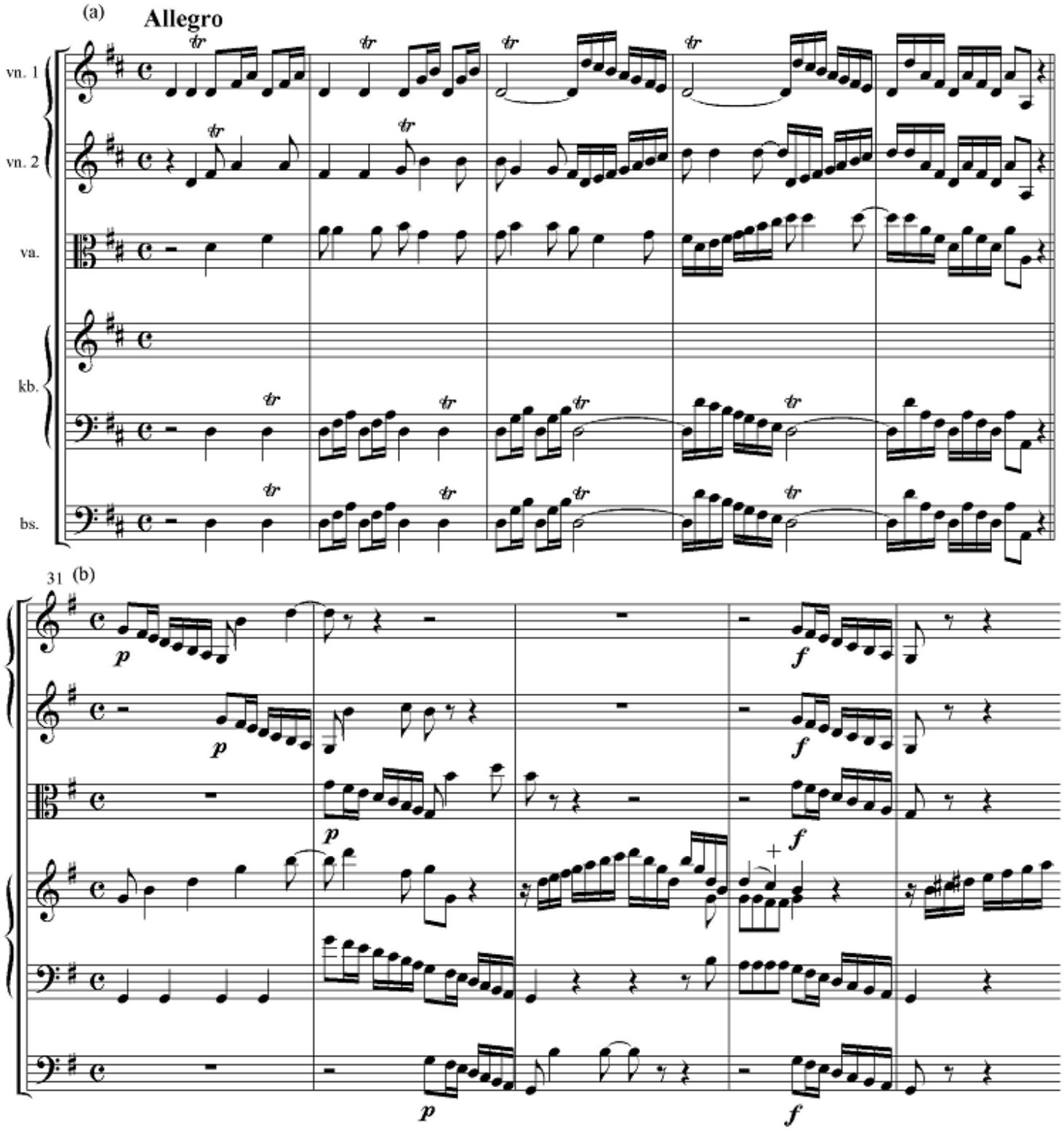


Emanuel's next two concertos, W. 2 and 3, reveal few signs of the older style that was only incompletely excised from W. 1. By contrast to both W. 1 and the subsequent Berlin concertos, they seem fairly unremarkable works, at least in their extant forms. Both survive only in their revised versions, but these are found in quite a few sources, suggesting that Bach's renovation succeeded in making them attractive to his intended audience. The G-Major Concerto W. 3, whose renovation took place two years later than that of W. 2,[92] is more clearly a Berlin work as renovated, although it also possesses a stronger contrapuntal element, with little imitations in the first movement that spread through all four string parts, as in Friedemann's concertos (online example 6.20). Imitation occurs in other Berlin concertos by Emanuel, but it tends to be confined to ritornellos and to involve only two or three real parts.[93]

[92] NV places the renovation of W. 3 in 1745, not 1743, and this is reflected in the different handwriting of the two autographs, which probably date from those years; only for W. 2 do distinct versions survive, although the variants are minor.

[93] A rare instance of four-part imitation in the strings accompanying a solo passage (a texture typical of Friedemann's concertos) occurs in W. 10, movement 1, at measures 151ff. But the long and entirely regular circle-of-fifths sequence that follows, for no fewer than twenty-four measures, is not something characteristic of Friedemann.

Example 6.20. (a) W. F. Bach, Concerto in D, F. 41, movement 1, mm. 1–5; (b) Concerto in G, W. 3, movement 1, mm. 31–35

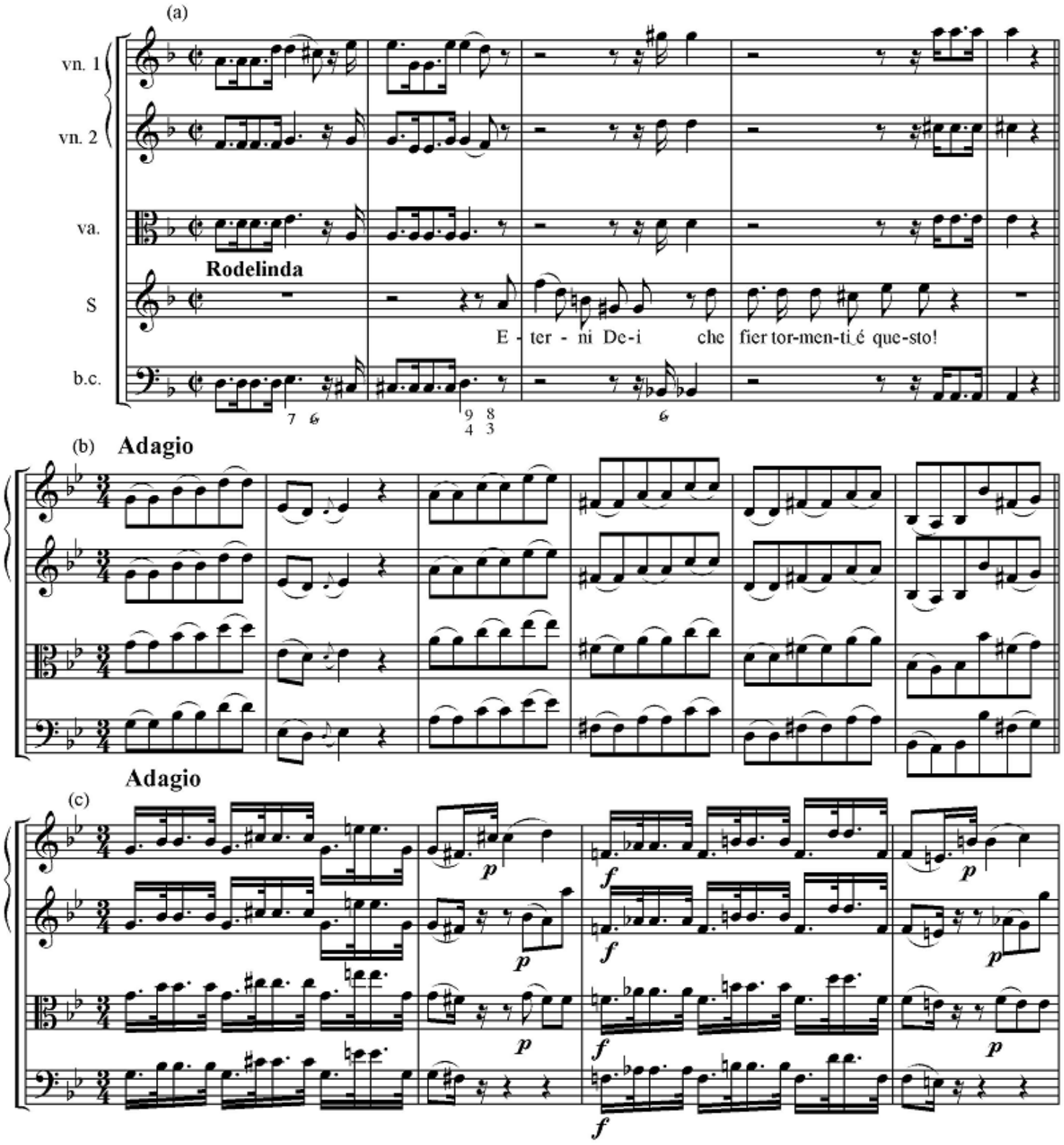


What makes the imitation notable in W. 3 is that it involves a ritornello theme that is initially stated *unisono*, as in a so-called rage aria (although the major mode here suggests a different affect). The second movement of W. 3 likewise opens with a unison ritornello theme that is later combined contrapuntally with solo passages. In the first movement, however, the ritornello has the complex phraseology typical of other Berlin concertos, returning to unison writing for the final phrase; one wonders whether some of the intervening phrases were inserted for the renovated version.[94] The Adagio has a short ritornello unified by dotted rhythm; otherwise it is reminiscent of the ritornello in the second movement of Sebastian's D-Minor Concerto (BWV 1052). The latter is effectively a chaconne, with the ritornello theme serving as an ostinato bass (a type borrowed from Vivaldi). Emanuel knew this concerto well, having made his own copy of the early version, presumably for his own performance.[95] The identity of key, technique, and general mood makes it clear that Emanuel took his inspiration from his father's work. Indeed, the Adagio in W. 3 is arguably the richer, more varied composition, even if its formal design is the standard sonata-ritornello form of any other concerto movement, unaffected by its material. Emanuel's ritornello is certainly more dramatic than Sebastian's, resembling the orchestral introduction to an agitated accompanied recitative rather than a lyrical rhapsody (online example 6.21).

[94] Ritornellos in other concertos grew through the addition of internal phrases; in W. 5 the ritornello of the final movement was expanded from fourteen to sixteen and then to nineteen measures (see CPEBCW 3/9.2:187; the early and late versions can be compared in an online synoptic score, and the distinctive readings of the intermediate versions can be viewed in an online critical commentary, at p. 28).

[10] Emanuel's string parts in St 350 are dated to about 1734; see NBA 7/4, KB, 210 (citing Glöckner, “Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalendar,” 56). The handwriting in Emanuel's keyboard part is close to that of the autographs of W. 2 and 3 from the mid-1740s.

Example 6.21. (a) Graun, recitative “Eterni Dei” from *Rodelinda*, mm. 1–4; (b) J. S. Bach, Concerto in D Minor, BWV 1052, movement 2, mm. 1–6; (c) Concerto in G, movement 2, mm. 1–4



Sebastian too wrote relatively lengthy ritornellos in his later arias and, especially, in the choral chorale fantasias of his Leipzig church works. But the ritornellos of Emanuel's Berlin concertos tend to be even longer, incorporating entire phrase-groups that present contrasting thematic material. These make the ritornello more than a mere frame, anticipating the so-called double exposition of many Classical concerto movements. Such ritornellos surely came from opera seria, where by the 1740s Hasse and Graun were routinely composing similar ritornellos in their arias, as was Quantz in his flute concertos.[96] It is not impossible that W. 3 already followed this scheme in its original 1737 version; if so, its renovation would have involved less substantial alteration than that of W. 1. Certainly its string writing is more virtuosic, presupposing a more capable band, and the keyboard writing is also more varied, ranging from passagework still reminiscent of Sebastian's to something like the fantasia style of the sonatas W. 65/16 and 17 from 1745–46.[97]

W. 2 as renovated retains more of Sebastian's style, reflecting its earlier origin at Leipzig. Alterations in the autograph score suggest that the passages allowing for cadenzas in the outer movements were added only at the time of the renovation, as in W. 1.[98] Echoes of Sebastian remain, however, in long series of broken chords within the last two solo episodes of the first movement. These recall episodes in works such as the Fifth Brandenburg Concerto, with their counterintuitive, sometimes chromatic, progressions; one passage uses a transposed variant of the B-A-C-H progression (online example 6.22).[99] Yet the overall style is more *galant* than that of W. 1, and although some of the work's *galant* quality must reflect the renovations of 1743, it probably was already closer to Dresden style in the lost original version of 1734.

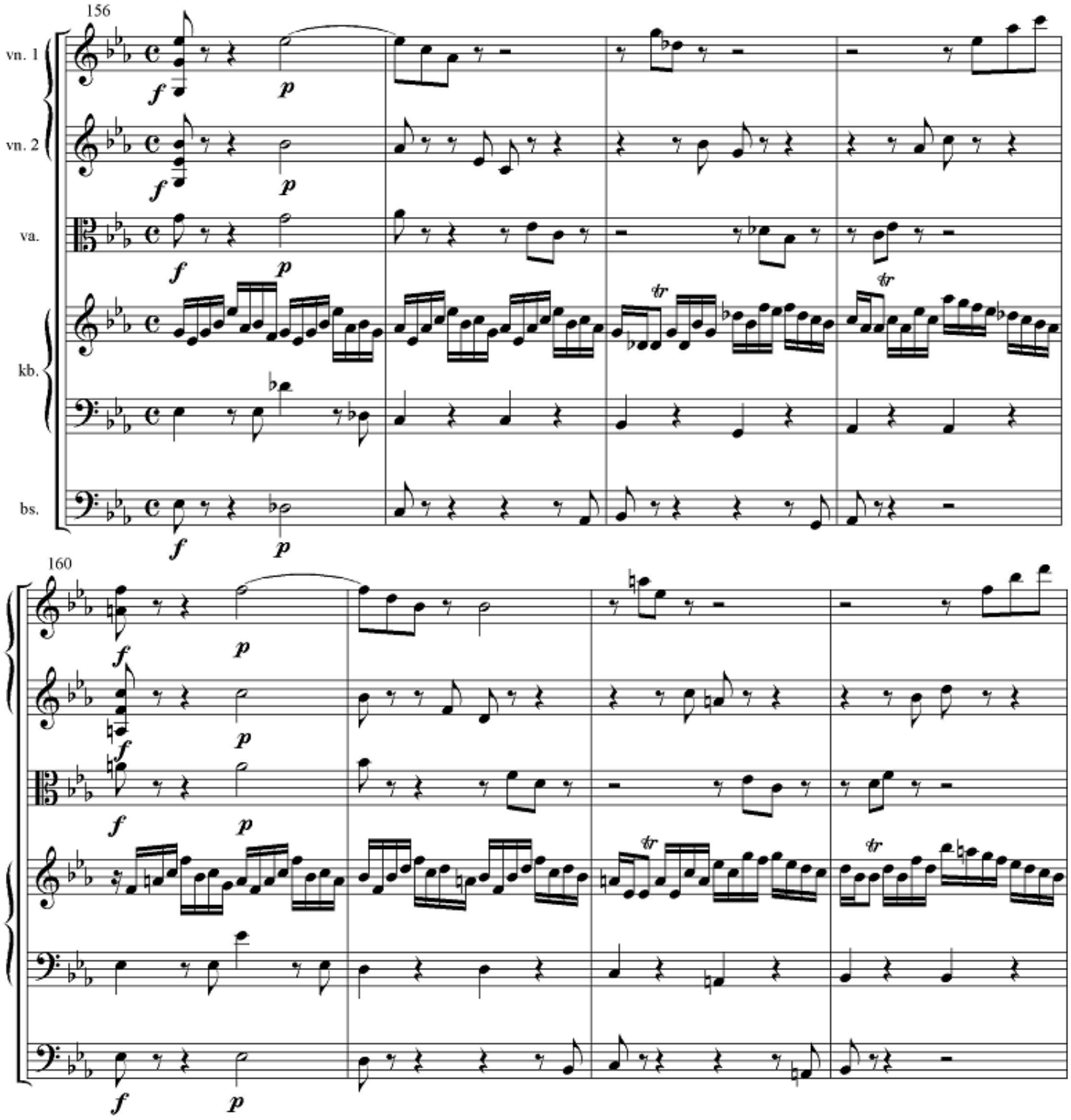
[96] See, e.g., the opening ritornello of Quantz's D-Minor Concerto QV5:81, which has been edited by David Lasocki (London: Musica Rara, 1972) and recorded by Mary Oleskiewicz with Concerto Armonico Budapest, directed by Miklós Spányi (Naxos no. 8.573120, 2013).

[97] E.g., in the passage leading up to the fermata at measure 104 in the first movement.

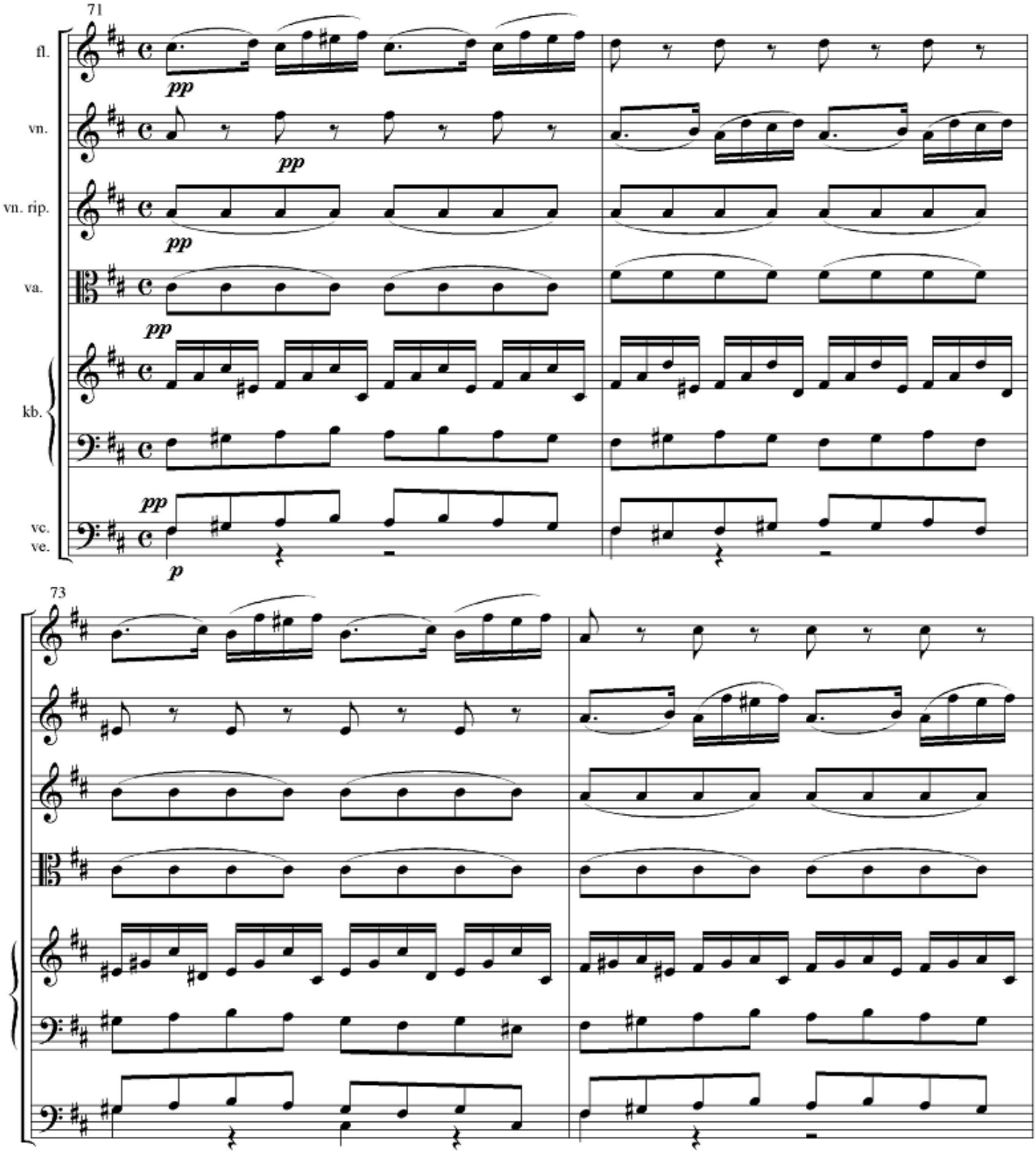
[98] The preparation for the first-movement cadenza in W. 2 now includes, as in W. 1, a one-bar tutti passage (m. 86 in W. 1, m. 178 in W. 2). In W. 2, however, the soloist afterward continues alone to the cadenza proper, in a passage that Bach renotated to dictate a substantial slowing of the tempo (compare the original reading of the autograph in CPEBCW 3/9.1:175).

[99] The progression recurs in the ritornellos of the second and third movement, using the same pitch classes (movement 2: db'–c', m. 5, and eb'–d, m. 7; mvt. 3: db"–c", m. 22, and eb"–d", m. 23); the motive is also alluded to in movement 3, measures 6–7 (in retrograde inversion).

Example 6.22a. Concerto in E-flat, W. 2, movement 1, mm. 156–63

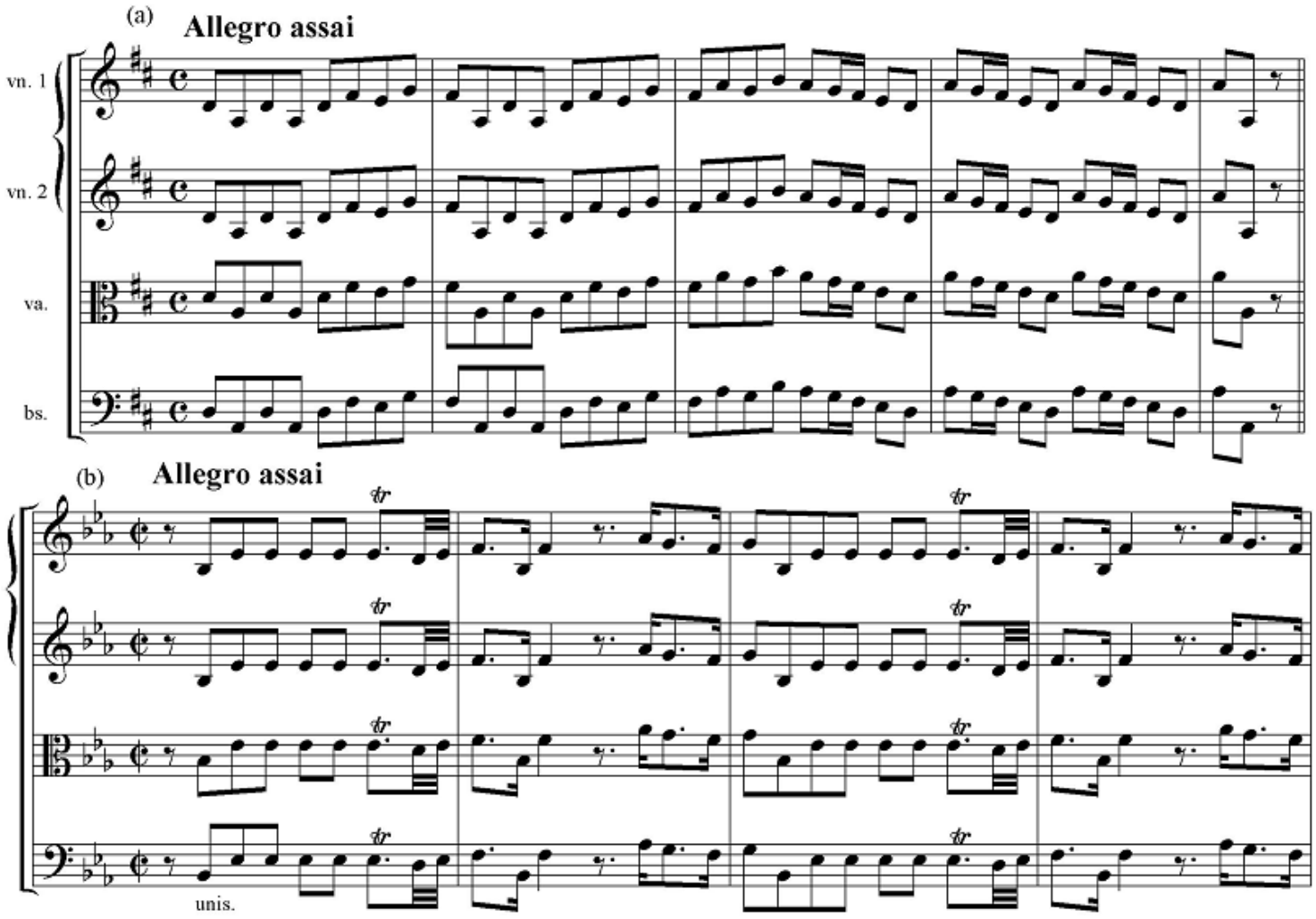


Example 6.22b. J. S. Bach, Brandenburg Concerto no. 5 in D, BWV 1050, movement 1, mm. 71–74

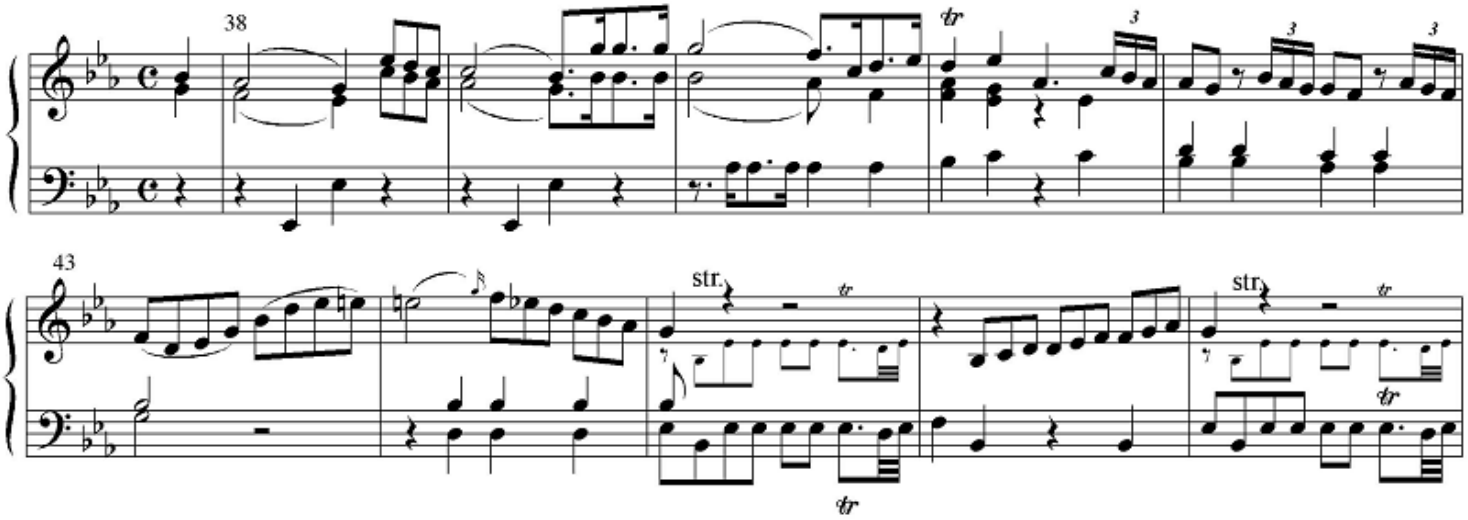


The original drafts of both W. 1 and 2 were made at Leipzig during Sebastian's heaviest involvement with the musical style of the Saxon court, as witness the the B-Minor *Missa* BWV 232a and the three secular cantatas BWV 213, 214, and 215. Yet nothing in these works is as *galant* as W. 2 in its extant renovated form. Alongside the lingering echoes of Sebastian Bach, one hears countless operatic parallels, as in a near-quotation from the overture to Hasse's *Cleofide* that opens the final movement (online example 6.23). The soloist enters with a lyrical riposte to the ritornello's *unisono* texture (online example 6.24); the resulting confrontation between soloist and orchestra represents a dialog rather than a single line divided between keyboard and strings.

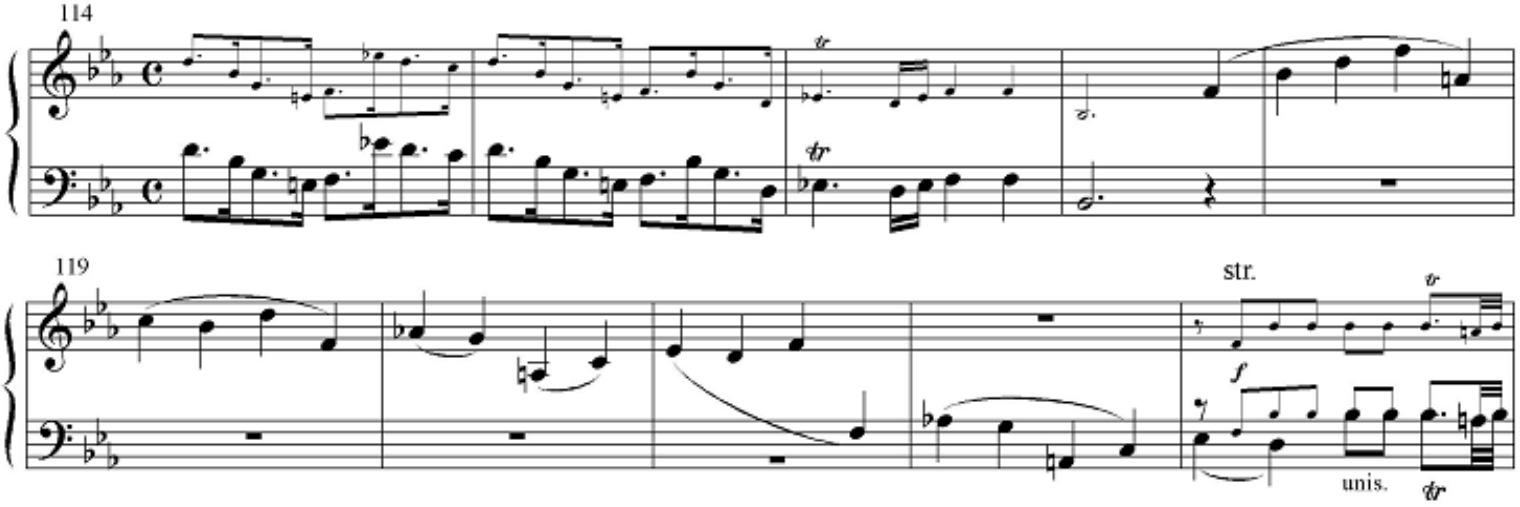
Example 6.23. (a) Hasse, overture from *Cleofide*, movement 1, mm. 1–5 (strings only); (b) Concerto in E-flat, W. 2, movement 3, mm. 1–4



Example 6.24. Concerto in E-flat, W. 2, movement 3, mm. 38–47 (strings omitted)



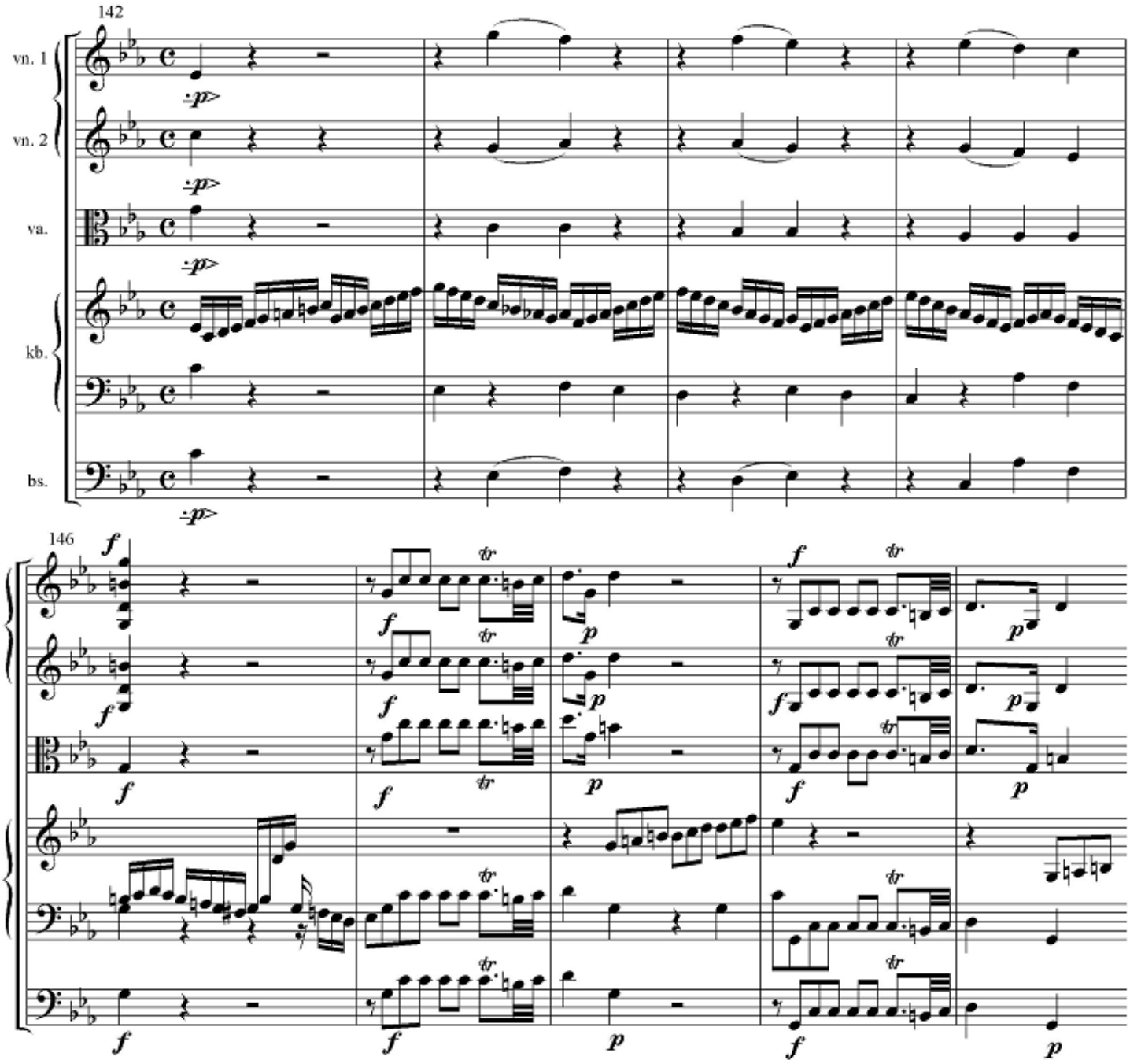
Example 6.25. Concerto in E-flat, W. 2, movement 3, mm. 114–23 (strings omitted)



This soloist's lyrical entry in W. 3 is another example of the type of "second theme" found in Bach's trios and concertos of the period (discussed in chapter 5). In the final movement of W. 2, however, the idea of dialog between keyboard and tutti finds a more organic development; indeed, the second solo episode, leading to an explosive ritornello in C minor, is one of the most dramatic in Bach's early works. The passage opens by exaggerating the already established idea of contrast, as the soloist reenters with slow arpeggiation that contrasts strongly with the ritornello (online example 6.25; cf. online example 6.24).[100] This second solo episode as a whole involves not only an acceleration of surface motion, leading to the usual rapid passagework, but also of the *rate* at which keyboard and strings alternate (online example 6.26).

[100] The passage shown in example 6.25 is repeated in sequence; a comparable passage occurs in the first movement of W. 7 from 1740.

Example 6.26. Concerto in E-flat, W. 2, movement 3, mm. 142–50



How many of these refinements were present in the original Leipzig version of W. 2 is impossible to say. The autograph score of the 1740s reveals that Bach was then making at least small adjustments to the keyboard part and adding the string accompaniment in portions of the passage shown in example 6.26. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine his conceiving the basic idea of the passage prior to having composed the equally dramatic retransition passage in the first

movement of W. 6, written in 1740.[101] The almost complete rewriting of the second movement in W. 1, and probably also of much of the D-Minor Trio W. 145, show how extensively Bach revised earlier works to produce his renovations. In W. 2, it is possible that the entire second solo episode of the final movement was new in 1743. The changes of pacing found here occur in Friedemann's concertos as well,[102] but there could be no mistaking W. 2 as we have it for the work of anyone else, or even for an early composition by Emanuel Bach.

[101] For the changes in the autograph score of W. 2 (movement 3, mm. 146 and 154ff.), see CPEBCW 3/9.1, plate 8 and the list of readings on p. 178. The retransition in W. 6, movement 1 (mm. 212–54) would have been on Bach's mind when he renovated W. 2, as both relevant passages employ dotted rhythm within quick 3/4 time.

[102] See, e.g., the discussion of the Concerto F. 44 in my *Music of W. F. Bach,* 167 and 181.

David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 6.5. The Concerto in G, W. 16

Bach's revisions for W. 16 include a written-out cadenza of the type that he incorporated into the W. 43 concertos; the cadenza's citation of motivic material from the main body of the movement would be unique for a work of the 1740s, if it originated during that period.[103] But although short, as Quantz recommended, in other respects this cadenza resembles the long one that Bach wrote for W. 45, his last solo concerto, and it most likely dates from the same late period.[104]

Jane Stevens and Darrell Berg have suggested that W. 16 might "have been first composed during Bach's earliest years in Berlin," arguing that its outer movements are in "the elegant, galant manner that was so fashionable at the time."[105] An early origin might explain its relatively simple style, yet there is no evidence for an earlier date than the one given in NV. The initial ritornello, although opening with a gesture entirely in the manner of Graun or Hasse, incorporates some harmonic surprises and dissonances uncharacteristic of them; one sequence echoes a passage in Sebastian's St. Matthew Passion (online example 6.28). More to the point is that some solo passages in W. 16 are so plain that they seem to call for an instrument with greater sustaining power than either a harpsichord or an early fortepiano. This raises the possibility of a lost version for flute, as for W. 13, but any earlier flute version must have undergone a more substantial reworking than occurred in the latter work, or in W. 22.[106] The slow movement of Bach's next concerto, W. 17 in D minor, also originally had very plain writing for the soloist. But here the scoring, with second violin and viola accompanying the initial solo entry, is unusual in a keyboard concerto and would not be inconsistent with the movement's having been conceived for flute.[107]

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[103] The final version of W. 16 as edited in CPEBCW 3/9.5 must date from the 1760s or later, as the solo part ascends to f'".

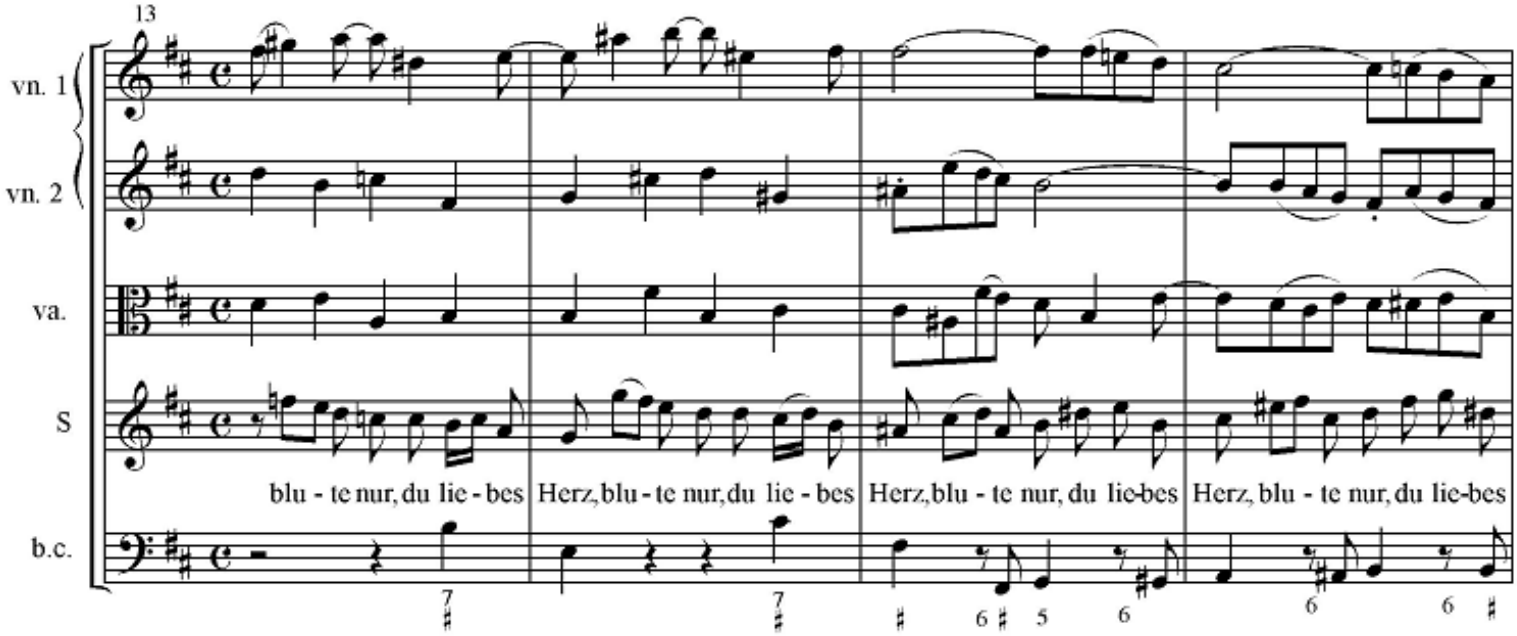
[104] The cadenza for W. 45, a work of 1778, is preserved only in Bach's separate collection of cadenzas (W. 120). It is unfortunate that the new edition of W. 16 gives only the keyboard part of the early version, depriving the reader of. among other things, the original string parts in movement 2, measures 29–30, which originally comprised three measures. (Although this music by Emanuel Bach is omitted, the accompanying commentary includes long lists of trivial variants *not* written by the composer.) A footnote (p. xiv, n. 14) points the reader to a discussion of "structural changes," but these are nowhere detailed. In fact, in the late version, measures 191–97 of the first movement replace four measures of the early version, and another seven-measure passage (mm. 218–24) replaces what were originally measures 215–17. The cadenza in the first movement (mm. 230–46) was also added in the late version, which, however, omits measure 31 of the early version (with changes to the second violin part in the second half of measure 30 as well).

[105] Notes to *C. P. E. Bach: The Complete Keyboard Concertos*, vol. 10, p. 5. One peripheral copy of the work, US BEu 732, originally gave the date 1738 (later replaced by 1745), but this is dismissed for good reasons by Wade (see below).

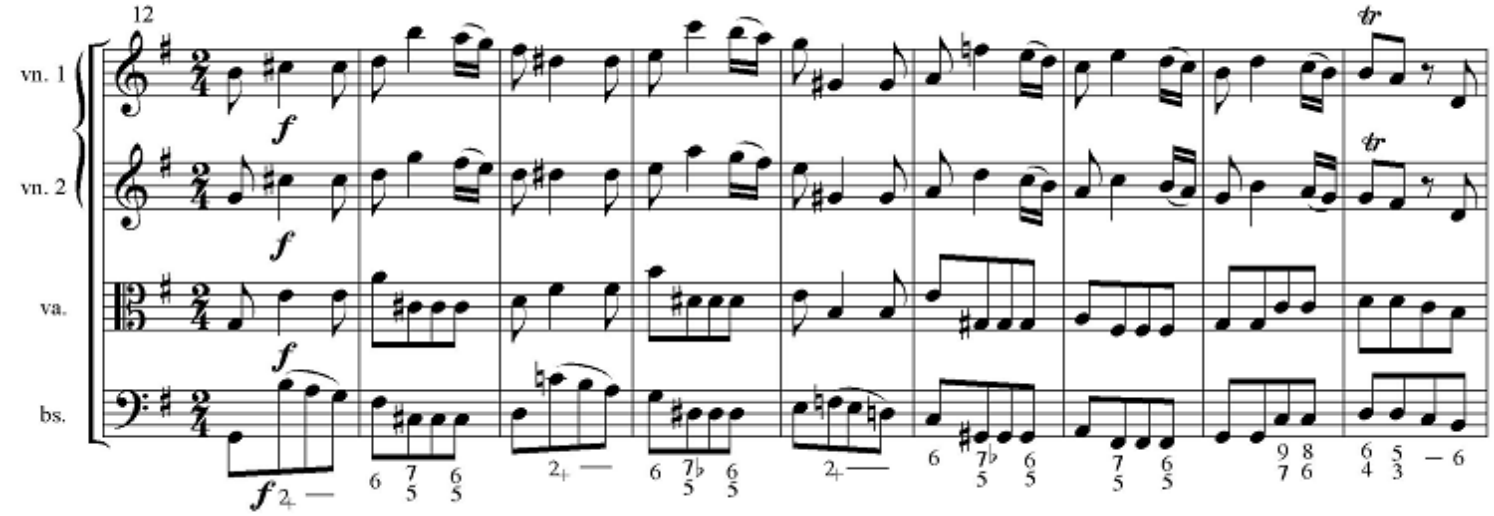
[106] For instance, the initial solo entrance in the first movement involves parallel thirds which would have had to be supplied by one of the violins in a flute version. The quasi-bariolage of measures 70ff. in the same movement would not have been particularly idiomatic to either the flute or the violin.

[107] The initial solo entry in the second movement of W. 17 has a melody recalling the

Example 6.28a. J. S. Bach, aria “Blute nur” from the Saint Matthew Passion, mm. 13–16 (flutes omitted)



Example 6.28b. Concerto in G, W. 16, movement 1, mm. 12—20



Offertoire sur les grands jeux in Couperin's *Messe pour les paroisses*. An organ might easily sustain the tune; is it possible that Bach composed the concerto for that instrument? His earliest known organ concerto, W. 34, dates from 1759.

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Supplement 7.1. Bach's Output by Genre During His Berlin Years (table)

The table below shows how Bach's output changed after 1750. Parentheses indicate "renovations." **Bold type** indicates the category containing the greatest number of works in each year. Not tabulated are arrangements and alternate versions, nor unpublished keyboard pieces and other smaller compositions for which NV gives no date of composition. Because NV also does not give dates of composition for most songs and other smaller pieces, these are counted according to their dates of first publication.

Year	Keyboard works			Chamber music			Sinfonias	Sonatinas	Vocal works		Total
	Sonatas	*concertos*	*other*	*solos*	*trios*	*other*			*lieder*	*other*	
1738	1	1		**2**							4
1739	**2**	1		1							4
1740	**4**	3		3							10
1741	**3**	1					1		1		6
1742	**4**	2									6
1743	**3 (5)**	1 (1)							2		6 (6)
1744	**8 (12)**	3 (1)									11 (13)
1745	1	**4 (1)**	1	1	2						9 (1)
1746	**3**	2		2	(1)						7 (1)
1747	4	2	1	2	**4 (7)**						13 (7)
1748	**3**	2			1	1					7
1749	**4**	1			2					1	8
1750	**3**	2	1								6
1751		1	1								2
1752	**2**		1			1					4
1753	**6**	3							3		12
1754	2	1	**4**		**4**				1		12
1755	5	2	**15**		2		3		2		29
1756	2		**8**		1		1		4	1	17
1757	**6**		5				1				12
1758	10					12	1		**55**	1	79
1759	**9**	1	6						2		18
1760	**5**		3							1	9
1761	1									**2**	3
1762	3	2		1			1	**5**	**5**		17
1763	7	1			4			4			16
1764	4							1	**12**		17
1765	**6**	2	11						3	2	24
1766	10		**13**		1				1?	1	26?
1767		1	12						10		23

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Supplement 7.2. Bach's Publishing Projects, 1753–68

Tabulated below are Bach's publications during his last fifteen years at Berlin. As with other such lists, the numbers alone convey limited information, but they provide some idea of the extent of Bach's publishing activity. The list includes volumes limited to Bach's own music as well as significant groups of compositions published in anthologies. Except as noted, works were composed within a few years of publication and are for solo keyboard.

Year	Title	Contents/comments
1753	*Versuch* (vol. 1)	18 *Probestücke* W. 63/1–6 (+ examples) printed separately
1753–59	*Oden*	10 songs in anthologies edited by Ramler, Krause, Marpurg
1757–58	*Raccolta*	2 sonatas, 7 other pieces in anthology edited by Marpurg and published by Breitkopf
1758	*Kleine Stücke*	12 little pieces for keyboard with two flutes/violins, W. 81
1758	Gellert Songs	54 songs on texts by Gellert, W. 194
1759	Sinfonia	Sinfonia in E Minor W. 177 (version for strings, b.c.)
1759	*Versuch* (vol. 1)	second edition
1759	Gellert Songs	second edition
1760	Concerto	Concerto in E, W. 14 (composed 1744)
1760	Reprise Sonatas	6 sonatas with varied reprises, W. 50
1760–62	*Musikalisches Allerley*	2 sonatas, suite, 7 other pieces, 2 psalms, in anthology
1761	*Fortsetzung*	6 sonatas, W. 51 (no. 6 composed 1750)
1762	*Versuch* (vol. 2)	1 fantasia on an engraved sheet
1762	*Oden*	20 songs W. 199 (revised versions of earlier works)
1762–63	*Musikalisches Mancherley*	6 sonatas, 8 pieces, 2 chamber sonatas in anthology (some works composed earlier)
1763	Second *Fortsetzung*	6 sonatas, W. 52 (composed 1744–52)
1763	Trio	Trio Sonata in B-flat, W. 158
1764	Sonatina(s)	2 ensemble sonatinas W. 101, 104 (separate publications)
1764	Gellert Appendix	12 songs, W. 195
1764	Gellert Songs	third edition (two more followed after Bach left Berlin)
1765	Pieces of Various Types	19 keyboard works and songs, W. 112
1766	Sonatina	ensemble sonatina W. 108
1766	Short and Easy Pieces	12 pieces, W. 113
1766	*Phillis und Thirsis*	cantata, W. 232
1767	*Melodien*	10 chorales
1768	Easy Sonatas	6 sonatas, W. 53
1768	Short and Easy Pieces	12 pieces, W. 114

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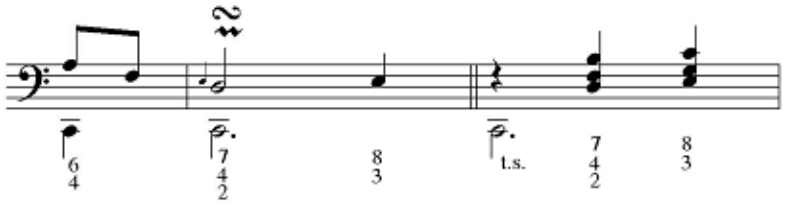
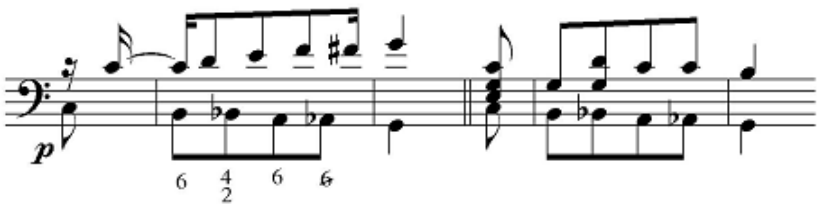
Supplement 7.3. Some Further Refinements of Accompaniment

Many of Bach's prescriptions for continuo realization remain little known and less used even by specialists. For instance, he insists that keyboard accompanists leave out appoggiaturas whose rhythm might be treated freely by a soloist (online example 7.10).[108] He also advises omitting tones indicated in a figured bass that would create even momentary "ugliness" *(Übellaut)* against a syncopated melodic line (online example 7.11).[109] The result is a realization containing "holes" or rests where the missing chord tones would belong. Often the latter are delayed until a weak beat, after an appoggiatura or passing dissonance has moved on. Thus in example 7.10, which Bach calls the "most excellent" *(vorzüglichster)* of several possible realizations of the passage, the 7/4/2-chord indicated on the downbeat, already a passing dissonance, is delayed until the soloist has had time to perform the appoggiatura e. This means placing a thick, dissonant chord on a weak beat, where it coincides with the soloist's resolution of an appoggiatura. Yet the resolution would normally be performed softly, even when graced by an ornament, as here.[110] Such a realization would be problematical especially on the harpsichord, where it would produce an unwanted accent on the 7/4/2-chord unless the latter were delicately broken. But Bach never mentions performance techniques of this type, even though they are now assumed to be essential for expressive continuo playing. Possibly Bach assumed by this date that most players would accompany chamber music on a clavichord or fortepiano, where the force of the dissonant chord on an off-beat could be mitigated.

Example 7.10. Accompaniment of appoggiaturas from *Versuch*, ii.27.10 ("t.s." stands for *tasto solo*, i.e., without realization, as signified by the rest)



Example 7.11. Accompaniment of a syncopated melodic line, from *Versuch*, ii.26.4



[108] *Versuch*, ii.25.14.
[109] *Versuch*, ii.26.4.
[110] *Versuch*, i.2.2.7.

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Supplement 7.4. Two Sets of Little Ensemble Pieces, W. 81 and 82

The Twelve Little Pieces for two flutes and keyboard, W. 81, must have been intended as easy chamber music for beginners. The scoring is inventive, although probably suggested by earlier volumes of Telemann.[111] Some pieces are for two flutes alone, others for two flutes and continuo, and still others either for two flutes and continuo or for solo keyboard; one or both flutes can also be replaced or joined by violin. The small dances and other binary-form compositions are similar to those which Bach was writing at the same time for keyboard alone. Although fairly trivial musically, the set was evidently a commercial success, and Bach issued another like it eleven years later (W. 82).

[111] E.g., the *Six concerts et six suites* (Hamburg, 1734), alternatively for various combinations of flute, violin, and continuo or obbligato keyboard.

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Supplement 7.5. The Zerbst Sonatas, the Organ Sonatas, and Other Works *circa* 1758

Despite the inconveniences of being a refugee, Bach's time in Zerbst evidently provided opportunities for composition and reflection. It might have been at Zerbst that Bach conceived his publishing program for the following years; at Zerbst he composed six sonatas, all of which would appear in print, four in Bach's own sets of the next few years. Although none of these compositions is as striking as the great works of the 1740s, all have ambitious dimensions, marking a return to serious sonata writing after Bach's concentration on shorter pieces during the preceding years. Here, too, Bach's continuing use of truncated second movements (as in W. 62/21 and 51/3), and of opening a second or third movement with a modulating phrase (in W. 52/6 and 50/5), maintained the trend toward conceiving the entire sonata as an integrated cycle.

The two Zerbst sonatas that Bach did not publish himself would appear in anthologies. One of these, W. 70/1 in A, has been erroneously listed as belonging to the organ works that Bach apparently composed for Princess Amalia, who had an organ installed in the Berlin palace in 1755.[112] In fact, this A-major sonata seems to have been conceived together with the Reprise Sonatas, although Bach added varied repeats and a cadenza to the first movement only after its publication in an anthology of 1762–63.[113] One wonders whether this work was known to Chopin, growing up in Poland at a time when this sonata might still have been in circulation. He certainly understood the principle of varying the recurrences of a rondo theme, as occurs in the second movement (online example 7.20).

The A-major sonata cannot be an organ work, but the composition that immediately preceded it, written perhaps just before Bach left for Zerbst, was indeed the last of Bach's six organ compositions for the princess. These, although unpublished, therefore constituted another set of pieces that Bach assembled during the period, and like the Reprise Sonatas—published with a dedication to Amalia—they conclude with a special one-movement work. The latter, sometimes designated illogically as a praeludium (W. 70/7), was the only one of the organ pieces with even a simple pedal part.[114] Nothing in the other sonatas exactly requires the organ, but it is clear from the occasional pedal points and old-fashioned chains of suspensions that Bach invented a distinct idiom for these pieces that would have seemed appropriate for *galant* organ music.[115] The

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[112] The history of these works (W. 70/2–7) is sorted out in CPEBCW 1/9:xiii–xv. Darrell Berg, "C. P. E. Bach's Organ Sonatas," had previously established that they were probably composed for the princess.

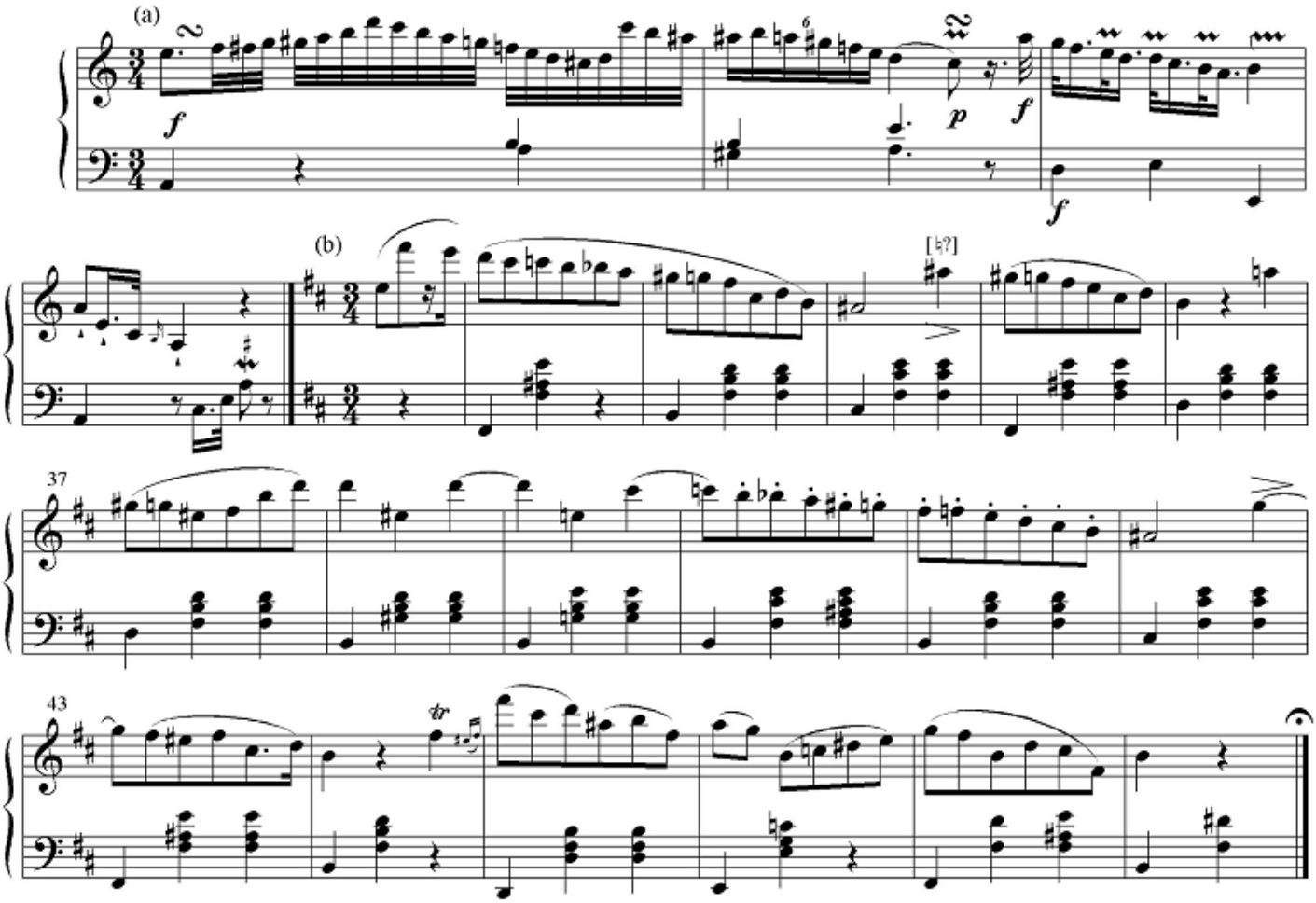
[113] The original, simpler version, designated W. 70/1 by Wotquenne, is the first of the two versions edited in CPEBCW 1/5.2. The later version, listed separately as W. 65/32, remained, like the revision of the Reprise Sonatas, unpublished during Bach's lifetime.

[114] The title "Prelude" as given in CPEBCW 1/9 is from the unauthorized print by Rellstab (*Preludio e sei sonate pel organo,* Berlin, 1790); Bach's autograph title reads "Orgelsonate mit dem Pedale" (Br 3918, in Berg, 4:274, also plate 1 in CPEBCW 1/9).

[115] All six works survive in sources with autograph specification of organ as the medium (see CPEBCW 1/9:92–4), yet copies often indicate merely *Clavier* or *cembalo.* The Sonata W. 70/2, listed as unpublished in my "C. P. E. Bach in Zerbst" (table, p. 139), in fact came out in an

frequent heavy chords in both hands are not what Sebastian, relying instead on the pedals and the *plenum* registration of a large church instrument, would have regarded as idiomatic organ writing. Yet they do make a fine effect on a good instrument.[116] Some passages exploit the organ's sustaining power, while others engage the actual space in the Berlin palace where they might have been heard: strategically placed rests would have caught the after-ring of the full chords that precede them (online example 7.21). Similar writing occurs in the Fantasia and Fugue W. 119/7, although neither this nor any of Bach's stand-alone keyboard fugues has a reliable original designation as an organ piece.[117]

Example 7.20. (a) Sonata in A, W. 70/1, later version, movement 2, mm. 57–60; (b) Chopin, Waltz in B Minor, op. 69, no. 2, mm. 32–48



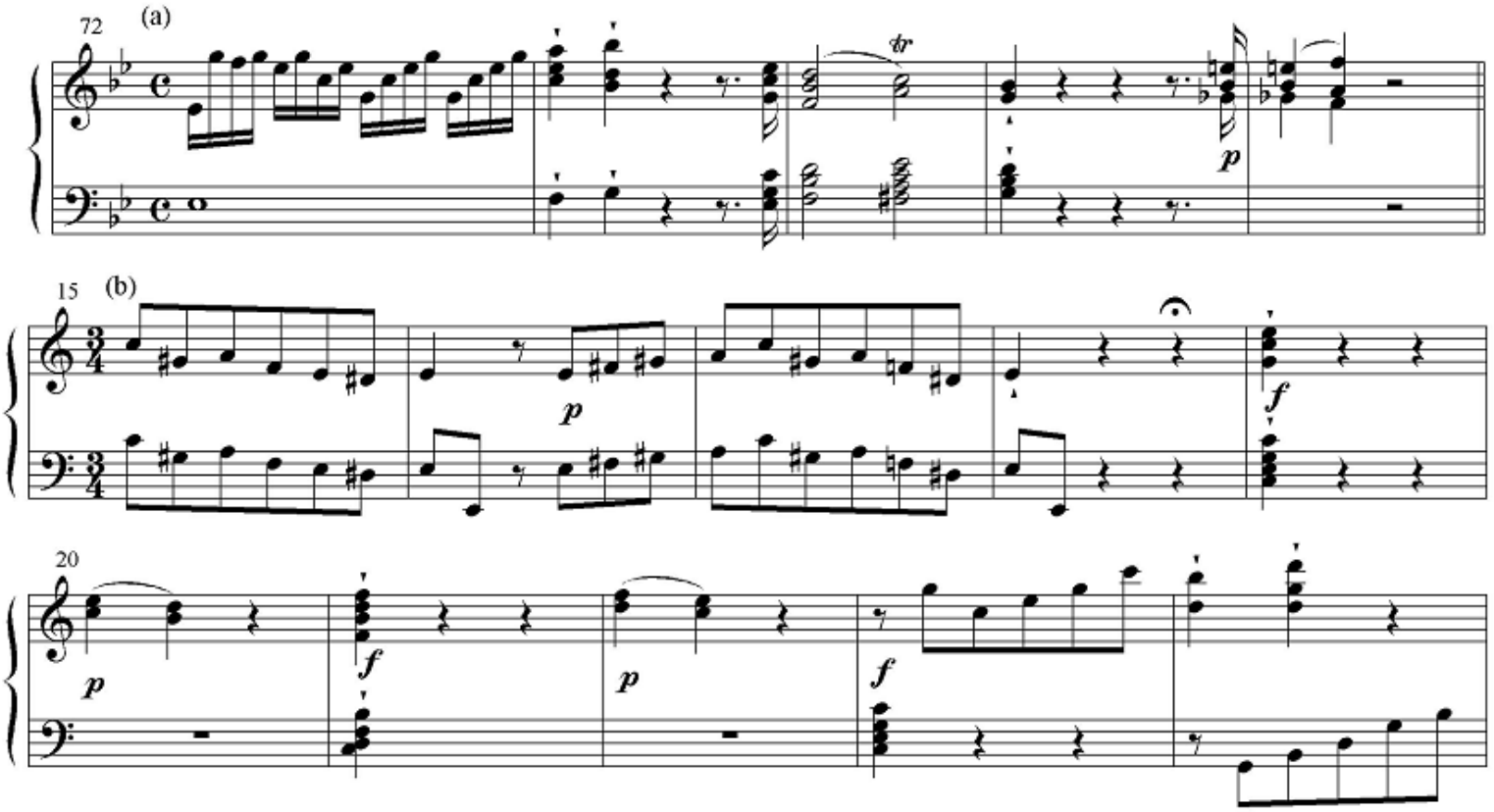
authorized print during Bach's lifetime, as shown in CPEBCW 1/9:105.

[116] As was demonstrated to me in a performance of the G-Minor Sonata W. 70/6 by Annette Richards (March 11, 2011), playing a reconstruction at Cornell University of the organ by Arp Schnitger that Bach and Amalia knew in the Berlin palace.

[117] The fugues, including W. 119/7, appear as organ works in CPEBCW 1/9, although the editors acknowledge (p. xv) the presence of several notes outside the normal four-octave range of the instrument in eighteenth-century writing.

Four of the six organ sonatas date from 1755, but when Bach returned to the idiom for the last time, in 1758 just before fleeing to Zerbst, he opened the Sonata W. 70/2 with a movement remarkable for its through-composed form and imaginative tonal design. The first movement of W. 53/6, composed later as the most difficult of the "Easy" sonatas, is superficially similar. But the latter merely borrows the quasi–ritornello form of an orchestral sinfonia; in W. 70/2 Bach begins with a *piano* phrase over a pedal point that makes subsequent reappearances in G minor and F (there is no sonata-style return). The movement does incorporate the references to orchestral style, including passages in octaves, that Bach was now also including in his"symphonic" sonatas. Yet its more improvisatory trajectory might have been inspired by the distinctive possibilities of writing for organ.

Example 7.21. (a) Sonata in B-flat, W. 70/2, movement 1, mm. 72–76; (b) Sonata in A Minor, W. 70/4, movement 1, mm. 15–24



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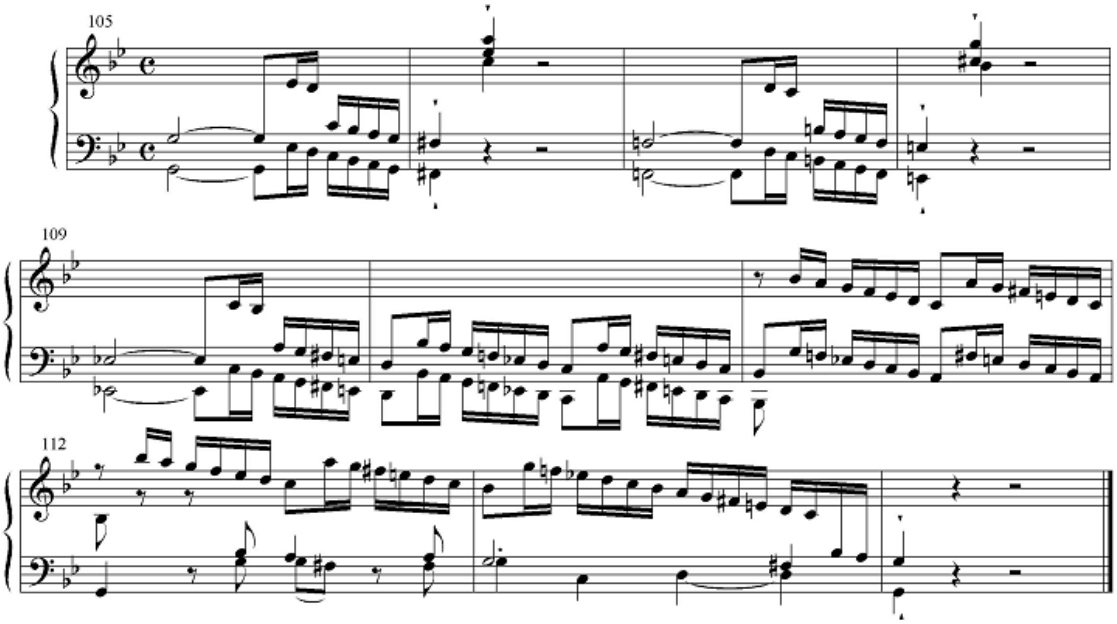
Supplement 7.6. Bach's keyboard fugues

The one fugue that Bach included in his Keyboard Pieces of Various Types is the lively and relatively unlearned W. 119/5 in G minor, ostensibly in three voices but largely in two. Even this piece is probably too long and homogeneous in style and texture for its own good, employing a scale motive from its subject in practically every measure. It nevertheless reveals that, beyond being able to write the type of school counterpoint demonstrated in the triple fugue in E-flat, Bach could also compose polyphony that is truly idiomatic for a keyboard instrument. To compose in two or three rhythmically and melodically distinct parts playable at the keyboard requires considerable skill. Bach had gained some experience in this matter by composing the less consistently successful W. 119/3 and 4, previously published fugues of similar type. Like a number of Sebastian's keyboard fugues—especially the more *galant* ones in three parts—these are less notable for their contrapuntal work than for their free development of motives from the subject.

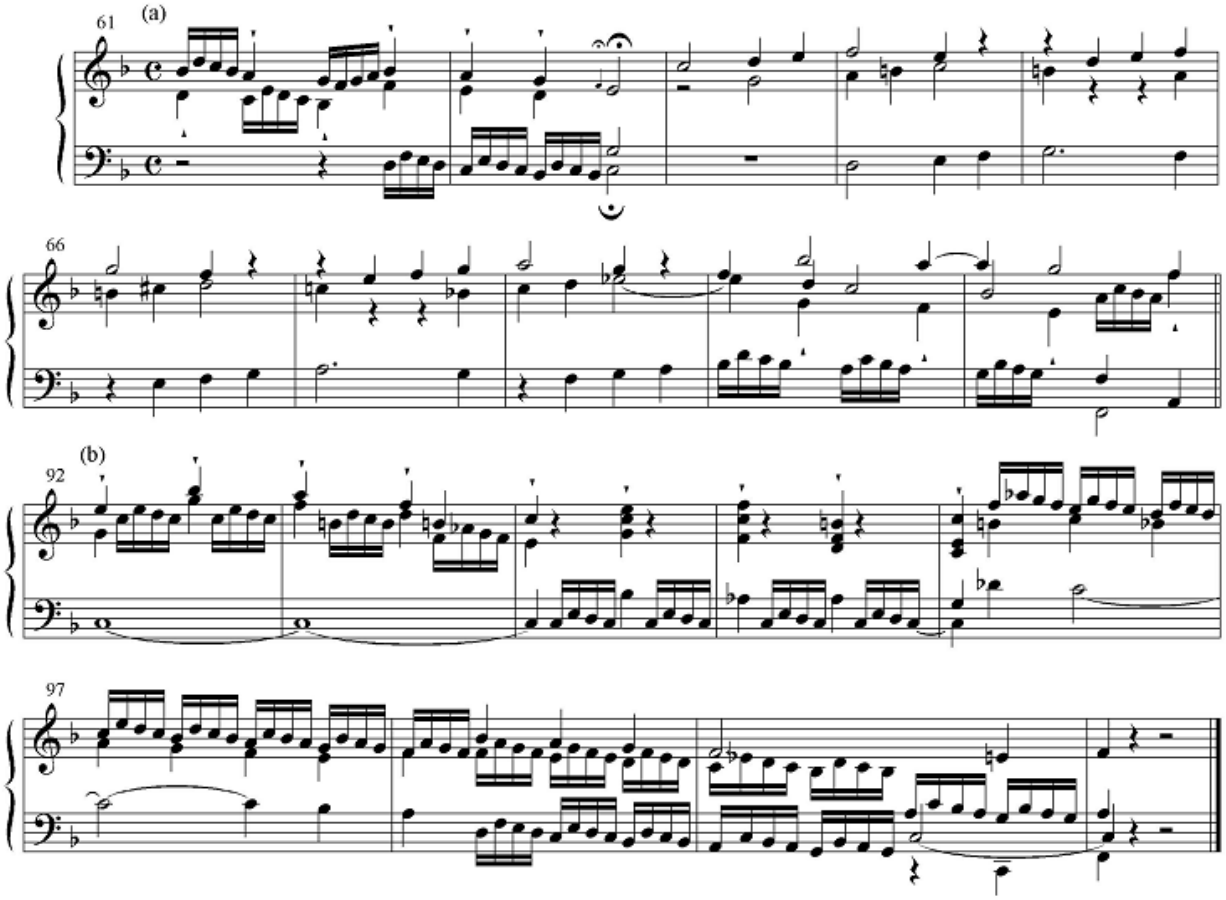
In the G-Minor Fugue, two symmetrically placed strettos (at mm. 30 and 70) constitute a gesture toward the type of organization based on the introduction of various contrapuntal devices that marks many but hardly all of Sebastian's fugues. A third stretto, on the other hand, functions almost like a sonata-style return, as the re-entry of the subject in the tonic at this point follows a distinct articulation that marks off the final section of the piece (m. 97). Likewise more sonata-like than fugal is the apotheosis achieved by the scale motive in a free coda, which concludes the piece by extending the scale through two octaves (online example 7.23).[118] Sonata style is even clearer in the F-Major Fugue (W. 119/3), where a fermata on the dominant (m. 62) sets up a stretto, again marking the beginning of the final section. Here too the closing passage uses a motive from the subject (now a turn) to descend through two octaves in a driving sequence (online example 7.24). This is fun to hear or play, but it represents a retreat from purely fugal writing. The stark contrast with the self-consciously learned counterpoint that precedes it leaves the piece as a whole less coherent than those Viennese Classical sonata and quartet movements that organically integrate fugue with sonata style.

[118] Sebastian too used the scale as a climactic gesture in certain fugues (see my "Fugues, Form, and Fingering"), as did Beethoven the fugue of the "Hammerklavier" Sonata. The latter treats the scale motive in a way that might have been suggested by Emanuel's fugue, which Beethoven could have known from its publication in W. 112.

Example 7.23. Fugue in G Minor, W. 119/5, mm. 105–14

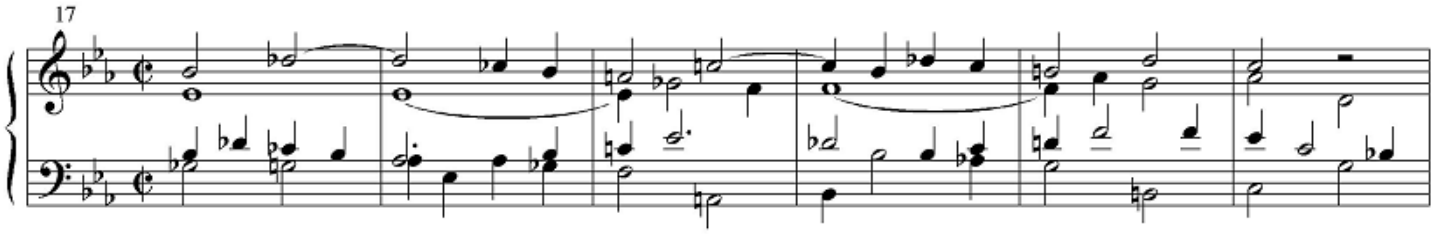


Example 7.24. Fugue in F, W. 119/3, (a) mm. 61–70, (b) mm. 92–100



The triple fugue in E-flat is an example of what has been called “demonstration counterpoint,” its whose successive sections employing successive contrapuntal devices, as Marpurg explained.[119] Yet its unrelieved *stile antico* and the similarity of the second to the third subject give it little variety. Despite Bach's effort to build to a climax toward the end of each section—especially through chromatic modulations reminiscent of his father's music—there are also clumsy passages, as already in the repeated tones and inconsequential inner voices at the end of the first exposition (online example ex. 7.25). The piece superficially recalls the *Art of Fugue,* which Emanuel had recently seen through the press, and he was not ashamed to have Marpurg publish it as an exemplary demonstration of counterpoint. But if he imagined it truly comparable to anything by Sebastian, he was sadly mistaken.

Example 7.25. Fugue in E-flat, W. 119/6, mm. 17–22



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[119] “Demonstration counterpoint” is Peter Williams's term for works such as the *Art of Fugue;* see his *Organ Music of J. S. Bach,* 3:191. Marpurg analyzed it alongside his edition in his *Clavierstücke* of 1762–63.

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Supplement 7.7. Other "Little Pieces"

Among Bach's "little pieces" are a few whose designation as *solfeggi* alluded directly to their pedagogic use. The term, originally referring to vocal exercises, was also applied to collections of extracts used for instrumental practice.[120] One of these, in C minor (W. 117/2), became famous in nineteenth- and twentieth-century reprints, selected perhaps because its non-stop motion in sixteenths recalls some of Sebastian's more etude-like preludes.[121] Another example, the penultimate work in the Pieces of Various Types (W. 112/18, also listed as W. 117/7), is Bach's sole contribution to the specialized genre of the canonic sonata. It is a little not-quite-rounded binary form comprising two parts in canon at the octave. Quantz's recently published volume of six flute duos (Berlin, 1759) had closed with a canon; Bach's canonic Solfeggio, together with the fugue that followed it in W. 112, forms a pair that mirrors the two volumes of Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge* (Berlin, 1753–54), treating of normal fugue and canon, respectively.[122]

Bach's other *solfeggi* focus on technical rather than compositional issues. Yet despite his concern with proper fingering, Emanuel never wrote pieces that address specific technical problems quite as Sebastian had done, exercising the outer fingers of each hand, for example, in the prelude in D from WTC1. That required composing an entire movement out of a single motive, something for which Emanuel had little patience. His *solfeggi* have a fragmentary character, reflecting their relationship to excerpt books and bringing them close to some of the smaller fantasias published alongside them in W. 112 and elsewhere. The most important of these is one in G minor (W. 117/13) composed in 1766; it is a somewhat longer pendant to the D-major fantasy (W. 117/14), which illustrated the chapter on improvisation in the second volume of the *Versuch.*

Like most of his other keyboard works of the 1750s, the majority of Bach's "little pieces" are clearly not for the harpsichord but were probably meant primarily for the clavichord.[123] Even

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[120] Most famously in the *Solfeggi pour la flute traversiere avec l'enseignement* attributed to Quantz (DK Kmk, Gieddes samling, I, 16; modern edition by Winfried Michel and Hermien Teske, Winterthur: Amadeus, 1978). The examples include excerpts from Bach's two flute concertos of the mid-1740s; Oleskiewicz, "Quantz and the Flute at Dresden," 58n.89, describes the extant source as a late eighteenth-century copy.

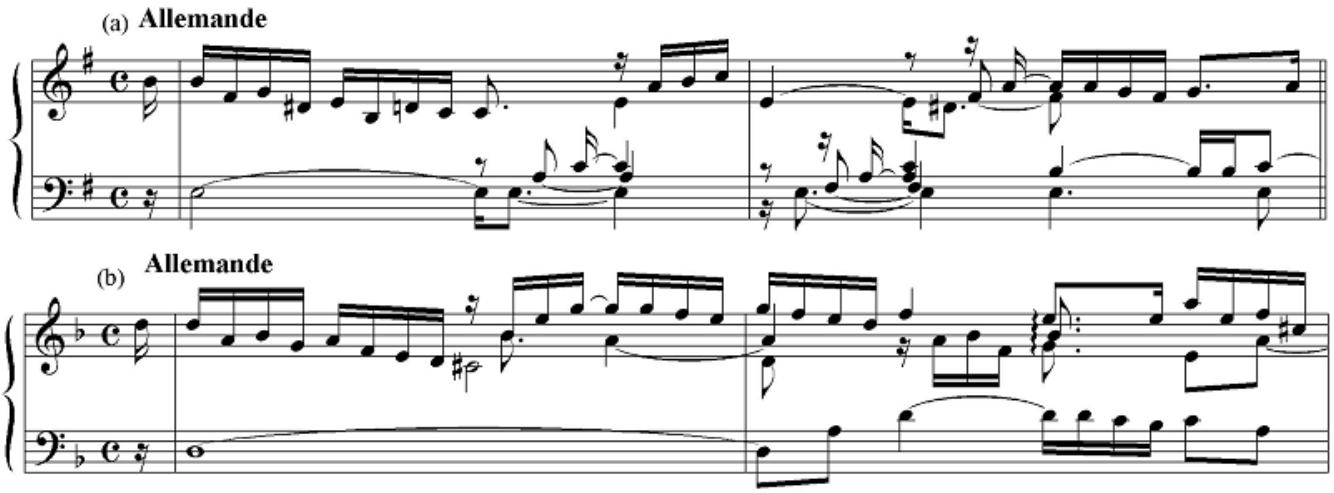
[121] This is the so-called Solfeggietto, which Bach originally published in his anthology *Musicalisches Vielerley,* issued at Hamburg four years after he composed the piece at Potsdam in 1766. The modern title has been traced to a nineteenth-century edition by Berthold Tours that added two superfluous beats at the end, allowing the piece to close on middle C instead of breaking off in the upper register (see Parkinson, "The 'Solfeggietto'").

[122] On canonic sonatas generally, especially at Berlin, see Oleskiewicz, "More on Fasch and the Canonic Trio Sonata."

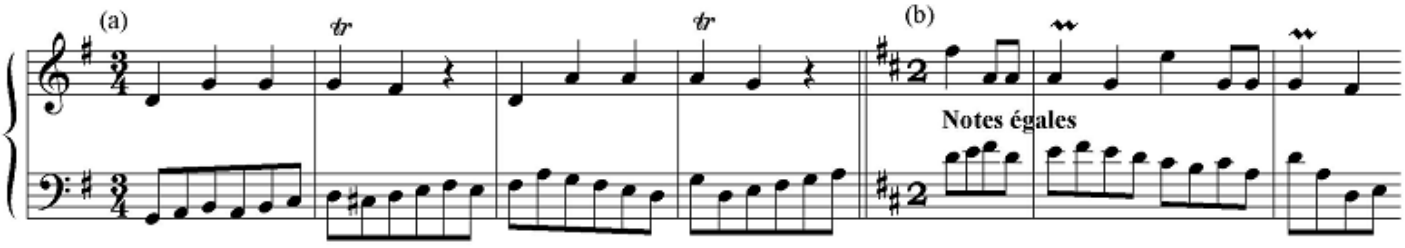
[123] A group of five pieces with French titles (W. 117/28 and 30–33, listed in NV as entry no. 87) constitutes an exception. These lack dynamic markings, and no. 3, "Les langueurs tendres," seems to require the two manuals of a harpsichord to execute its crossing lines,

Couperin's *pièces de clavecin* were probably now often heard at Berlin on clavichords or fortepianos, if they were still played at all. For Bach, the new instrumental media are reflected by stylistic changes that make these genuine *galant* pieces, not imitations of French Baroque compositions. This holds even for the Suite W. 62/12, composed in 1751 and published ten years later in an anthology *(Musikalisches Allerley)* alongside sonatas and other pieces probably also intended primarily for clavichord. The suite contains obvious echoes of Sebastian's music, as in the opening reference to his First French Suite, and there is even a suggestion of Rameau's "Niais de Sologne" in the third minuet (online examples 7.26 and 7.27). Yet its *galant* character is clear in the parallel thirds at the beginning of the courante (online example 7.28) and in the absence of the traditional French Baroque rhythms from most of the ostensive dance mvovements.

Example 7.26. (a) Suite in E Minor, W. 62/12, movement 1 (Allemande), mm. 1–2; (b) J. S. Bach, French Suite no. 1 in D Minor, BWV 812, movement 1 (Allemande), mm. 1–2



Example 7.27. (a) Suite in E Minor, W. 62/12, movement 6 (Minuet 3), mm. 1–4; (b) Rameau, "Les Niais de Sologne," mm. 1–2



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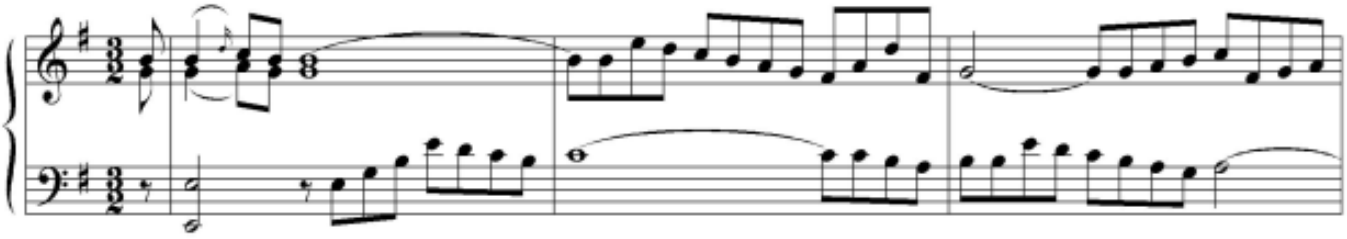
although this is not indicated explicitly.

Except in this retrospective work, such dances as Bach would now write are largely confined to relatively easy minuets and polonaises. The polonaise, despite its Polish origin, had originally been close to the minuet musically, and Emanuel had written a few examples in his youth. Those of the 1750s and 1760s tend to be more florid and presume a slower tempo, perhaps with something of a swagger. Although far from the grandeur of Chopin's examples, they share with the latter a tendency to cadence on the second beat. The polonaises published in the *Musikalisches Vielerley* require considerable skill to play, but Emanuel never produced anything like the twelve virtuoso polonaises composed by Friedemann (F. 12). Emanuel's polonaises often alternate with somewhat simpler minuets in the same keys; a few of the latter are mildly engaging, especially through their use of canon—W. 116/5/1 is a palindrome—but musically they tend to be simpler, lacking the humor of the polonaises.

Example 7.28. Suite in E Minor, W. 62/12, movement 2 (Courante), mm. 1–3



Supplement 7.8. Other Parallels with Friedemann's Music

"La Frédérique" (or "L'Ernestine") is not the only one of Emanuel's *petites pièces* to raise an issue involving his older brother. The two minuets W. 116/7 are embellished versions of a pair of pieces that recur in various forms in earlier works by Friedemann. Peter Wollny traces them back to Friedemann's Sinfonia F. 67 (probably composed in the 1730s) and to two recently discovered minuets for keyboard.[124] Friedemann also used the second minuet in two further works, the keyboard sonata F. 1A and the duet F. 60 for two violas. NV lists the two pieces within a little set of alternating minuets and polonaises composed at Potsdam 1766; they were published in the *Musikalisches Vielerley,* which Bach brought out during 1770 after his move to Hamburg. Could Emanuel have embellished a simpler original, forgetting that it was his brother's? That Friedemann composed his only known set of variations on the first minuet suggests rather that both pieces might have originated as exercises of some sort within the Bach household. Possibly they were even composed by Sebastian for his pupils, who memorized them and then varied them extemporaneously. Two other pieces in Anna Magdalena's Little Keyboard Book of 1725 might have served a similar purpose.[125] Some such history would explain why Emanuel's version of the first minuet contains reminiscences of yet another piece whose multiple versions mask an unknown original; it echoes an aria that Sebastian also used as a movement in the violin-and-keyboard sonata BWV 1019a (online example 7.29).[126]

It is unlikely that Emanuel would have knowingly appropriated his brother's composition in a publication that Friedemann would probably see. In 1770, when Emanuel published his version of the minuets, he must still have been on good terms with Friedemann. A few months later, Friedemann advertised that his brother would collect subscription money for a projected edition of his polonaises.[127] If indeed the two were still in touch, it may seem odd that Friedemann's music is otherwise absent from the *Vielerley*. His music is absent, however, from other contemporary anthologies as well. Friedemann was evidently unwilling to give out his compositions for such publications, just as he was unwilling to indulge friends and potential patrons by drawing their musical portraits. There are no character pieces by Friedemann, nor any lieder, unless one counts a somewhat mysterious little wedding song.[128] Nothing more clearly symbolizes Friedemann's difference from Emanuel than his lack of interest in the genres of song and character piece, so important in musical society of the period.

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[124] Edited in CPEBCW 1/8.2:205. Whether the second minuet "also provides the substance" for the opening ritornello in Friedemann's A-Minor Concerto F. 45—they share only a common melodic contour and their canonic texture—is a matter of definition.

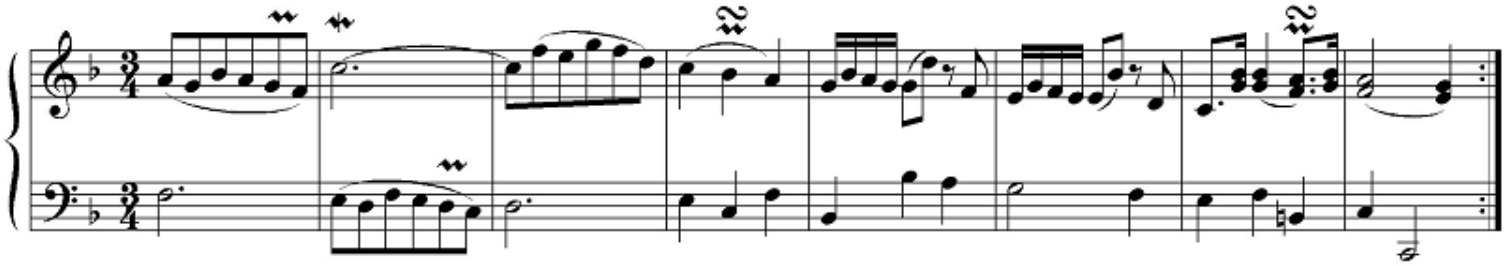
[125] A polonaise in the same key, given in P 225 in two versions, (BWV Anh. 117a–b), and the chorale "Gib dich zufrieden," given in three (BWV 510–12). Friedemann's variations, at this writing unpublished, survive in a manuscript now in Vilnius, identified in CPEBCW 1/8.2:204.

[126] The aria is best known as "Heil und Segen" from BWV 120, a work of 1742, one of several parody versions of a lost original.

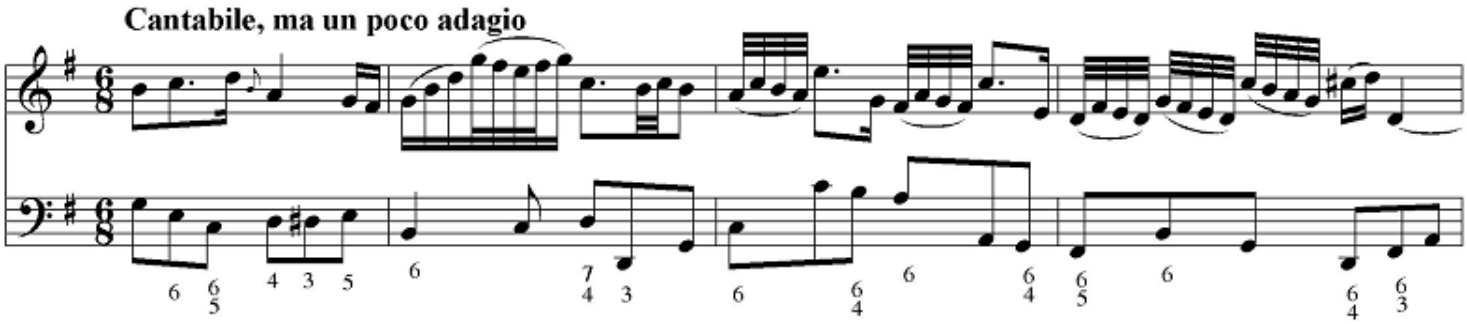
[127] See Wollny, "'. . . welche dem größten Concerte gleichen,'" 175.

[5] On the "cavata" F. 97, see my *Music of W. F. Bach,* 263.

Example 7.29a. Minuet in F, W. 116/7, no. 1, mm. 1–8



Example 7.29b. J. S. Bach, Sonata in G for violin and obbligato keyboard, BWV 1019a, movement 3, mm. 1–4



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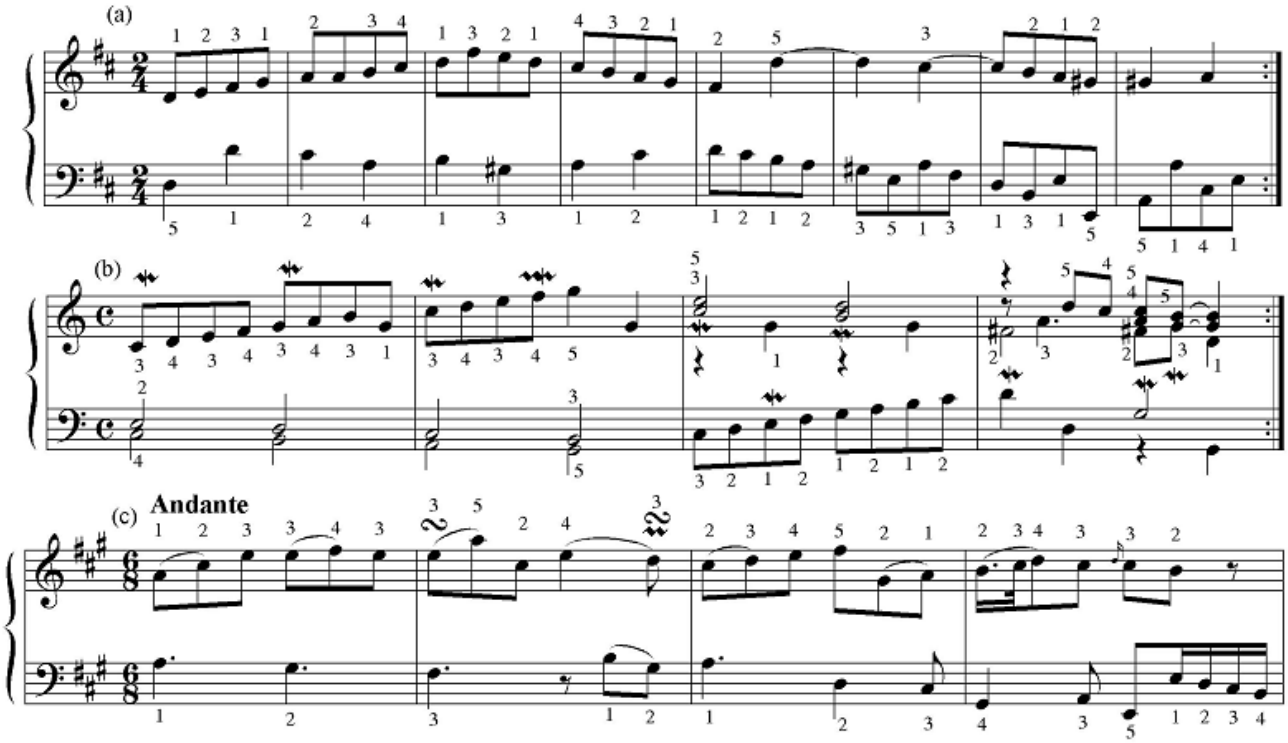
Supplement 7.9. Other Character Pieces and Their Relationship to Couperin

Bach's readiness to juggle pieces into or out of larger works raises the possibility that some of the character pieces gained their titles only some time after they were composed. Several titles, like that of "L'Ernestine," seem to have been altered, and a few might be merely dedications, particularly to Bach's daughter ("La Carolina" and "La Philippine"). "La Philippine" (W. 117/34) is furnished with fingerings throughout, like the *Probestücke*, as are a little Allegretto and Allegro (W. 116/19–20) belonging to the same set of five *petites pièces* from 1755. Why do the latter two pieces lack titles? Both are distinctly more rudimentary in style, especially W. 116/20; with its scale motive opening each half, it appears to be modeled on the *Applicatio* (BWV 994) in the Little Keyboard Book for W. F. Bach (online example 7.31). "La Philippine" is more substantial, although delicate and unassuming, as we might imagine Bach's daughter to have been (she was described as "unbeautiful" and "unfeeling," however).[129] But must it have originated as a portrait?

Example 7.31. (a) Allegro in D, W. 116/20, mm. 1–8; (b) *Applicatio*, BWV 994, mm. 1–4; (c) "La Philippine," W. 117/34, mm. 1–4



[129] "unschöne, doch wohl conditionirte," letter of Johann Heinrich Voß to Johann Martin Miller, April 4, 1774, no. 160 in Suchalla, p. 383. Voß adds in parentheses "sie ist nicht empfindsam, Cramer" apparently citing the opinion of the writer Carl Friedrich Cramer, who also knew the Bach family.

Whether or not “La Philippine” depicts Bach's daughter, there is no reason to question that some of the more striking character pieces, such as “La Stahl” (W. 117/25), really were meant to represent actual personalities. Its juxtapositions of solemn and impulsive passages recall the alternating tempos in the first two movements of the Program Trio. A French inspiration is evident as well, not only in the sarabande rhythm but perhaps in the fundamental idea of juxtaposing radically different types of music; Couperin's sarabande “L'Unique” had alternated unexpectedly between “gravement” and “vivement” passages.

Yet Bach keeps his distance from the French composer. Couperin grouped pieces of the same key into suites (called *ordres*), but although Bach also collected his character pieces into sets, these are not unified or ordered in any obvious way. “Les langueurs tendres” (W. 117/30) borrows its opening motive from Couperin's piece of the same title, but otherwise the two have little in common (online example 7.32).[130] Couperin's piece remains simple and transparent in texture while unfolding in the freely discursive manner typical of actual French music. Bach, in a rarity for him, develops practically his entire piece from Couperin's motive, reaching for a climax in a middle section that grows increasingly dissonant and chromatic, as the texture expands from two to three and even four voices; it even incorporates a transposed statement of the B-A-C-H motive (online example 7.33).[131] Bach's work, incidentally, is notated in what looks like da capo form, with the A section returning after the middle section. The arrangements of some of these pieces in Bach's ensemble sonatinas, however, suggest that they were meant to be played as simple rondos, with a repetition of both the middle and second A sections, yielding the form AABABA.[132]

The musical style of “La Stahl” is outwardly even farther from Couperin. Yet at a deeper level its aesthetic has something in common with his, for it draws its sharply characterized ideas with just a few notes, and when they recur their restatements are allusive rather than exact. Also close to

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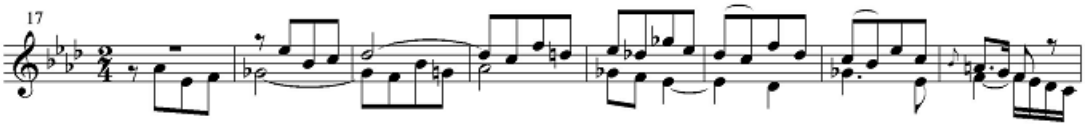
[130] Voice crossings in Bach's piece (mm. 12, 14–15) suggest performance on a two-manual harpsichord, although it is hardly a full-fledged French *pièce croisée.* An earlier title, “Memoire raisonné,” is reported in two sources; its meaning is unexplained. Couperin's piece appeared in his *Second livre de pièces de clavecin* (1716–17).

[131] No one seems to have noticed that a measure must be missing from the phrase in measures 17–23 of Bach's “Langueurs.” Wollny, whose principal source is a copy in a partially autograph manuscript, reports no variants (CPEBCW 1/8.2:197). Yet the manuscript shows no trace of Bach's hand in this piece, and measures 19–20 may be a garbled version of what were meant to be three measures:

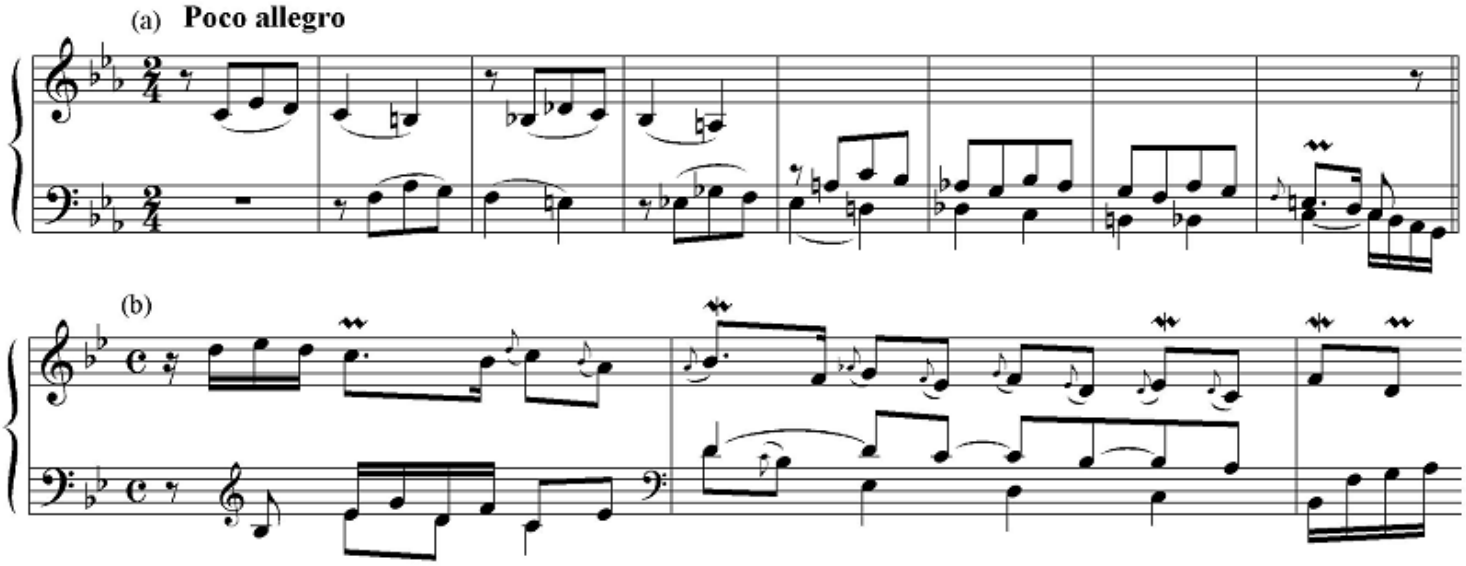
“Les langueurs tendres,” W. 117/30, tentative reconstruction for mm. 19–20



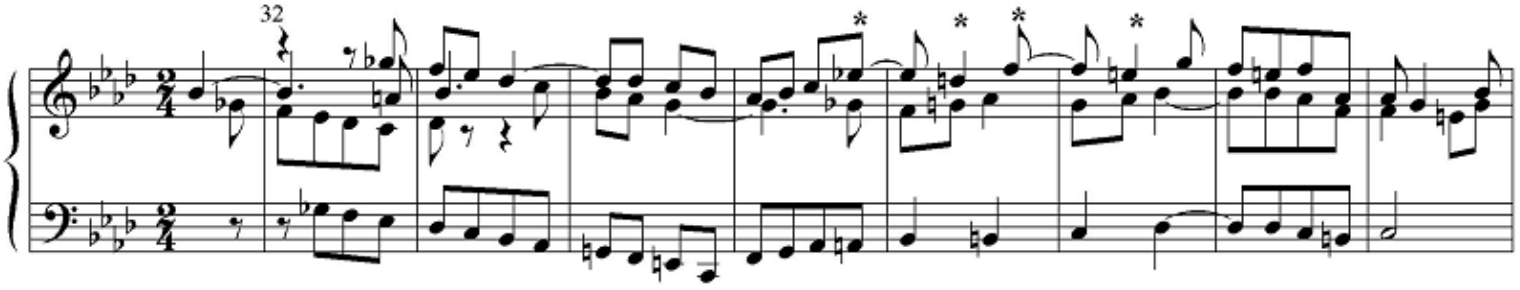
[132] As in movement 1 from Sonatina 9 (W. 102), arranged from “La Complaisante” (W. 117/28); this simple rondo form and its notation go back to movements in J. S. Bach's suites. Couperin's “Les langueurs tendres” is in simple binary form.

Couperin at some background level is the underlying phrasing, which, despite irregularities at the surface, is close to that of a simple dance. Each section comprises a single period, avoiding the sequential passagework found in so many of Bach's sonata movements after the initial statement of the theme.

Example 7.32. (a) “Les langueurs tendres,” W. 117/30, mm. 1–8; (b) Couperin, “Les langueurs tendres,” mm. 1–2



Example 7.33. “Les langueurs tendres,” W. 117/30, mm. 32–39 (*asterisks mark B-A-C-H motive)



Supplement 8.1. More on Krause and Bach

Krause is cited today especially as a theorist of lieder, but his book actually is more concerned with arias, both Italian and German. This doubtless reflected the higher status of the aria in the hierarchy of musical and poetic types that prevailed at mid-century in Berlin.[133] Krause's ideal opera—which he doubts can be achieved—is one whose melodies "flatter the ears less than they move the heart." The opera as a whole, and especially the arias, is shorter than was customary at the time and is sung by singers who are good actors; it also restores the "chorus of antiquity."[134] This could have been taken as an oblique criticism of the recently established royal Berlin opera; Graun's works for the latter are conventional Italian *opere serie,* without chorus. Krause's comments are the typical complaints of those who preferred French to Italian opera, and although Bach might have been sympathetic to some of Krause's opinions, he hardly avoided long virtuoso arias in his own Italianate works. Thirty years later Friedemann Bach would echo Krause's hackneyed statement about ancient choruses, although nothing survives of the opera that he is supposed to have been working on at the end of his life.[135]

Both Bachs might have read Krause with respect but also with circumspection. Krause observes, conventionally, that *Kunststücke*—by which he means fugues, as the index makes clear—have their place in "grand church pieces."[136] But for Krause the problem with counterpoint, or with having the bass imitate the melody, is that different affects are then expressed simultaneously. The possibility that fugues might nevertheless be expressive is foreign to him as he draws the distinction, customary at the time, between melody, which is expressive, and harmony—that is, counterpoint—which composers use to demonstrate their "abilities and diligence" *(Kräfte und Fleiß).* Kraus disparages the products of such technical display as *Intellectualmusik,* which is outlandish or provincial, characterized by "a barbarian overflow of ornaments"—an early instance of the identification of "ornament," here in the sense of a contrapuntal device, with the "Gothic," that is, something hearkening back to an earlier, less civilized Germanic culture.[137]

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[133] Krause does not explicitly rank the various genres of poetry or music, but he does distinguish between "historical" and other types of vocal music, as his contemporaries did for painting.

[134] "Der Chor der Alten könnte wieder hergestellet werden" (*Von der musikalischen Poesie,* 435).

[135] At Berlin after Emanuel's departure, Friedemann was at work on an opera that would "return the choruses of the ancients to the stage" ("die Chöre der Altere . . . wider auf die Bühne zu bringen"), according to Carl Martin Plümicke, *Entwurf einer Theatergeschichte von Berlin* (Berlin, 1781), 338.

[136] "prächtige Kirchenmusiken" (*Vom musikalischen Poesie,* 33). The first edition of Krause's book, available on Google Books, lacks the *Register* added for the 1753 edition (facsimile, Leipzig, Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1973).

[137] "Hieraus ist der gothische Ueberfluß in der Auszierungen entstanden. Es sind gewisse Länder und Oerter, wo man mehr Geschmack an den harmonisch vollkommennen Stücken, als an denen, die durch die Melodie reißen" (*Vom musikalischen Poesie,* 32–33).

Emanuel knew better than this, thanks to his father's music, and although he rarely introduces contrapuntal “crafts” into his vocal music, he does so more often than his contemporaries—even in his songs, although chiefly in the Cramer Psalms, published at Hamburg.

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Supplement 8.2. More on Gerstenberg's Experiments

A letter to Friedrich Nicolai mentions in addition a parody text for *Phillis und Thirsis* (W. 232) of 1765, substitute texts by [C. F.] Cramer and Hagedorn for some of the Gellert Songs, and further texts for "some of Bach's keyboard pieces" *(einige Bachische Clavierstücke),* including variations on "an aria that until now has been without words."[138] The last of these, perhaps involving the Variations on an Italian Arietta W. 118/2 or the Variations on an Arioso 118/4, would have been an experiment in reconciling strophic poetry with variation form. Gerstenberg evidently wrote each stanza of his poem to match Bach's successive variations, reversing the usual compositional order of words, then music.

Gerstenberg's "experiments" were apparently unrelated to an older French tradition of creating texted vocal parodies of keyboard works (including those of François Couperin). Gerstenberg described the *Experiment* involving "Hamlets Monolog" in the same letter of 1767. Wieland's prose translation had been published the previous year,[139] and Gerstenberg has long been regarded as an important figure in eighteenth-century German Shakespeare reception.[140] His appropriation of Bach's music for this text suggests that he saw Bach's fantasia as achieving the same sublime status as the poetry. Gerstenberg's second text, relating the death of Socartes, derives from Plato's *Phaedo.* It is first documented only in a report from 1786, one year before the publication of both versions, but Tobias Plebuch has argued that both originated at about the same time.[141] If so, the modern nickname of the so-called "Hamlet" fantasia, which in any case has nothing to do with Bach, is misleading; the piece might equally well be called the "Socrates" fantasia.

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[138] "einer von Bach vorlängst mit Variationen gesetzten textlosen Arie" (letter of Dec. 5, 1767, to Friedrich Nicolai, in Werner, "Gerstenbergs Briefe an Nicolai," 58–60). Much of the letter is reprinted in Schünemann, "Friedrich Bachs Briefwechsel," 24–26.

[139] *Hamlet* appears in the last volume (vol. 8) of *Theatralische Werke [von] Shakespear, aus dem Englischen übersezt von Herrn [Christoph Martin] Wieland* (Zürich: Orell, Gessner, 1762–66).

[140] "The five letters on Shakespeare in Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg's *Briefe über Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* [Schleswig, 1766–7] are, perhaps, the most important contribution to continental Shakespearean criticism of the entire eighteenth century," as declared a century ago in Ward and Waller, eds., *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature,* 5:297.

[141] "Dark Fantasies," 51–52. Helm, however, pointed out that Cramer made no mention of a second text when he described Gerstenberg's arrangement in *Magazin der Musik* 1 (1783): 1253 ("The 'Hamlet' Fantasy," 286n. 12). Cramer published both of Gerstenberg's versions in his anthology *Flora* (Kiel and Hamburg, 1787) alongside original songs by Bach, Gluck, Reichardt, and others.

The relationship of both texts to their models is quite free. In the Hamlet text, only the words for the outer (unbarred) sections are based, quite loosely, on Shakespeare's. The words for the inner (Largo) section are entirely by Gerstenberg, who described them as representing "a voice from the grave" *(eine Stimme aus den Gräbern).* Only in a letter of the following year is the text itself preserved, in a version that differs in some respects from the one that Gerstenberg eventually published. This letter of 1768 also leaves some doubt as to whether Gerstenberg had as yet notated the music for his setting or, rather, simply sang along in a somewhat improvisatory manner as he played Bach's original piece.[142] Although it is clear from this letter that Gerstenberg and Nicolai were exchanging copies of other musical compositions, Gerstenberg does not mention a score for his arrangement. His letter gives musical notation only for the first three words ("Seyn! oder Nichtseyn!") and for the three-note chord played at that point by the right hand—not a separate vocal part. That Gerstenberg was capable of playing Bach's fantasia is clear from Claudius's assuring him that "we haven't played it entirely incorrectly."[143]

[142] Letter to Nicolai of April 27, 1768, in Werner, "Gerstenbergs Briefe," 60–63.

[143] "wir sie nicht sehr unrecht gespielt haben," undated letter to Gerstenberg, no. 24 in *Briefe an Freunde,* 49.

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Supplement 8.3. Nichelmann's *Die Melodie* and the Response by "Dünkelfeind"

The principal aim of Nichelmann's "improvements," ably summarized by Youngren, was to distinguish two types of music. One type, which Nichelmann terms "monodic" *(monodisch),* is dominated by "the superficial beauties of an elaborately ornamented melody." In the "polyodic" *(polyodisch)* type, "melody and harmony work together satisfyingly, the harmony changing in rich and surprising ways that complement the inflections of the melodic line."[144] Nichelmann does not name the composers of the original works, but Thomas Christensen has identified about half of the forty or so illustrations of "monodic" writing, which Nichelmann "corrects" by giving "polyodic" versions of the same music.[145]

Many of Nichelmann's examples belong to the tradition of "composition by variation," which Bach sometimes practiced, and which both composers might have learned in their early studies at Leipzig. "Dünkelfeind" recognizes that Nichelmann's "polyodic" harmony is little more than embellishment: "chords can be broken, and from this arise innumerable variations."[146] Sometimes, however, Nichelmann does the reverse, simplifying the original, and some of his own alternate versions of passages from vocal compositions are essentially new settings of the same text. One might expect that the Nichelmann would favor types of embellishment that he learned in his studies with Friedemann and perhaps Sebastian Bach. Indeed, his first example of "polyodic" music (Nichelmann's example no. 14) is a florid sarabande from one of Sebastian's French Suites. Yet he also criticizes an aria from Sebastian's cantata BWV 84 (coincidentally his example no. 84) for its "monodic" use of an over-embellished melody. Nichelmann improves the original aria by stripping out most of the passing tones (online example 8.4). His reworking of an aria from Graun's *Ezio* (Nichelmann's example no. 96) yields a similar result, although in this case his variation is barely recognizable as such, retaining only the basic harmonic outline of the original (online example 8.5).

Today it may seem unsurprising that a pupil of Sebastian Bach should wish to replace the drum bass of Graun's aria as in Nichelmann's example. Yet similar bass lines are ubiquitous in actual compositions by Bach's pupils, including Nichelmann. They are essential to mid-century style because they generate motion or urgency without diverting attention from the melody; replacing them with something that is superficially more interesting dilutes the direct "speaking" character of the music. The aria from Sebastian's cantata is an expressive meditation, the one from Graun's opera a typical "rage" aria. That Nichelmann could turn both into banal minuets suggests an impoverished sense of the possibilities of musical expression—to say nothing of the tactlessness of attacking a work that was staged that very year at the royal opera, possibly with Nichelmann

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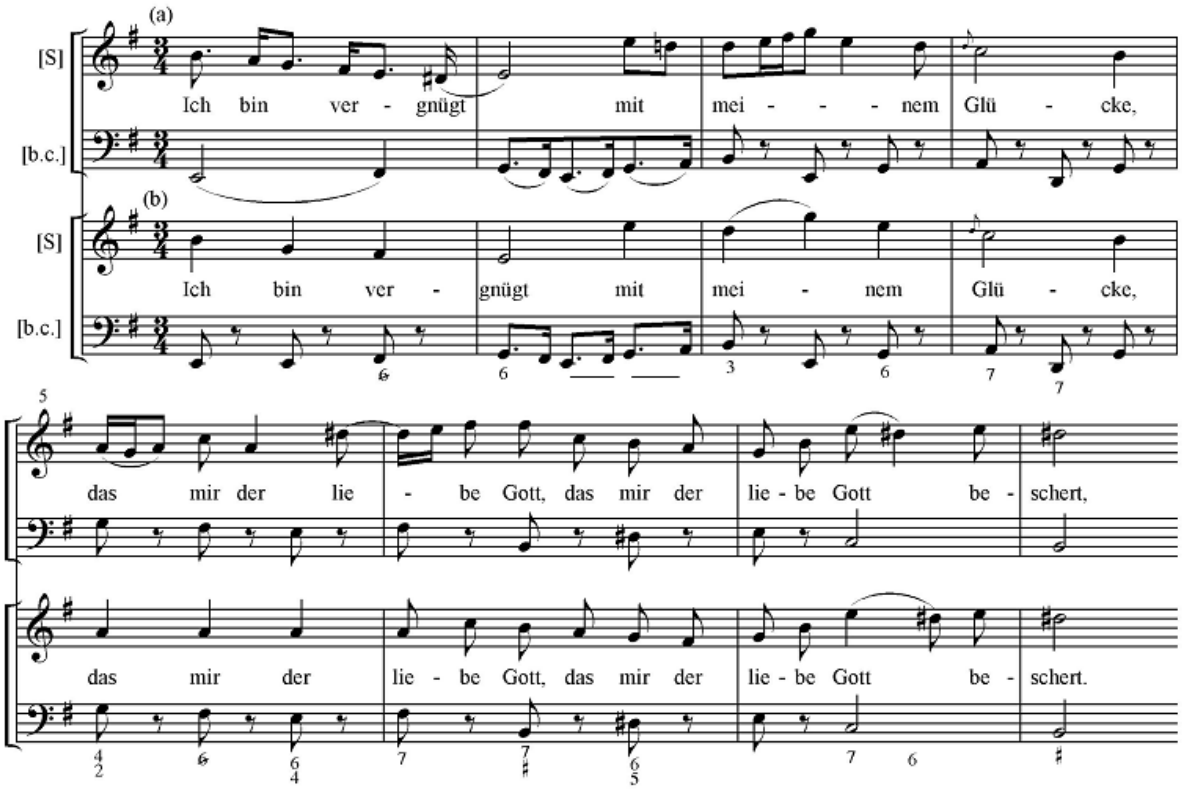
[144] Youngren, *C. P. E. Bach and the Rebirth of Strophic Song*, 188.

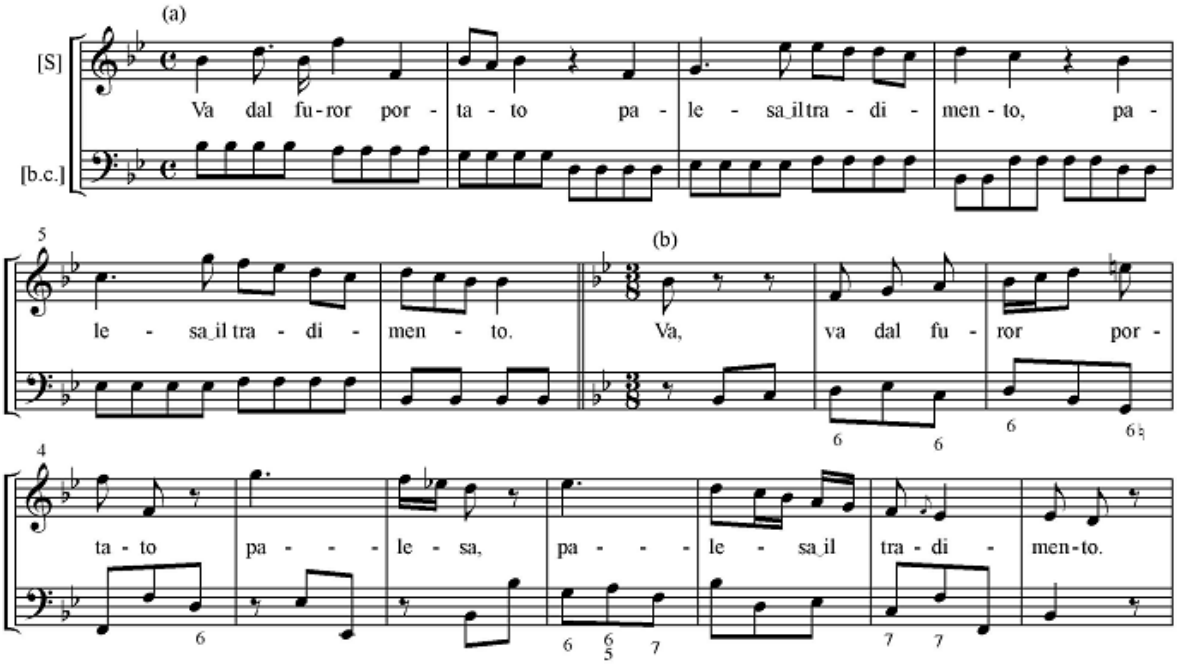
[145] Christensen, "Nichelmann contra C. Ph. E. Bach."

[146] "Die Accorde lassen sich brechen, und daraus enstehen unzäliche Veränderungen" ("Dünkelfeind," *Gedanken eines Liebhabers der Tonkunst,* 9).

Example 8.4. J. S. Bach, aria “Ich bin vergnügt,” from *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Glücke*, BWV 84 (movement 1), mm. 1–8, (a) original (oboe and strings omitted), (b) Nichelmann's version (his example 85)



Example 8.5. Graun, aria “Va dal furor portato,” from *Ezio*, mm. 1–6, (a) original, (b) Nichelmann's version, both from his example 96



himself playing continuo alongside Graun. How Nichelmann's version of either aria could be said to be more "polyodic" than the original is unclear; as "Dünkelfeind" writes, "The polyodic style as described may well exist only as a mere notion of the author."[147]

Nichelmann's critiques of Emanuel's works are as arbitrary and his rewritings as mediocre as those of other music. In the Concerto W. 11, published in 1745 and in 1755 still probably one of Bach's best-known works, Nichelmann rewrites the bass of the opening theme to avoid the "monotony" *(Eintönigkeit)* that, in his view, results from the repeated note in the melody and the unchanging harmony (online example 8.6). He complicates both melody and bass in the second phrase of Bach's song "Amint" (W. 199/11; online example 8.7). In Bach's setting of a drinking song by Gleim, "Den flüchtigen Tagen" (W. 199/5), Nichelmann expands a brisk phrase into a banal sequence (online example 8.8).[148]

Nichelmann attacks Bach's "Die Küsse" (W. 199/4) as insensitive to the poetry and tedious musically; an extended musical example (no. 77) provides an alternate version of the complete song. All three lieder had appeared in a 1753 anthology, marking Bach's first published contributions to the genre in ten years. "Die Küsse" is a seemingly inoffensive setting of a poem by the pastor Nicolaus Dietrich Giseke, remarkable for its division into three unequal stanzas of eight, six, and seven lines, respectively. Bach's setting, accordingly, is partially strophic: its three strongest musical articulations mark the breaks between Giseke's three stanzas, and the music for lines 1–2 returns for the opening of the second stanza. Bach's first through-composed song, it was his most ambitious effort yet within the genre.

Nichelmann's critique amounts to little more than what Youngren describes as "endless repetitions of the need to create harmonic variety and diversity."[149] Focusing solely on the surface of the music, Nichelmann rewrites the opening of Bach's song to shorten the pedal point that originally underlay the first three measures, yet he keeps the second line of the poem in the tonic. He fails to understand that Bach's initial avoidance of harmonic motion—as in the Concerto W. 11—creates a higher-level contrast with the accelerated harmonic rhythm that begins in the next phrase, as the latter modulates to the dominant (online example 8.9). In addition, Bach's setting delicately emphasizes the word *niemals (never)* with a syncopation (mm. 7–8), and he varies the texture. Nichelmann eliminates both features, even though one might have thought that they render Bach's setting "polyodic." Nichelmann instead writes in a uniformly three-part texture, adding an inner voice in measures 6–7, which Bach had reduced to two parts. In measures 3–4 he introduces a cliché of the Dresden-Berlin style—one that recurs, curiously, in the corresponding measures of a chorus by Homilius that Bach incorporated into his 1769 Pentecost music at Hamburg (online example 8.10).

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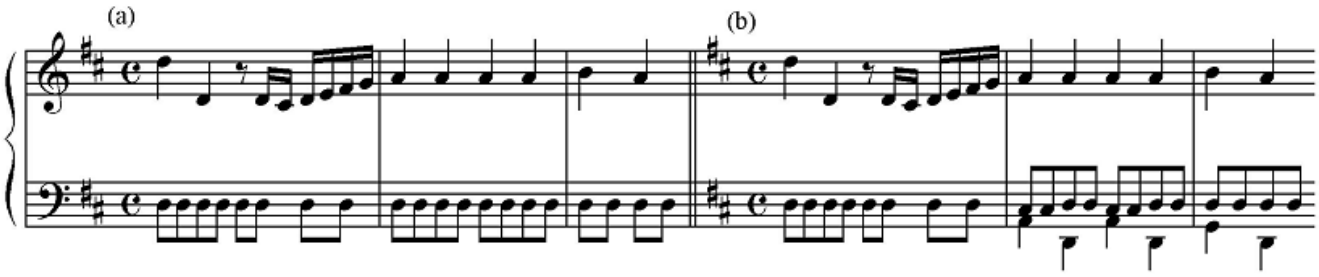
[147] "Die polyodische Art, wie sie der Herr Verfasser beschreibt, mögte wohl nirgends anders, als in der blossen Idee des Herrn Verfassers existeren" (*Gedanken eines Liebhabers,* 14).

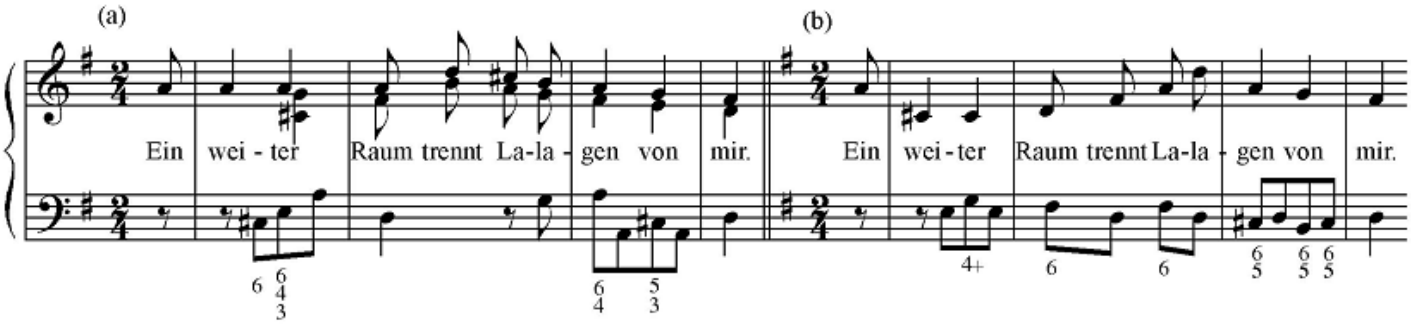
[148] Many of Nichelmann's illustrations include both an original figured bass and his own fundamental bass, with figures, on a third staff; the latter is omitted from the present examples.

[149] *C. P. E. Bach and the Rebirth of Strophic Song,* 199.

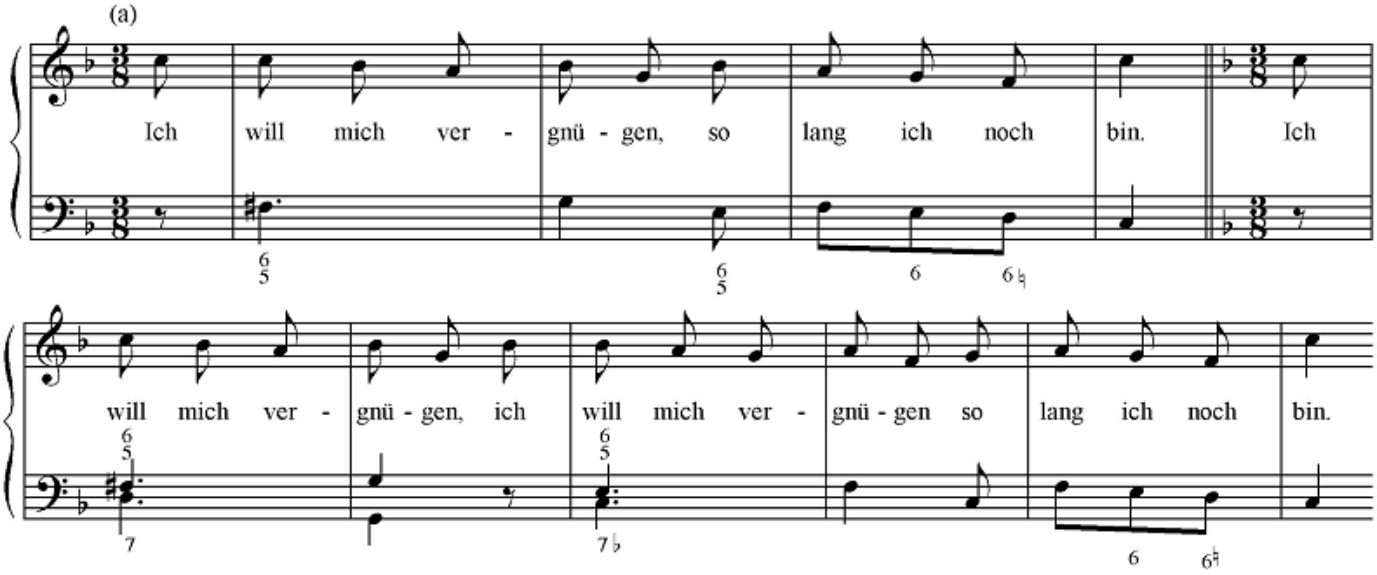
Example 8.6. Concerto in D, W. 11, movement 1, mm. 1–3, (a) original (Nichelmann's example 29), (b) Nichelmann's version (his example 30)



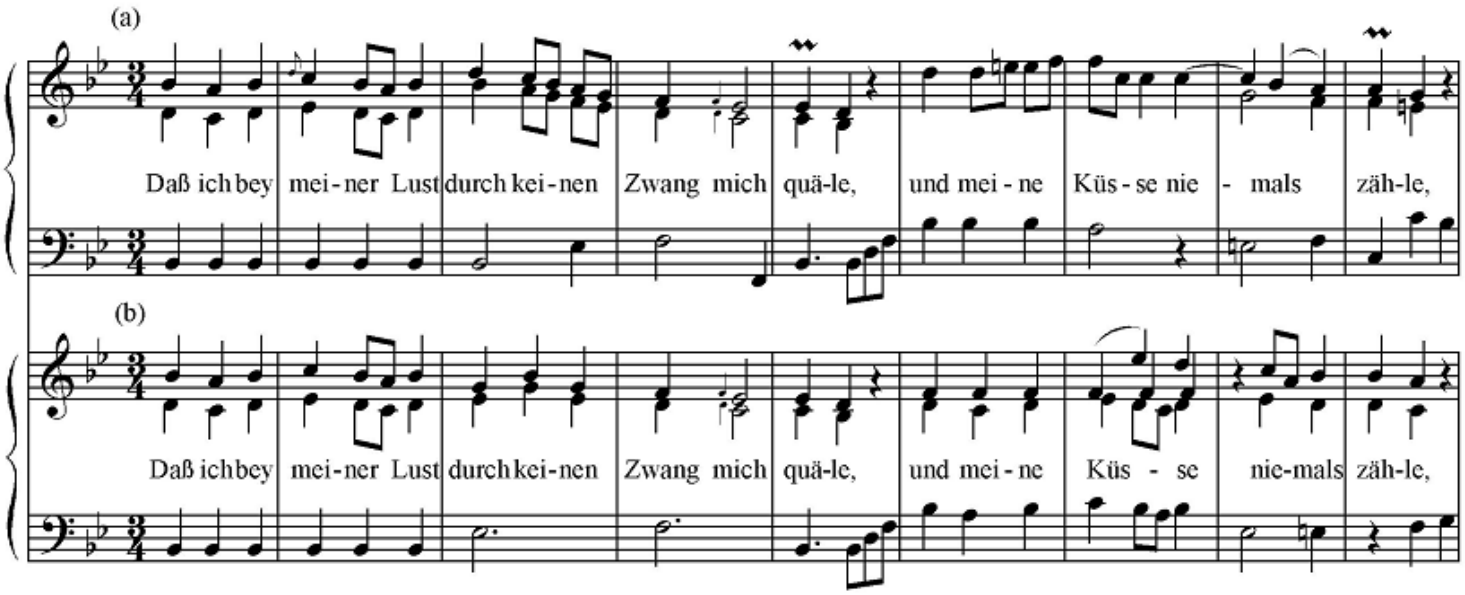
Example 8.7. “Amint,” W. 199/11, mm. 5–8, (a) original (Nichelmann's example 73), (b) Nichelmann's version (his example 74)



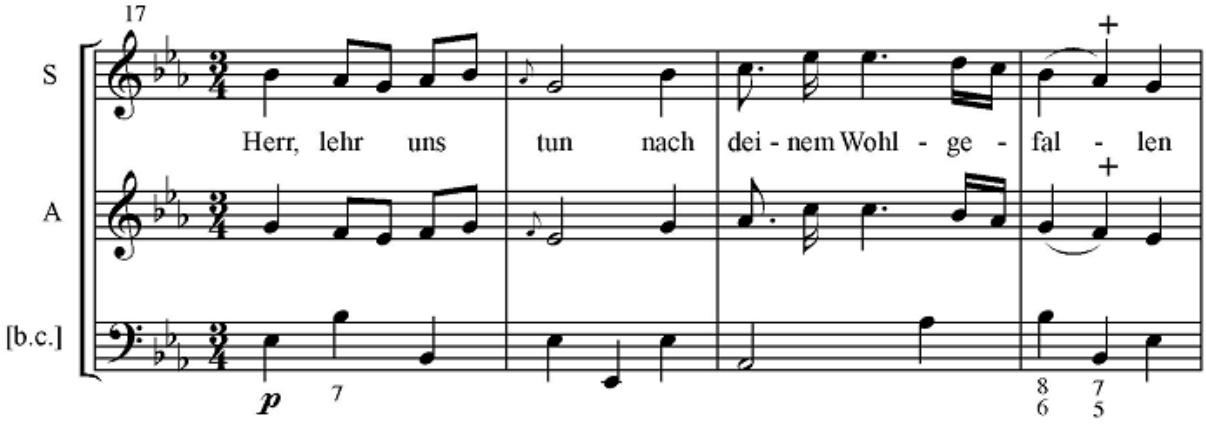
Example 8.8. “Trinklied,” W. 199/5, (a) original, mm. 19–22 (Nichelmann's example 38), (b) Nichelmann's version (his example 39)



Example 8.9. "Die Küsse," W. 199/4, mm. 1–9, (a) as published, without later autograph revisions (mm. 1– 5 = Nichelmann's example 45); (b) Nichelmann's version (from his example 77)



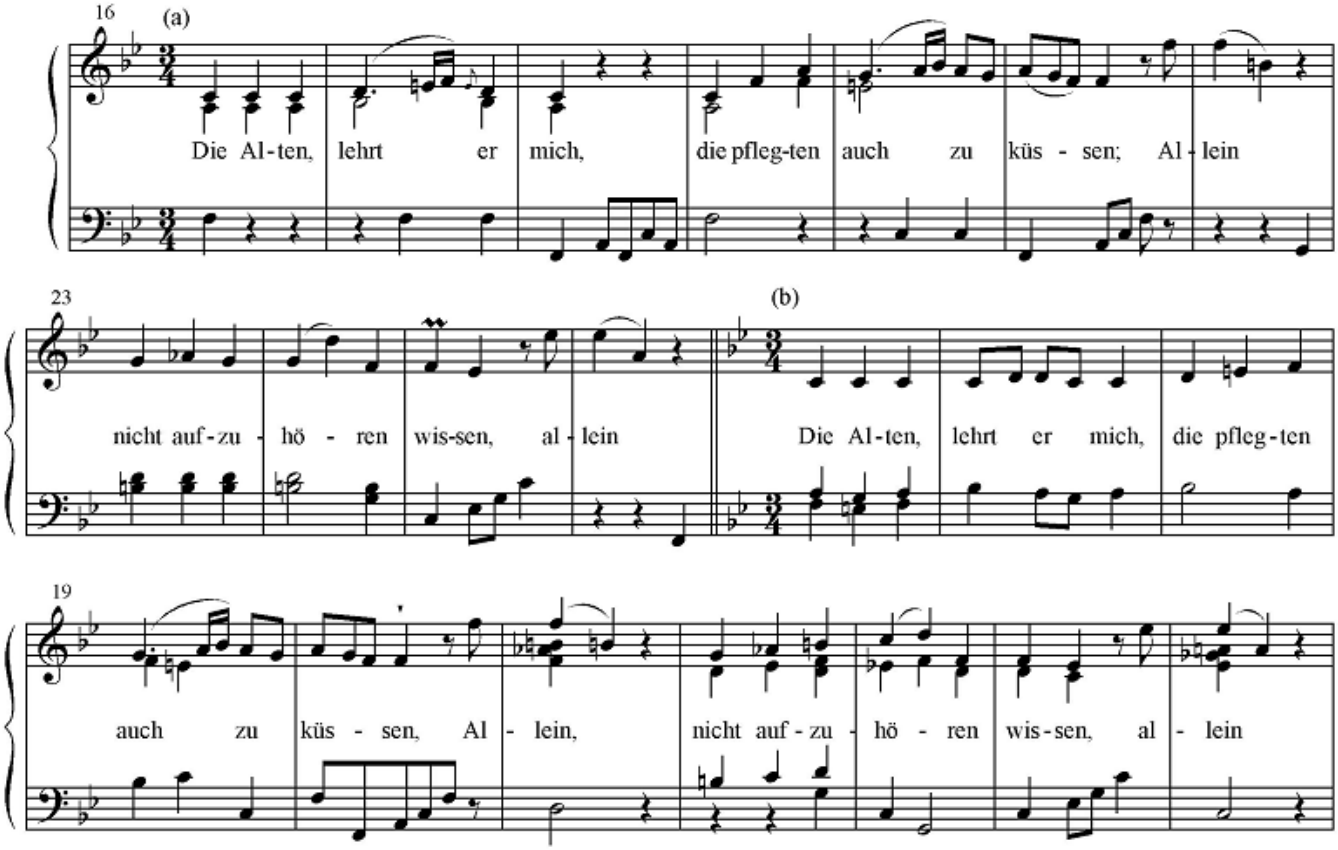
Example 8.10. Homilius, chorus "Herr, lehr uns thun," as incorporated into nach *Herr, lehr uns thun, nach deinem Wohlgefallen*, H. 817 (movement 1), mm. 17–20 (winds and strings omitted)



Elsewhere as well, Nichelmann makes arbitrary alterations that result in a less subtle setting. For instance, where Bach twice has the accompaniment drop out at the word *allein*—emphasizing it quietly through a reduction in texture, which also happens to constitute text painting—Nichelmann underscores the word harshly both times with a diminished-seventh chord (online example 8.11). This is more dramatic, and the thicker texture, with its explicit dissonances, might be thought more worthy of a pupil of Sebastian Bach. But Gieseke's poem is, as Youngren shows, a neoclassical pastoral. Nichelmann's version not only coarsens the traditionally gentle tone but, by over-emphasizing a single word, breaks up the long and rather complicated sentence that fills the last five lines of the first stanza. Where Bach fills the rests in the vocal line with

notes in the accompaniment, Nichelmann writes silences. The point of these lines is that, although older people were once as interested in kissing as is the youthful speaker of the poem, now *(allein)* they know when to stop. The word *allein* is therefore more a conjunction ("only" in the sense of "but") than an emotive adjective ("alone"). In short, Nichelmann has misread the poem.

Example 8.11. "Die Küsse," W. 199/4, mm. 16–26, (a) as published; (b) Nichelmann's version (from his example 77)



Bach's contemporaries evidently considered all three songs as successful without the benefit of Nichelmann's corrections. Bach was able to reissue them, together with other early lieder, in his *Oden* (Odes) of 1762, which he brought out again in 1774. In doing so he naturally ignored Nichelmann's suggestions, adding instead a few small revisions of his own: in his personal copy *(Handexemplar)* of the 1774 edition, he inserted by hand an introduction and a closing passage for the keyboard in "Die Küsse."[150]

[150] Bach's *Handexemplar* is preserved as SA 1689. Whether his autograph additions are improvements is debatable; they make the voice's asymmetrical opening phrase of five measures sound like a surprise after the square four-bar introduction.

As “Dünkelfeind's” comments suggest, Nichelmann's book was a misguided rationalization for the author's irrational musical preferences. One suspects that something personal lay behind it, and the book must have contributed to Nichelmann's departure from royal service shortly after its publication, even though it was dedicated to the king (presumably with permission if not financial support). Although it received a sympathetic review from Marpurg—hardly surprising in view of the adoption by both of Rameau's harmonic theory—any competent writer could have demolished Nichelmann's arguments.[151] Bach was certainly capable of doing so, and as a colleague he would have had good reason to write under an assumed name. Christensen finds points in “Dünkelfeind's” argument that “reveal him to have had first hand knowledge of Nichelmann”;[152] besides, Bach later regretted the hostility *(Feindseligkeit)* that had led him to criticize an unnamed former pupil who “remained in the dark.”[153]

Against Bach's authorship, however, must be set “Dünkelfeind's” incorrect identification of two of Nichelmann's examples as extracts from Quantz's flute concertos.[154] Bach, who knew Quantz and had probably played in most of the latter's concertos composed up to this point, is unlikely to have made such a mistake in print. His choice of words in writing of darkness and enemies *(Feinde)* naturally calls to mind the name *Dünkelfeind.* But Nichelmann, who was only three years younger, is not known to have ever studied with Bach, although the possibility of some sort of lessons at Leipzig cannot be ruled out.

More seriously, Bach is unlikely to have attacked the principle of variation. “Dünkelfeind” asks, without irony: “What composer would set down for himself a whole series of chords and then draw out of them a melody? And could there be fire, spirit, and life in such a piece?”[155] Christensen cites this passage as evidence for Bach's authorship, arguing that “Dünkelfeind” here inveighs for even-handed reliance on melody and harmony, like the balance of light and shade in painting.[156] The phrase *Licht und Schatten* was, however, a cliché, repeated in Bach's *Versuch* as well as in Quantz's. Both writers, moreover, demonstrate the emergence of melody out of “chords” in precisely the manner that “Dünkelfeind” mocks, Quantz more literally so than Bach. Quantz demonstrates melodic embellishment of brief melodic lines by first showing the chords

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[151] Marpurg's unsigned review appeared in his *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*, 2:260–69. By the time it came out, Nichelmann had left the king's service; Marpurg reports both “Dünkelfeind's” reply and Nichelmann's subsequent response to it, as well as the latter's replacement at court by Carl Fasch.

[152] “Nichelmann contra C. Ph. E. Bach,” 206.

[153] “blieb in Dunkeln,” letter of Feb. 18, 1783, to Schwickert (no. 224 in *Clark, Letters,* 191). Bach appears to be referring to notes that he has drafted, possibly for a new edition of the *Versuch*.

[11] Christensen, “Nichelmann contra C. Ph. E. Bach,” 200, reports that Nichelmann took responsibility in his reply to “Dünkelfeind” for composing these examples; although reminiscent of Quantz's style, their incipits cannot be found in QV.

[155] “Welcher Componist würde sich wohl eine ganze Reihe Accorde hinschreiben und daraus hernach eine Melodie heraus ziehen? Und könte auch in einem solchen Stücke wohl Feuer, Geist und Leben seyn?” (“Dünkelfeind,” *Gedanken eines Liebhabers,* 14).

[156] “Nichelmann contra C. Ph. E. Bach,” 209.

that underlie individual tones in the melodies (see online example 2.2).[157] The figured-bass scales and "skeleton" (*Gerippe*) that Bach would advocate as the basis of improvisation in the second volume of his *Versuch* are not exactly "series of chords," but they are close enough that Bach is unlikely to have written essentially the opposite thing eight years previously. It is also difficult to imagine Bach citing Rameau with approbation—"Rameau says, entirely rightly, that song or melody and harmony must together make a piece that falls pleasantly on the ear"[158]—even if this is merely a rhetorical device to hoist Nichelmann by his own petard.

As in the case of the so-called Comparison of J. S. Bach and Handel, also sometimes attributed to Emanuel, the latter is unlikely to have devoted valuable time and energy to a published polemic, even if he was willing to indulge his pet peeves in conversation or in letters. "Dünkelfeind's" legalistic focus on defining terms (such as *melody* and *harmony*), together with the near-absence of serious discussion of Nichelmann's examples, points toward a musical amateur in Bach's circle. "Dünkelfeind" does point out two borderline cases of parallel fifths in Nichelmann's version of "Die Küsse,"[159] but Bach surely could have defended his own songs and criticized Nichelmann's versions more concretely. The argument through much "Dünkelfeind's" pamphlet for the priority of "melody" over "harmony" points toward someone like Krause, who, although sympathetic to Bach, could not fully comprehend or articulate a professional composer's understanding of what it meant for melody and harmony together, as Nichelmann argued, to constitute a good composition—or to recognize how melody does in fact depend for its coherence on harmony (in the sense of background voice leading). In any case, whoever wrote "Dünkelfeind's" tract probably had the benefit of conversations with Agricola, the Graun brothers, perhaps Quantz, and others who would have had an interest in Nichelmann's treatise.

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[157] Quantz, *Versuch*, xiii.13–26.

[158] "Rameau . . . sagt ganz recht, daß der Gesang, (oder die Melodie) und die Harmonie beyde das ihrige thun müssen" ("Dünkelfeind," *Gedanken eines Liebhabers*, 15); *ihrige* refers to "ein Stück das . . . angenehm ins Ohr fällt."

[159] *Gedanken eines Liebhabers*, 13.

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Supplement 8.4. Musical Rhetoric in the Easter Piece W. 244

The repetitious rhetoric of the text of the opening chorus (I Corinthians 6:14), already present in the original Greek, is exacerbated in Luther's German by the similarity of the verb forms *auferwecket* ("raised") and *auferwecken* ("raise") in the two clauses. Bach further assimilates the two clauses by repeating the subject *Gott* in the second one, a small example of his raising the level of the musical rhetoric through a somewhat freer treatment of the text than one finds in his father's works. The same is evident in alterations that Emanuel made in the arias, whose poems Bach adjusted slightly in the autograph.[160] Such changes must reflect the view that expression was more important than any pedantic attachment to a text put in front of the composer, even by a court preacher. But although the rhetorical repetition of a few words in a chorus or recitative resembled something that might occur in a song (as on *als nur ich* at the end of "Die Küsse," W. 199/4), the arias remain entirely Italianate in style, introducing long melismas on such words as *Lob* (praise) and *erneut* (renews).

Another aspect of the composer's rhetorical zeal is evident in his re-use of a phrase from the first recitative in the ritornello theme of the following aria. The words *der Heiland lebt* (the savior lives) recur once within the recitative and again in the B section of the second aria (as "*mein* Heiland lebt"). By repeating the corresponding musical idea as the main theme of the *first* aria, Bach underscores Cochius's use of the expression as a sort of refrain, making explicit its connection with the soloist's "Dir sing ich froh" (Gladly I sing to you, online example 8.20). Bach strengthens the link by going straight from the end of the recitative to the singer's entrance in the aria, omitting the first ritornello. This was a common device in opera when an aria was meant to provide a dramatic answer to something in the preceding dialog. The joining of the recitative and the aria through a musical or textual refrain was also nothing new; similar things occur in Sebastian's church pieces.[161] Still, it reflects the same concern for integrating consecutive movements into a single rhetorical or dramatic entity as occurs increasingly in Emanuel's sonatas and concertos of the period.

Another rhetorical device that Bach repeated in many works occurs in the B section of the first aria, within the series of phrases in which Bach altered the text. This device, which may be termed a "step sequence," comprises a series of phrases whose sequential relationship is

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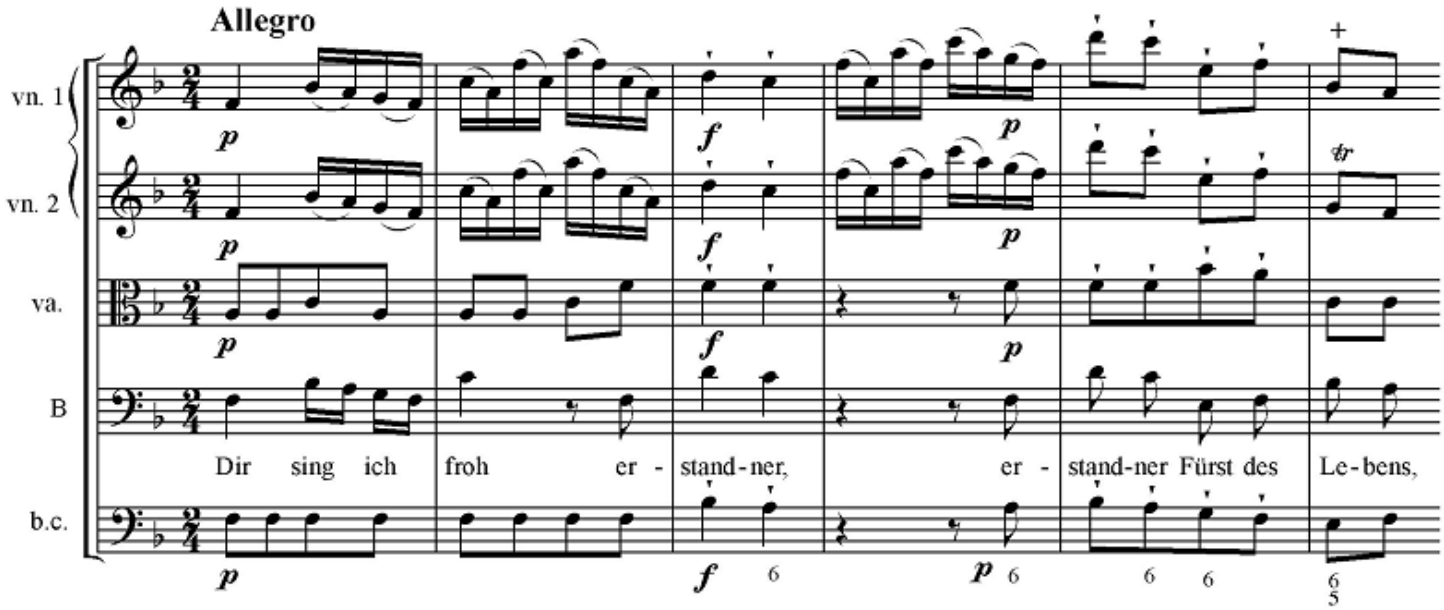
[160] In his score (P 345) Bach effectively eliminated the first line of text in the B section of the first aria, crossing it out and replacing it with an altered version of line 2, which is then repeated. In a subsequent passage, only the words "Das Grab" are retained from Cochius's original text for line 3 (see online example 8.25 in this file below). Bach worked on this aria as he did his concertos, copying the voice and probably the continuo parts into his manuscript from a separate sketch before adding the strings, which show more alterations.

[161] The incipit (text and music) of the first aria in *Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen,* BWV 49, recurs within the following recitative, and in *Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen,* BWV 56, a phrase from the opening ritornello returns in the next movement; the works were composed during consecutive weeks in 1726.

articulated prominently by a sustained or accented tone in the melody. The effect seems to have been a favorite of the composer, although today it can seem somewhat pedantic. A familiar example occurs toward the end of the "Hallelujah" chorus in Handel's *Messiah* (online example 8.21).[162] By 1756 Bach had already used the device many times in instrumental works, an early instance occurring in the Sonata W. 62/8 of 1748 (online example 8.22); a more famous one is at the beginning of the D-Major Sinfonia W. 183/1, the first of the Four "Orchestra Symphonies" published in 1780 (online example 8.23). Bach used step sequences in vocal works to the end of his career; one instance, in the little-known Sanctus, W. 219, was probably what Heinrich Miesner had in mind when he referred to a passage "shortly before the end [that is] entirely based on Handel's Halleluja Chorus (online example 8.24).[163] The rhetorical character of the device is clear in the Easter Piece, where Bach uses it for what were originally three successive lines of poetry; their parallel construction and rising affect are reflected in the music (online example 8.25).[164]

Example 8.20. Aria "Dir sing ich froh," no. 3 from Easter Music, W. 244, mm. 1–6

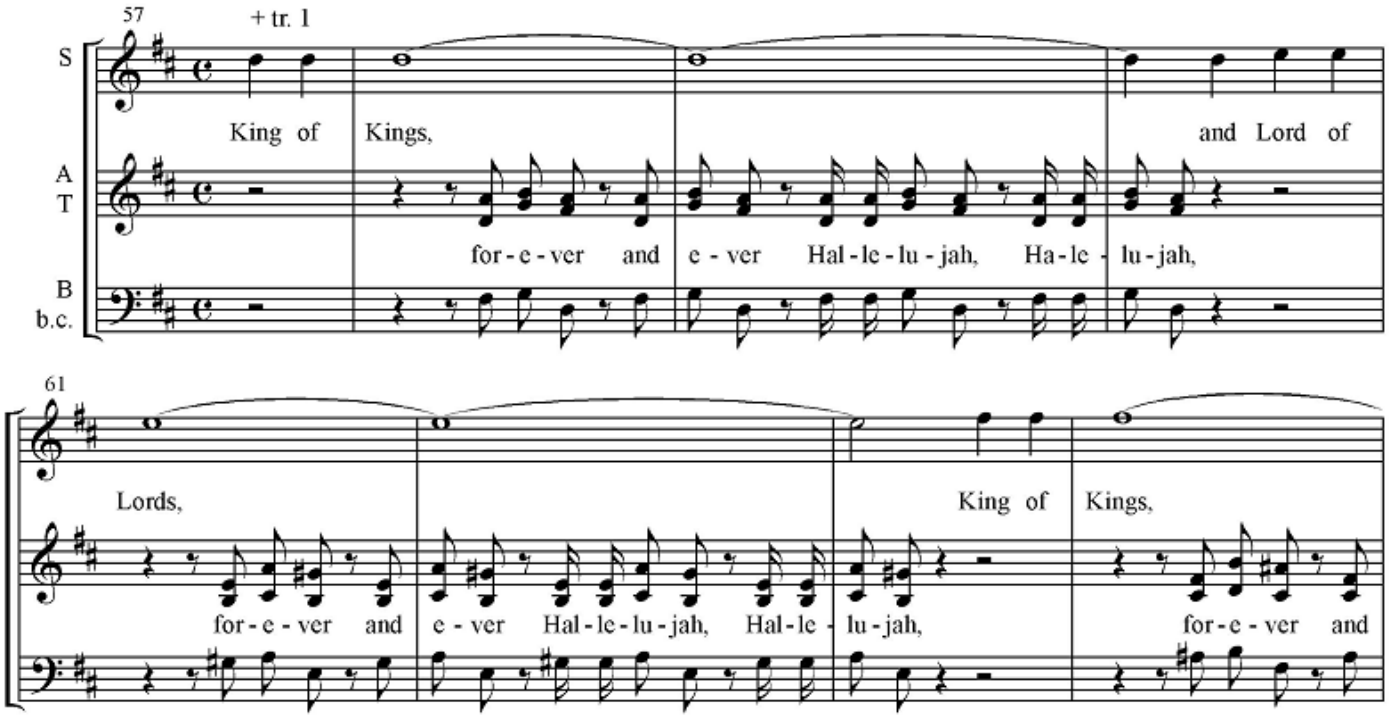


[162] Although it is conceivable that Bach heard this work or saw its score at Berlin, he might not have gotten to know it well before Arne's or his own performances of it at Hamburg in the 1770s, listed in Gugger, "C. Ph. E. Bachs Konzerttätigkeit in Hamburg," 178, 180.

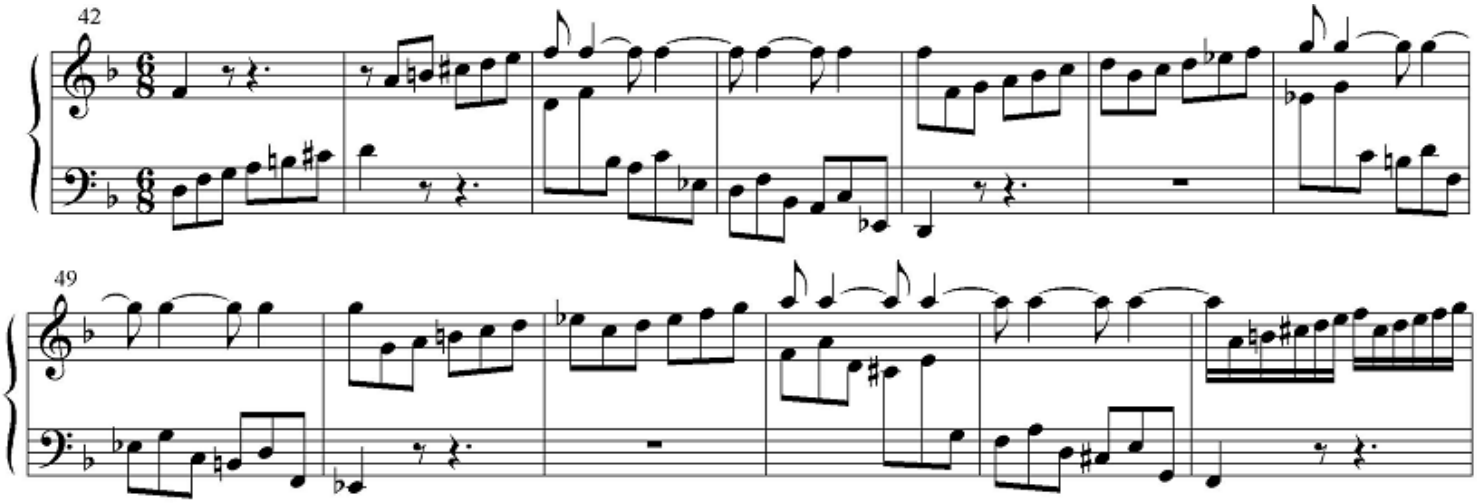
[163] *Philipp Emanuel Bach in Hamburg*, 98.

[164] Example 8.25 shows the passage before Bach made the alterations in its text mentioned above; having the first two phrases set the same words perhaps strengthens the rhetorical effect.

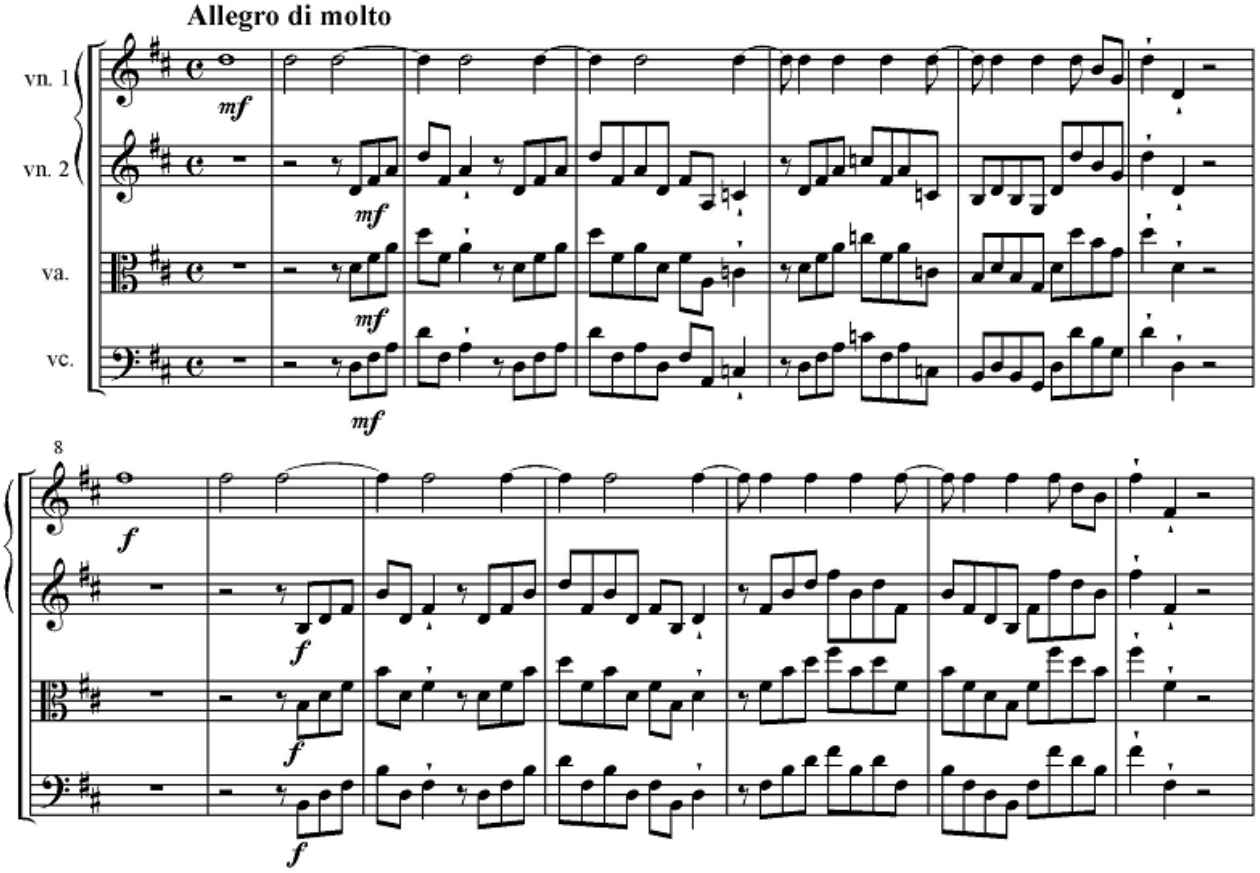
Example 8.21. Chorus “Hallelujah!” from *Messiah*, mm. 57–68 (voices and continuo only)



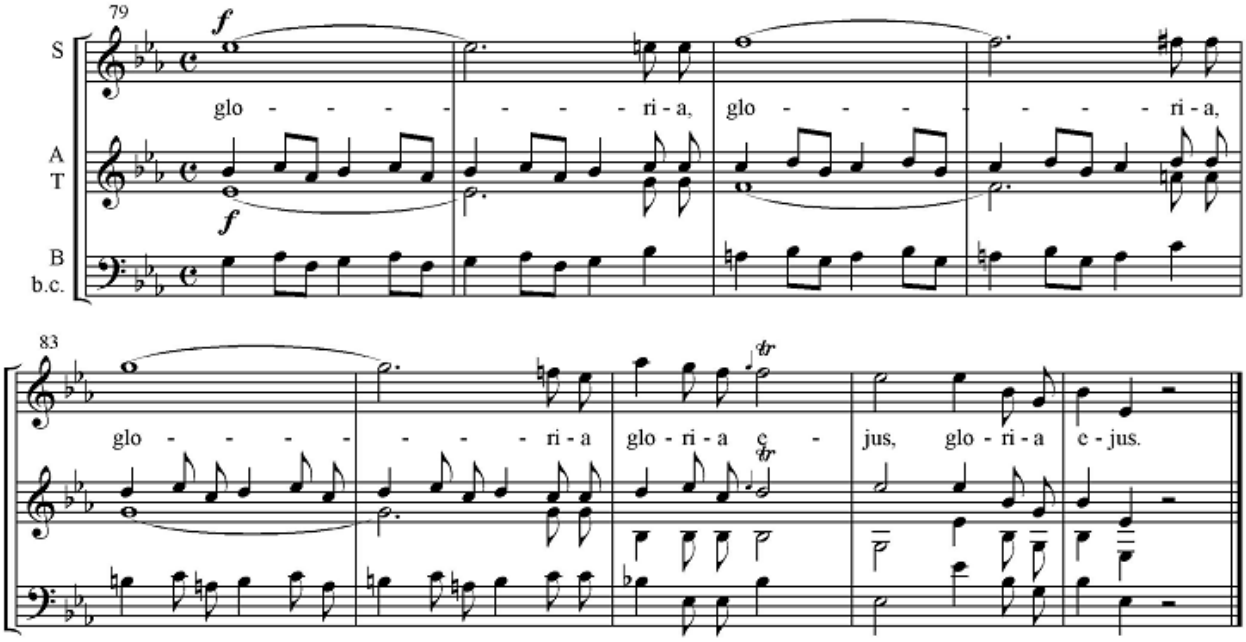
Example 8.22. Sonata in F, W. 62/8, movement 3, mm. 42–54



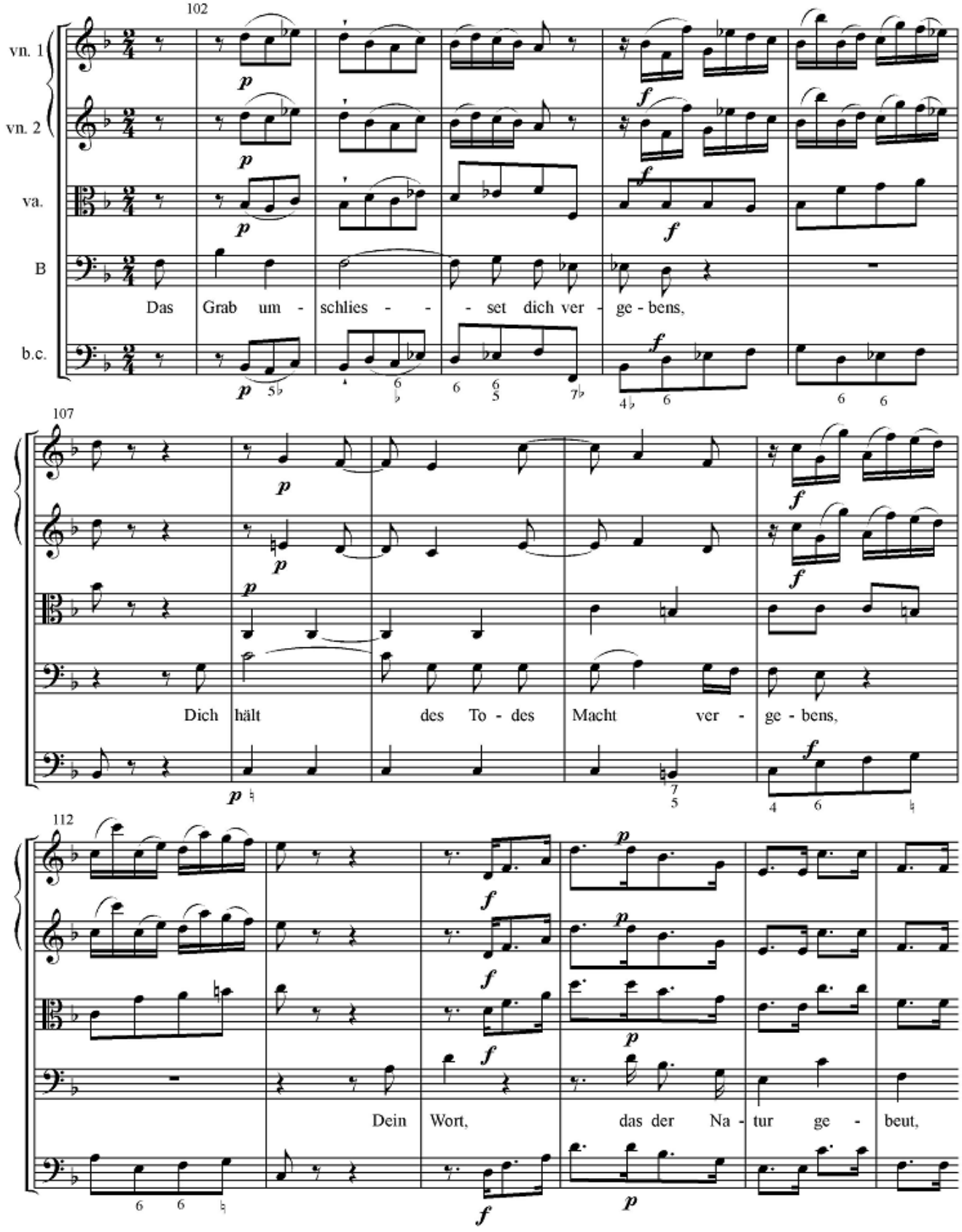
Example 8.23. Sinfonia in D, W. 183/1, movement 1, mm. 1–14



Example 8.24. Sanctus in E-flat, W. 219, mm.79–87 (voices and continuo only)



Example 8.25. Aria “Dir sing ich froh,” no. 3 from Easter Music, W. 244, mm. 102–17 (original text, but with revised readings of notes from autograph P 345)



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Supplement 8.5. Bach's Songs (table)

The following list shows groups of songs published in anthologies as well as Bach's own song collections **(in bold).** It is not meant to be complete, and a number of songs either published separately or left in manuscript are not included. Dates are those of publication, as dates of composition are undocumented for most works.

Year	W.	Contents/comments
1741–43, 1753–59	(199)	15 songs in various anthologies, reissued in Bach's *Oden* (W. 199)
1758	**194**	**54 Gellert Songs**
1762	**199**	**20 *Oden,* all but the last five previously published**
1764	**195**	**12 songs in the Gellert Appendix**
1765	112/6, 12, 14	3 songs included in *Keyboard Pieces of Various Types*
1767	(H. 842)	10 chorales included in the *Wernigerödischen neuen Sammlung*
1768–70	202C	13 songs published in *Hamburger Unterhaltungen*
1773	202E	5 songs included in *Dr. Balthasar Münters . . . Lieder*
1774	**196**	**42 Cramer Psalms**
1774–82	202F–L	12 songs in various anthologies
1780	**197**	**30 Sturm Songs, vol. 1**
1781	**198**	**30 more Sturm Songs, vol. 2**
1787	203	14 chorales included in *Neue Melodien*
1788	202N	12 simple *Masonic Songs* (anthology)
1789	**200**	**21 *Neue Lieder* and the cantata "Die Grazien"**

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Supplement 8.6. Some Features of the Gellert Songs

Bach's foreword, although brief, provides clues to how he conceived his settings. He practically apologizes for the fact that in a strophic song the same music must serve many different lines of poetry, mentioning the "distinctive imagery" of respective stanzas,[165] the use of monosyllabic words in one versus polysyllabic words in another, and of course their varying "matter" or substance. He also implicitly addresses the opinion of Krause, who was probably joined in it by Gellert, that a song (as opposed to an aria or other more formal setting) should be complete as a melody alone. Bach has "added the necessary harmony and figuration," which today sounds vague but for an eighteenth-century reader was a way of indicating that Bach has not only written out the keyboard part (there is no figured bass), but has also included all the necessary ornaments and embellishments *(Manieren).* Indeed, Bach's responses to Gellert's poems were far too specific and sophisticated to be notated in the form of melody and figured bass, and he effectively admits that he has turned his settings into keyboard pieces *(Handstücke)*. He justifies the occasional insertion of a "supplementary theme" *(angenommenes Thema)* in the keyboard part as adding variety and makes an analogy with chorales, in which organists often played brief passages between the lines.[166] In at least one song, "Warnung vor der Wollust" (Warning against Greed, no. 30), the "supplementary theme" seems essential to the meaning of the song: the dotted introduction and interludes of the keyboard, played *forte,* could represent the greed or envy of the title, against which the voice inveighs in its *piano* entries. But it is hard to see a similar meaning in the longer passages for the keyboard in "Wider den Übermuth" (Against Arrogance, no. 48), whose graceful triplet motion seems to contradict the arrogance to which the text objects.

Gellert himself, like Goethe when confronted by Schubert's settings of his poetry, may have been somewhat taken aback by Bach's songs. Gellert wrote to his sister that Bach's songs were "good, but too good for a singer who is not musical."[167] A reviewer in 1765 observed that "they seem to have been conceived more in terms of the keyboard than the voice."[168] Gellert himself was musical, however; he had intended thirty-three of his poems to be sung to existing chorale melodies, modeling them on existing poetry. His Christmas poem "Auf, schicke dich" ("Up, rouse yourself"), for example, is a parody of Caspar Füger's sixteenth-century chorale "Wir Christenleut." Bach's setting (no. 5) makes no reference to the familiar melody, however, nor does he repeat the music of lines 1–2 for lines 4–5, as does the traditional chorale (online example 8.31).[169]

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[165] Bach's expression "die Verschiedenheit der Unterscheidungszeichen" is hard to translate; Philip Whitmore took it to mean "punctuation" (Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 97), whereas Berg renders it literally as "distinguishing marks" (CPEBCW 6/1:xviii).

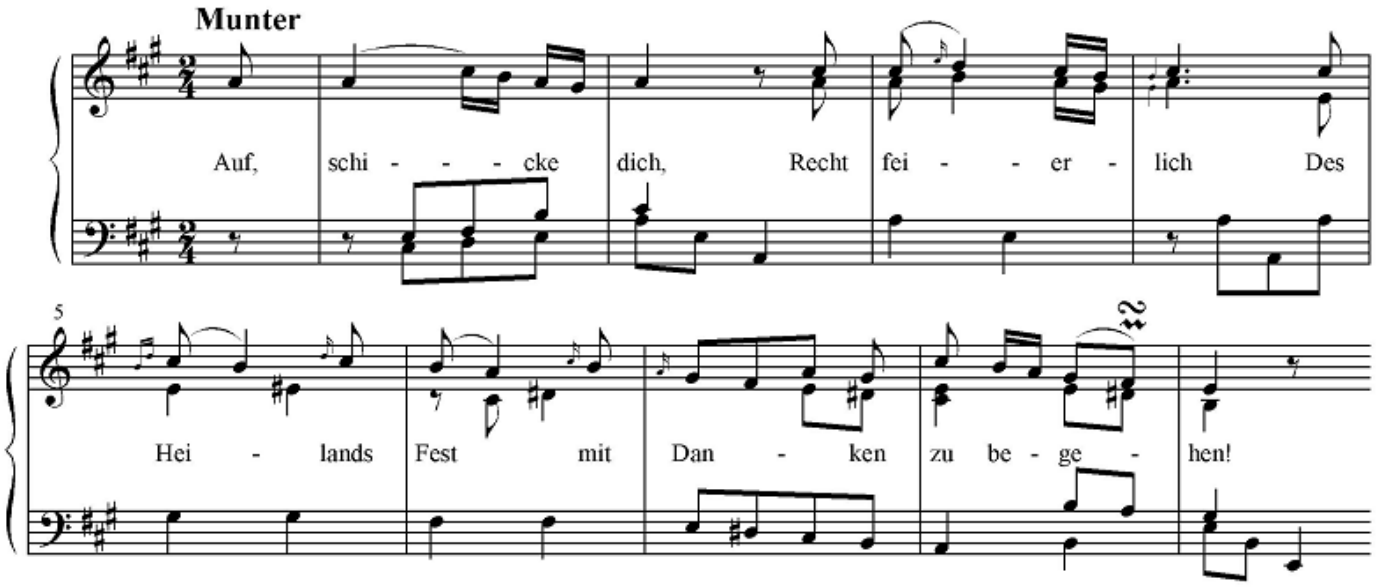
[166] As documented in Sebastian's so-called Arnstadt chorale settings, BWV 715, 722, etc., and by Burney, *Present State of Music in Germany,* 2:280.

[167] Letter of March 25, 1758, in Ottenberg, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 100.

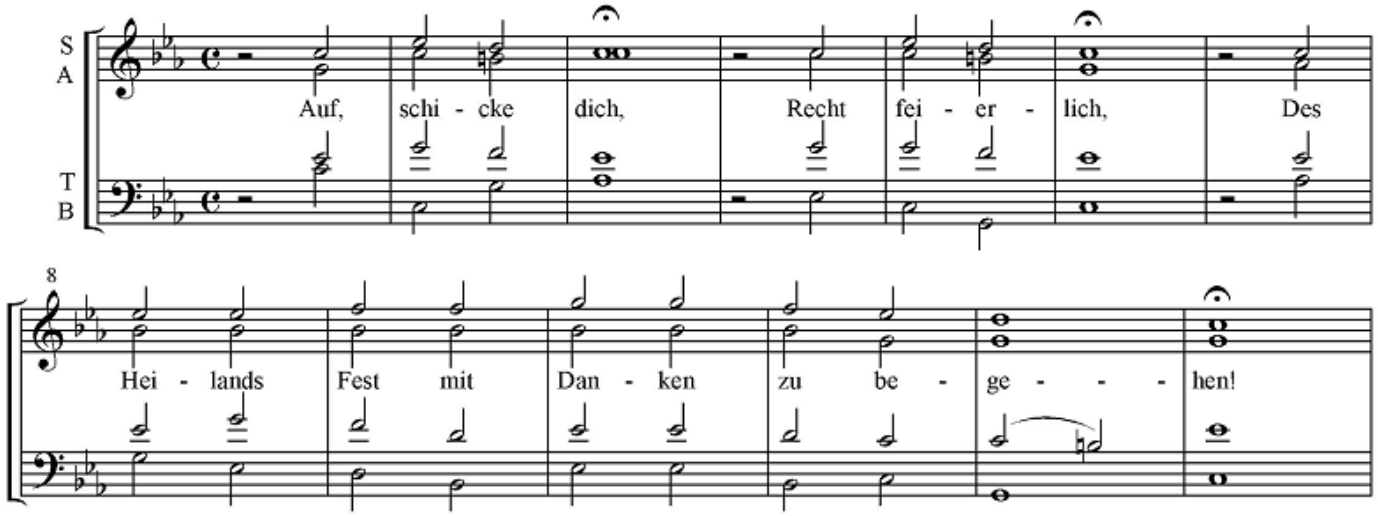
[168] From a review of the third edition in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* (quoted in CPEBCW 6/1:xiv).

[169] Bach used the original chorale as the opening movement of his Christmas piece for

Example 8.31a. “Weihnachtslied,” W. 194/5, mm. 1–8



Example 8.31b. Chorale “Auf, schicke dich,” no. 1 from the Christmas Piece W. 249, mm. 1–13 (vocal parts only)

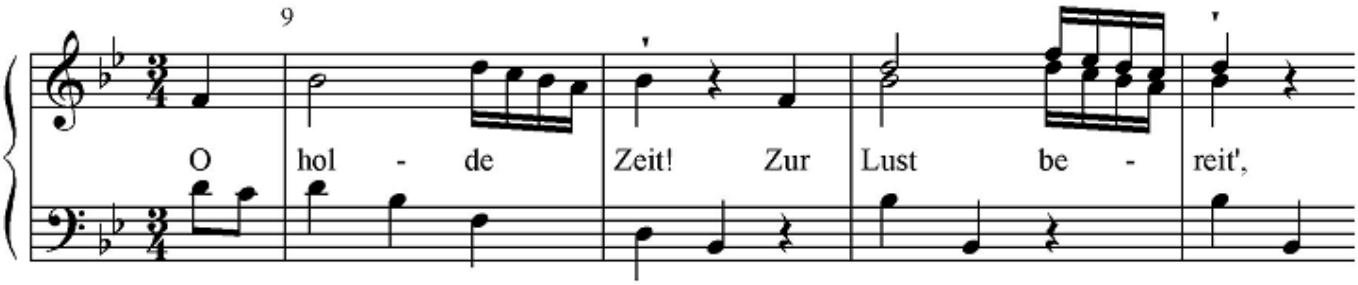


1775 (W. 249).

Gellert was sufficiently musical to place important grammatical divisions fairly consistently within the various stanzas of a strophic poem. Thus each six-line stanza in “Auf, schicke dich” reaches the end of a clause or sentence midway, after line 3. Lines 1 and 2 are very short, as are lines 4 and 5, but although each of these lines may contain a grammatically complete sentence, the thought is completed only with the third, longer line. This made it possible for the composer to set the short lines as discrete musical phrases, but with full cadences falling only at the ends of lines 3 and 6. Bach composed the song as a little rounded binary form, with a cadence to the dominant at the center, after line 3. The same cadential phrase recurs at the end, reflecting the poetic rhyme between the same third and sixth verses. The musical form thus closely reflects the poetic one, although not exactly (lines 4–5 of the poem introduce a new rhyme).

Naturally, the emotional character of Gellert's poem is reflected in the tempo, mode, and general character of the music. As one would expect in a Christmas song, Bach's setting avoids harmonic complications, opening with a purely diatonic formulaic phrase that also occurs in his little aria “La Sophie,” composed in probably the same year (online example 8.32).[170] Some light chromaticism in the following phrase falls initially on the word *Heiland* (savior), hardly an appropriate place for it according to the older ideas of musical rhetoric. But text painting is rare in Bach's songs, which regularly set words such as *Gott* (God), *Himmel* (heaven), and the like to falling or low notes. On the other hand, no. 36 of the Cramer Psalms, a setting of the penitential Psalm 130, opens with an *upward* leap of an octave to the word *Tiefe* (depths). This might be construed as “painting” the idea of a cry *up* to “God, in your heights” (mentioned in line 2)—but that is not how Sebastian had approached the phrase when he set it in one of his earliest surviving vocal works (online example 8.33).

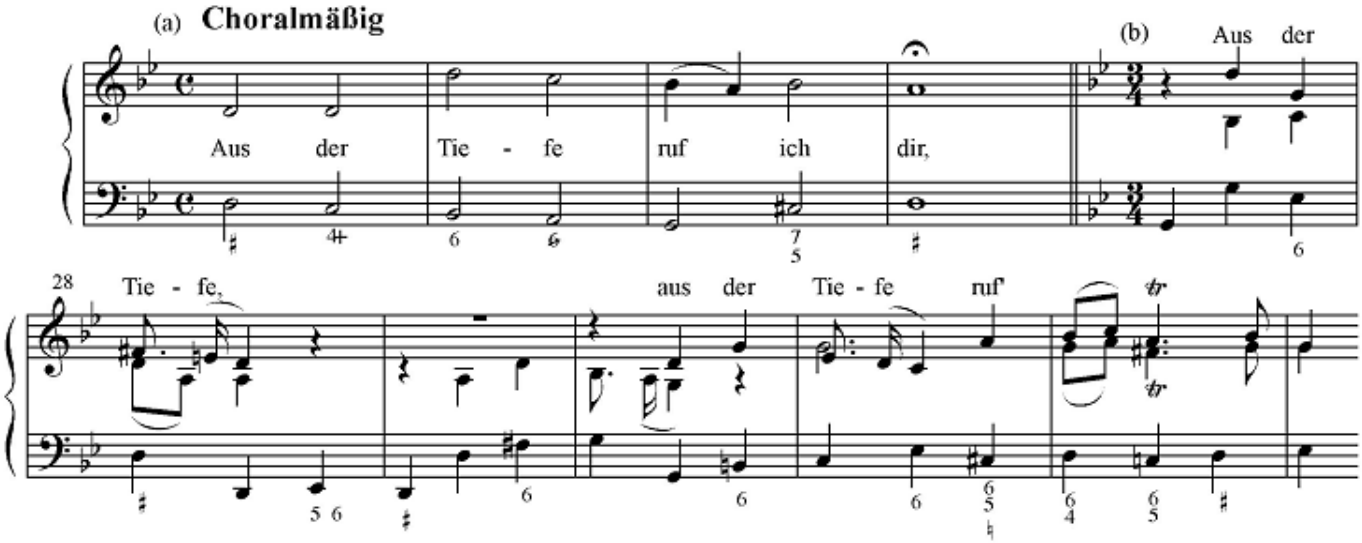
Example 8.32. “La Sophie,” W. 117/40, mm. 9–12



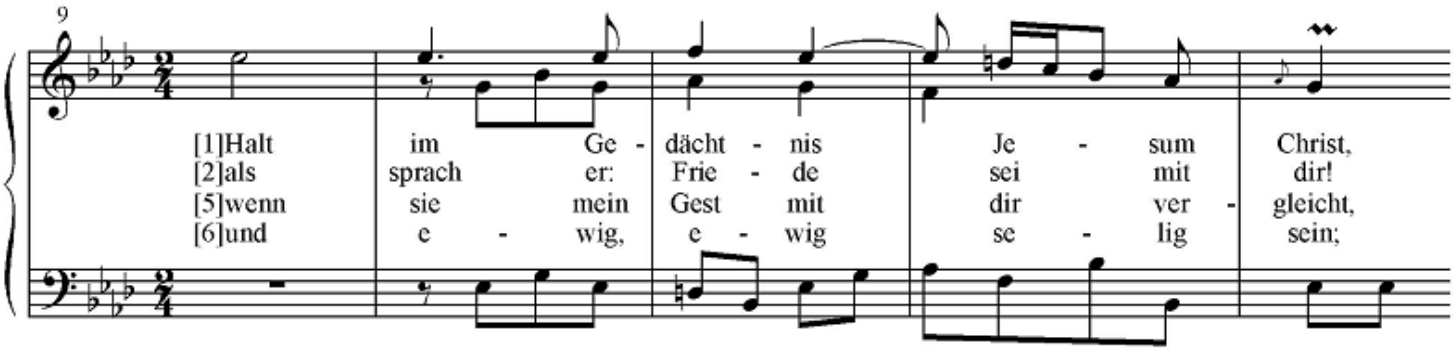
[170] “La Sophie” (W. 117/40) was, anomalously, disseminated as one of five little keyboard pieces (NV 97) of 1757; its theme was taken from the final movement of the Trio W. 163 of 1755.

Emanuel does not entirely abandon old-fashioned musical rhetoric in the Gellert Songs. An example occurs in the Easter Song (no. 41), whose first and last stanzas quote the New Testament verse *halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christ*.[171] Bach's use of a long unaccompanied note to "paint" the first word also points out the presence of the quotation and is entirely apposite in several other stanzas—notably stanza 6, where the words "ever, ever blessed" *(ewig, ewig selig)* follow. But it becomes meaningless when simple prepositions and conjunctions *(als, wenn, und,* etc.) fall at this point in other strophes (online example 8.34).

Example 8.33. (a) Psalm 130, W. 196/36, mm. 1–4; (b) J. S. Bach, *Aus der Tiefe*, BWV 131, mm. 24–8 (oboe and strings omitted)



Example 8.34. "Osterlied," W. 194/42, mm. 9–13 (stanzas 1, 2, 5, and 6)



[171] "Hold Jesus Christ in memory," 2 Timothy 2.8 (the opening verse in Sebastian's church piece BWV 67).

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Supplement 8.7. Issues in Bach's Late Songs

Even highly regarded settings such as Psalm 8 from the Cramer set and "Über die Finsternis" from the first Sturm volume (discussed in the main text) are constructed one phrase at a time, almost like recitative, with neither recurring motives nor an overall melodic arc to make each phrase of the vocal line adhere to the next.[172] In Psalm 8, for example, the declamation of the opening "choral" stanzas (that is, the A section) avoids the banality that might arise if Bach had fitted the irregular, prose-like poetic lines into regular four-bar phrases. Yet what he did write is not quite recitative, not quite aria or song, and fails to delineate a clear tonal design. The three segments (mm. 3–6, 7–12a, 12b–16) modulate rapidly through V, ii and vi, and iii, but each returns inconsequentially to the tonic. The "solo" stanza or B section begins with a step sequence (see online supplement 8.4), moving quickly through vi, bVII, I, and ii (online example 8.54). The energetic instrumental introduction, followed by a craggy vocal part, is initially exhilarating; Bitter called Bach's choral version "among his best works for the church."[173] But it lacks a clear direction, and the fragmentation of the text, especially in the B section, is hard to relate to its poetic rhetoric.

As in Telemann's vocal music, which sometimes suffers from the same problem, one wonders whether the composer was simply writing too much vocal music too quickly. During 1780–81, when he published the Sturm Songs, Bach, far from lightening his activities, appears to have been busier than ever, publishing as well his four Orchestral Sinfonias (W. 183) and two volumes of pieces for *Kenner und Liebhaber*. Meanwhile he was writing further keyboard pieces and composing, or at least assembling, several large vocal works, including his first oratorio and serenata for the Hamburg militia. It would not be surprising for quickly composed little songs to contain echoes of other music, and "Andenken an den Tod" ("Reflection on Death, W. 198/12) opens somewhat like the Sonata W. 55/3, published two years previously (online example 8.56). "Fürbitte des gekreuzigten Jesu für seine Feinde" (The crucified Jesus's prayer for his friends, W. 198/21) seems to quote the aria "Wie ruhig ist dein Angesicht" from Bach's 1769 St. Matthew Passion, which was repeated frequently in concert form as the Passion Cantata. The parallelism reflects not only the similar subject matter but the affinity of Bach's Hamburg arias to his songs (online example 8.57).

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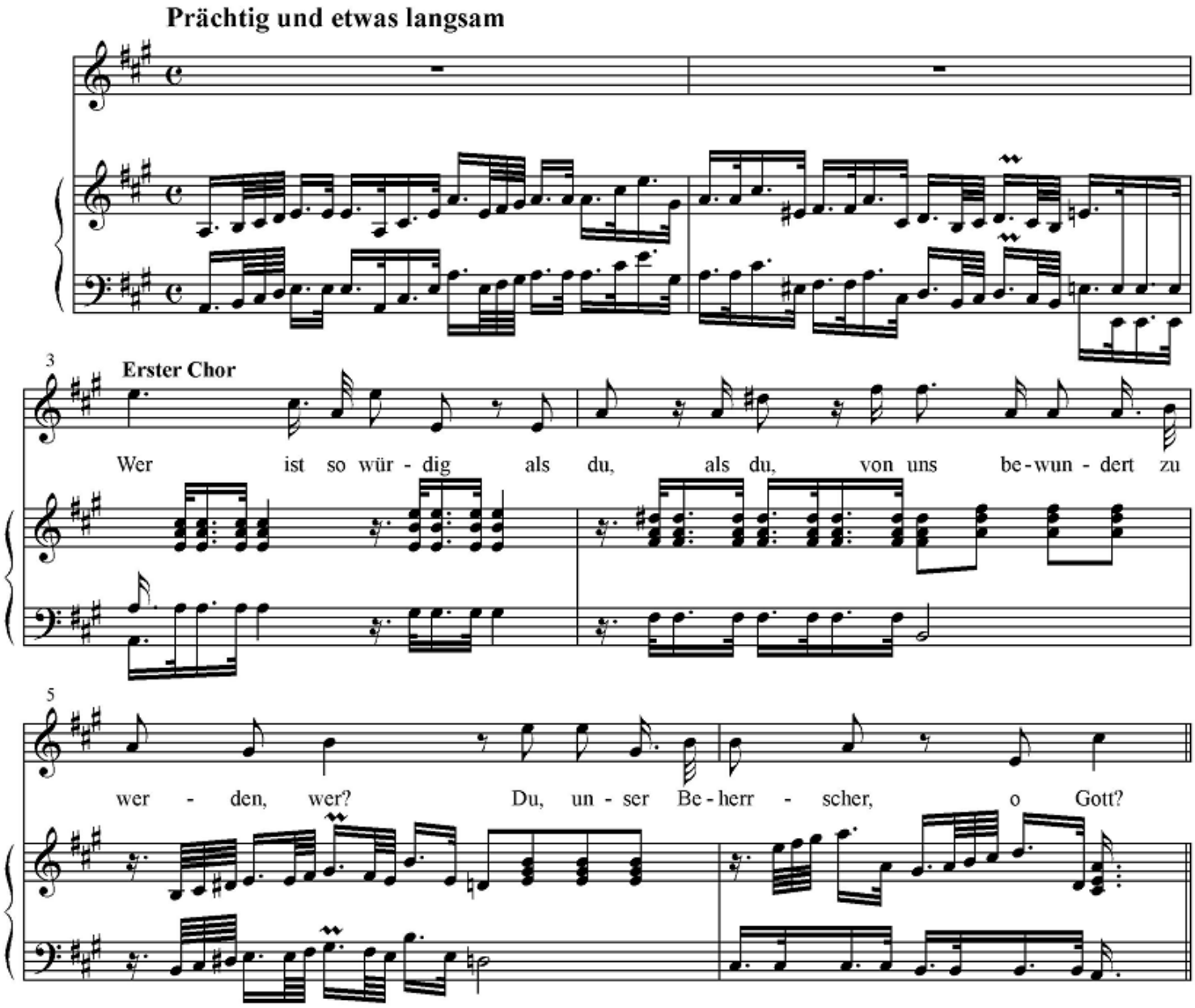
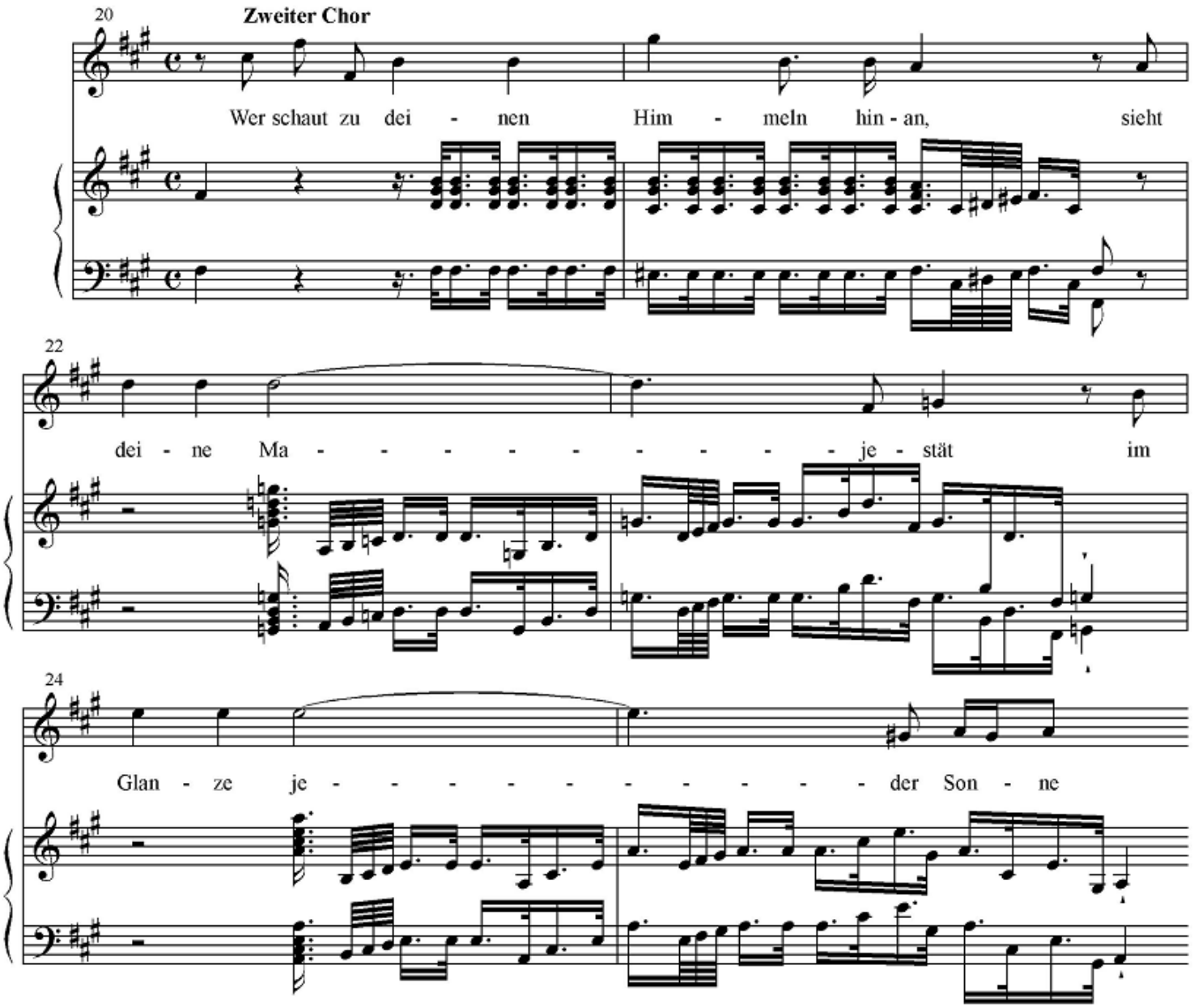
[172] The first three phrases of "Über die Finsternis" end respectively on e', f-sharp', and g', with a further ascent to a' at the end of the fifth phrase and subsequently to b-flat', albeit only as an appoggiatura. But even if the melody does arc gradually upwards toward the climactic e-flat" in measure 14, the absence of any recurring melodic ideas leaves it in danger of seeming incoherent.

[173] *Carl Philipp Emanuel und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder,* 1:299.

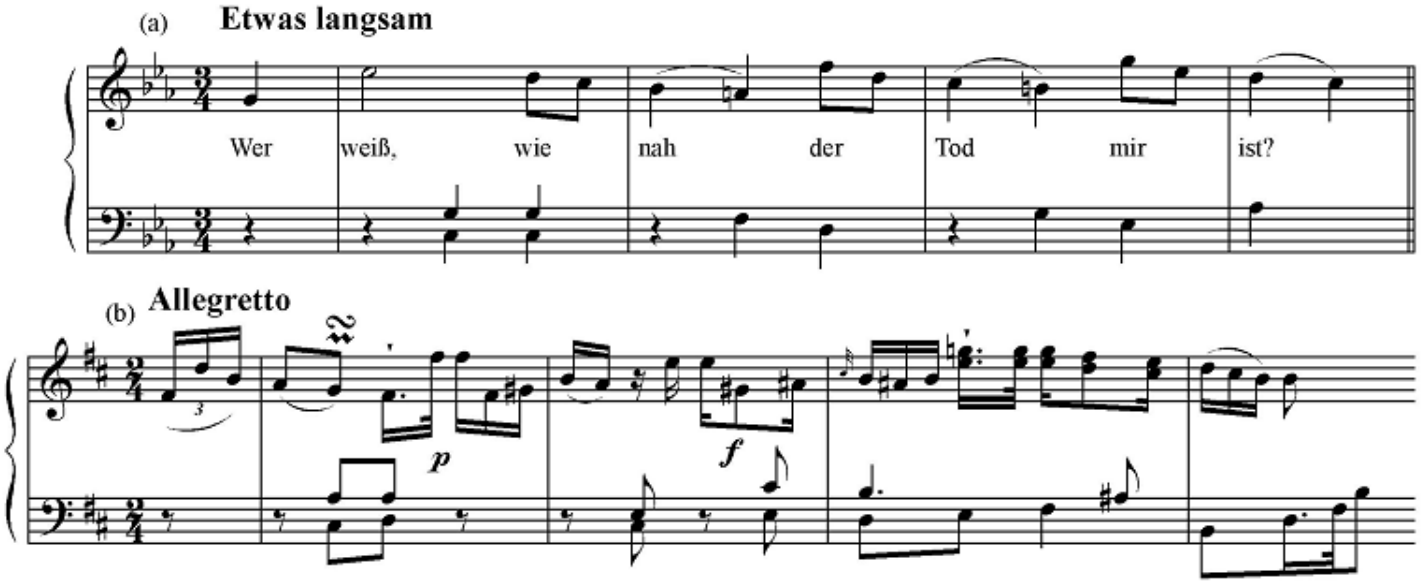
Example 8.54a. “Der 8. Psalm,” W. 196/4, mm. 1–6



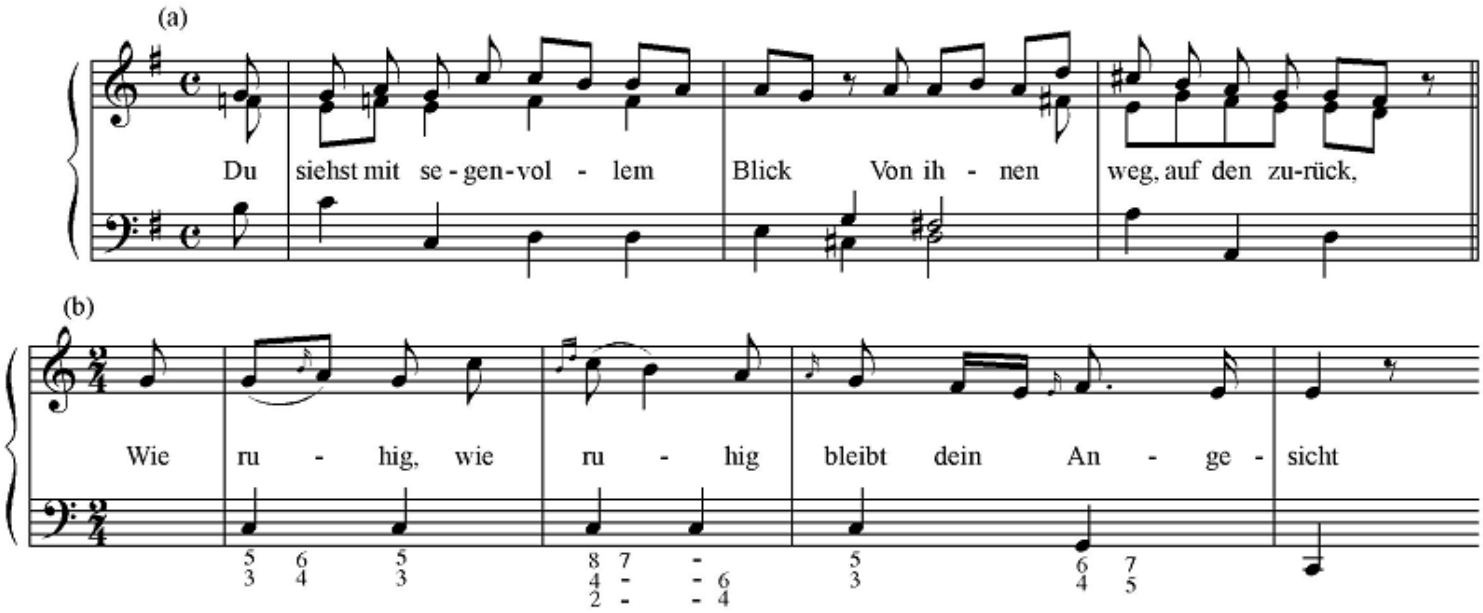
Example 8.54b. “Der 8. Psalm,” W. 196/4, mm. 20–25



Example 8.56. (a) “Andenken an den Tod,” W. 198/12, mm. 1–4; (b) Sonata in B Minor, W. 55/3, movement 1, mm. 1–4



Example 8.57. (a) “Fürbitte des gekreuzigten Jesu für seine Feinde,” W. 198/21, mm. 11–13; (b) aria “Wie ruhig ist dein Angesicht,” no. 8 from the St. Matthew Passion for 1769, H. 782a, mm. 15–19 (without strings)



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The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 9.1. Bach's output by genre, 1762–88 (table)

The list below summarizes Bach's work in the principal non-liturgical genres from the end of the Seven Years' War through his final year. Like the previous lists, this is not meant to provide a full accounting of Bach's output but rather to show trends, especially with regard to his instrumental music. Although the table includes the Passion Cantata and other oratorio-like works, it hardly accounts for all of Bach's Hamburg vocal music. Indeed, the full extent of the latter has yet to be made clear; scholars are still sorting out his original contributions to the numerous pastiches, parodies, and arrangements that he prepared for church services and other occasions.

The list excludes works composed or arranged primarily for performance in the Hamburg churches. **Bold type** indicates the category containing the greatest number of works in each year. Published songs are counted in the year of their publication. Not tabulated here are arrangements and alternate versions, nor unpublished smaller compositions, including songs, for which NV gives no date of composition.

Year	Keyboard works			Chamber music			Sinfonias	Sonatinas	Vocal works		Total
	Sonatas	*concertos*	*other*	*solos*	*trios*	*other*			*lieder*	*other*	
1762	3	2		1			1	**5**	**5**		17
1763	**7**	1			4		4				16
1764	4							1	**12**		17
1765	**6**	2		11					3	2	24
1766	10			**13**	1				1?	1	26?
1767		1	**12**						10		23
1768											0
1769	1	1				**12**			5	2	21
1770		1							**5**	2	8
1771		**6**							**6**		12
1772	1										1
1773							**6**				6
1774	3								**44**	2	49
1775	4		**6**						2		12
1776					**6**		4		3		13
1777					**4**						4
1778		2	**4**						1		7
1779			**4**							1	5
1780	2		1						**30**	2	35
1781	1			3		1			**33**		38
1782				**4**					2		6
1783	1									**3**	4
1784	**3**			1							4
1785	2									**3**	5
1786	**4**			**4**	1					2	11
1787				1					**14**		15
1788		1				3			**9**		13

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Supplement 9.2. Bach's Lesser Trios of the 1750s and 1760s

The year 1754 saw Bach's sharpest focus on trios since his renovations of the early ones in 1747. Two of the 1754 trios are experiments; designated sinfonias, they anticipate the actual sinfonias that Bach began writing again in the following year. Both are for two violins and continuo, although the less challenging D-major work (H. 585) is better known as an obbligato-keyboard trio (W. 74). The latter is historically significant, as the second violin part is wholly subsidiary; when Bach assigned the first part to the keyboard, this trio-sinfonia became an accompanied-keyboard sonata, a type that he would not produce again before the mid-1770s.[174] The A-minor work (W. 156) is the more interesting of the two musically, and its style is more explicitly orchestral. The first movement makes much of the spectacular effect of huge leaps in both violins parts, which are often in unison, as in actual symphonies of the period. Evidently Bach was practicing for the orchestral sinfonias that he would produce the following year.

Both trio-sinfonias end with minuets in rondo form, another borrowing from the orchestral tradition; Hasse, for example, had ended his overture to *Leucippo* with such a movement.[175] Bach re-used both minuet-rondos as character pieces. That of the D-major trio-sinfonia became "La Louise" (W. 117/36), and the final movement of the A-minor work circulated independently as a keyboard piece, as well as in the keyboard sonata W. 65/33. In both versions, the movement is entitled "La Coorl," apparently referring to the Zerbst violinist Carl Höckh.[176] A third trio, W. 163 of 1755, would again conclude with a character piece in rondo form, "La Sophia."[177] That Bach was now willing to include such movements in his sonatas is an indication of his deference to what must have been a public demand for relatively simple musical diversions

The last of the four 1754 trios, W. 158 in B-flat, anticipates Bach's sinfonias in another way: although not in sinfonia style, its slow movement incorporates passages in which all three parts play pizzicato. These are not "de-ornamented" *(decoliert)* varied reprises, like the pizzicato passages in the D-Major Sinfonia W. 176, but rather episodes within an imitative movement. Nevertheless the inventive scoring is one of a number of original touches that make this trio more imaginative than the two trio-sinfonias, even if it remains fairly lightweight. Equally diverting, if hard to take seriously, are the athletic octave leaps in the fugue subject of the last movement, which even appears in the bass. Such strokes would have made this an exceptionally

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[174] One movement of this type already occurs in the early W. 71.

[175] *Leucippo,* premiered at Dresden in 1747, was performed at Berlin in 1765.

[3] In CPEBCW 2/2.2:xvii the title is explained as a reference to Carl Fasch. Zelter's biography of the latter (*Karl Friedrich Christian Fasch,* 8) shows that "Coorl" was the pronunciation that the Viennese-born Hökch would have used for his own first name as well as Fasch's. But as Fasch arrived at court only a year after the piece was written, Bach is more likely to have named it after the violinist, although this might have been forgotten in later years.

[177] See below on further versions of W. 163. A quartet in C by J. G. Graun for flute, violin, viola, and continuo (GWV Av:XIV:2), bearing the same title ("La Sophia") in SA 3383, is unrelated.

entertaining piece to see performed at a concert, and it is not surprising that it was published a few years later not only within the *Musikalisches Mancherley* but also in a separate reprint, despite its length and difficulty.[178]

Bach's subsequent trio sonatas are far blander works, probably composed for the amateur market. One of these, however, is of interest because of its puzzling instrumentation for viola, "bass flute," and continuo. Although musically trivial, the F-major trio W. 163 cost Bach some trouble; its survival in two autograph scores, giving different versions, has been explained as the result of Bach's initial failure to understand the compass of the wind instrument, which has been identified as a bass recorder.[179] Bass recorders from the early eighteenth century are not rare, but their use at Berlin as late as 1755 is puzzling, as is the restricted range of the part. Bach wrote it for what he calls a *Bassflöte,* in a note to himself in the second autograph. There he indicates that the instrument has a compass of only an octave and a half, from f to c"; the revised version indeed restricts the part to this range (notated an octave lower). This raises the possibility of an instrument other than a recorder, which normally has a range of somewhat over two octaves. At Berlin after 1750 the logical guess would be for some sort of transverse flute, but no such instrument of this range is known, nor does Quantz mention a type of flute apparently pitched a sixth below a normal one. It is particularly surprising that Bach writes much of the part for this instrument in the lower part of its range, where either a flute or a recorder would have been relatively weak. The commission for which Bach is presumed to have written the piece cannot have been exclusive, for he subsequently arranged the work for two violins as W. 159 in B-flat, and it was also played with bassoon on the woodwind part.[180]

Bach owned a copy of a similarly scored work by Graun, provoking the suggestion that both trios were commissioned by someone in Bach's Berlin circle who owned a bass flute of some kind.[181] That Bach indeed worked on commission in his trios of the 1750s is confirmed by his note in the autograph of the trio-sinfonia in A minor, indicating that he wrote it for the Silesian count Johann Nepomuk Gotthard of Schaffgotsch—presumably one of those who two years later supported Frederick's seizure of his country at the outset of the Seven Years' War.[182] Many of the

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[178] Both publications came out in 1762–63 from Winter of Berlin and were presumably authorized by the composer; see CPEBCW 2/2.2:155–56. The much less interesting D-Minor Trio W. 160 had appeared previously in *Mancherley.*

[179] CPEBCW 2/2.2:xvi.

[180] As indicated in two manuscripts (sources D 22 and D 57 in CPEBCW 2/2.2; the latter is one of at least two manuscript copies of trios that belonged to Friedrich Nicolai). Telemann had also written sonatas with parts alternatively for bassoon or recorder, albeit the normal alto variety, as in no. 36 in F minor (TWV 41:f1) from *Der getreue Musik-Meister* (Hamburg, 1728–29).

[181] Hofmann, "Gesucht: Ein Graunsches Trio mit obligater Baßblockflöte," 254, notes the trio for violin, "violoncello o flauto basso," and bass listed as lot 155 in Leisinger, "Die 'Bachscher Auction.'"

[182] This is the Schaffgotsch who, as Christoph Wolff points out (CPBECW 2/2.2:xvii), was described by Marpurg in that very year (*Historisch-Kritische Beyträge,* 1:409 and 507) as a Prussian functionary and a member of the Musikübende Gesellschaft. The latter was one of the Berlin "academies" whose meetings were probable venues for performances of this and other

more numerous trios by the Graun brothers must also have been products of commissions; what appear to be later trios by Gottlieb Graun, especially those which include a flute part, show a simplification of style comparable to that seen in Bach's trios of the 1750s.

Bach's last Berlin trio shows the same trend toward simplification; composed in 1766, the C-major sonata for keyboard and flute (W. 87) is the least substantial of his works in this scoring, although unlike the four earlier ones it appears to have been composed from the start as an obbligato-keyboard work.[183] The five obbligato-keyboard trios that immediately preceded it, however, are quite different. The first of these, for keyboard and viola (W. 88), dates from 1759 and is something of a transitional piece, pointing toward the four "great" violin trios of 1763 but also looking back to the more contrapuntally conceived but rambling and expressively rather neutral early trios. Bach declares its seriousness by placing all three movements in the minor, and he assigns a little more thematic material than usual to the bass, although the counterpoint is not really any more compelling than in his other pieces of this type. The sources assign the string part alternatively to the viola da gamba, but the work's reserved style is completely unlike that of the two earlier solo sonatas for virtuoso gamba and continuo (W. 136 and 137). Why Bach wrote it is unknown, but the royal gambist Ludwig Christian Hesse had remained at Berlin during the war,[184] as did Gottlieb Graun, whose trios, quartets, and concertos constitute the first significant solo repertory for the viola (and, in their alternative instrumentation, the last for the gamba). Even Friedemann Bach composed three viola duos, although these were probably completed only after his arrival in Berlin.[185] All these compositions, together with Emanuel's trio with bass flute and his three late quartets (see chap. 10), point to serious cultivation of the viola at Berlin.

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works. Wolff also notes evidence of a similar commission for the Trio W. 157.

[183] Bach may also have performed W. 87 as a duo for two keyboards. Couperin had suggested this instrumentation as an option in the "Avis" to his *Apothéose de Lully* (Paris, 1725), which is scored as a trio sonata. Bach left instructions for performing W. 87 as a duo for two keyboard instruments (see CPEBCW 2/3.2:79); two of the ensemble sonatinas of a few years earlier also involved two keyboards.

[184] Hesse left Frederick's service in 1763 but was apparently working for Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm by 1766. He left Berlin for Darmstadt in 1771 or 1772, where he died shortly afterward; see O'Loghlin, *Frederick the Great and His Musicians*, 125–27.

[185] See my *Music of W. F. Bach*, 143–45.

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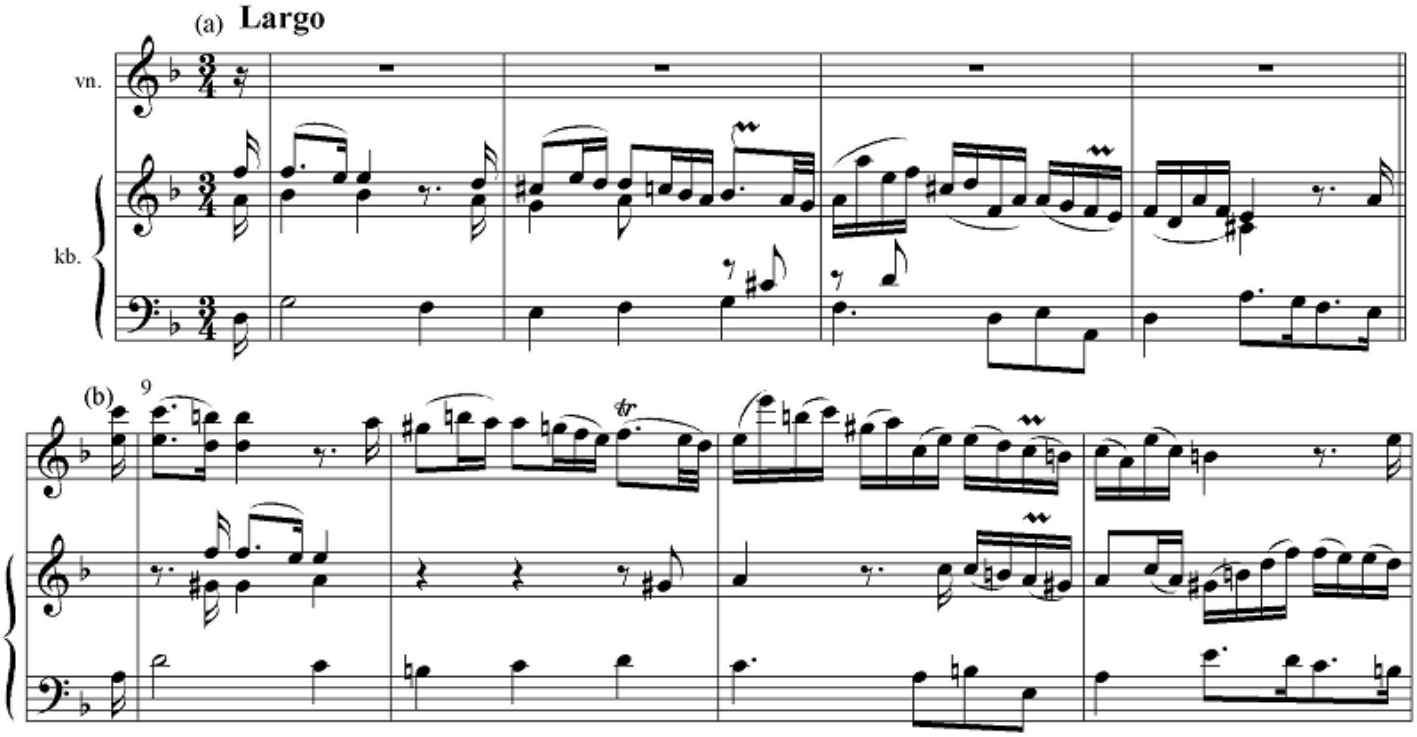
Supplement 9.3. More on the 1763 Trios for Keyboard and Violin

The last two movements of the B-Minor Sonata (W. 76) are relatively conventional—disappointingly so, as they follow the later-eighteenth-century norm of winding down after an intense first movement. Even the idea of concluding with an Allegretto siciliano probably reflects precedents by Quantz and Gottlieb Graun, both of whom occasionally ended a sonata or concerto with a *scherzando* movement in siciliano rhythm.[186] But the other trios in the series, although lacking anything like the first movement of W. 76, reveal imaginative thinking about musical form. The Sonata in B-flat (W. 77) opens almost like a variation of the earlier Trio W. 73 in C, but comparison shows how far Bach had come in the intervening eighteen years. The first movement of the newer work is longer—doubly so, since it is a sonata form with double bar. Beyond its sheer length, the later work is also composed on a broader scale, its quasi-fugal opening exposition alone occupying thirty measures. By that point W. 73 has already modulated to the dominant; W. 77, however, continues with a counterstatement of the lively main theme by the violin. The keyboard interrupts this (m. 37) with a new, halting idea—perhaps a "second theme" in eighteenth-century parlance, although functioning as a bridge or transition theme within a the movement's sonata form.

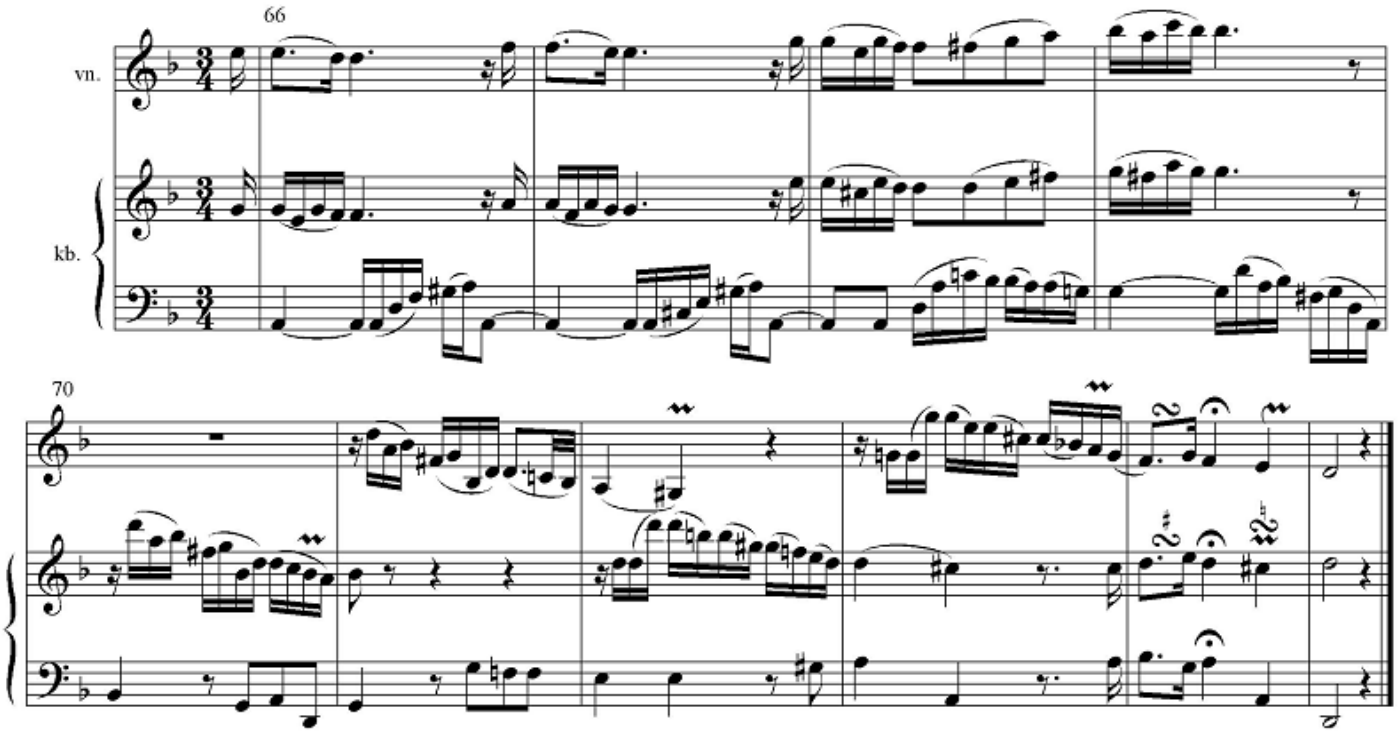
The second movement, in D minor, is also a real masterpiece, with a "subdominant recapitulation," rare for Emanuel although common in fugal movements from Friedemann's sonatas: the final section (mm. 45ff.) begins by transposing the opening of the movement downward by a fifth. This allows the violin, answering the keyboard at the dominant, to restate the theme for the last time in the tonic D minor (m. 49). Underlying this is the old idea of trio sonata as fugue, the initial statement of the theme by one instrument being imitated by the other a fifth higher. Yet the theme here is a lyrical eight-measure period, and the "subject," initially played by the right hand of the keyboard, already includes a few chords that are echoed as double stops when the violin answers (online example 9.4). Even the left hand gets a few brief solos—which would project well only on a fortepiano—in a coda that follows Berlin tradition by concluding with a cadenza, signified as usual by a fermata (online example 9.5).

[186] Only in one work by Quantz is this explicit (the Concerto QV 5:15), but others conclude with similar movements, such as the "Alla forlana ma Presto" in the flute sonata QV 1:42. The latter is one of six solo sonatas whose origin Oleskiewicz places "in Berlin in the 1740s" ("Quantz and the Flute at Dresden," 460). The main theme of the latter starts much like Bach's, as does the concluding Allegro scherzando of a trio in A by Gottlieb Graun for two violins (alternatively gamba and violin) and bass, GWV Av:XV:41.

Example 9.4. Sonata in B-flat for keyboard and violin, W. 77, movement 2, mm. 1–4, 9–12

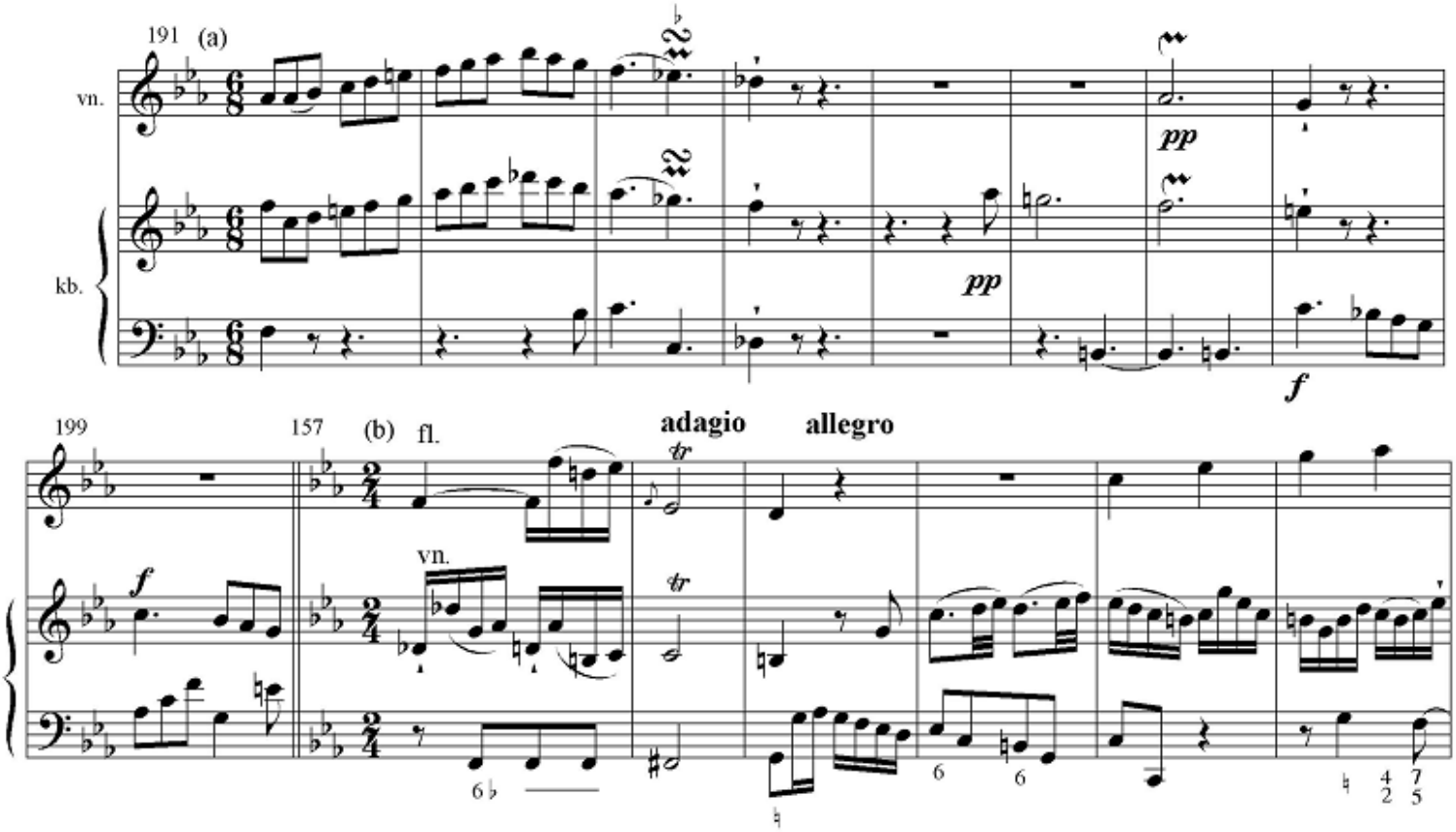


Example 9.5. Sonata in B-flat for keyboard and violin, W. 77, movement 2, mm. 66–75



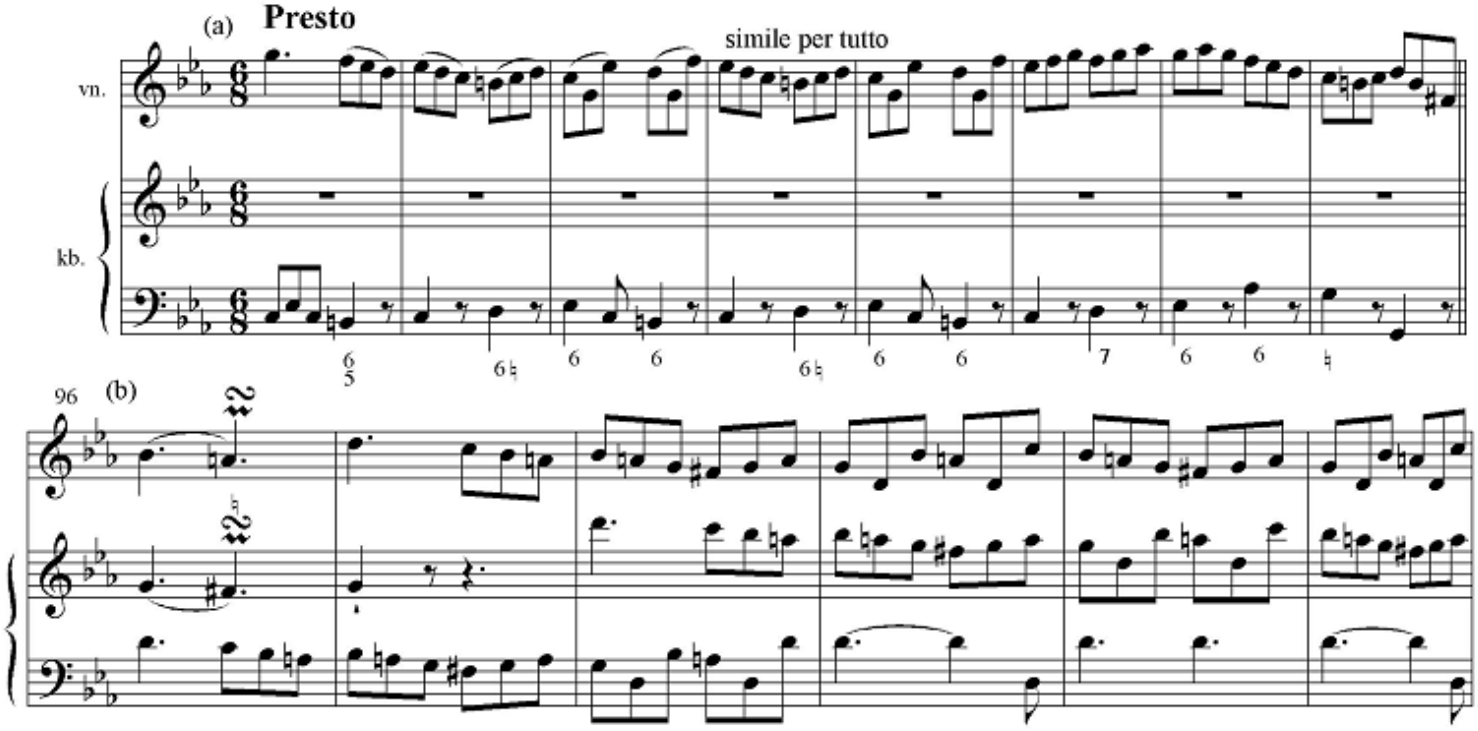
It is surprising, if NV is accurate in designating the C-minor work as the last of the series to be composed, that Bach concluded the set with a rigorous yet relatively conventional piece in a "serious" key. Both outer movements are complete three-part sonata forms, with much verbatim repetition and recapitulation and virtually no contrasting thematic material; rather they repeat the main theme more frequently and more literally than do the initial movements of the three other works. Perhaps the sonata from his father's *Musical Offering,* in the same key, was on Emanuel's mind as he composed this work, for the last movement practically quotes a passage from Sebastian's composition of sixteen years earlier. This occurs at a point that should have marked the cadence at the end of the second ("development") section, but which instead diverts the music dramatically toward the tonic via a deceptive resolution (online example 9.6).

Example 9.6. (a) Sonata in C Minor for keyboard and violin, W. 78, movement 3, mm. 191–99; (b) J. S. Bach, Trio Sonata in C Minor for flute, violin, and bass, from the *Musical Offering,* movement 2, mm. 157–63



Up to this point, the movement has been a very lively gigue, although resembling less a Baroque one, as in Sebastian's suites, than a Mendelssohnian tarentella. An earlier flute sonata by Quantz, in the same key, ends with a very similar movement, albeit one lacking the counterpoint of the present work, which even involves the bass in a number of strettos derived from the theme (online example 9.7).[187] If, on the whole, the present sonata is modeled more than usual on works of Sebastian Bach, it nevertheless demonstrates what Emanuel could do by *not* imitating his father's style, even while emulating it. That he knew and probably thought much about his father's "clavier trios" is clear from a later remark.[188] The four trios of 1763 represent a response to them, combining *galant* writing with as much of the contrapuntal or learned style as could be safely included in works for concert performances in postwar Berlin.

Example 9.7. Sonata in C Minor for keyboard and violin, W. 78, movement 3, (a) mm. 1–8, (b) mm. 96–101



[187] Oleskiewicz dates the Sonata QV 1:14 to "around 1750" (liner note for *Johann Joachim Quantz: Seven Flute Sonatas,* 5).

[188] In a letter of Oct. 7, 1774, to Forkel (no. 71 in Clark, *Letters,* 67). It is unclear whether by "clavier trios" Emanuel means Sebastian's obbligato-keyboard sonatas with violin, as Clark supposes, or the organ sonatas; the latter is more likely in context (Bach is sending Forkel what seems to be a group of organ pieces). The point holds in any case. Forkel owned both sets of "clavier trios," in manuscript copies now lost.

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Supplement 9.4. Bach's Ensemble Sonatinas: Overview (table)

Works comprising entirely original material are shown **in bold;** the remainder incorporate arrangements. Dates are those of composition as given in NV; the revised versions of nos. 8, 11, and 12 probably date from much later than their simpler published versions.

NV	W.	date	key	no. of mvts.	comment
1	**96**	**1762**	**D**	**2**	
2	109	1762	D	2	two solo parts; arrangements alternating with new material
3	97	1762	G	2	arrangements alternating with new material
4	98	1762	G	3	movement 3 arranged
5	**99**	**1762**	**F**	**3**	
6	110	1763	Bb	3	two solo parts; movement 2 arranged
7	100	1763	E	2	arrangements, alternating with new material in movement 1
8	**101**	**1763**	**C**	**3**	revised version of W. 106, which was published in 1764
9	102	1763	D	2	arrangements
10	103	1763	C	2	arrangements
11	**104**	**1764**	**d–F**	**3**	revised version of W. 107, which was published in 1764
12	**105**	**1764**	**Eb**	**3**	revised version of W. 108, which was published in 1766

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Supplement 9.5. Bach's Ensemble Sonatinas: Origins and Arrangements (table)

In the following list, dates are of composition; most if not all works were subsequently revised. A slash (/) signifies "alternating with"; an open angle bracket (<) means "derived from."

NV	W.	date	key	movements*	comment**
1	96	1762	D	Andante ed arioso	
				Allegro	
2	109	1762	D		with second keyboard, also 3 tr., timp., 2 ob.
				Presto, Arioso / Etwas lebhafter	Arioso < La Gause (W. 117/37)
				Tempo di minuetto / Allegro	< La Pott (minuet, W. 117/18)
3	97	1762	G	Andantino / Presto	< W. 81/11, 81/4
				Tempo di minuetto / Allegretto / Allegro	< W. 81/1
4	98	1762	G	Larghetto	
				Allegro	
				Alla polacca	< L'Auguste (polonaise, W. 117/22)
5	99	1762	F	Largo	
				Allegro	
				Andante	
6	110	1763	Bb		with second keyboard
				Andante	
				Allegro moderato	< La Bergius (W. 117/20)
				Allegretto	
7	100	1763	E	Allegretto	< La Xenophon (117/29, movement 1)
				Allegretto	< La Frédérique (W. 65/29, movement 3)
8	101	1763	C		< W. 106 (version without horns, published 1764)
				Larghetto	
				Allegro	
				Alla polacca	
9	102	1763	D	Allegretto grazioso / Presto	< La Complaisante (W. 117/28) < W. 81/7
				Allegretto	< La Louise (W. 117/36)
10	103	1763	C	Arioso / Andante	< La Philippine (W. 117/34) < Andantino in d (W. 116/18)
				Allegro	< Sonata in C (W. 62/20), movement 3
11	104	1764	d–F		only the first movement is in d
				Adagio	< W. 107 (version without horns, published 1764)
				Allegro ma non troppo	
				Allegretto	
12	105	1764	Eb		< W. 108 (version without horns, published 1766)
				Largo	
				Allegro di molto	
				Tempo di menuetto	

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Supplement 9.6. Individual Sonatinas

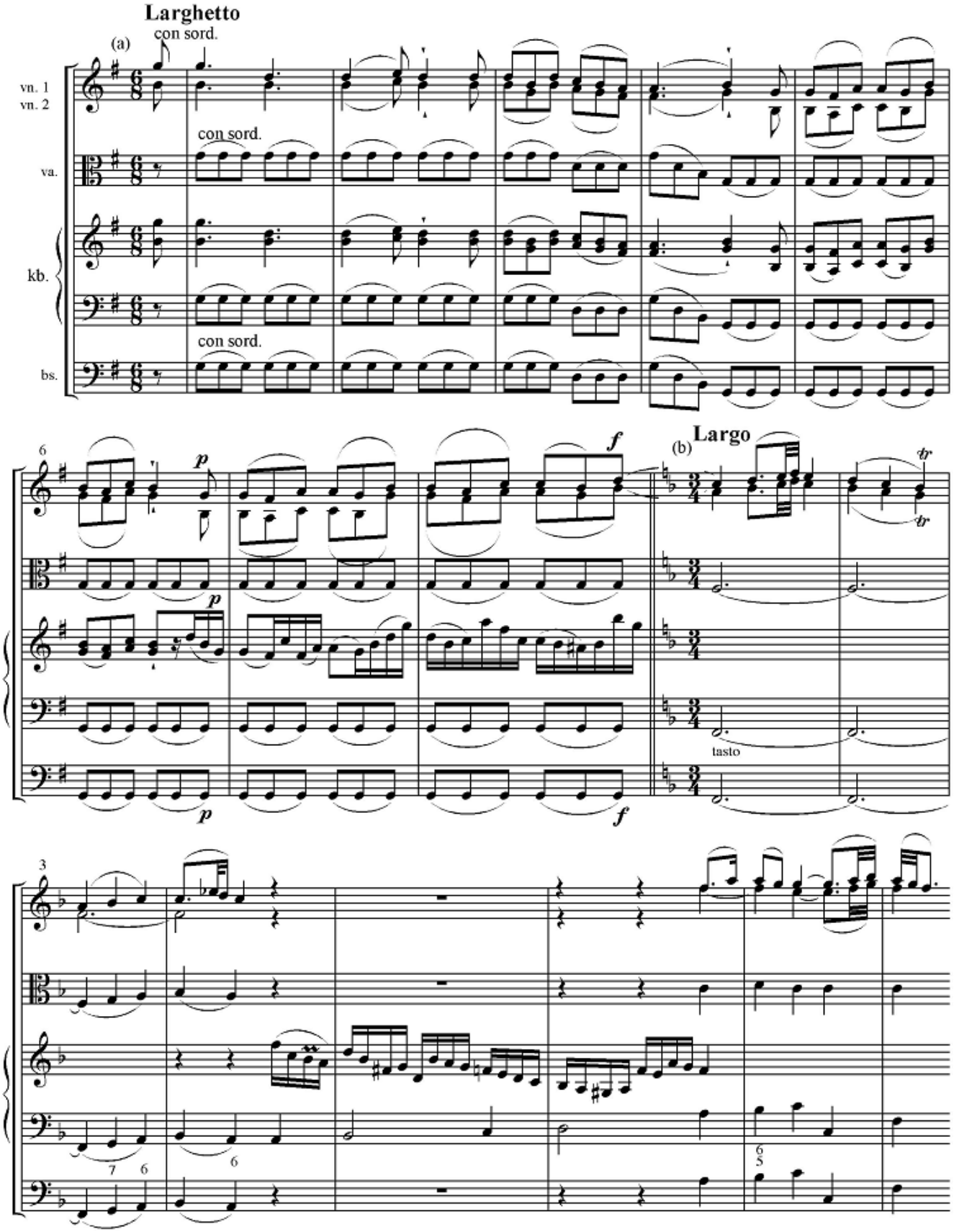
Bach's ensemble sonatinas would have appealed not only to amateur keyboard players such as the Levys but to amateur string and wind players, who could enjoy listening to the soloist during the extended passages for keyboard alone. Some of these, as in Sonatina 10, had been complete "little pieces," now incorporated into a larger work with written-out embellishments and varied reprises. Others, like the Allegretto section in the second movement of Sonatina 3, are attached to the rest of the composition through modulating bridges in fantasia style, which here negotiate the third-relation between the E major of the Allegretto and the tonic G of the movement as a whole. Remote modulations such as this, alongside variations and simple passagework of the type prevalent in the sonatinas, would become essential to the modulating rondos in Bach's series for *Kenner und Liebhaber,* of which these works are among the forerunners. Yet the modulating bridge in Sonatina 3, indeed the entire Allegretto for solo keyboard, remains merely a charming episode, inorganically attached to a not particularly engaging if nicely scored minuet.

The following work, no. 4, was the first of the three-movement sonatinas and as such seems to have represented a step to a slightly higher level of compositional seriousness. Its opening Larghetto ends with a coda that serves as a bridge to the following Allegro, and the individual movements are also more integrated with one another, not so obviously patched together. The soloist contributes almost from the beginning, not merely in varied reprises or self-contained partial movements. Even more than in the early concertos, however, the score of no. 4 consists of an essential keyboard part joined or accompanied by ripieno orchestral parts. That Bach recognized this as a problem, and that his conception of the structure of these works continued to evolve, is evident from the opening of Sonatina 5, where the right hand of the keyboard is expressly silent as the violins begin, doubled by flutes; this sound would echo in several later concertos (online example 9.9).[189]

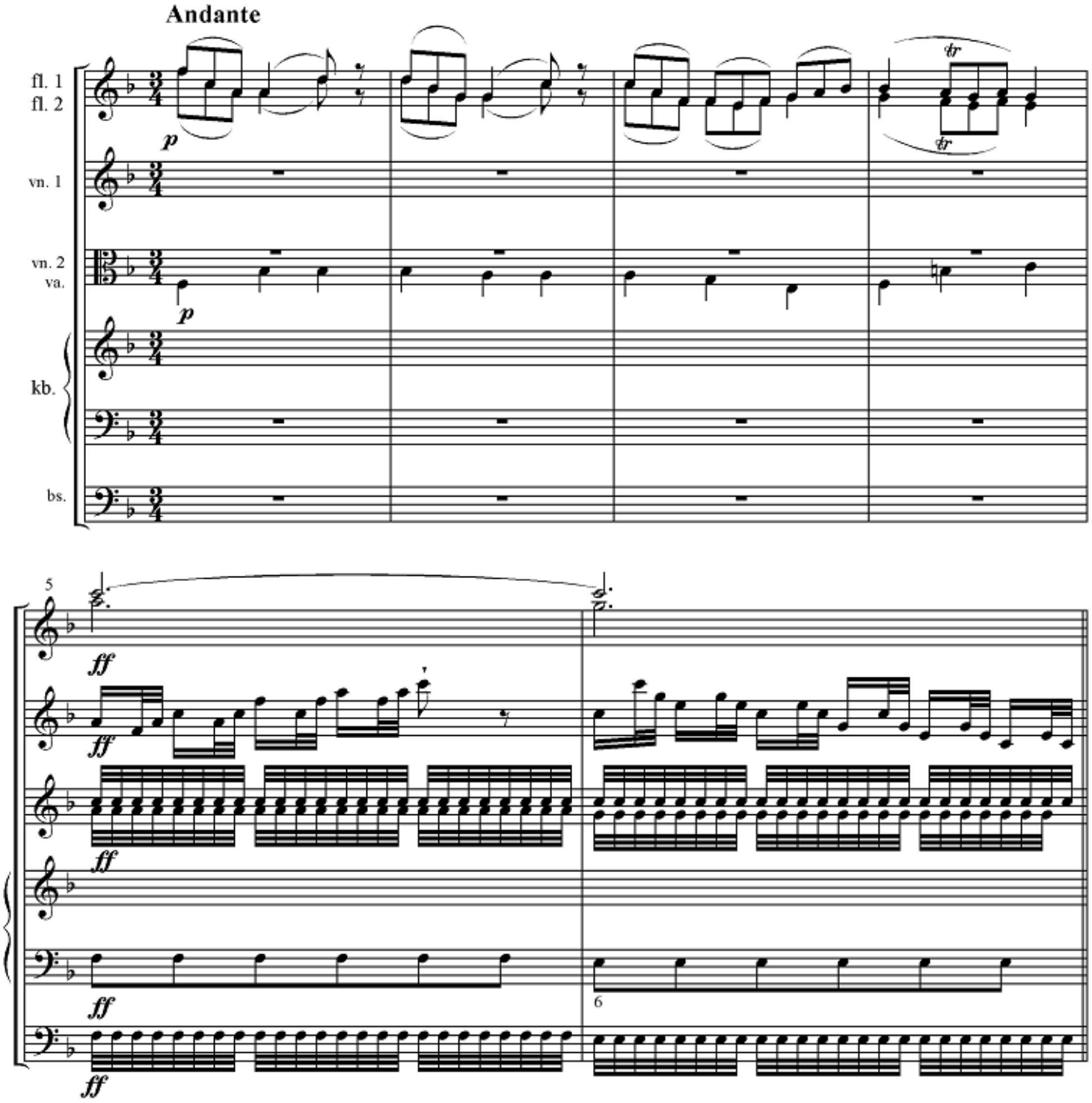
Both in three movements, Sonatinas 4 and 5, follow the same basic design, yet the last movement of no. 5 is no longer the traditional light dance usually found at the end of a Berlin chamber work. Instead it is a more integrated version of the type of rondo that ended no. 3. In Sonatina 5, as in Sonatina 3, the second *couplet,* for keyboard alone, begins a minor third below the tonic. Again, too, the gap between the two successive passages is unmediated: the orchestral restatement of the main theme (in F) simply breaks off, and after a pause the keyboard enters in the new, seemingly unrelated key (D). But Bach now integrates the new solo passage with the rest of the movement. The very idea of a surprise entry by a soloist is anticipated within the rondo theme, which alternates in an almost Ramellian way between quiet passages for the two flutes and manic ones for the full ensemble (online example 9.10a). The solo *couplet* begins with a restatement of the rondo theme in the new key, returning to it several times in the course of the section (online example 9.10b). As in Sonatina 3, the last return to the rondo theme follows a modulating bridge in fantasy style for the soloist. But in Sonatina 5 the bridge ends, remarkably, on bIII (A-flat); the

[189] Notably W. 41. The word *tasto* over the pedal tone in the bass is short for *tasto solo* ("this key only"); see *Versuch,* ii.intro.29.

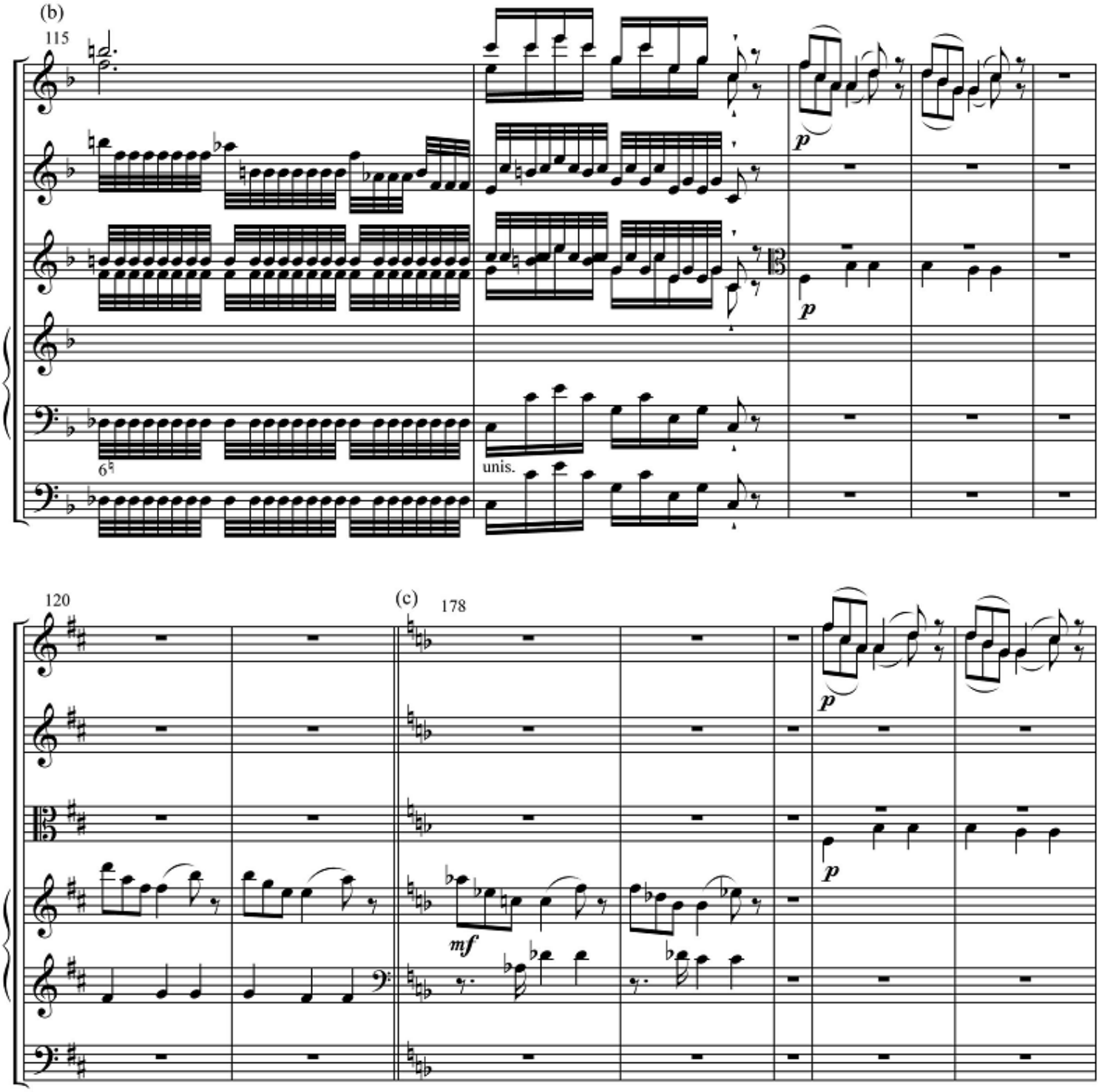
Example 9.9. (a) Sonatina no. 4 in G, W. 98, movement 1, mm. 1–8; (b) Sonatina no. 5 in F, W. 99, movement 1, mm. 1–6 (both without flutes)



Example 9.10a. Sonatina no. 5 in F, W. 99, movement 3, mm. 1–6 (without horns)



Example 9.10b–c. Sonatina no. 5 in F, W. 99, movement 3, (b) mm. 115–21, (c) mm. 178–82 (both without horns)



flutes answer this by restating the theme in the tonic F, echoing the original downward slip of a minor third (F–D) by another (A-flat–F) (online example 9.10c).

One must wonder, however, whether this truly beautiful and ingenious passage compensates for the relatively unimaginative first two movements of Sonatina 5. In other works from the series, the use of two keyboards in no. 6, or the seemingly endless embellishments and varied reprises that Bach added in the opening movements of nos. 9 and 10, hardly make up for what is in each case a simplistic underlying design—an alternating pair of rounded binary movements—devoid of notable harmony or modulations. Even less engaging is Sonatina 7, whose thin substance is drawn almost entirely from the two character pieces on which it was based. Both movements were originally named, it would seem, for philosophical generals, one ancient, one very much in the present—Xenophon and Frederick the Great.[190] But if the sonatina was intended as a tribute to the latter it did so in a musically unsophisticated way. Bach must have recognized the thinness of these two-movement works, for the last two sonatinas, which are among the three he published, are not only in three movements but are among the longest and most substantial musically of the entire series. In Sonatinas 11 and 12, all three movements are full-fledged sonata forms (with repeats), and the solo part even includes some of the passagework found in the quick movements of Bach's keyboard concertos.

[190] The original works were the *petites pièces* "La Xenophon," W. 117/29 (movement 1), and La Frédérique, W. 65/29 (movement 3).

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Supplement 9.7. Bach's Later Berlin Concertos

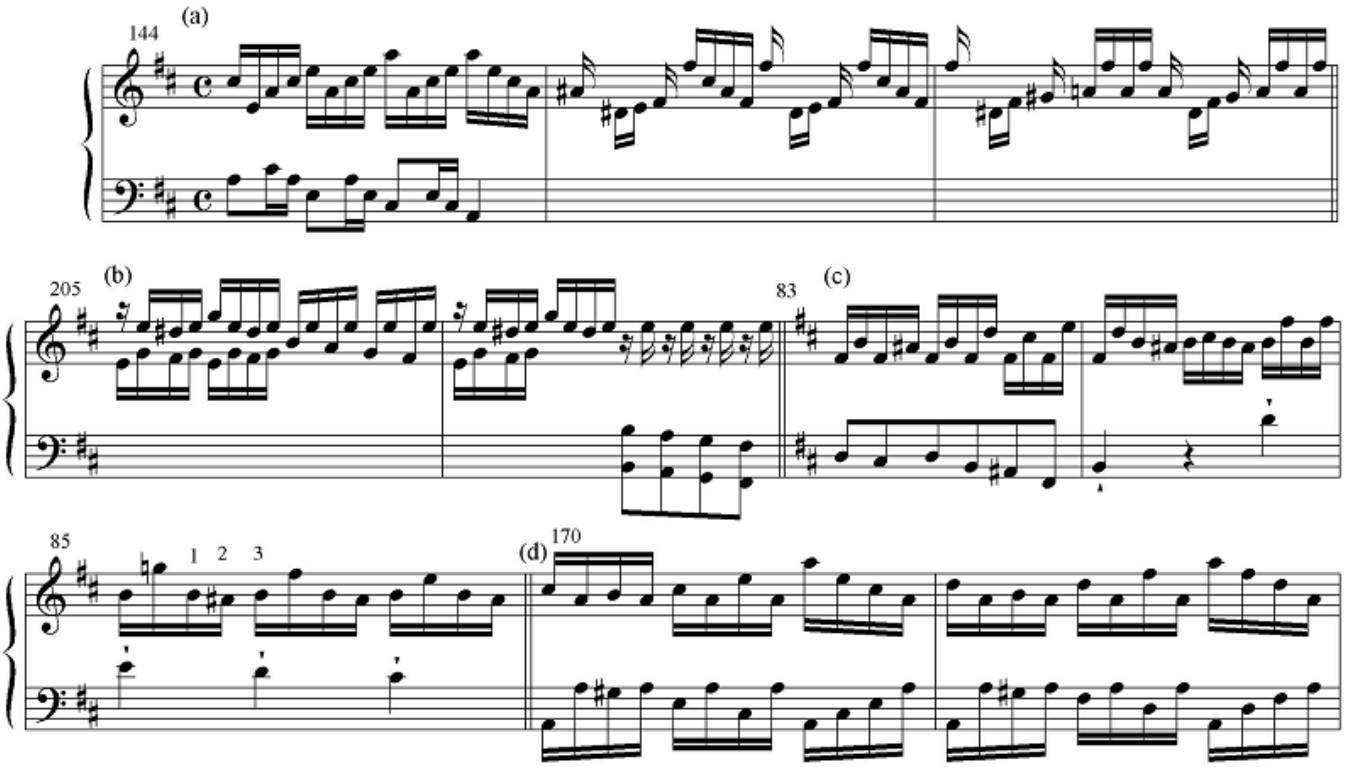
Although Bach wrote no keyboard concertos during 1751 and 1752, those years saw few compositions of any type. When he returned to writing keyboard concertos in 1753–54, after the publication of the *Versuch*, it was with three minor-key works, W. 30–32. Of these at least the first two approach the level of Bach's best achievements of the 1740s and must have been written for his own use.[191] The first of these, in B minor—a key rarely used by Emanuel, unlike his father—introduces a few somewhat superficial innovations. Its solo part includes some novel types of figuration which, although not particularly challenging, must reflect time spent experimenting at the keyboard (online example 9.15). In the third movement, one of the trickier such passages combines with the main motive of the ritornello to yield polyphony in six real voices (online example 9.16). The climax of the movement, indeed of the work as a whole, the passage is particularly surprising because it follows a rare "premature reprise" (m. 150) that turns out to be a bluff; the real return follows only much later (m. 218).

The cadenza in the first movement falls where Mozart and other Classical and Romantic composers usually put it, after a brief interjection by the tutti at the end of the recapitulation. Although Benda and J. C. Bach, even in his early Berlin concertos, prepared cadenzas in this way, it was unusual for Emanuel, here reflecting a more intense confrontation between tutti and soloist than in his other concertos of the period (online example 9.17). Also more dramatic than usual is the connection between the first two movements, a borrowing from the idiom of the operatic sinfonia: the upbeat that begins the Adagio is written as part of the last measure of the opening Allegro (see 9.18b). Yet this is no more or less an elision than that found between the first two movements in the earlier concerto W. 23. There the Adagio begins on a dissonance, continuing a progression that begins with the last chord of the previous movement (online example 9.18). In the present case, Bach's notation merely makes the same thing explicit.[192] Again, the slow movement begins out of key, on V/VII of the previous movement, but now each solo episode also elides into the following ritornello, something not heard in the earlier concerto (online example 9.18).

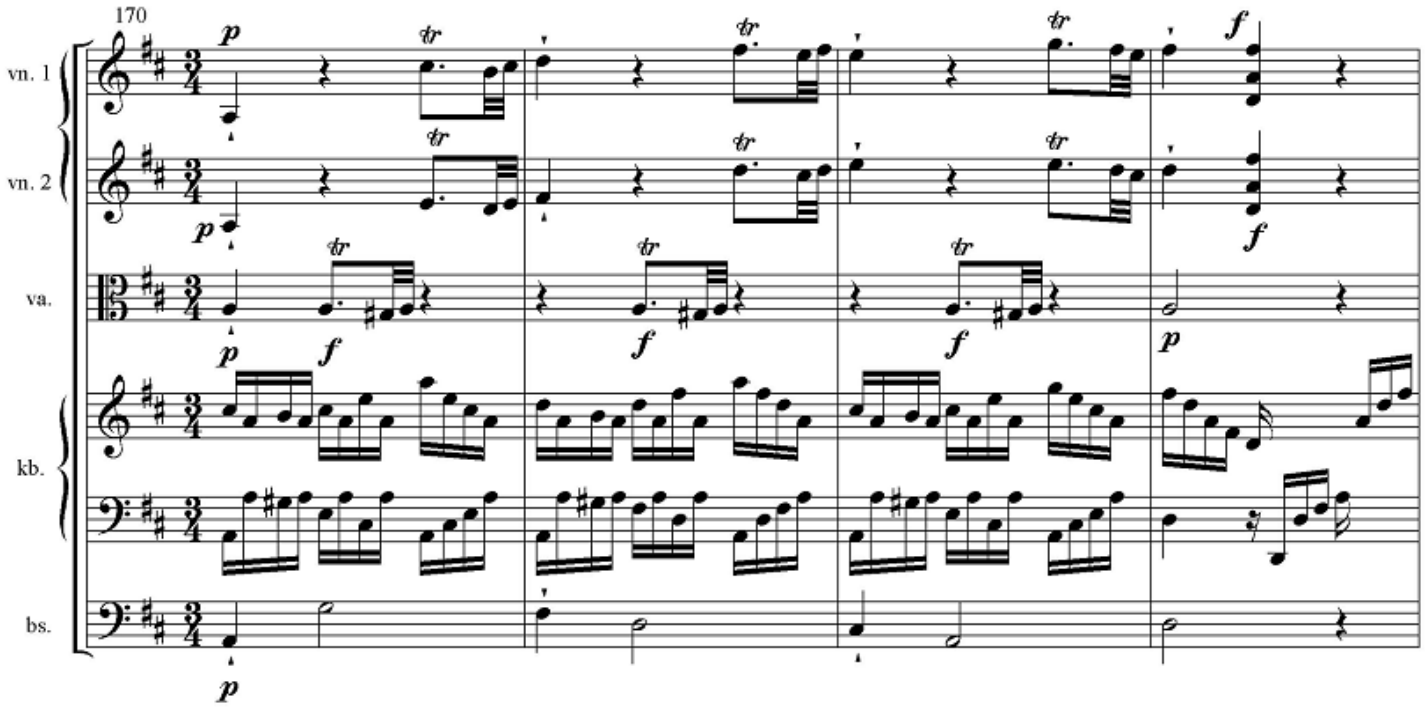
[191] The C-Minor Concerto W. 31 would become one of his favorite concert pieces, according to his letter to Grave of April 28, 1784 (no. 242 in Clark, *Letters,* 204).

[192] In Bach's autograph of W. 30 the end of the first movement is notated explicitly, whereas in W. 23 the final ritornello is indicated only by a "dal segno" marking.

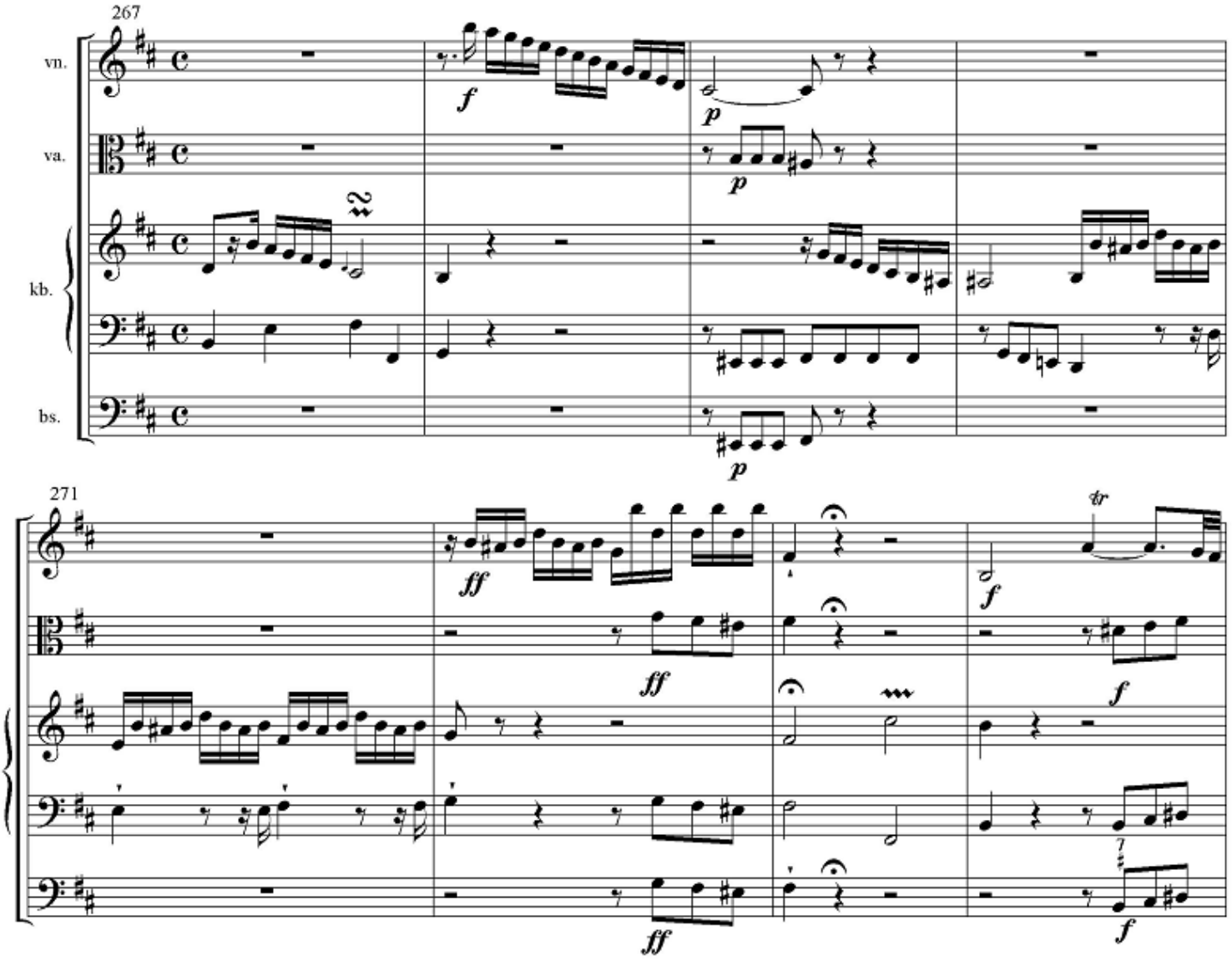
Example 9.15. Concerto in B Minor, W. 30, movement 1, (a) mm. 144–46, (b) mm. 205–6, (c) mm. 83–85, (d) mm. 170–71 (keyboard only)



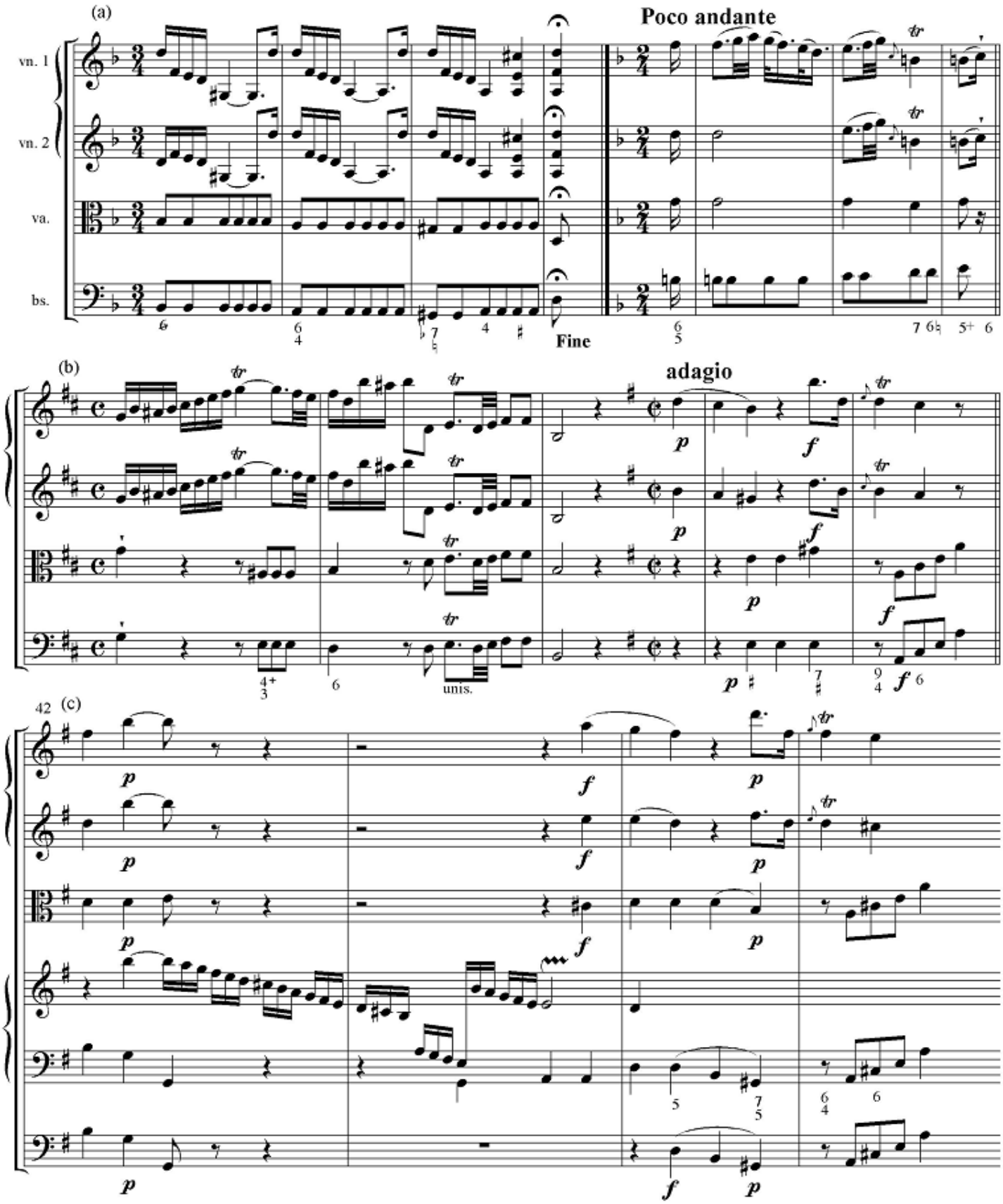
Example 9.16. Concerto in B Minor, W. 30, movement 3, mm. 170–73



Example 9.17. Concerto in B Minor, W. 30, movement 1, mm. 267–74

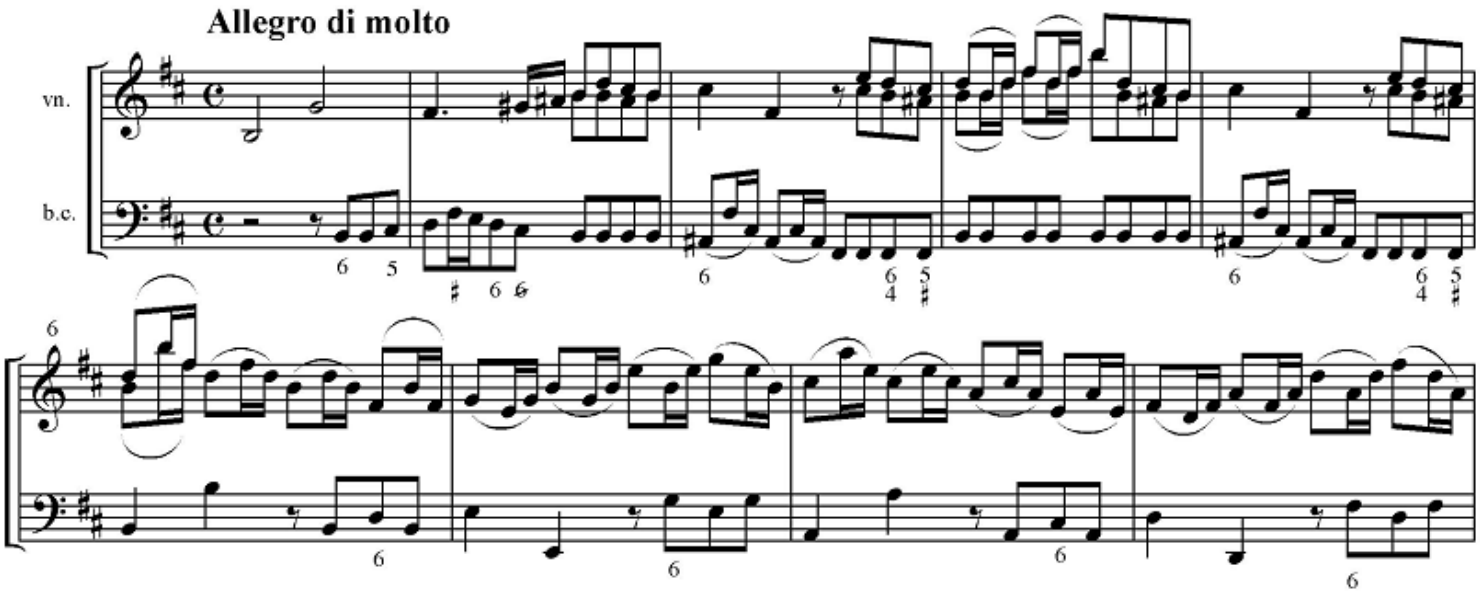


Example 9.18. (a) Concerto in D Minor, W. 23, connection between movements 1 and 2 (b) same, Concerto in B Minor, W. 30; (c) Concerto in B Minor, W. 30, movement 2, mm. 42–45

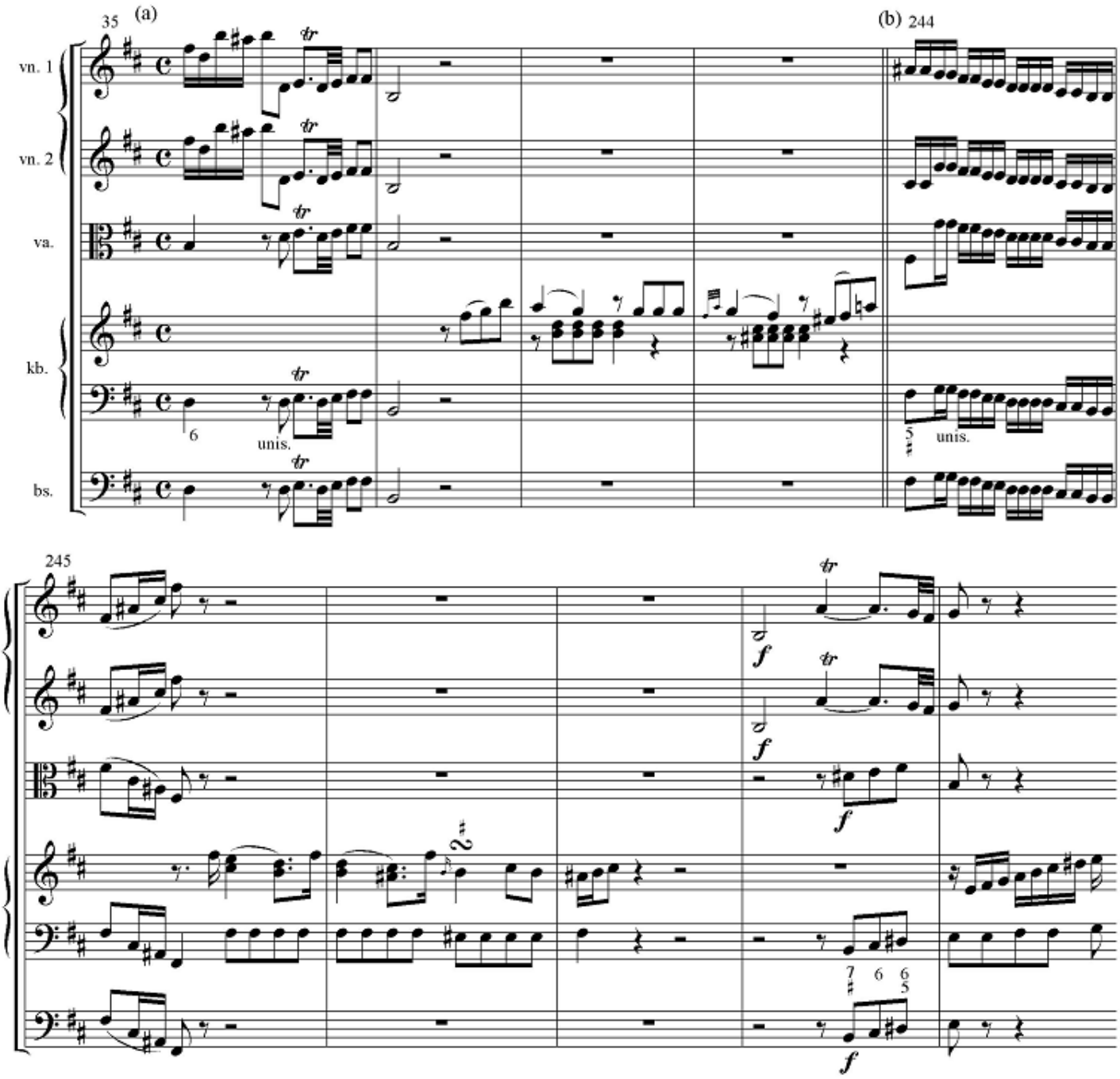


Another detail worth noting in the first movement of W. 30 is its unusually simple opening: two unaccompanied half notes rising by a minor sixth (online example ex. 9.19). This sounds like the type of motive that might have been incorporated into a serious contrapuntal movement, and the entry of the viola and bass with moving eighth notes momentarily suggests a double fugue. But there is no imitation, and within a few measures the ritornello falls into a conventional sequence built out of the favorite "sugarloaf" motive of eighteenth-century Berlin composers. More important than any rigorous counterpoint or motivic development is the sheer rhythmic contrast between the violins' spacious half-note motion and the moving eighth and later sixteenth notes of the lower parts. Although the latter prevail in the ritornello—the sequence picks up the "sugarloaves" from the bass of measure 3—the broader rhythm implicit in the opening motive reveals Bach stepping back, if only for a few seconds, from the motoric pulsation in eighths that was still normal in most orchestral allegros. The idea culminates in a dramatic breaking off of the first solo phrase in the recapitulation (online example 9.20).

Example 9.19. Concerto in B Minor, W. 30, movement 1, mm. 1–9 (viola omitted)

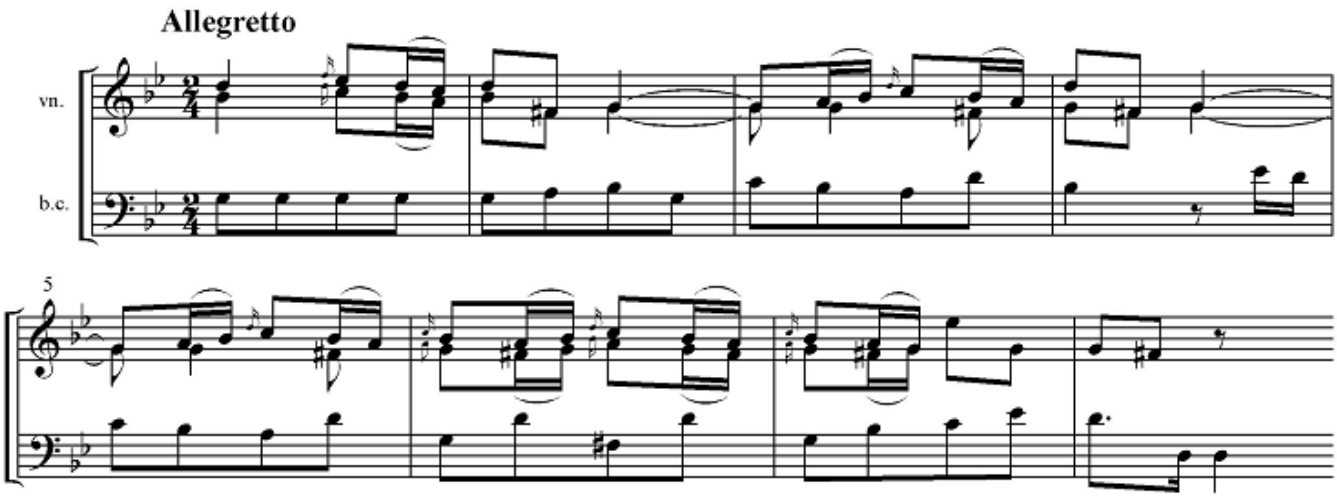


Example 9.20. Concerto in B Minor, W. 30, movement 1, (a) mm. 35–38; (b) mm. 244–49



The G-Minor Concerto W. 32 of 1754, the last of the three minor-key works of 1753–54, must have been planned from the start as a more restrained, more lyrical composition than its predecessors, as was W. 24 of six years previously. Even the opening themes of its two quick movements are constructed in a relatively predictable way from a few repeated motives; perhaps Bach aimed here at something closer to the "Berlin classic" style (online example 9.24).

Example 9.24. Concerto in G Minor, W. 32, movement 1, mm. 1–8 (viola omitted)



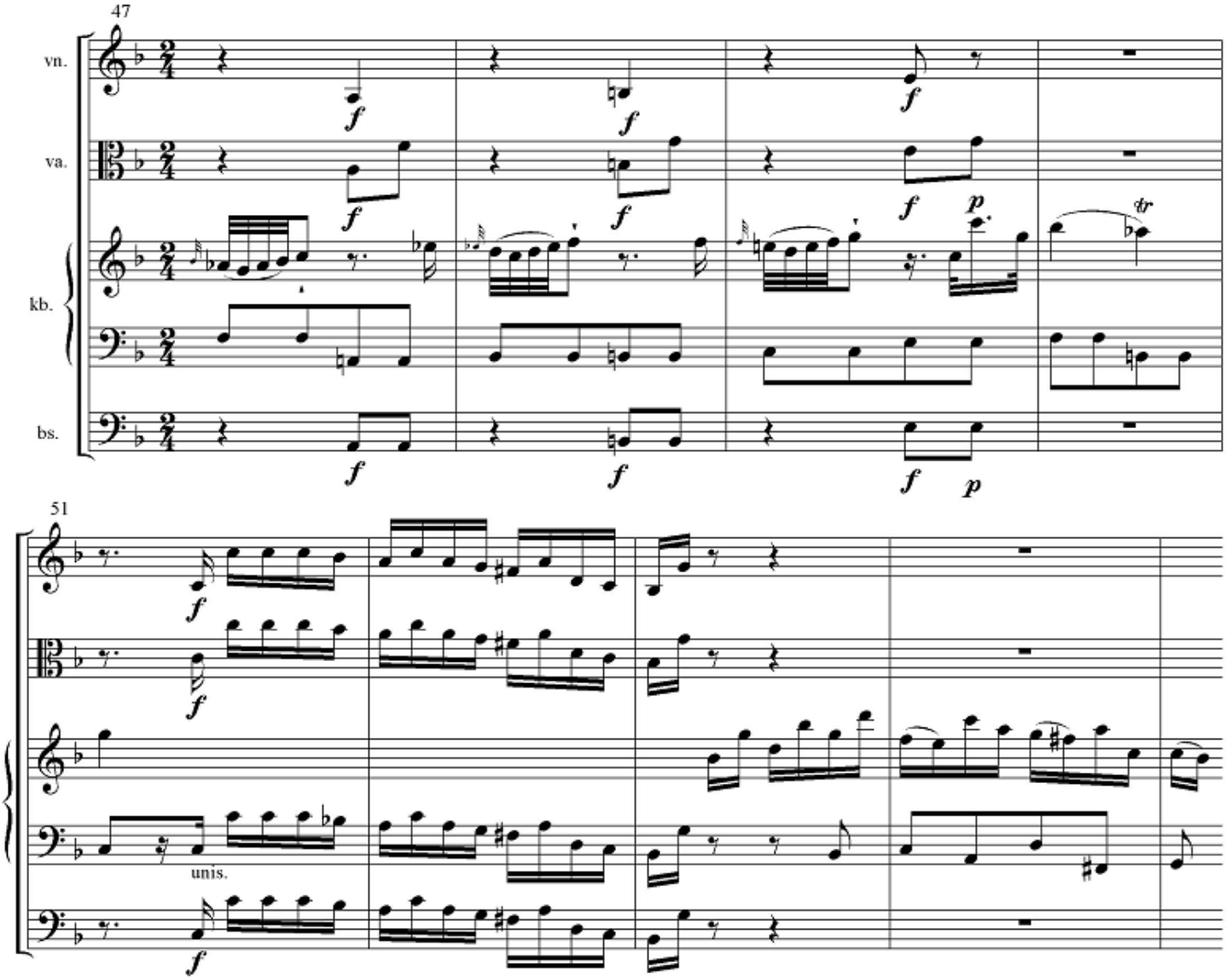
That this style could nevertheless produce serious music is demonstrated by the F-Major Concerto W. 33 of 1755. The first movement seems only mildly engaging until a unison passage from the ritornello becomes the basis for a more sophisticated tutti-solo dialog than occurs in most earlier works. At first the unison idea is used in a conventional manner, repeated by the strings between phrases in the first solo episode (online example 9.25). Eight years earlier, in W. 23, solo and ripieno continued to alternate, each with its own material, after such a passage (online example 9.26). Now, however, the soloist picks up the last motive of the ripieno (the rising leap of a sixth), developing it into a little arpeggio figure. A similar exchange takes place in the last movement, where two ideas from the ritornello—a staccato passage in quarters that interrupts the ongoing motion in eighths, and a little chromatic trill figure—become the basis of an accelerating alternation between soloist and tutti (online example 9.27).

The level of expressive intensity is not high; this is a polite, witty conversation, not high drama as in the concertos of the 1740s or even W. 31. But the level of urgency does rise to a climax of sorts in the central solo episode of each quick movement, especially the first. There the unison idea of the strings eventually combines contrapuntally with solo passagework. After the strings drop out—following a dramatic arrival on V of V (m. 175)—the soloist continues to develop the repeated-note idea of the strings, reducing it in a Beethovenian way to isolated figures of just three, then two notes in the bass (online example 9.28). The soloist's passagework in thirty-seconds would be banal if it were the main event, but it is actually secondary, a motoric accompaniment to the main line in the strings—a variety of scoring unthinkable in the late-Baroque arias from which the solo keyboard concerto had emerged in Bach's youth.

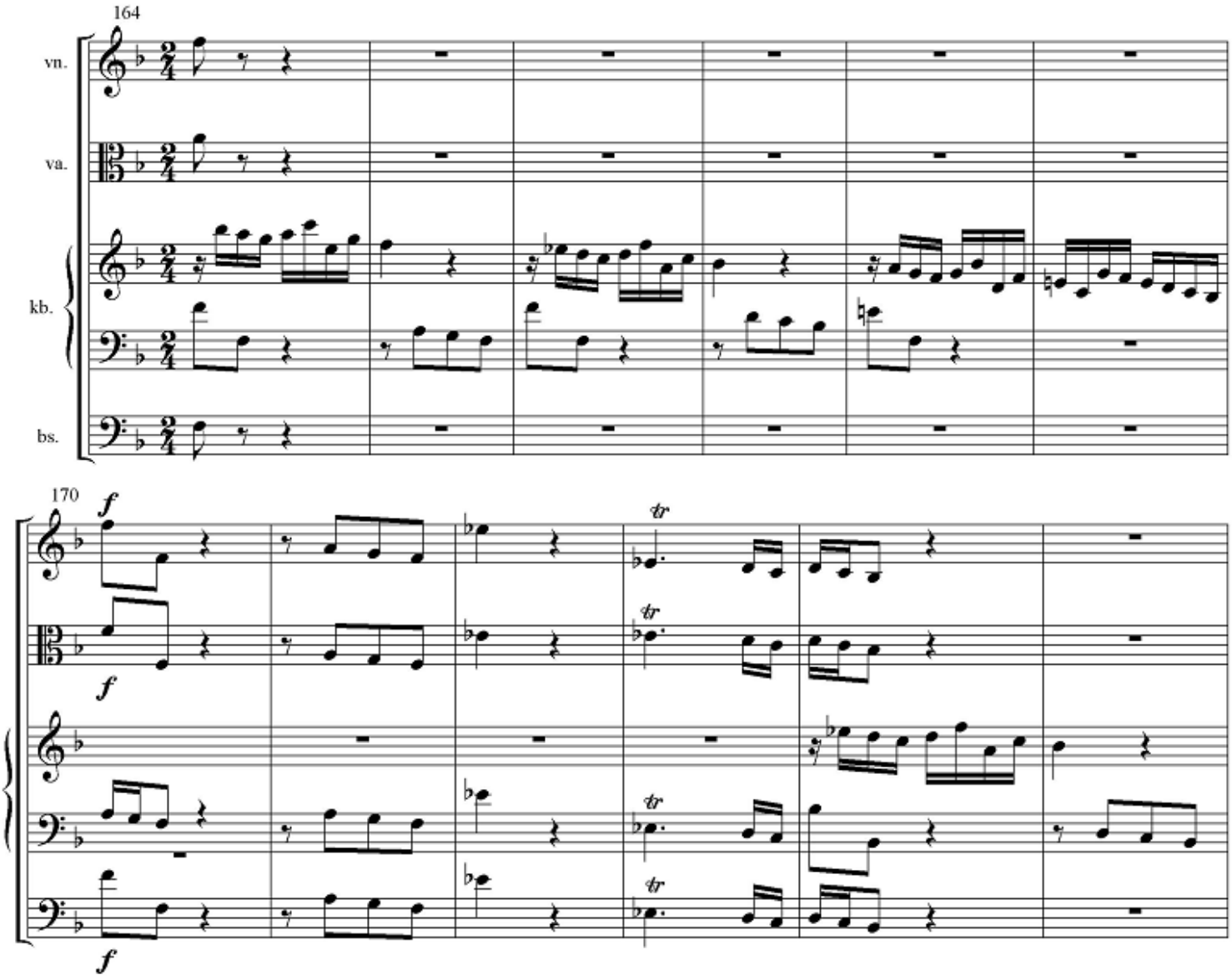
That Fritz Oberdörffer, the first modern editor of the work, selected W. 33 to represent the composer's later concertos speaks highly for his discernment at a time when access to this music was not easy.[193] To be sure, he might have selected it in part because of the rare presence of a

[193] Oberdörffer's edition (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952) was presumably based on research carried out before his emigration to the U.S. and his appointment at the University of Texas in 1950; during the war, he had been persecuted by the Nazi regime (see Roeckle, “Oberdoerffer, Fritz”). At the same time as his edition of W. 33, Oberdörffer published W. 6 as an example of Bach's early work, another percipient choice.

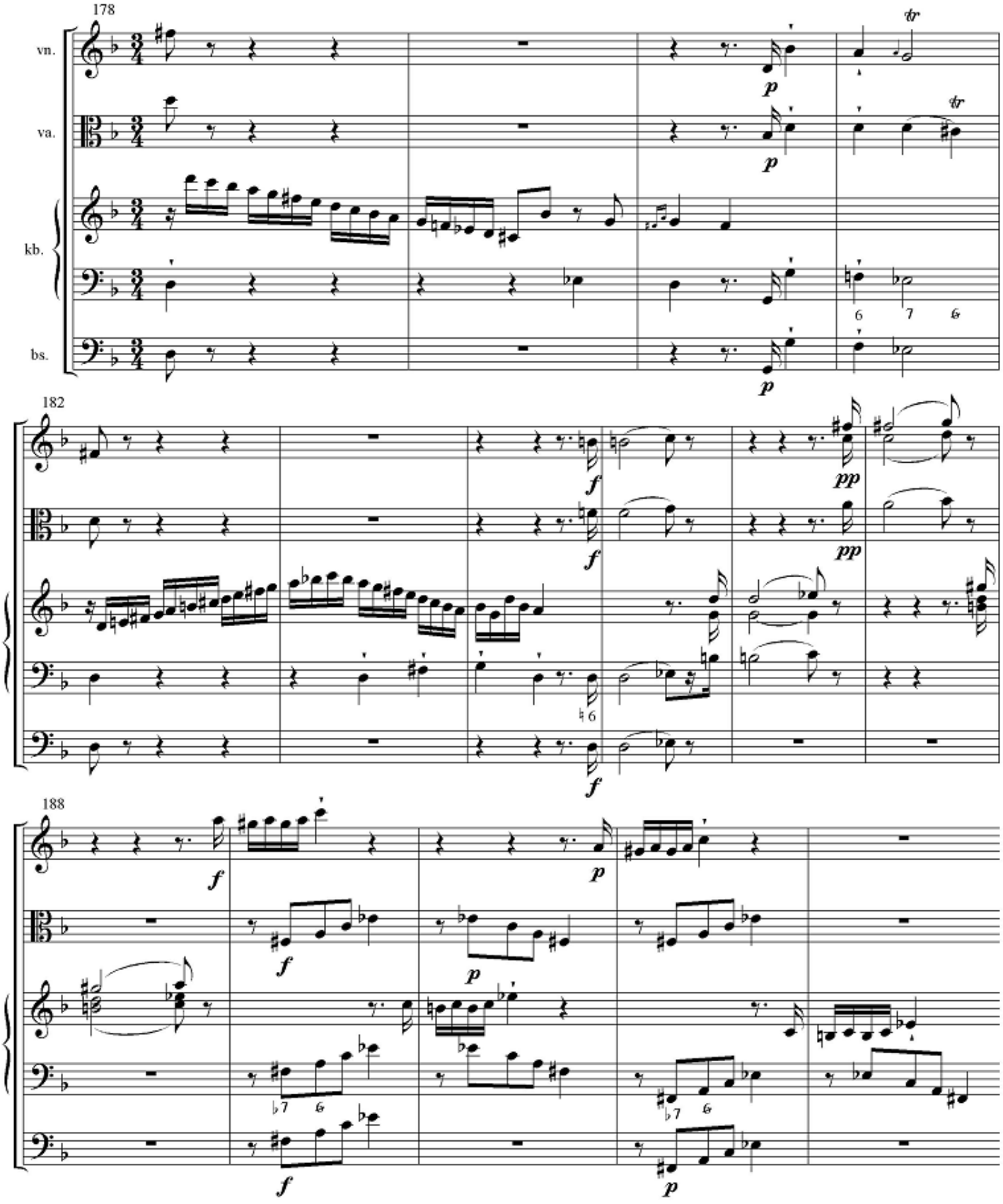
Example 9.25. Concerto in F, W. 33, movement 1, mm. 47–55



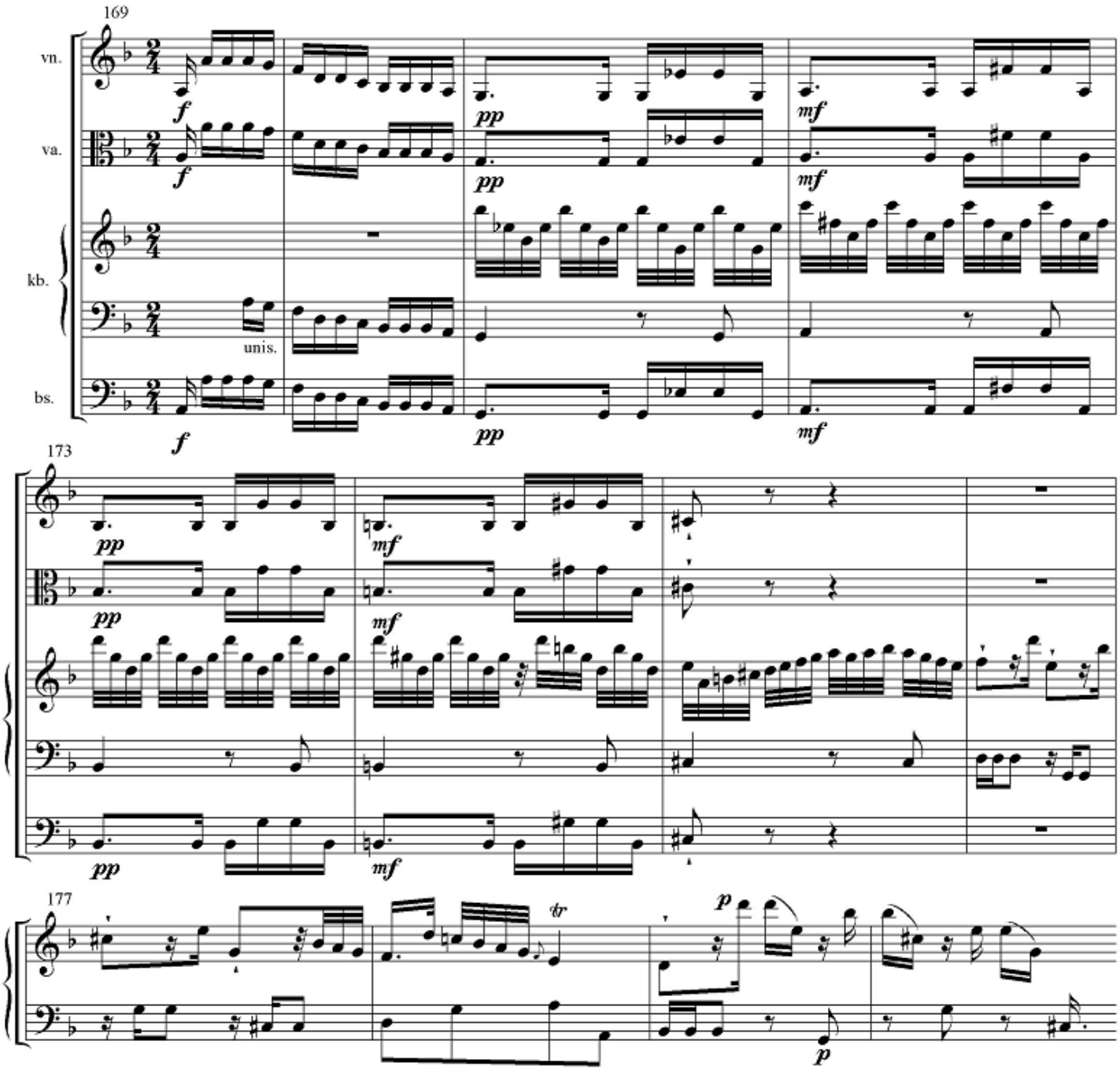
Example 9.26. Concerto in D Minor, W. 23, movement 3, mm. 164–75



Example 9.27. Concerto in F, W. 33, movement 3, mm. 178–92



Example 9.28. Concerto in F, W. 33, movement 3, mm. 169–80



true second theme (in the modern sense) within the last movement. Introduced in the dominant (m. 64) and later recapitulated in the tonic (m. 267), this was the sort of formal detail that members of Oberdörffer's generation sought in Bach's music, where it signified for them a trend toward later Classical and even Romantic style. This now seems an anachronistic way of understanding eighteenth-century music, yet even Oberdörffer's cadenza for the slow movement is concise and restrained, like Bach's own cadenzas (none survives for this work).

Of Bach's seven remaining Berlin concertos, only the three of 1762–63 were originally composed for stringed keyboard instruments. These are fairly ambitious works, contrasting in this respect with the ensemble sonatinas of the same years. Yet none breaks significant new ground unless it is in the intentionally square, periodic phrasing of the Poco adagio in W. 38. The movement is close to the classicizing aesthetic of the sonatinas, despite its D-minor tonality. Its nearly unbroken melodic motion in legato sixteenths is in the decorative manner of the sonatinas, and its pizzicato accompaniment is the type of novel color explored in those pieces. The C-Minor Concerto W. 37 is more serious expressively, and Bach must have continued to perform it at Hamburg, where he varied some of the solo passages and added horn parts for the outer movements.[194] Yet this work too shares some of the compositional laxity of the sonatinas, lacking the ingenuity that Bach applied to his prewar concertos

Bach's four other late Berlin concertos are interesting chiefly for their scoring with solo wind instruments. Of the two that originated as organ concertos—perhaps for Princess Amalia's instrument at Charlottenburg Palace—Bach subsequently arranged the first, W. 34 in G, for flute. In both, the soloist first enters with a *cantabile* "second theme." As in Bach's organ sonatas of the same period, little if anything in these works is uniquely suited to the organ, although the texture of the solo part in W. 34 is a little thinner, on the whole, than in Bach's other keyboard concertos. It contains fewer chords or inner voices, and despite the grand symphonic ritornellos of the quick movements, the solo passagework in the latter consists more often of a single line divided between the two hands. Such things made sense in an organ concerto, and they also facilitated the adaptation of the solo part for flute, which Bach arranged by entering it into a staff intentionally left blank in a copyist's score of the work. He also later revised the second organ concerto, W. 35 in E-flat, although in that case he merely added optional horn parts rather than arranging the solo part for another instrument.[195]

The symphonic ritornellos in both concertos imply grand concert performances with a professional string ensemble. But if these were commissioned by the princess, W. 34 may have proved too challenging, for W. 35 in E-flat is distinctively shorter and its solo part simpler, largely lacking virtuoso passagework. For the flute version of the G-major concerto (W. 169)—Bach's only woodwind concerto to be arranged *from* its keyboard counterpart—Bach rewrote the most obviously unidiomatic solo passages, especially those that descended too low or called for passagework divided between the hands. Another problem, which Bach addressed only after writing out his initial adaptation, was the lack of breathing spaces for the soloist during some of

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[194] Bach's autograph horn parts are attached to his original autograph score in P 356; his autograph variations for the solo part were inserted into Michel's copy of the latter in St 526. Yet cadenzas in the latter for the last two movements were original entries by the copyist; the cadenza for the Andante is integrated into the main body of the movement, as in the Hamburg concertos.

[195] Bach's autograph flute part and basso continuo figures for W. 34 are added in P 769, his horn parts for W. 35 in P 356.

the lengthy passagework episodes. The longest of these originally comprised sixteen measures of unbroken sixteenth notes (movement 1, measures 74–89 and the even longer parallel passage in measures 278–94). Bach broke these up, re-assigning two measures in each passage to the ripieni (measures 77 and 81, then 283 and 287); these provide relief for the soloist while developing the opening motive of the movement in imitation.[196] One wonders whether the changes were made in response to an objection from the flutist who presumably commissioned the arrangement. Bach's alterations appear, however, to have been made soon after his initial entry of the part, and in the last movement he seems to have inserted resting points for the soloist during his initial draft of the flute part.

If Bach did compose the organ concertos for Princess Amalia, she could not have insisted on their exclusive use, for both works circulated fairly widely in manuscript copies, and the first eventually appeared in an unauthorized London printed edition.[197] More cadenzas survive for W. 34 than for any other Bach concerto,[198] and as late as 1831 Johann Christian Kittel, one of J. S. Bach's last pupils, used the theme of the last movement as the basis for a discussion of melodic improvisation.[199] It is most unlikely that Bach prepared the flute version of W. 34 for Amalia's brother the king, for Bach seems to have tossed it off rather quickly. He did begin writing the new solo part rather carefully, also revising the bass line (with new continuo figures) in the partial score that his copyist had prepared for him. He even changed the precise ornament signs of the original keyboard part to plain "tr" markings, since, as he mentioned in the *Versuch,* non-keyboard players knew only the latter. By the third movement, however, Bach was merely adding figures to the lower staff of the original solo part, and many pages pass without a single altered reading for the flute. Bach did have to rewrite a substantial portion of the figuration in the second solo episode of this movement, but when two measures of the latter passed beneath the bottom note of the flute, he simply deleted them.[200] A more inventive strategy, used to break up a long stretch of solo passagework during the final solo section, was the insertion of three measures from the ritornello (following measure 288 of the keybord version). That Bach had not entirely lost interest in the project as he adapted the third movement is suggested by a few instances of so-called "decoloration" *(Dekolierung),* where he simplified the original keyboard figuration to legato eighths (online example 9.29). Nevertheless, Bach's summary treatment of the arrangement contrasts with the care that he took to enter variations for solo keyboard parts in other concertos during the same period.[201]

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[196] The earlier reading of all these measures, with the flute playing a minimally altered version of the original keyboard part, remains visible in the autograph beneath Bach's cross-outs.

[197] *A Second Sett of Three Concertos for the Organ or Harpsicord* (London: Longman, Lukey, ca. 1769–75), containing also W. 18 and 24 (the "first set," published by Walsh in 1765, was a pirated reissue of Bach's own first editions of W. 11, 14, and 25; see CPEBCW 3/7:155).

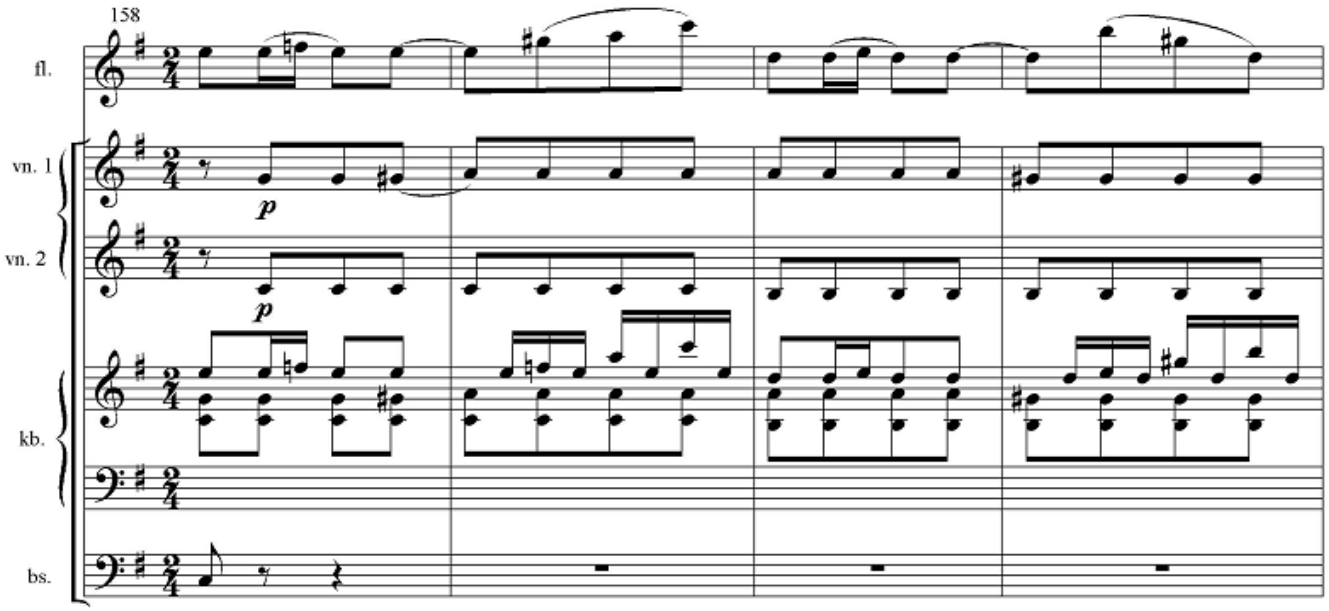
[198] In addition to the eight by Bach himself in Bc 5871 (four for movement 2, two for each of the others), SA 2659 contains an additional group in the hand of Johann Samuel Carl Possin (see Enßlin, *Die Bach-Quellen,* 274).

[199] *Der angehende praktische Organist,* vol. 3 (Erfurt, 1831), 20ff.

[200] The deleted passage corresponds to mm. 146–47 of the keyboard version.

[201] E.g., in W. 4, where the handwriting of Bach's meticulously notated revisions in St 618 appears to date from the 1750s (see CPEBCW 3/9.2:171).

Example 9.29. Concerto in G, W. 34, movement 3, mm. 158–61, with flute version of solo part (= W. 169) on top staff, as in the autograph P 354



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Supplement 9.8. The Concertos W. 41 and 42

By the time W. 41 was performed in 1768, Bach had already written at least the solo keyboard version of what was to be his second Hamburg concerto, W. 42. Because the latter is in many respects a simpler work, it may be considered first.

The original version of W. 42 clearly was conceived as a composition for unaccompanied keyboard. It is not a draft or sketch for the later orchestral version, nor a reduced score like the ones that served as keyboard parts for the six concertos published in 1772.[202] Nevertheless, gaps at the boundaries between what became tutti and solo passages make it imperfectly idiomatic as a solo piece (online example 9.30). Comparable things occur in Sebastian's Italian Concerto and in Emanuel's earlier unaccompanied concerto, W. 112/1. But unidiomatic leaps at such points are more frequent and more extreme here, and the texture, at least in the outer movements, shows even less concern with filling out the harmony of the ritornellos than in W. 112/1. In fact neither of Emanuel's solo concertos is as idiomatic a keyboard piece as is his father's famous work, whose form, on the other hand, is not as close as theirs to that of an actual concerto for soloist and ensemble. Indeed, one cannot be certain whether the Italian Concerto imitates a concerto with a single violin soloist or one with an additional cello soloist as well, given the presence of "solos" for both hands in the last movement.

In creating the ensemble version of W. 42, Bach presumably worked from a no-longer extant draft that served as the exemplar for the existing autographs of both versions. Yet although the first movement was distinctly orchestral in style to begin with, the second movement is less clearly so, and the third preserves unmistakable signs of having been adapted from a keyboard piece. These include the broken-chord bass line of the opening measures and the division of the bass line later between second violin and viola (online example 9.31).[203] Toward the end of the movement Bach even let stand an apparently unfinished reading from his draft, whose empty octaves for the right hand and the questionable voice leading of the left are inferior to the more finished reading of the solo version (online example 9.32).[204]

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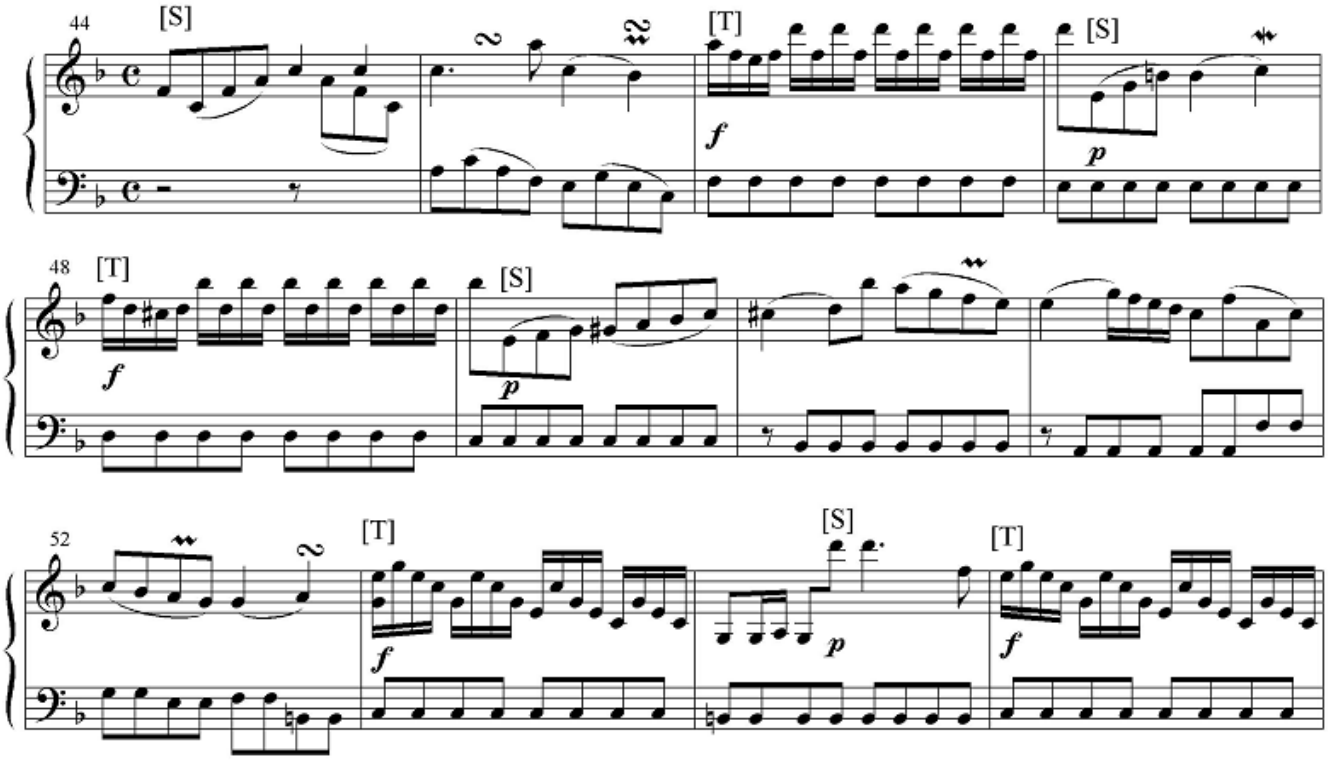
[202] It was therefore misleading to edit the unaccompanied version of W. 42 alongside the solo parts of W. 43 in a volume of "keyboard arrangements" (CPEBCW 1/10). Helm quite properly listed the solo version of W. 42 as a separate item, no. 242. In movement 1, measure 10, where Bach added c' in the lower staff to allow the left hand to take this note, he failed to delete the same note from the upper staff, and the parallel passage at m. 85 was left unmodified; CPEBCW 1/10 mistakenly eliminates the left-hand c' in m. 10.

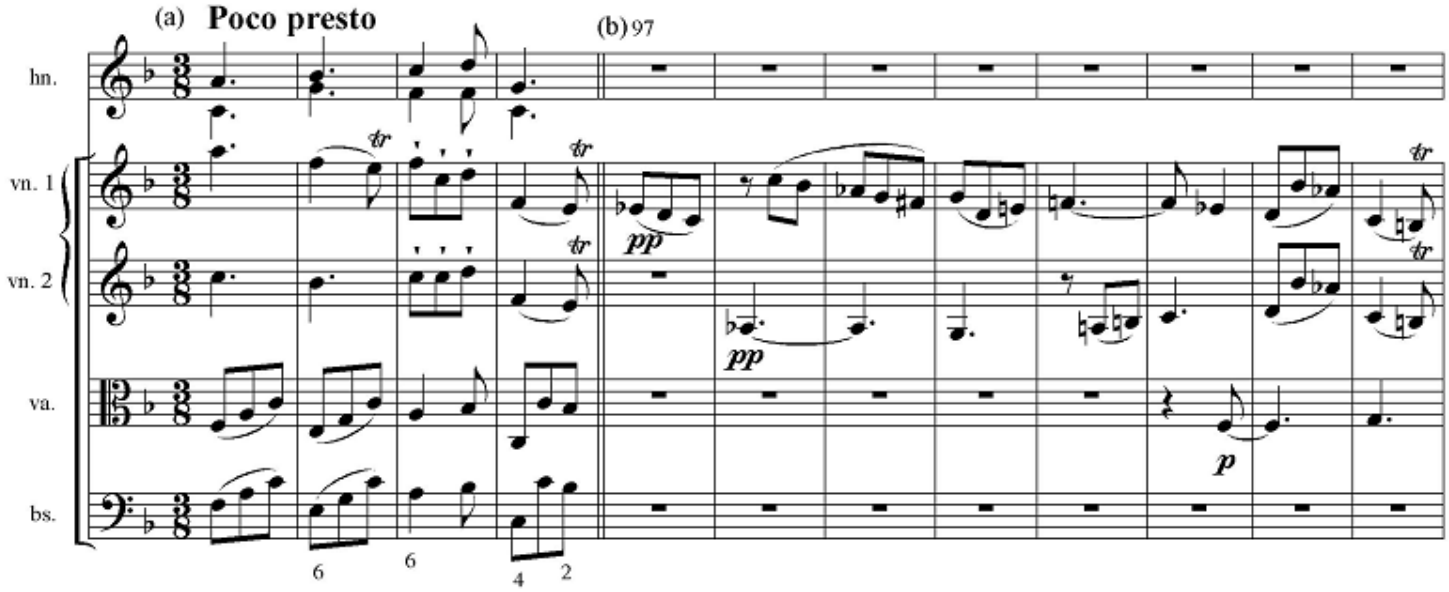
[203] Arnfried Edler lists further indications that the orchestral version is the product of a "transcription" (CPEBCW 3/9.14:xiii), but some readings in the sources may simply reflect uncertainty due to an illegible or confusing exemplar.

[204] Apparently the three sources of W. 42 agree on the readings in the passage in question, although their stemmatic relationships are not clearly explained in CPEBCW 3/9.14:137–38 (the discussion there suggests that St 212 and SA 2616 give earlier versions than the principal source, Bc 5887).

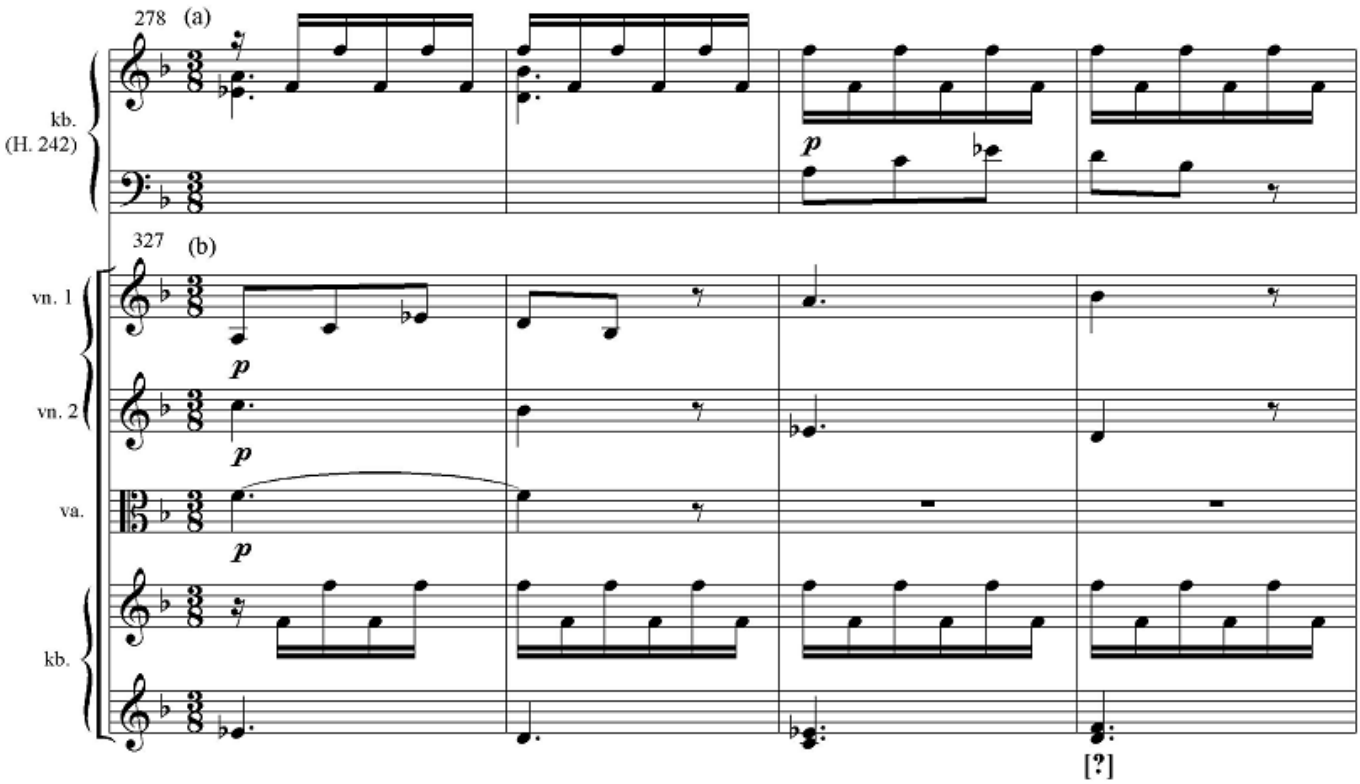
Example 9.30. Concerto in F for solo keyboard, H. 242, movement 1, mm. 44–55 (“S” = solo passage in W. 42; “T” = passage for tutti)



Example 9.31. Concerto in F, W. 42, movement 3, (a) mm.1–4, (b) mm. 97–104



Example 9.32. (a) Concerto in F for solo keyboard, H. 242, movement 3, mm. 278–81, with (b) corresponding passage in ensemble version, W. 42, mm. 327–30



The grander scale of W. 41 is immediately apparent in its slow introduction, which is repeated at the dominant after the first solo episode in the main part of the first movement. The latter is in the genuinely orchestral manner of Bach's late Berlin symphonies. Moreover, it draws as closely as anything by Bach to the Viennese Classical style that was just emerging at this time in compositions by Haydn and the teenaged Mozart. The thematic material in the main, quick sections is that of Bach's Berlin symphonies—hardly thematic at all in the usual sense, rather mostly rushing scales and broken chords of various types. The first movement, however, also introduces a recurring idea exchanged between the flutes and violas (mm. 45–46, 76–79) that functions somewhat like a true Classical second theme. The recurrence of the opening Largo is a characteristic surprise, but the movement otherwise contains none of Bach's signature fragments or interruptions, and even the cadenza is prepared in the Classical manner (as previously in W. 30).

An eight-measure solo passage within the Largo is reminiscent of the sonatinas, constituting a varied repetition of the preceding orchestral phrase. The second movement, also marked Largo but unrelated thematically, likewise relies heavily on Bach's special brand of variation technique, but it achieves something more than the somewhat similarly conceived movements in the sonatinas. Although the spacious melodic line of the second movement seems freely spun out, the first sixteen measures of the ritornello are in fact varied in the corresponding portion of the first solo episode. The parallelism is not as obvious as in the varied reprises of the sonatinas,

however, for the phrasing no longer comprises simple periods and the keyboard figuration is more independent than usual of the original melodic line. The movement therefore seems rhapsodic, if not formless, even though the entry of the second ritornello in the dominant provides a clear formal articulation (m. 55). Thereafter, however, the movement lacks distinctive divisions until the cadenza, which leads not to a closing ritornello but the transition to the following movement—another instance of the innovative approach to form that would be a basic feature of Bach's next six concertos.

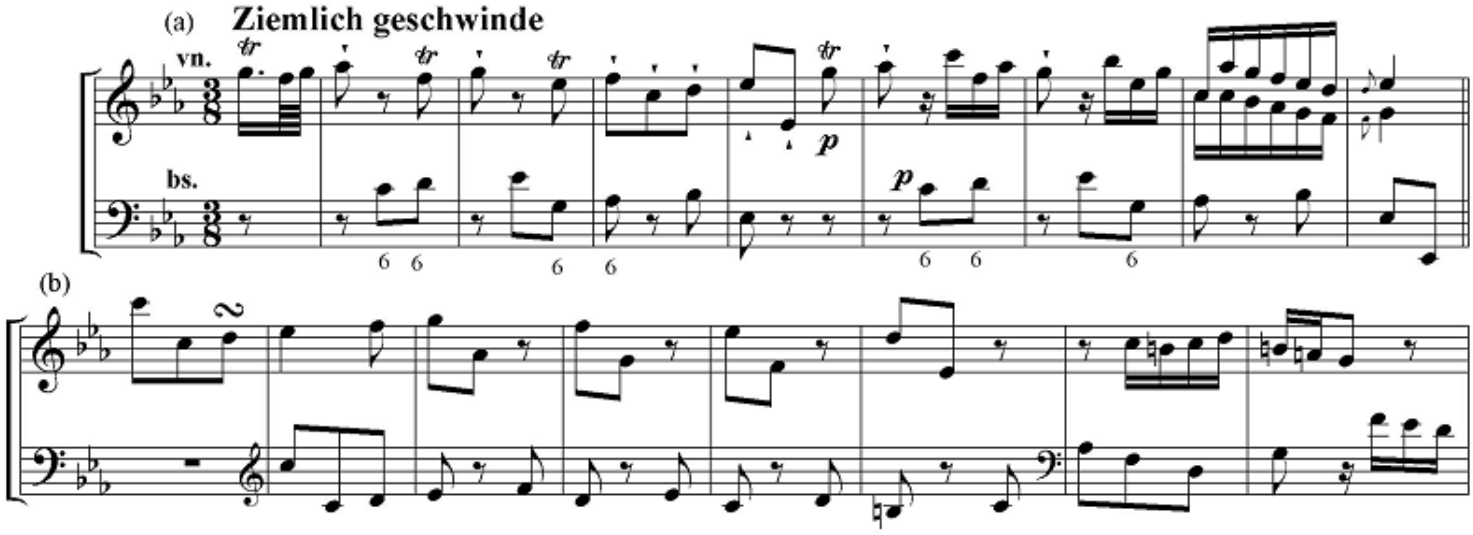
This second movement is best viewed as a binary form, the latter half opening with a restatement of the first sixteen measures at the dominant (mm. 55–70). The movement lacks a return or even a distinct recapitulation section, although brief passages from the first half are restated in varied form. After the tutti restates the first eight measures of the ritornello at the dominant (mm. 55–62), the keyboard restates its variation of the next seven measures (mm. 63–69). Those seven measures are then varied again, a whole step lower (mm. 70–77), and this brings the music back to the tonic C major. After that only brief passages from the ritornello are restated, mostly in varied form. The reappearance within a long, discursive passage of a few vaguely familiar bars, as when mm. 25–27 from the opening ritornello return in a variation with solo keyboard (mm. 95–97), is one way in which Bach creates the particular dream-like atmosphere of this very special movement.[205]

Whereas the rhythm and phrasing of this second movement recall Bach's lieder, the last movement has some of the character of a rondo finale. The same was true of Bach's previous concerto finale, that of W. 42, which arguably *is* a rondo. Both movements are quite long, and the finale of W. 41 can be considered a more mature version of the same type, realized at less excessive length. In W. 42, the rondo character of its concluding Poco presto lies in the fact that its main theme returns in the tonic twice (at mm. 205 and 303; see table below). Although the first of these restatements is short and might be considered a false reprise, that the movement is distinct formally from anything in Bach's previous concertos is evident from his revisions for the orchestral version. These included insertions of substantial new material within a passage that recurs in three of the five solo episodes (“S” or “s” in the table).

Like the finale of W. 42, that of W. 41 can be analyzed in the same terms as Bach's usual concerto-ritornello form. But again there is an extra reprise in the tonic, near the center of the movement (now within the solo episode at measure 200; see table below). The light minuet character of the main theme is even closer than that of W. 42 to a type common in the Classical rondo, perhaps representing Bach's “comic” style. There is an older parallel as well, however: the main theme of the “Rondeaux” *(sic)* in J. S. Bach's Second Partita (online example 9.33). Both themes are essentially sequences that can emerge effortlessly out of contrasting material when the theme is restated; this was a clever way of making what is still a very long movement seem a little shorter.

[205] Measures 77–78 are parallel to measures 16–17; mm. 86–89 to mm. 41–44; mm.90–92 to mm. 16–18; and mm. 95–97 to mm. 25–27.

Example 9.33. (a) Concerto in E-flat, W. 41, movement 3, mm. 1–8 (without horns and violas; flutes double violins); (b) J. S. Bach, Partita no. 2 in C minor, BWV 826, movement 5, mm. 1–8



Formal design of H. 242 / W. 42, movement 3

section:	R	S	R	S	r^1	s	R	s^2	r^3	S	R	(end)
key:	F	F–>	C	C->	F->	->	Bb	->	F	F	F	
measure number in:												
H.242:	1	56	114	154	186	200	217	218	236	254	262	328	329	372
W. 42:	1	56	57	115	134	173	205	219	236	267	285	303	311	377	401	454
number of measures inserted in W. 42:	1		18					30					23			

Corresponding passages in W. 41, movement 3

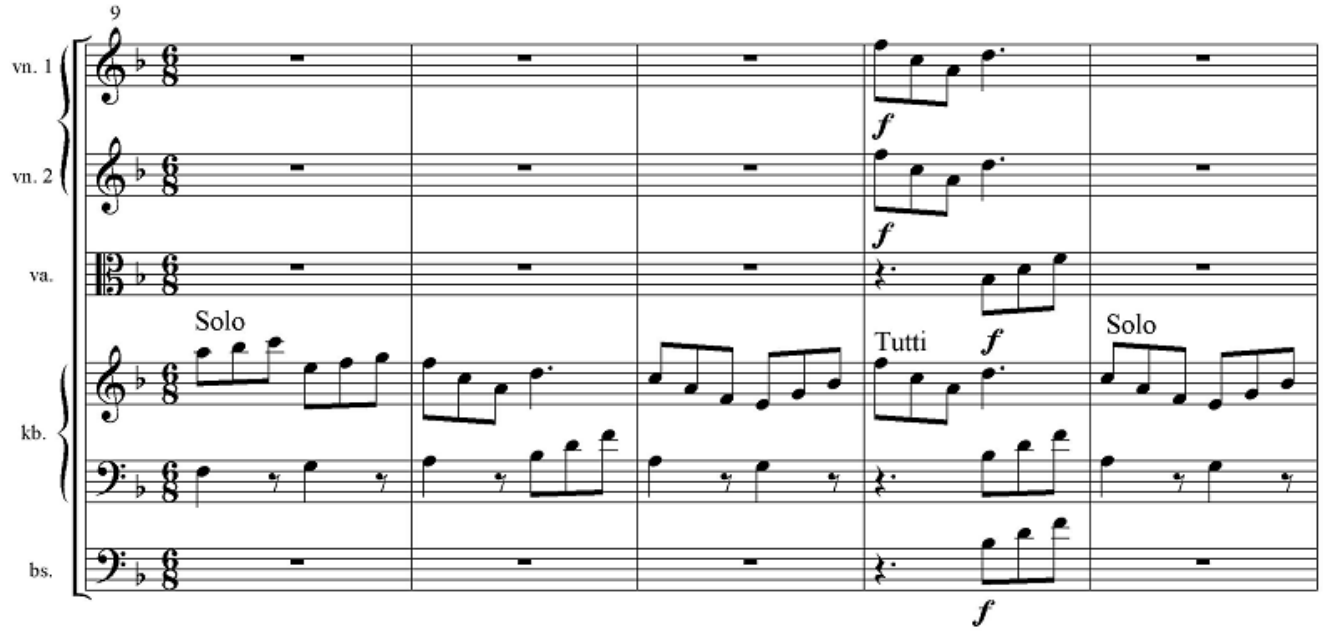
section:	R	S	R	S	r	s^1	r	s^2	r^3	S	R	(end)
key:	EbEb->		Bb	->	c->	Eb->	Ab	->	Eb	Eb	Eb		
m.:	1	48	98	126	177	200	216	219	272	276		287	320

R = main ritornello r = short or secondary ritornello
S = main episode s = additional episode -> = modulating to the next key shown

[1]false reprise [2]retransition [3]return

The first concerto in W. 43 contains a number of features that would have delighted connoisseurs, even if they startled amateurs. The written-out cadenza in the first movement, which begins without the conventional grand fermata on a 6/4-chord, represents the first, relatively modest, incursion of fantasy style into the work. In the last movement, the soloist enters after just eight measures, repeating the theme just stated by the tutti—which, however, interrupt the soloist to play one measure on their own, afterwards continuing with the remainder of the ritornello. Bach never repeats the joke exactly, although it has echoes in several unpredictable interruptions of the solo episodes by the violins (online example 9.37).

Example 9.37. Concerto in F, W. 43/1, movement 3, mm. 9–13 (without horns)



By contrast, the C-Minor Concerto, the "one-movement" work (W. 43/4), would almost be a normal concerto allegro if the inserted adagio and minuet movements were removed. Yet the second ritornello is unusually short—only eight measures—and after the recapitulation there is an additional solo episode in the tonic containing new material (at measure 325; see table below).[206] The Minuet is a self-contained binary form or small rondo comparable to movements

[206] The table counts measure numbers in three alternative ways. The first "m." line counts all measures in a single sequence; the second (marked "Allegro") counts only measures of the Allegro portions of the work, as if these constituted a normal opening movement. The third "m." line (marked "CPEBCW") shows measure numbers from the edition in CPECEW, vol. 3/8,

in the sonatinas, but the Adagio is a distinctive type of shortened transitional slow movement peculiar to this set of concertos, although similar to slow movements in some of the string sinfonias of W. 182.

The Concerto in C Minor, W. 43/4

"movement":	Allegro					Adagio					
section:	R	S	r	S	r	R	S	r	S	r	s
key:	c	c->	Eb	->	f	d–g	->	Bb	c->	Eb	->
m.	1	31	70	78	113	122	130	139	143	152	156
m. (Allegro)	1	31	70	78	113	—	—	—	—	—	—
m. (CPEBCW)	1	31	70	78	113	1	9	18	22	31	35

"movement":	Minuet							
section:	A (tutti)	A' (solo) ‖:	b1 (solo)	a2 (tutti)	b2 (solo)	a1 (tutti)	a2' (solo) :‖	coda
key:	Eb	Eb	Eb->	Bb	->	Eb	Eb	->
m.	159	175	191	199	207	223	231	239
m. (Allegro)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
m. (CPEBCW)	1	17	33	41	49	65	73	81

"movement":	Allegro							adagio	minuet	allegro		(end)
section:	r	s	s[1]	r[2]	S	r	S	cadenza			R	
key:	f	f	->	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	
m.	245	253	265	273	281	320	325	351	354	358	366	(384)
m. (Allegro)	113	121	141	149	149	188	193	219	222	226	234	(252)
m. (CPEBCW)	1	9	21	29	37	76	81	107	110	114	122	(140)
parallel passage in first Allegro	‖1–8	‖9–20	‖1–8	‖39–40, 82–112		‖24–28	‖52–57	‖122–124	‖159–162		‖4–7, 16–30	

R = main ritornello r = short or secondary ritornello
S = main episode s = additional episode
‖ = parallel to -> = modulating to the next key shown

[1]retransition [2]return

In fact, Bach did not simply insert two contrasting movements into an ordinary concerto Allegro. The proportions of the latter are altered such that the third ritornello, which in a normal movement would have functioned as the retransition, occurs less than halfway through. Instead, the third ritornello functions as a bridge to the first of the two inserted movements. After the Minuet, the Allegro continues where it left off, at a point corresponding to measure 113.[207] But the retransition, that is, the modulating passage that returns to the tonic, does not begin until

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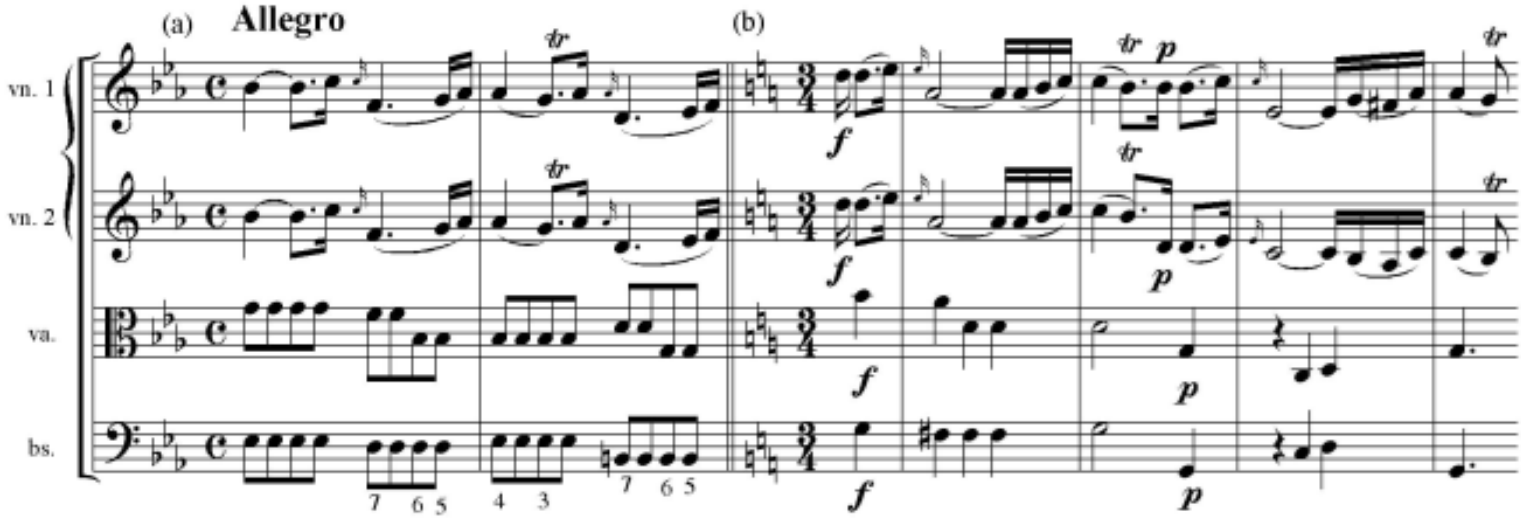
which resets the measure count to 1 at the beginning of each section.

[207] Without the inserted movements, the Allegro contains 252 measures, not counting the bridge in measures 113–21 to the Adagio.

somewhat later than it would have done in a normal concerto movement (at measure 265), and the recapitulation is, as noted above, expanded by an additional solo episode (at measure 325). The latter, although not breaking any new tonal ground, serves as an extended lead-in to the cadenza, which plays a more important role than usual, recapitulating fragments from both of the inserted movements. These are briefly recalled before being cast aside for good by the concluding ritornello of the Allegro.[208]

The C-Minor Concerto is therefore an unusually integrated work; whether the other concertos of the set are equally coherent is less certain. At times one wonders whether the modulating bridges or codas at the ends of movements are merely superficial links between what are still essentially self-contained compositions, as in the ensemble sonatinas. Thematic integration would be a nineteenth-century solution to this problem, but only in no. 3 does thematic material from one movement return in the course of another: the slow movement abandons its own theme after the initial ritornello, and subsequent tutti passages instead present a triple-time variant of the ritornello theme from the first movement (online example 9.38). The slow movement's opening theme is not heard again in its original form, although the keyboard twice states a variation of it (in measures 9–16, repeating the entire ritornello as in W. 41, and the opening once again in measures 26–27).

Example 9.38. Concerto in E-flat, W. 43/3, movement 1, (a) mm. 1–2, (b) mm. 16–20 (without horns and flutes)



[208] The three measures that restate the theme of the Poco adagio are marked *Poco allegro,* but the cadenza doubles the original note values.

Elsewhere these concertos will disappoint anyone seeking integration in the nineteenth-century sense. Even if the cyclic construction of no. 4 anticipates Beethoven's Fifth or Ninth Symphony, the other concertos seek no such grand unification. Still, not all the linkages between movements are entirely superficial. In no. 3, the surprising tonality of the slow movement—C major, within a work in E-flat—prefigures the out-of-key opening of the final movement, which begins on the dominant of F minor (V of ii). This opening, moreover, is integrated into the design of the latter movement in a way not seen in earlier modulating ritornellos, such as that of the slow movement in the Concerto W. 23. In that case the movement as a whole had a conventional tonal design, modulating after the initial ritornello to the dominant and then the mediant. Concerto no. 3, however, makes iii (G minor), not V (B-flat), the initial modulating goal; the dominant is reached only much later, at the beginning of a short tutti passage best described as the start of a retransition (m. 158). As in no. 4, moreover, the final section in the tonic is unusually lengthy, reflecting the need to confirm the home key after the tonal peregrinations not only of this movement but of the concerto as a whole. Disproportionately long within the context of the finale alone, the extended recapitulation (mm. 180–255, not including the last ritornello) makes sense within the three-movement cycle.

In no. 5, on the other hand, the opening of the last movement, comprising four measures in the subdominant (C), seems to be completely unprepared. The concluding four measures of the Adagio prepare the dominant of G, as expected, but the Allegro therefore seems to be begin in the wrong key, producing the jarring progression D–C at the boundary between the two movements. C major is reinterpreted as IV by the end of the opening phrase, but the main theme of the Allegro never appears in the tonic G. Subsequent tutti entries do begin in their proper keys, stating the theme on the dominant and subdominant, respectively (D at measure 75, C at measure 104). This, however, is also part of the joke, for the C-major entry of the tutti is hardly a ritornello; rather it commences a step sequence that modulates quickly to D major, then E minor.[209] The progression is reversed in the actual third ritornello (mm. 135–46), which functions as the retransition, descending from E minor through D to C. The latter marks the return, in the subdominant as at the opening of the movement. Whether this works may depend on the listener, but it is possible that in this instance Bach miscalculated and that the last movement is tonally incoherent. The sinfonias of the next few years succeed in pulling off a number of comparable tricks; only one other ostensive linkage between movements in any Bach work seems equally problematical.[210]

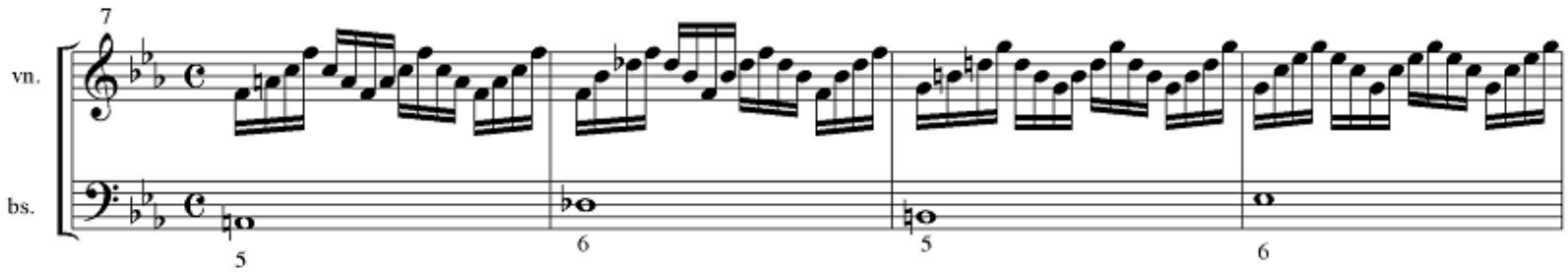
[209] On “step sequences,” see online supplement 8.4.

[210] In the keyboard sonata W. 58/2, which begins in G, the transition to the last movement, in E major, is perhaps even less prepared (further discussion in chap. 10).

Supplement 9.10. Sara Levy and the Double Concerto W. 47

The four works for Levy were Bach's most important project during his last year. Bach had been preceded by Jean-François Tapray in composing pieces specifically for harpsichord and fortepiano, with accompanying strings and winds. Possibly Levy had heard or played them, but even if Bach knew Tapray's pieces, his concerto shows no trace of influence by them.[211] He appears to have been in vigorous good health until shortly before his death on Dec. 14, 1788; nothing in the music shows any decline of energy or imagination. One might complain of a lack of distinctive melodic writing, but the reliance on arpeggiation and formulaic "variation" for both themes and passagework had been Bach's manner for some time. String players then as now might have regretted the unidiomatic arpeggios in the first movement, which sustain mild interest only through their surprising harmonies and irregular bass line, as well as a rhythmic pattern that runs against the meter in a manner that calls to mind modern scores by Philip Glass (online example 9.44).

Example 9.44. Double Concerto in E-flat, W. 47, movement 1, mm. 7–10 (first violin and bass only)



As in the sonatinas, the flutes are effectively a second pair of soloists. Indeed, in writing the concerto Bach must have recalled his two ensemble sonatinas with double keyboard (W. 109–10)—more so than his first double concerto (W. 46), composed almost half a century earlier although subsequently revised. To be sure, in all four works Bach treats the two keyboards much as his father did in *his* double concertos, balancing a solo by one with a solo for the other. Thus, in the first movement of W. 47, substantial portions of the second and third solo episodes consist of complementary passages for the two keyboards. Each of these solo episodes is essentially a large sequence, the entry by the second soloist constituting a transposed repetition of the first,

[211] Tapray's four *symphonies concertantes* were published at Paris from 1778 to 1783 (edition by Bruce Gustafson, Madison: A-R Editions, 1995). All are with strings, two including horns as well, and one has an additional solo part for violin. Two duos for harpsichord and piano by Henri-Josef Rigel, op. 14 (Paris, ca. 1777) are equally remote stylistically from Bach.

much like the complementary solos in vocal duets and in Bach's instrumental trios from earlier in the century.[212]

Levy is not known to have possesed a copy of Bach's earlier double concerto, but she did own at least five of the ensemble sonatinas, including the grand one in D for two keyboards (W. 109).[213] Apart from its instrumentation, however, the concerto has little in common with Bach's sonatinas. Levy also owned only a few of Bach's solo concertos, and apparently none of the late ones; therefore she would not have noticed that her double concerto opens rather like Bach's previous concerto (W. 45), with its *piano* opening and repeated triadic motive. Nor, unless she was familiar with the six works of W. 43, would she have realized that the three movements of W. 47 are in the same tonalities as those of the concerto in the same key from the earlier set (E-flat, C, E-flat). In fact W. 43/3 is less conventional than the Double Doncerto, but this could be because Levy's commission required a work in three full-size movements. Although the second movement is joined to the third, the modulating bridge between them is an extension of the final ritornello; it develops the idea of a loud B-flat that had disturbed the tranquility of the newly established C major at the beginning of the movement. That B-flat now points the music back to the tonic E-flat of the work as a whole (online example 9.45). The idea actually goes back to the first movement, where similar surprise "flat" notes in the orchestra—(E-flat in measure 102, A-flat in measure 117—kick off the long complementary solos for the two keyboard instruments.

The bridge to the third movement, however, lacks anything for the soloists and is free of fantasy style. Bach had written something like it to join the two movements of the G-major flute sonata of 1786 (W. 133). There the bridge leads to a modulating rondo, whereas the present finale is a fairly regular ritornello-sonata form. Yet the two Presto movements are similar in character, down to the repeated-note figures in their principal themes (online example 9.46). The flute sonata, thought to have been composed for the virtuoso Christian Carl Hartmann,[214] ends with particularly brilliant and extended passagework in concerto style. The actual concerto movement, although not without a short final flourish for the two soloists (mm. 298–301), makes its climactic points through a means hardly used elsewhere in Bach's late works: counterpoint.

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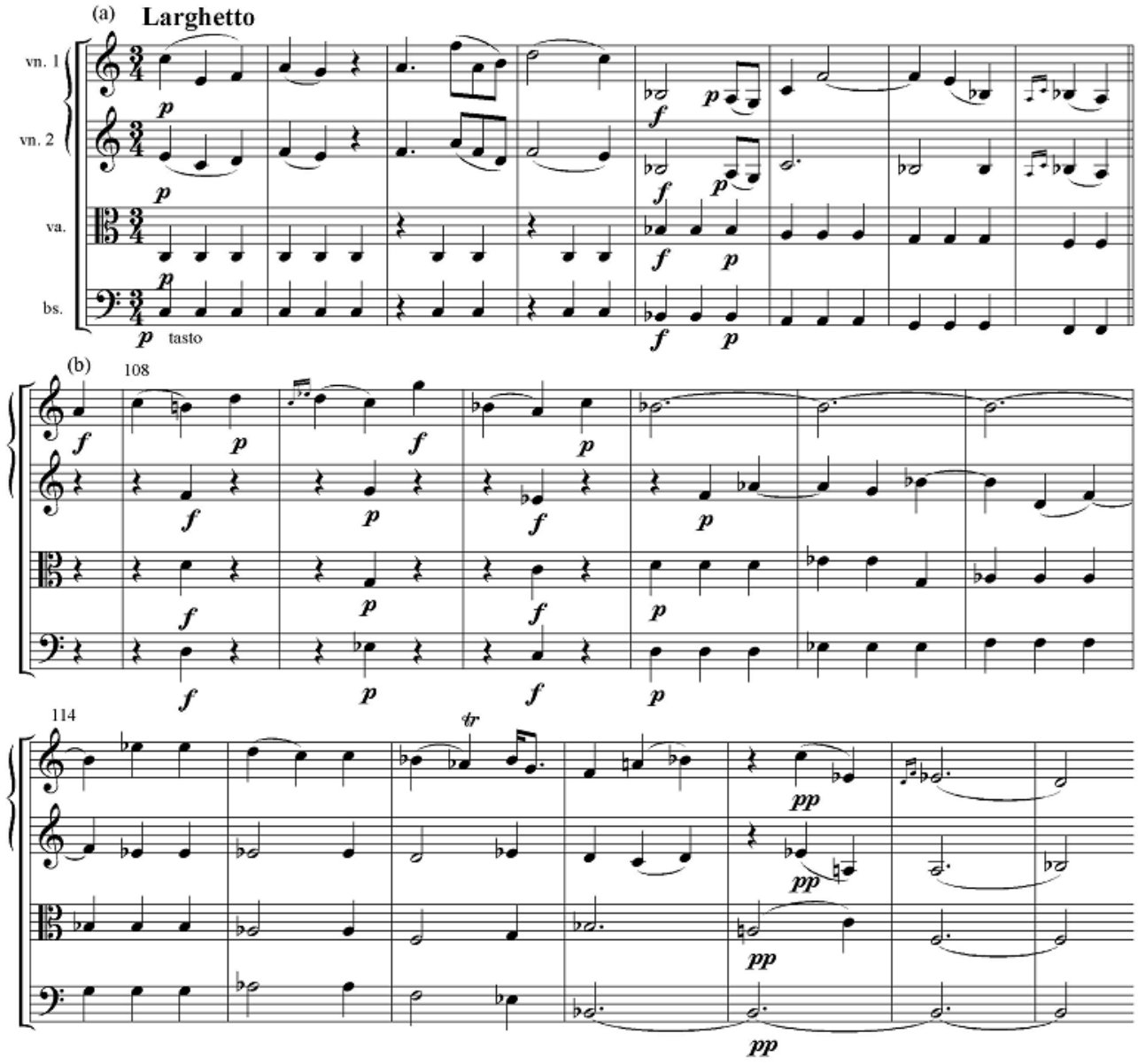
[212] The first of these sequential solo episodes (mm. 103–30) passes—remarkably—from A-flat to G minor, then (a fifth lower) from D-flat to C minor. The somewhat shorter version of the passage in the final section (mm. 173–90) is less precisely sequential, modulating between F minor and B-flat, then D minor and B-flat again—not, perhaps, the most elegant solution to a difficult formal problem.

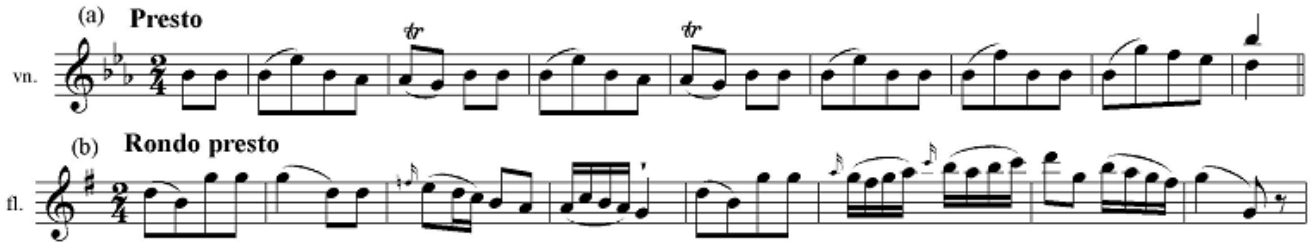
[213] Levy also owned W. 96, 107, 108, and 110; the last of these is the second sonatina for two keyboards, but Levy's copy (SA 4835) is of a short early version without horns or the second solo part.

[214] See Miller, "C. P. E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," 216–17.

Example 9.45. Double Concerto in E-flat, W. 47, movement 2, (a) mm. 1–8, (b) mm. 108–20, both without flutes (which largely double the violins)

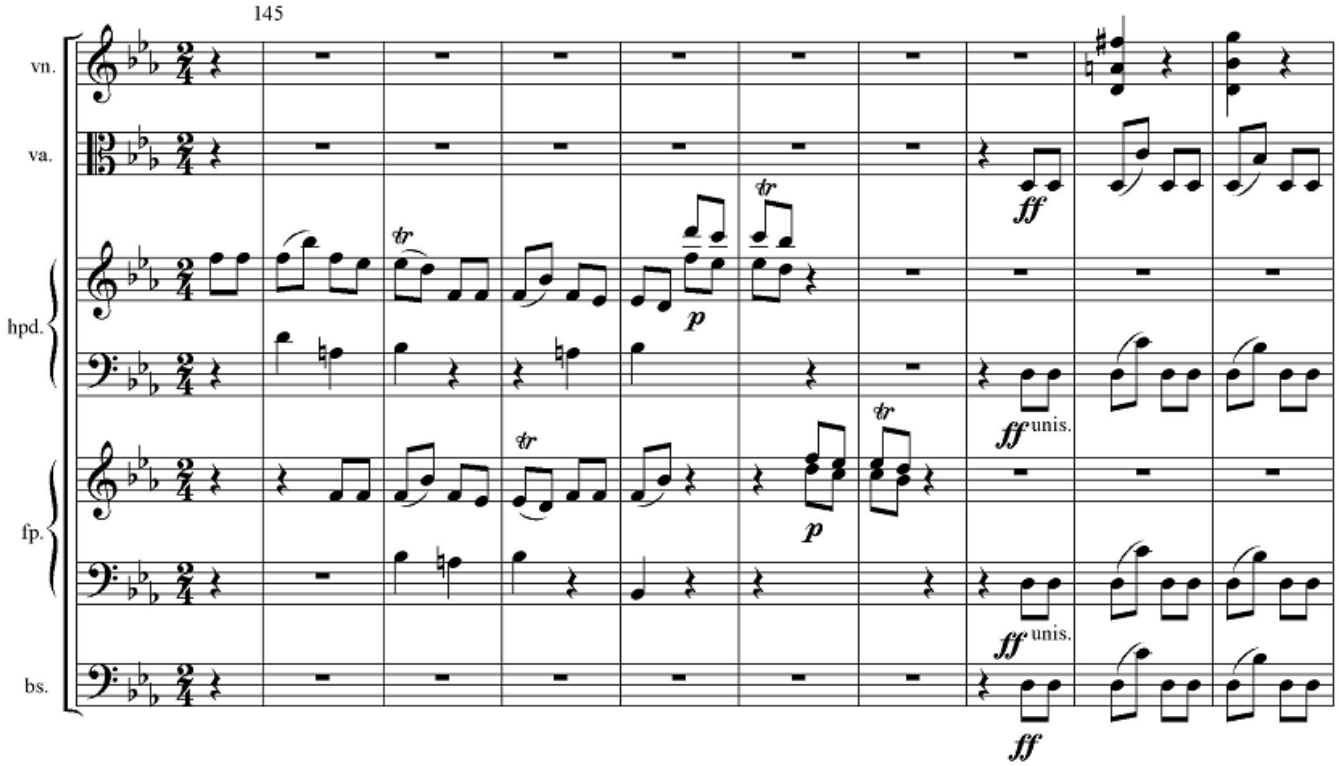


Example 9.46. (a) Double Concerto in E-flat, W. 47, movement 3, mm. 8 (violins only); (b) Sonata in G for flute and continuo, W. 133, last movement, mm. 1–8 (flute only)

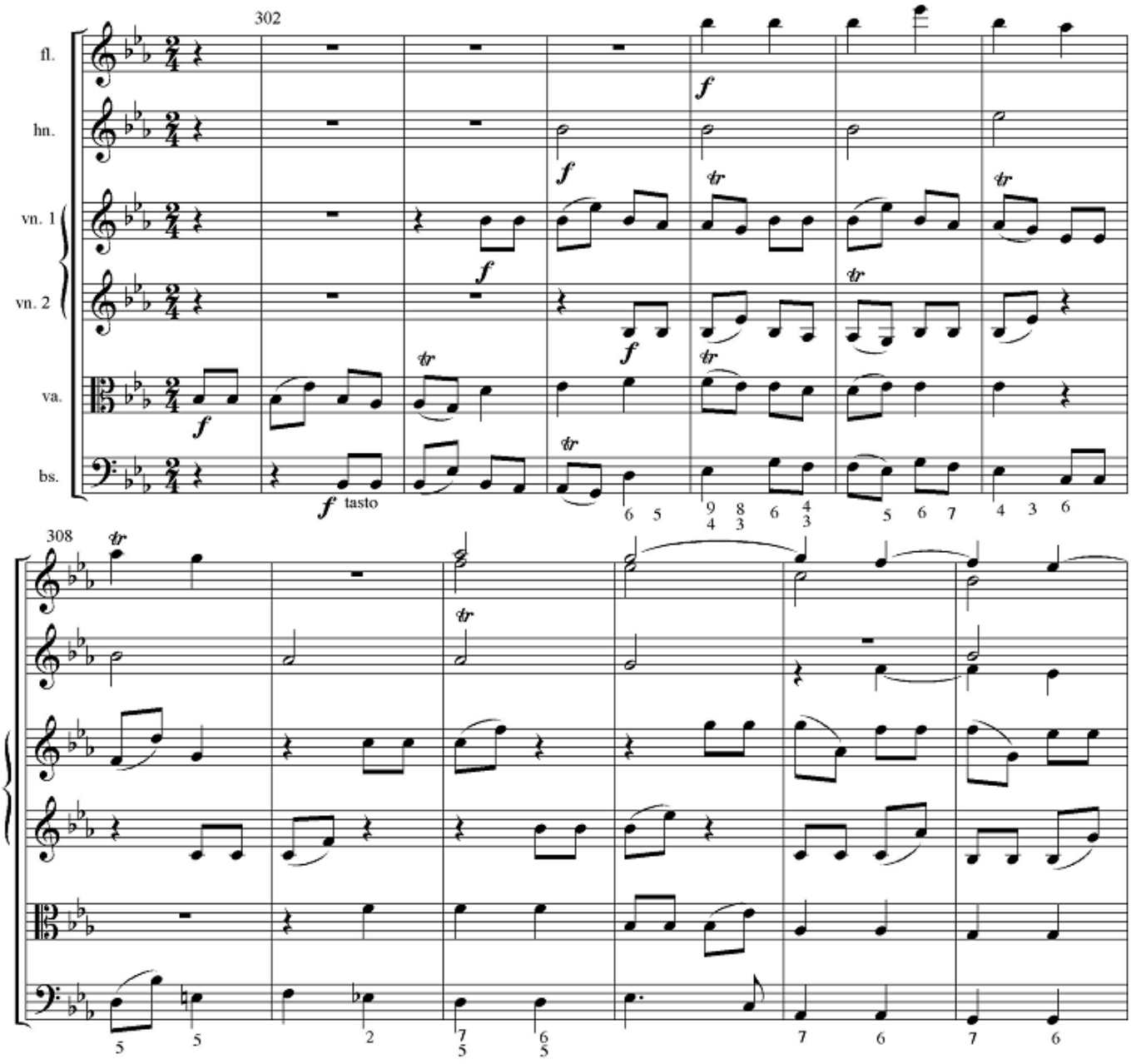


Brief imitative treatments of the main ritornello motive, a type of writing that Friedemann Bach particularly favored, appear at several points in the last movement. In general, however, Emanuel had always avoided the hard-to-follow little canons that his brother enjoyed inserting into his concertos and other works. Each time Emanuel tries out such imitative writing here, he seems to break it off in favor of something simpler (online example 9.47). Until the final ritornello, the most meaningful counterpoint in the movement involves not canon but the combination of the main theme in one of the solo parts with running figuration in the other. The result, hardly profound, is a closing passage signaling that the solo episode is heading for a final cadence (as in measures 111–18). Thus it is a pleasant surprise that the recapitulation of this almost pat, formulaic passage, at the end of the final solo episode, leads not to a refrain of the opening ritornello but to a new contrapuntal development of its main theme. The movement, and with it what was possibly Bach's final work as a composer of instrumental music, culminates in a six-part canon that incorporates two levels of augmentation in the winds (online example 9.48). The result is hardly an *Art of Fugue*, and like the late flute sonata the concerto actually ends with a unison cadential formula. Yet the counterpoint is just sufficiently intricate to serve Bach as a way of acknowledging his legacy, within a composition that is entirely his own.

Example 9.47. Double Concerto in E-flat, W. 47, movement 3, mm. 145–53 (without flutes and horns)



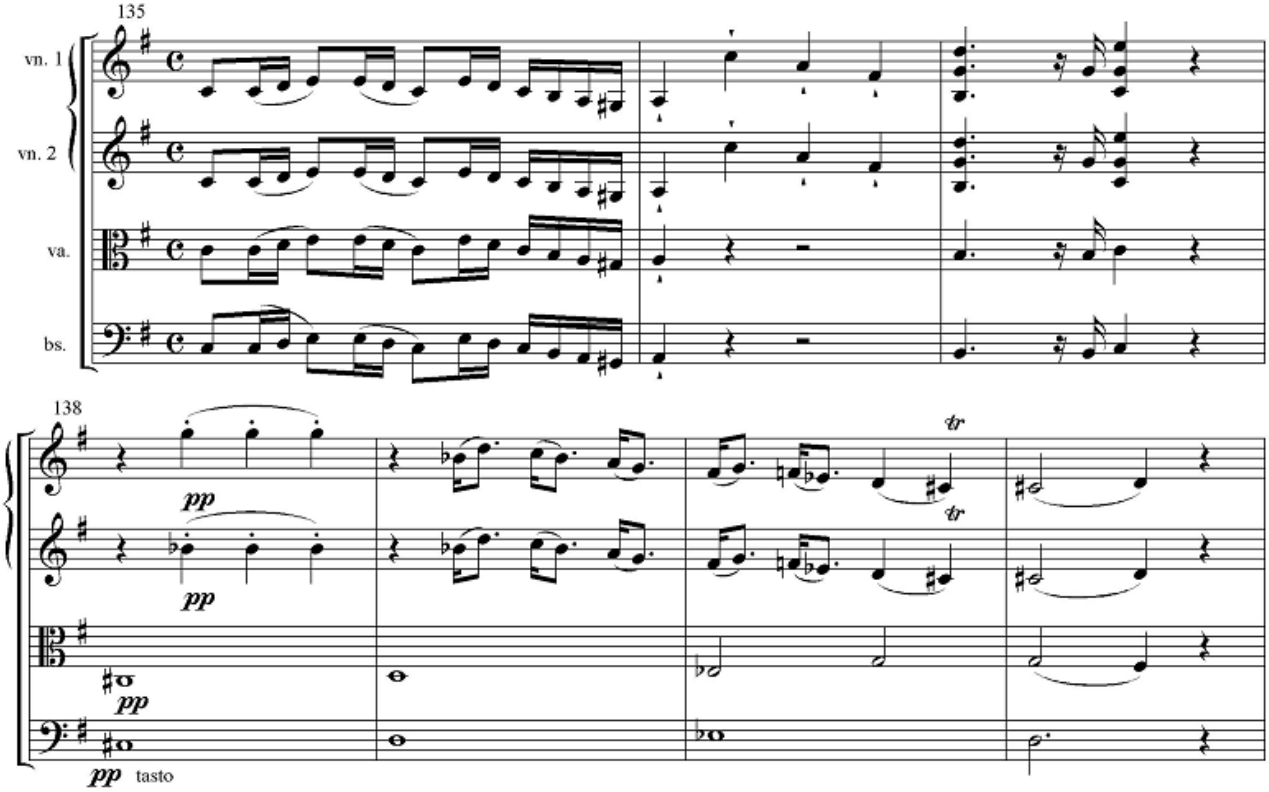
Example 9.48. Double Concerto in E-flat, W. 47, movement 3, mm. 302–13



David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 9.11. The Later Berlin Sinfonias

Although many sinfonias probably served to open concerts, the minor mode of W. 177 might have made it unsuitable for that purpose; perhaps it would have been reserved for opening the second half of a program.[215] Hasse's high opinion of the work probably reflected not only its expressive intensity but its simplicity; its gestures are direct and uncomplicated, like those in Hasse's own music. Bach's later sinfonias incorporate more of the dramatic pauses and modulations that here are limited to the transition between the first two movements (online example 9.51). Even that progression is chromatic rather than enharmonic or otherwise indirect, and elsewhere the rhythm throughout the work has the straightforward character typical of early sinfonias. Only the last two or three of Bach's Berlin sinfonias employ with any frequency the same expressive irregularities of phrasing and harmony that characterize his other compositions. Such things would have puzzled listeners accustomed to the bland if entertaining sinfonias that not only open the operas of Hasse and Graun but were composed in large numbers by the latter's brother Gottlieb.

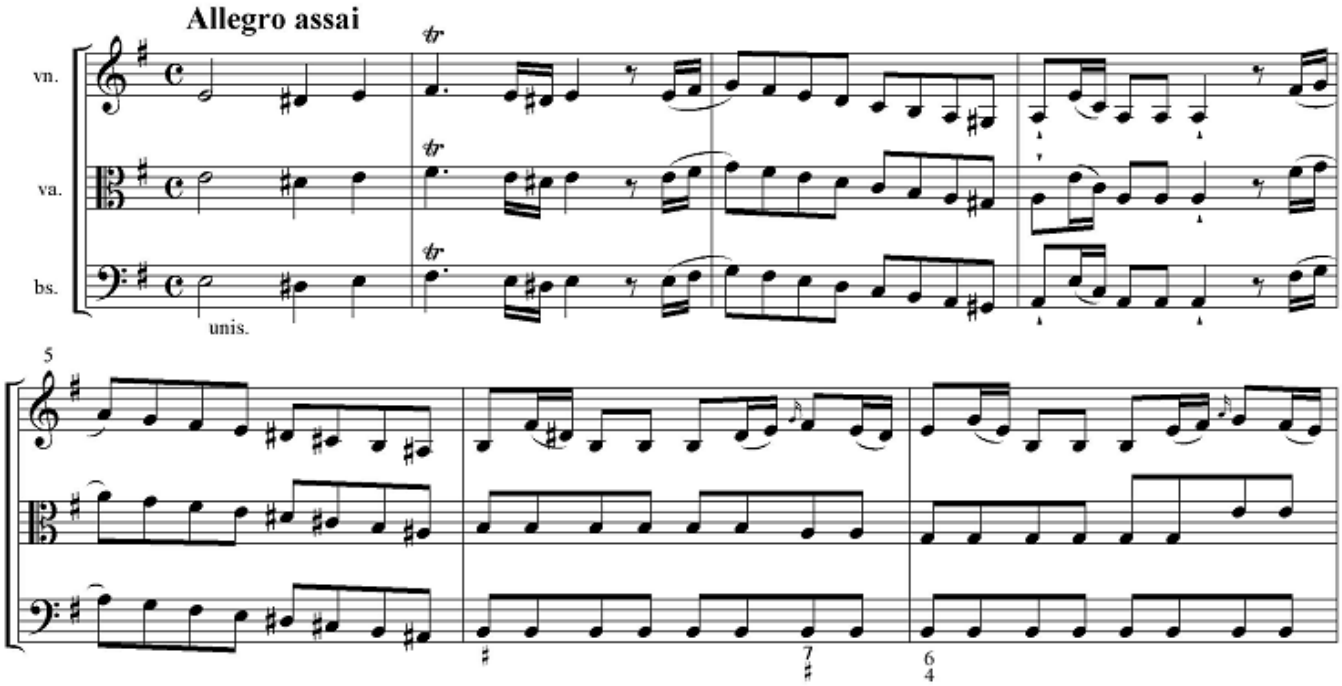
Example 9.51. Sinfonia in E Minor, W. 177, movement 1, mm. 135–41



[215] Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany,* 2:44–48, describes a concert heard in Dresden in which each half opened with a different symphony.

The E-Minor Sinfonia opens with some of the conventional fingerprints of a “rage” aria: unison (or octave) writing for the strings; short, accelerating phrases separated by rests (online example 9.52). Thanks to Beethoven, we think of such intense expression as normal in a symphony, but it took real creative vision to imagine the possibility of incorporating it into an orchestral work of this type. Although the thematic material of the two following movements is also distinctive, only with the following three sinfonias of 1757–58 and 1762, Bach's last such works for Berlin, did he incorporate his signature devices into the genre with something like the frequency used in other works. These sinfonias anticipate features of the Hamburg examples, including the close juxtaposition of ever more varied textures and rhythms, frequent full stops or fermatas (especially in first movements), and increasing reliance on harmonically inspired writing rather than melodies as such. As in earlier sinfonias, however, and as in the ensemble sonatinas with which the last of these Berlin works overlaps chronologically, the connections between movements remain a superficial way of integrating them into a cycle. Modulating codas often seem tacked on, added inorganically after, or in place of, the final cadence of the first or second movement. Rarely do the later movements, typically touching and witty, respectively, achieve much depth, although that is true generally of Bach's music of the period, in which he seems to have taken a rather narrow view of what could be conveyed in music for public performance.

Example 9.52. Sinfonia in E Minor, W. 177, movement 1, mm. 1–7



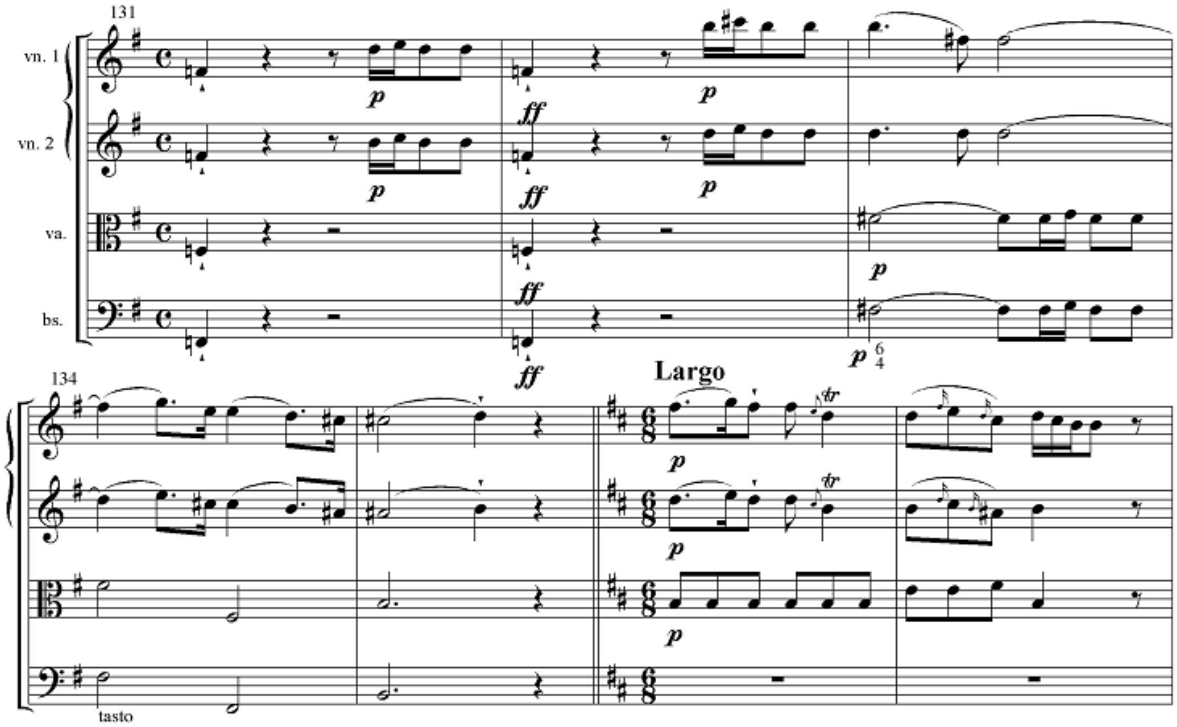
One detail that nevertheless reflects the increasing subtlety that Bach applied to the genre is the unconventional preparation for the middle movement in the G-Major Sinfonia of 1758 (W. 180). The Largo is in B minor, and we might expect that key to be prepared by its dominant. Yet Bach ends the transition with a cadence on the new tonic—albeit a cadence that ends inconclusively, the upper voice resting on the third of the chord (online example 9.53). Paradoxically, this "tonic preparation" seems less direct or obvious than the common dominant preparation heard at the corresponding point in the F-Major Sinfonia of 1762 (W. 181; see online example 9.54). There may be no strong reason for Bach's use of one type of link as opposed to the other, but in W. 180 it is probably related to the third-relation (G–b) between the first two movements, and to the quiet opening of the Largo without continuo.

Despite such modest challenges to convention in Bach's last Berlin sinfonias, they continue to rely heavily on textures that the composer evidently regarded as especially appropriate for such works. Unison or octave writing is common—both verbatim doubling, as in the opening of the E-Minor Sinfonia, and a sort of embellished doubling in which the bass instruments play a simplified version of the violin line (or, rather, the lower instruments extract the bass from a polyphonic melody, as in online example 9.55). The tradition of unison themes in concertos and arias went back at least to Vivaldi and would have been well known to Emanuel through his father's D-minor concerto, which he copied in its early form BWV 1052a. Quantz, describing the *concerto grosso,* mentioned not only the use of "unison passages" but of ritornellos that are "more harmonic than melodic."[216] This remark applies as well to Bach's sinfonias, whose use of arpeggiated opening themes recalls the original function of the sinfonia as a call to attention, a sort of elaborate fanfare, at the beginning of an opera. The idea of the sinfonia as a noisy way to begin an evening of music persisted at least to the end of the Berlin years; Bach's G-Major Sinfonia of 1758 ends with almost exactly the same emphatic cadence used in his first one (online example 9.56).

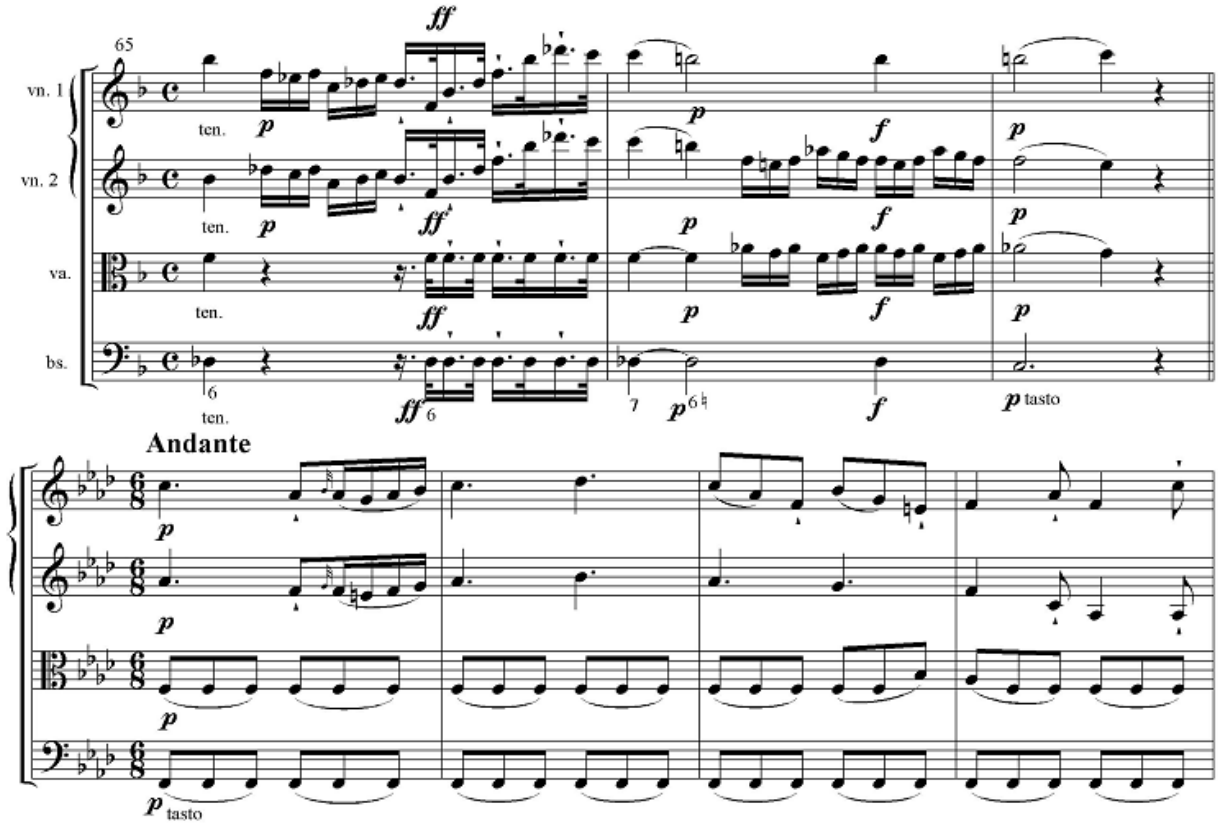
The two works also share another idea that Bach evidently associated with the genre: a type of syncopated pedal tone, typically placed in the upper voice. Such a pedal tone could be developed in a step sequence, as in the middle section of the early G-Major Sinfonia (online example 9.57). The idea achieves a sort of apotheosis in the first of the Orchestral Sinfonias, whose opening movement begins with an archetypal example (see online example 8.23). In the latter, incidentally, the ascending triad formed by the three pedal tones (d"–f-sharp"–b") is also articulated in eighths as the principal motive in the lower voice.

[216] Quantz, *Versuch*, xviii.31, defining the *concerto grosso* as in modern usage (as a work with multiple soloists). Oleskiewicz, "Quantz and the Flute at Dresden," 268, cites the example of Quantz's early group concerto QV 6:6, which Bach likely knew in a version in the Prussian royal collection (ibid, 273–75).

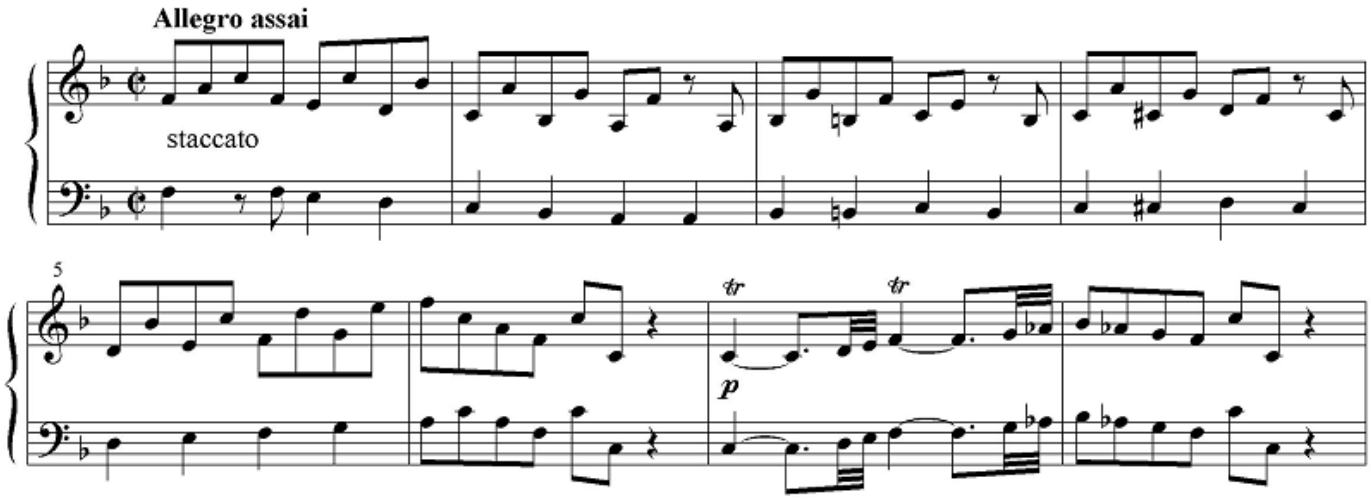
Example 9.53. Sinfonia in B minor, W. 180, movement 1, m. 131, through movement 2, m. 2 (winds omitted)



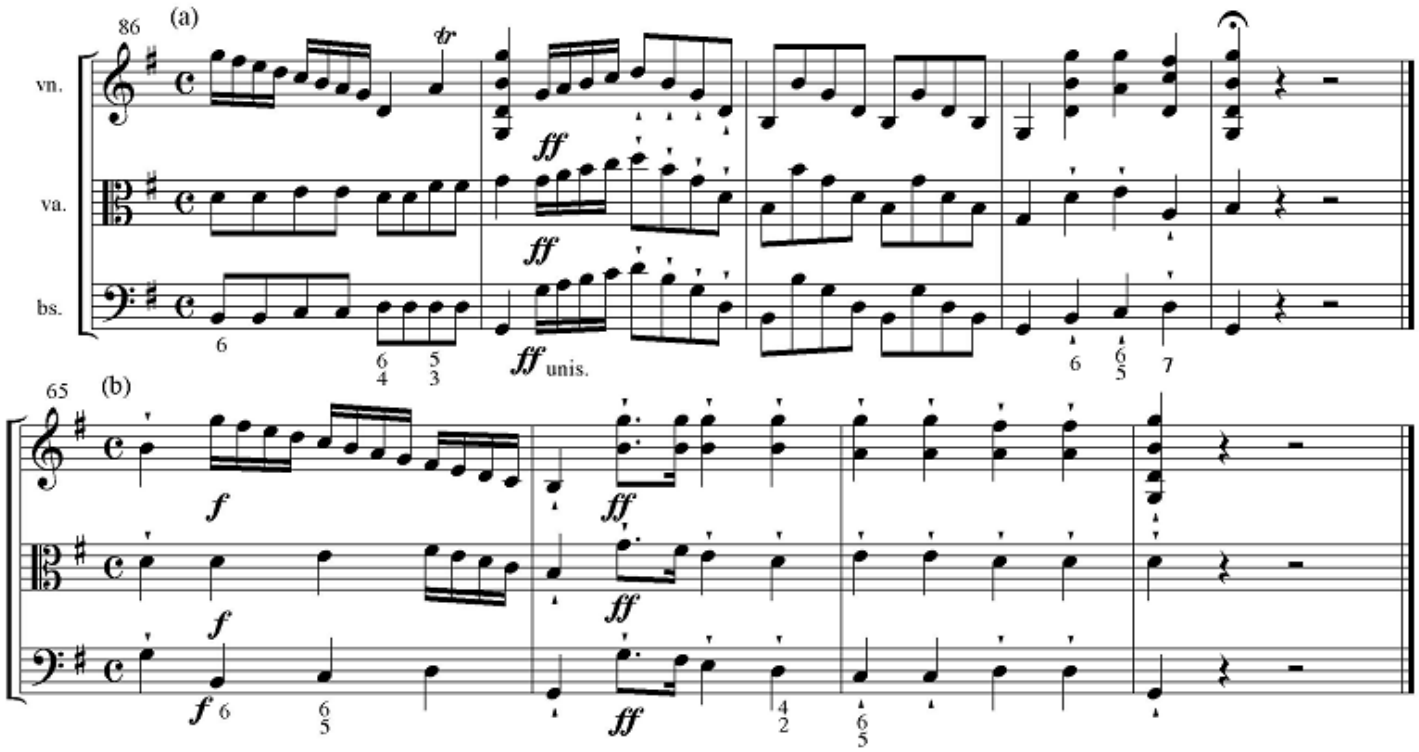
Example 9.54. Sinfonia in F, W. 181, movement 1, m. 65, through movement 2, m. 4 (winds omitted)



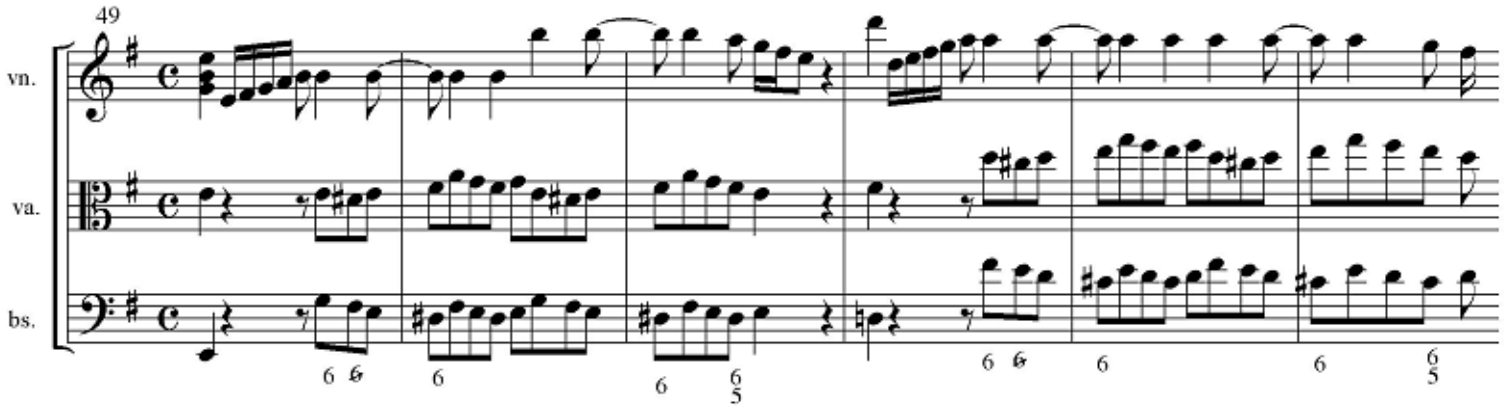
Example 9.55. Sinfonia in F, W. 175, movement 1, mm. 1–8 (as arranged for keyboard in W. 122/2



Example 9.56. (a) Sinfonia in G, W. 173, movement 1, mm. 86–90; (b) Sinfonia in G, W. 180, movement 3, mm. 65–68 (without winds)



Example 9.57. Sinfonia in G, W. 173, movement 1, mm. 49–54



David Schulenberg
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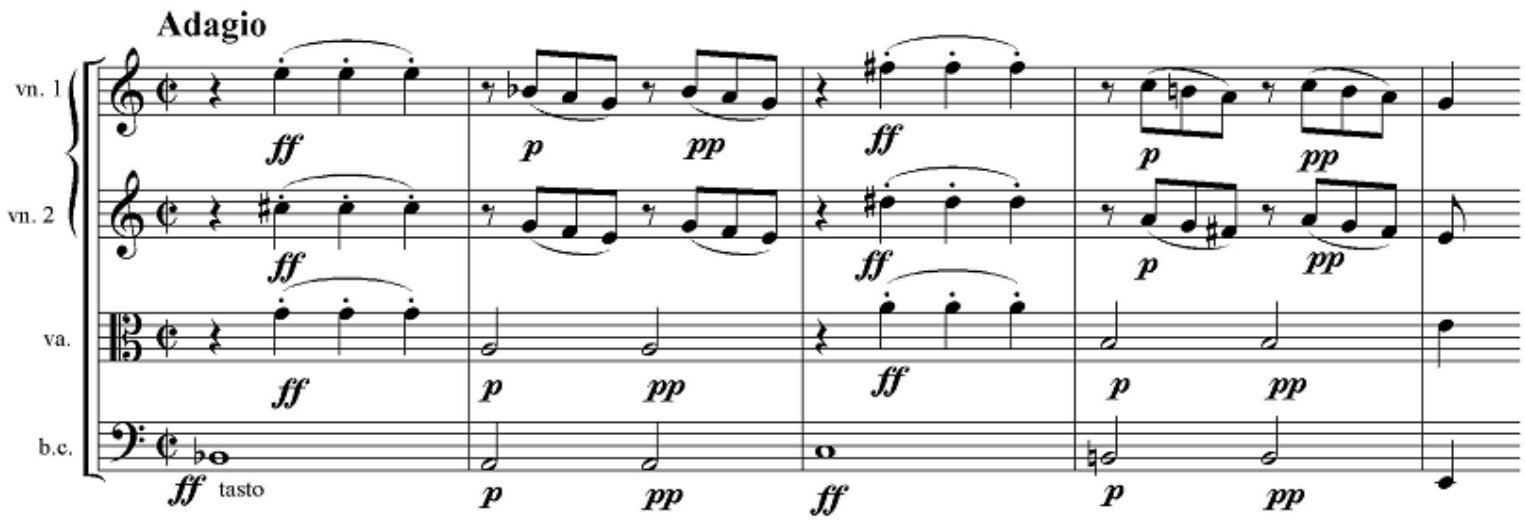
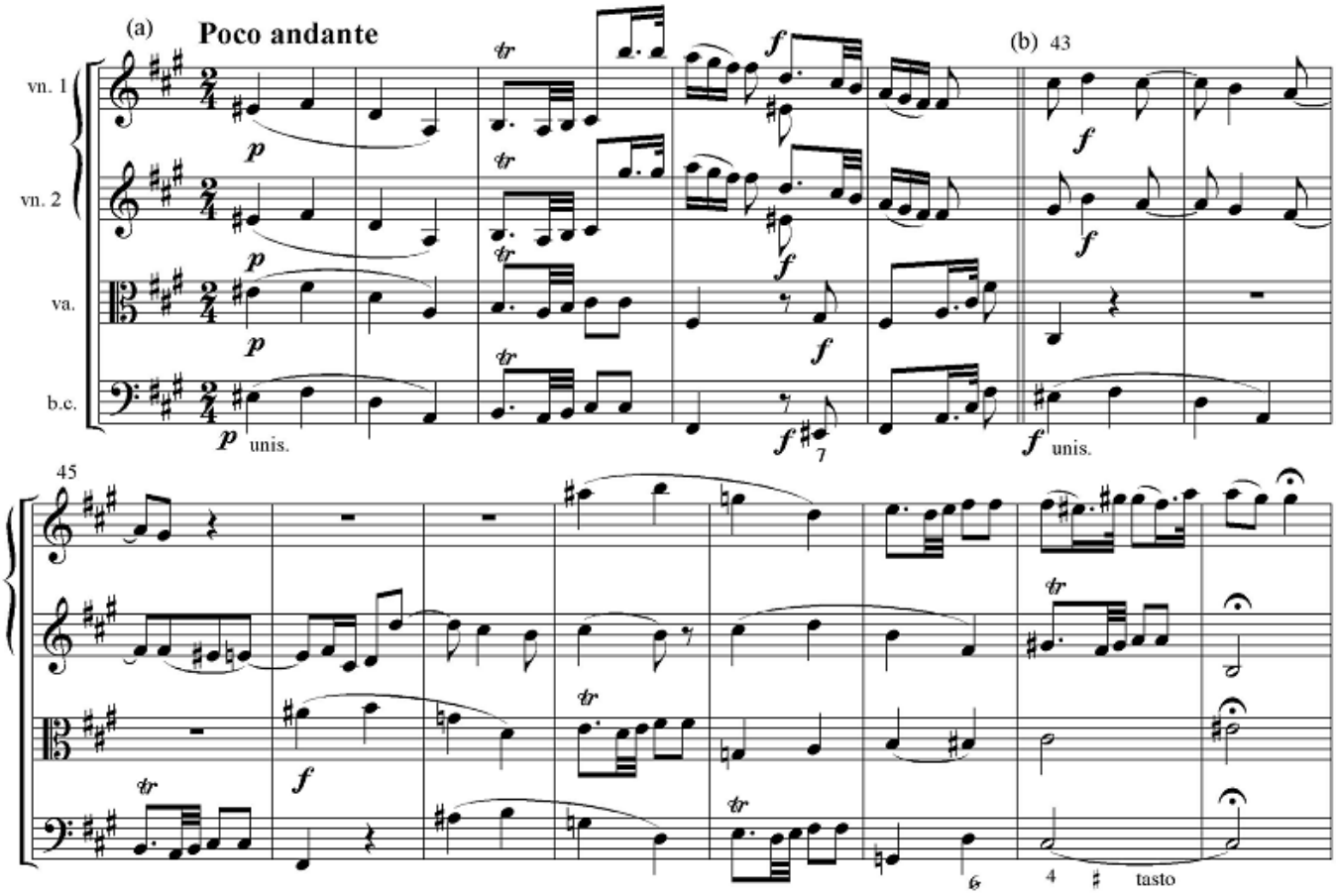
Supplement 9.12. Further Analysis of the String Sinfonias W. 182

One important distinction between the two Hamburg sets of sinfonias lies in the greater autonomy of the slow movements in the works for strings, where the slow movements of all but no. 5 are closed tonally. Even in no. 5, the second movement is a quasi–ritornello form, like the first. Nevertheless, the slow movements retain a transitional character in their constantly shifting tonality and epigrammatic thematic ideas. In no. 3, the "ritornello" is a four-measure modulating sequence over the B-A-C-H bass line, and in no. 6 it consists of little more than four gnomic quarter notes, played in octaves (online examples 9.60 and 9.61). Although this idea proceeds toward a standard cadential formula, the tonality comes into focus only gradually, and the mode varies, making the recurrences of the idea mysterious even when it is harmonized and treated in canon in the final section. In no. 5, on the other hand, the first four measures of the ritornello are always stated at the same pitch level, yet the tonality then veers toward G major, D major, and finally E minor. The tonal ambiguity is ingenious and entirely appropriate, falling as it does at the center of what is probably the strongest and certainly the most audacious of the string sinfonias.

Example 9.60. Sinfonia in C, W. 182/3, movement 2, mm. 1–5



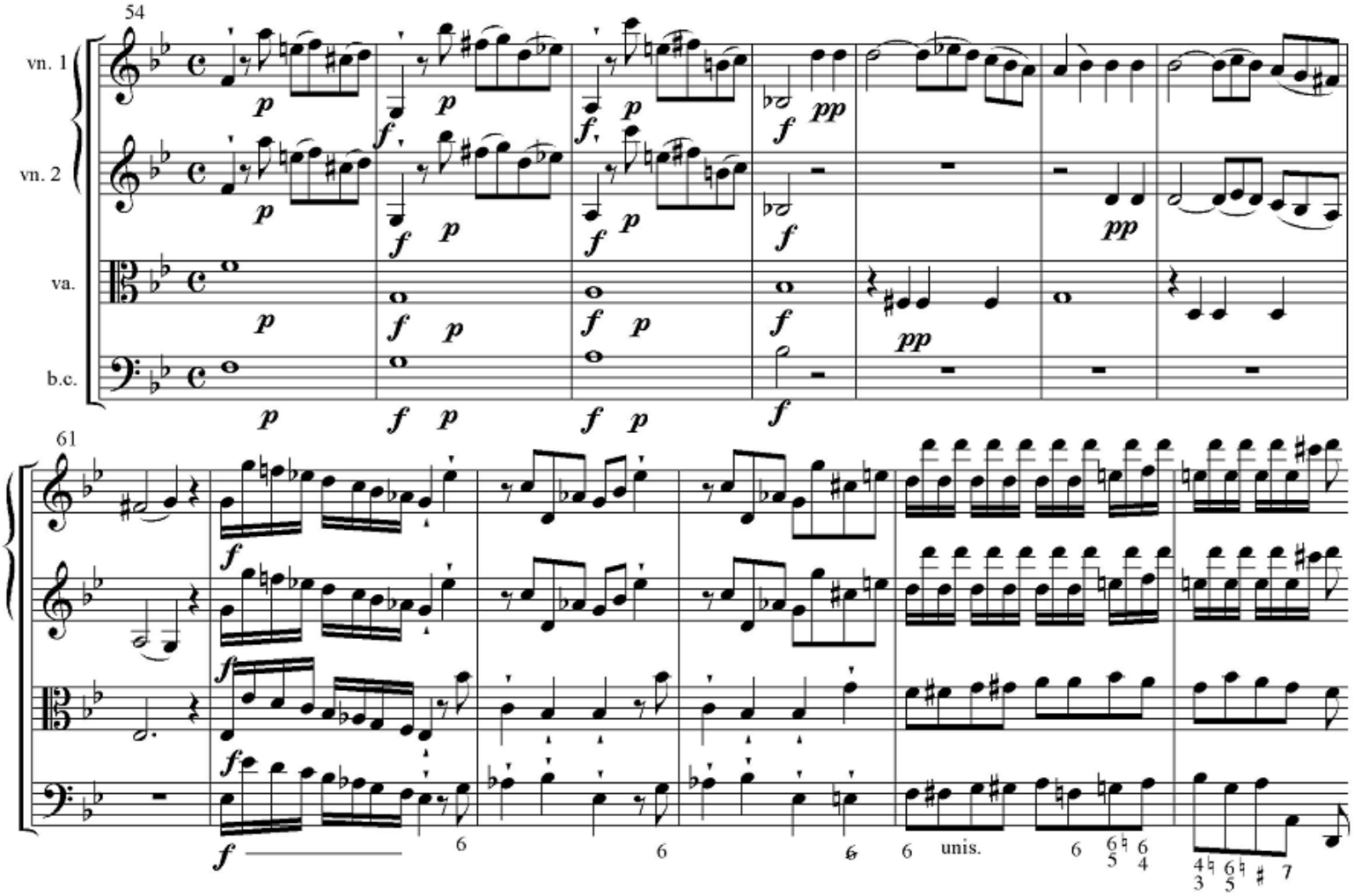
Example 9.61. Sinfonia in E, W. 182/6, movement 2, (a) mm. 1–5, (b) mm. 43–52



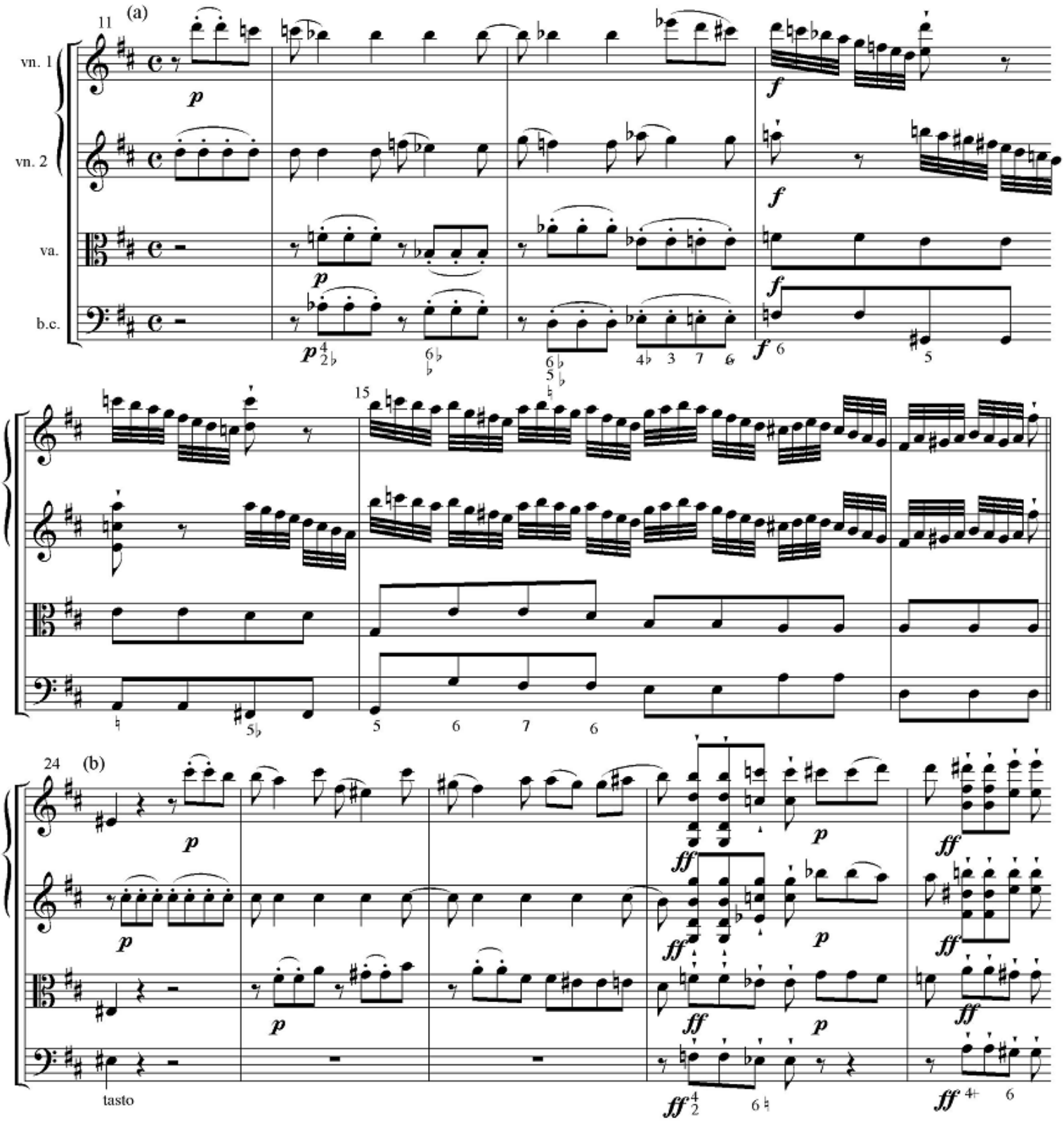
Modulatory virtuosity is not confined to the slow movements. In the opening Allegro of no. 2, an apparent reprise of the main theme in E-flat turns out to be a sort of false ritornello, a parenthesis within a phrase that concludes the middle section a half-step lower, in D minor (online example 9.62).[217] In the first movement of no. 5, the same Neapolitan degree (again E-flat) is embedded as a quiet *piano* excursion within a closing phrase that is now in D *major* (measures 12–13 in online example 9.63). When this *piano* phrase next appears, it is diverted from F-sharp minor toward the remote keys of C minor and A minor, through a violent series of chords over a variation of the B-A-C-H motive (mm. 27–28). This is likely to disrupt even the most acute listener's sense of the long-range tonal plan of the work. Yet the first bass note under the *fortissimo* chords is f (m. 27), enharmonically equivalent to the e-sharp last heard in the bass register (m. 24). This type of registral connection is crucial in maintaining the coherence of one phrase with the next, despite the dramatic discontinuity at the surface. Similar connections hold together the more radical keyboard pieces for *Kenner und Liebhaber* that Bach was composing at the same time.

[217] Another false reprise, in the final movement of no. 3, involves a restatement of the main theme in the tonic (C), but only as a parenthetical phrase within a cadence to E minor (mm. 49–50).

Example 9.62. Sinfonia in B-flat, W. 182/2, movement 1, mm. 54–66



Example 9.63. Sinfonia in B Minor, W. 182/5, movement 1, (a) mm. 11–16; (b) mm. 24–28



David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 10.1. Bach's Publishing Projects 1768–89 (table)

This list below includes Bach's own publications as well as significant groups of compositions published in anthologies, from his arrival in Hamburg onward. Except as noted, works were composed within a few years of publication and are for solo keyboard. Bach's major publications—volumes containing exclusively his own music, either collections or large single works—are **in bold.**

Year	Title	Contents/comments
1768–70	[songs]	13 songs (W. 202C) in journal *Unterhaltungen*
1769	*Kleine Stücke*	12 little pieces for keyboard with two flutes/violins, W. 82
by 1770	**Ladies' Sonatas**	**6 sonatas, W. 54 (composed 1765–66)**
1770	*Musikalisches Vielerley*	2 sonatas, 17 other pieces, 1 instrumental duo, 1 song in anthology edited by CPEB (all composed by 1766?)
1772	***Sei concerti***	**6 keyboard concertos, W. 43 (composed 1771)**
1773	[songs]	6 songs (W. 202E) in anthology *Münters Lieder*
1774	**Cramer Psalms**	**42 songs, W. 196**
1774–82	[songs]	9 songs (W. 202F–G, J–L) in annual *Musen-Almanach*
1775	***Israeliten***	**oratorio, W. 238**
1776	***Claviersonaten***	**3 keyboard trios, W. 90**
1776	***Six Sonatas***	**6 keyboard trios, W. 89**
1777	***Claviersonaten***	**4 keyboard trios, W. 91**
1779	**Kenner u. Liebhaber, v. 1**	**6 sonatas, W. 55**
1779	***Heilig***	**double-chorus motet, W. 217**
1780	**Kenner u. Liebhaber, v. 2**	**3 sonatas, 3 rondos, W. 56**
1780	***Orchestra-Sinfonien***	**4 sinfonias with obbligato winds, W. 183**
1780	**Sturm Songs, v. 1**	**30 songs, W. 197**
1781	**Kenner u. Liebhaber, v. 3**	**3 sonatas, 3 rondos, W. 57**
1781	**Sturm Songs, v. 2**	**30 songs, W. 198**
1783	**Kenner u. Liebhaber, v. 4**	**3 rondos, 2 sonatas, 2 fantasias, W. 58**
1784	***Klopstocks Morgengesang***	**cantata, W. 239**
1785	**Kenner u. Liebhaber, v. 5**	**2 sonatas, 2 rondos, 2 fantasias, W. 59**
1785	*Una sonata*	sonata W. 60
1786	*Neue Claviersonatinen*	2 sonatas, W. 63/7–12, supplement to *Probestücke*
1786	***Zwey Litaneyen***	**2 litanies for 4 voices and b.c., W. 204**
1787	**Kenner u. Liebhaber, v. 6**	**2 sonatas, 2 rondos, 2 fantasias, W. 61**
1787	[chorales]	14 chorales (W. 203) in hymnbook *Neue Melodien*
1787	***Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt***	**Resurrection Cantata, W. 240**
1788	[Masonic songs]	9 songs (W. 202N) in songbook *Freimäurer-Lieder*
1789	*Neue Lieder-Melodien*	21 songs and a cantata, W. 200

Supplement 10.2. Further on the Keyboard Trios

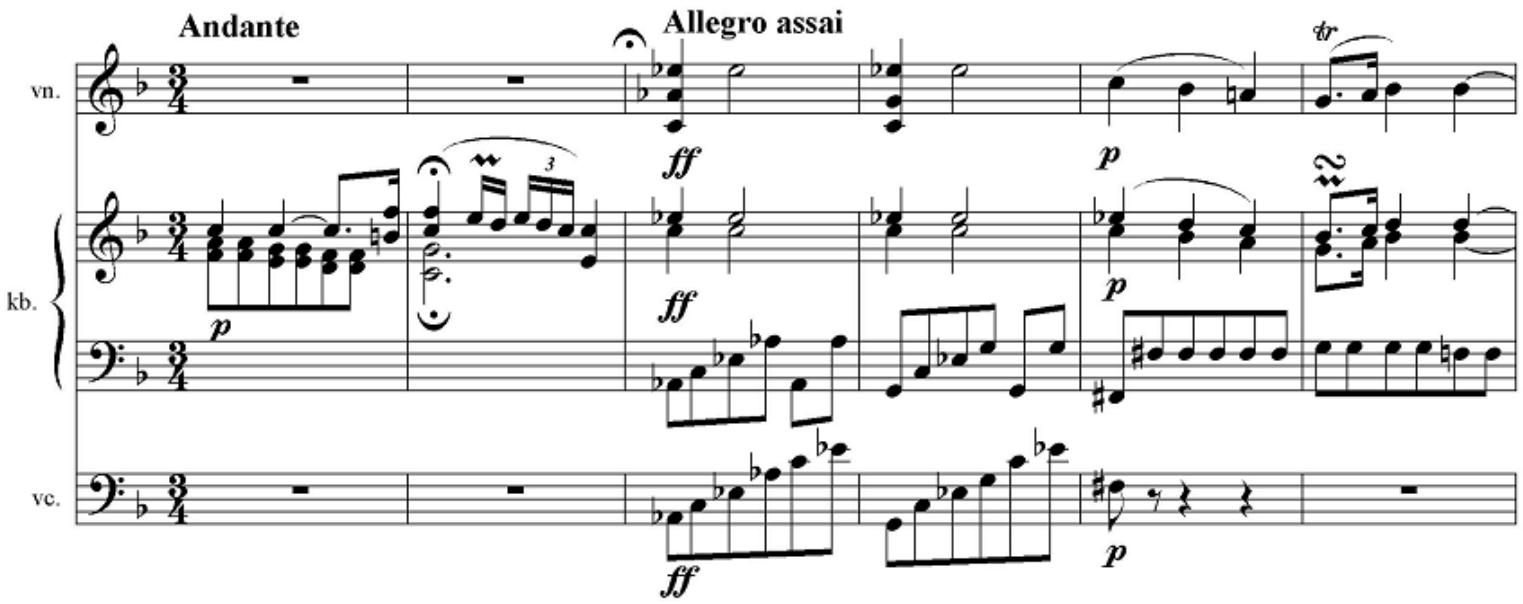
Only four of these works, all from W. 89, have self-sufficient slow movements. Three of these, however, are quite short by the standards of Bach's earlier music, and in four of the remaining works the second movement is truncated: it opens like a regular through-composed slow movement, but, as in certain solo sonatas, it breaks off shortly after the first or second formal cadence, sometimes without ever restating the opening thematic material. Although Bach felt obliged to apologize for such things, he was, under the pretext of satisfying popular demand, continuing to explore new approaches to the three-movement cycle, as he had done previously in ensemble sonatinas and the Hamburg concertos and sinfonias. Compared to the latter, however, the keyboard trios have limited expressive and compositional aspirations. The first work, W. 90/1, opens the series with a modest sonata-form movement whose keyboard part is written almost entirely in sixteenths—the same type of *moto perpetuo* that would open the *Kenner und Liebhaber* series.[218] The "second set," W. 91, opens with a similar movement, which perhaps represented something like a prelude or a warm-up exercise.

These movements are not musically trivial, but Bach reveals greater ambition and imagination in the subsequent sonatas within both sets. For instance, the first movement of W. 91/3 begins with two quiet measures of Andante for keyboard alone, answered *fortissimo* by the full ensemble in a foreign key and a a quicker tempo (online example 10.6).[219] Yet even the more ambitious pieces in W. 90 and 91 are conservative by comparison with Bach's solo keyboard works from the same period. Their boldest strokes, such as the occasional harmonic third-relations, are relatively tame although certainly effective, as in the juxtaposition of C major and E major near the end of the variations W. 91/4. These variations were themselves a rare product for Bach, who had previously incorporated a substantial set of variations into only one larger work, as the last movement in the Sonata W. 69 of 1747. Here the variations are the entire substance of the final work in a set, following a Baroque tradition exemplified by the famous variations on La Follia in Corelli's opus 5 (Bach's variations on the Follia bass line are discussed in online supplement 10.8).

[218] The sonata in question, W. 55/1, had already been composed in 1773.

[219] The opening is reminiscent of that of Mozart's Sonata in E-flat, K. 282, published two years earlier in 1775.

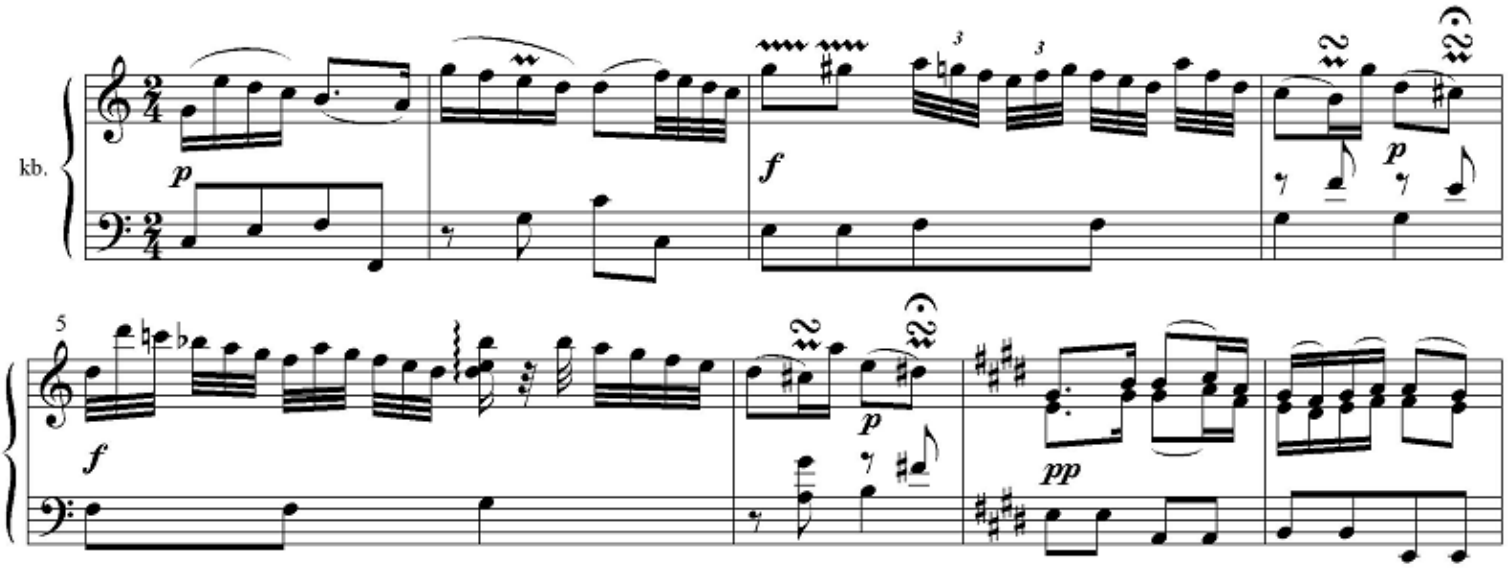
Example 10.6. Keyboard Trio in F, W. 91/3, movement 1, mm. 1–6



Emanuel surely knew not only Corelli's Follia but the variations on “God Save the King” that conclude his brother Christian's opus 1 keyboard concertos of 1763. Characteristically, however, Emanuel avoids a grand, if not bombastic, conclusion for the set, writing his variations on a delicate Andantino of his own composition.[220] The first six variations grow progressively more brilliant, but, after a much calmer seventh variation, a little modulating passage, of the type that Bach elsewhere inserts between movements, leads to a quiet variation in E major (online example 10.7). Although the return to C major is marked by a heavily scored final variation, a little coda brings the sonata and the set to a quiet conclusion—an unpretentious ending to an unconventional work.

[220] The Andantino was the first of six little keyboard pieces composed two years previously (W. 116/23).

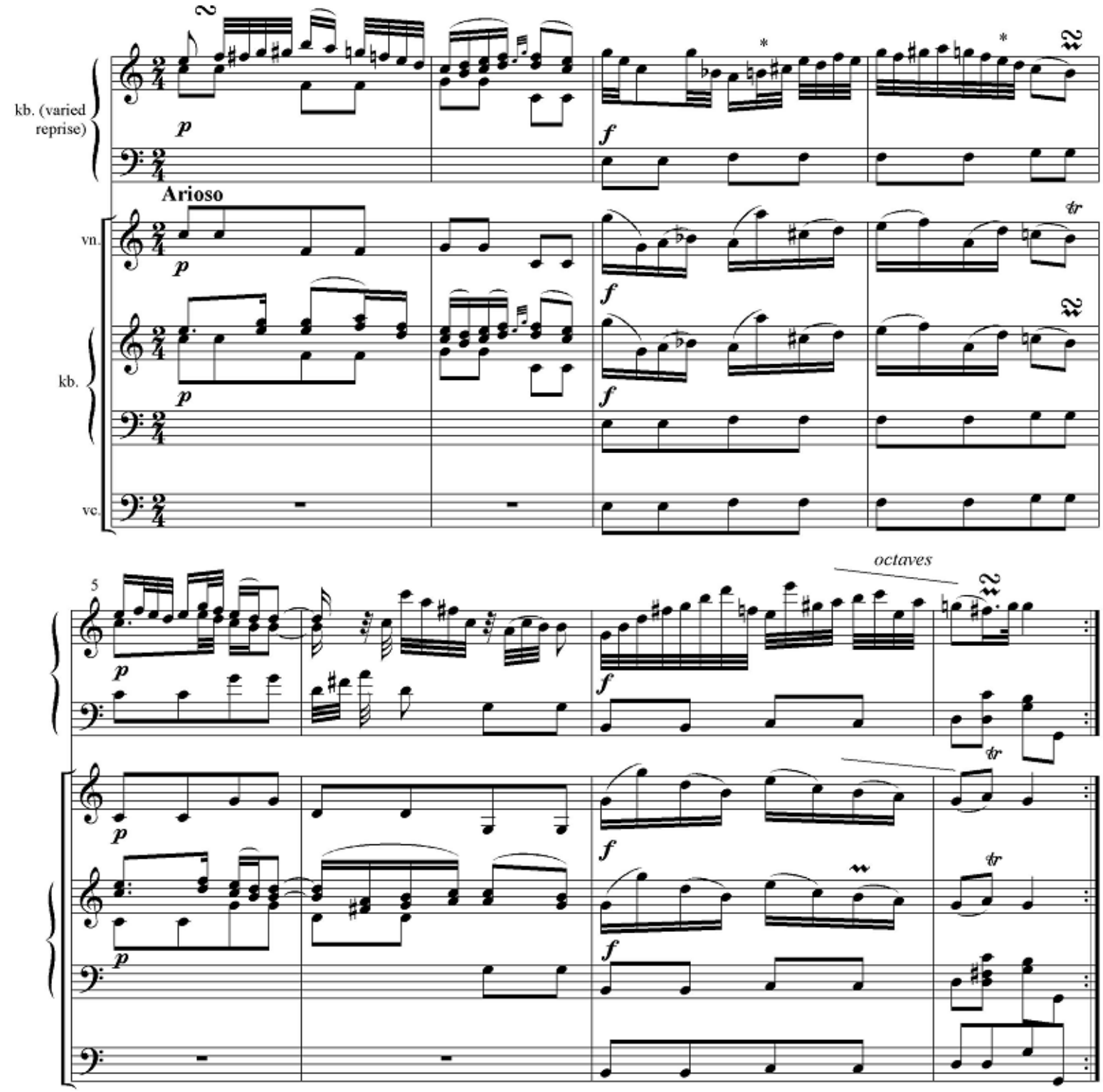
Example 10.7. Keyboard Trio in C, W. 91/4, transition from variation 7 to variation 8 (keyboard only)



Even in these variations, where one might have hoped for substantive participation by the violin and cello, Bach's invention focuses entirely on melodic elaboration of the keyboard part. Because the original Andantino was a little binary form, each half of each variation is repeated, and a player such as Bach doubtless graced each repetition with additional improvised decoration. Bach eventually wrote out the repeated passages for the keyboard, producing the Variations With Varied Reprises (W. 118/10). A tour de force of variation technique, this is nevertheless a solo keyboard composition. The new variations almost certainly were not meant to be played together with the original string parts, for, already in the repetition of each half of the theme, small clashes and minor breaches of good counterpoint arise between the string parts and the varied reprises. These clashes might have been tolerable if arising in an improvisation, but Bach would not have countenanced them in a written composition; nothing like them occurs in the varied reprises of movements in the ensemble sonatinas and the concertos (online example 10.8).[221]

[221] In addition to the problems illustrated in example 10.8, small clashes between strings and the varied reprises of the keyboard occur in variations 4 (m. 6) and 8 (m. 1).

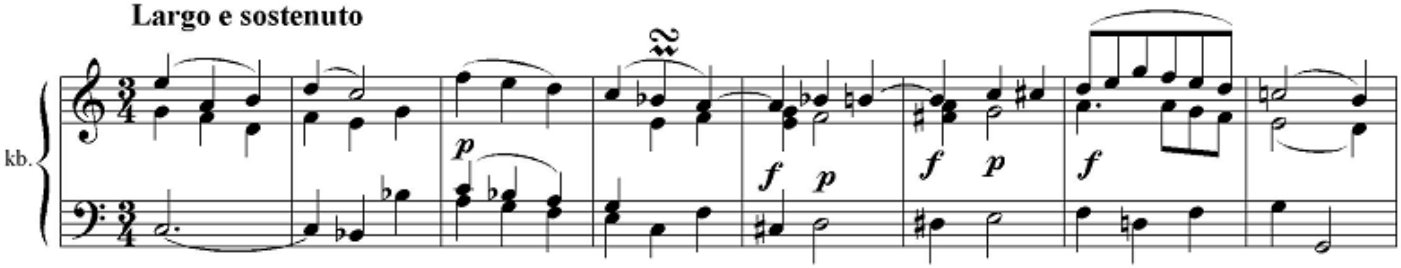
Example 10.8. Keyboard Trio in C, W. 91/4, mm. 1–8 (all parts), with varied reprise from W. 118/10 on two upper staves (asterisks mark clashes between violin and varied reprise)



David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 10.3. More on the Quartets

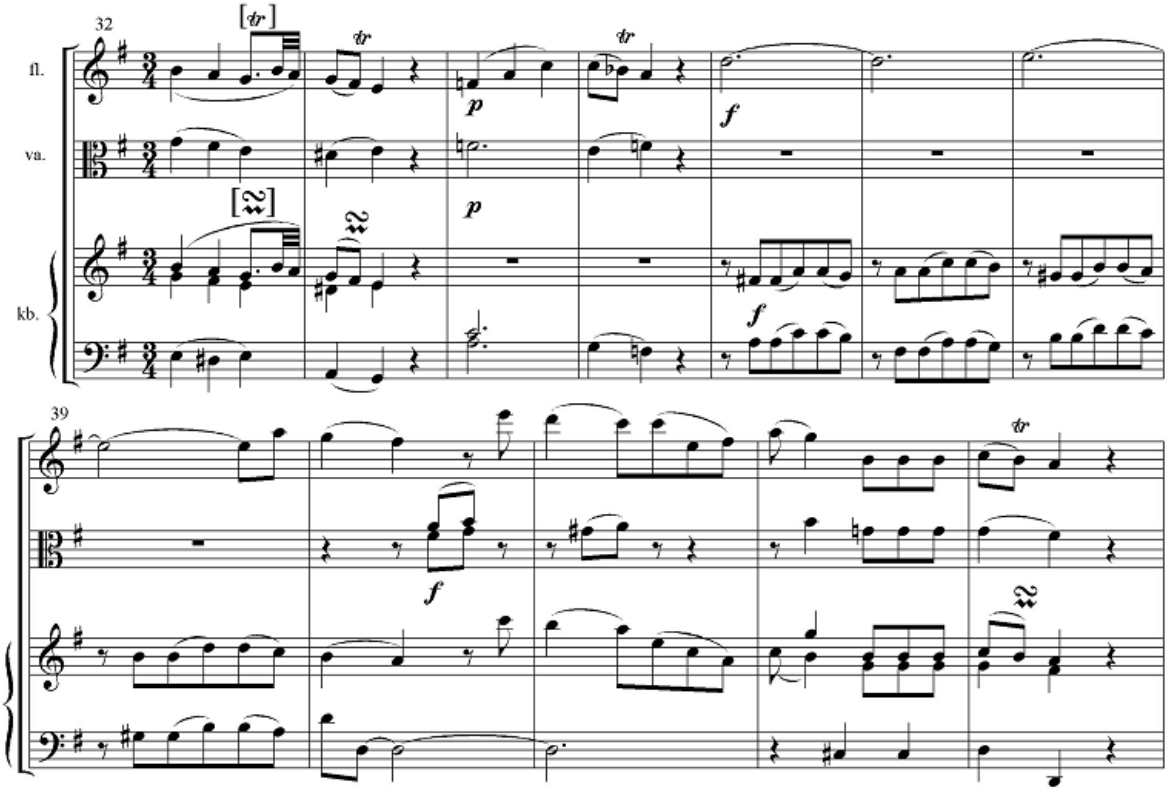
All three quartets are light in overall tone, the first, despite its minor mode, ending with something like the *scherzando* allegrettos that had been common at Berlin in the 1750s and 1760s. The slow movements nevertheless achieve a seriousness rare in Bach's late instrumental works; none is shortened or directly attached to the outer movements. In general these quartets avoid the more extreme types of modulation and fragmentation found in the late pieces for solo keyboard. Still, the rondo of the A-Minor Quartet modulates as remotely as F-sharp minor, and its slow movement, in C, makes a characteristic early move toward the subdominant, then touches on E minor in a chromatic passage (online example 10.9). Because the movement is a rounded binary form, the entire opening phrase is never heard again in the tonic. Yet the chromatic phrase returns as a little coda; the unexpected reminiscence helps account for the softly affecting quality of the movement.

Example 10.9. Quartet in A Minor, W. 93, movement 2, mm. 1–8 (keyboard only, without doublings in flute and viola)

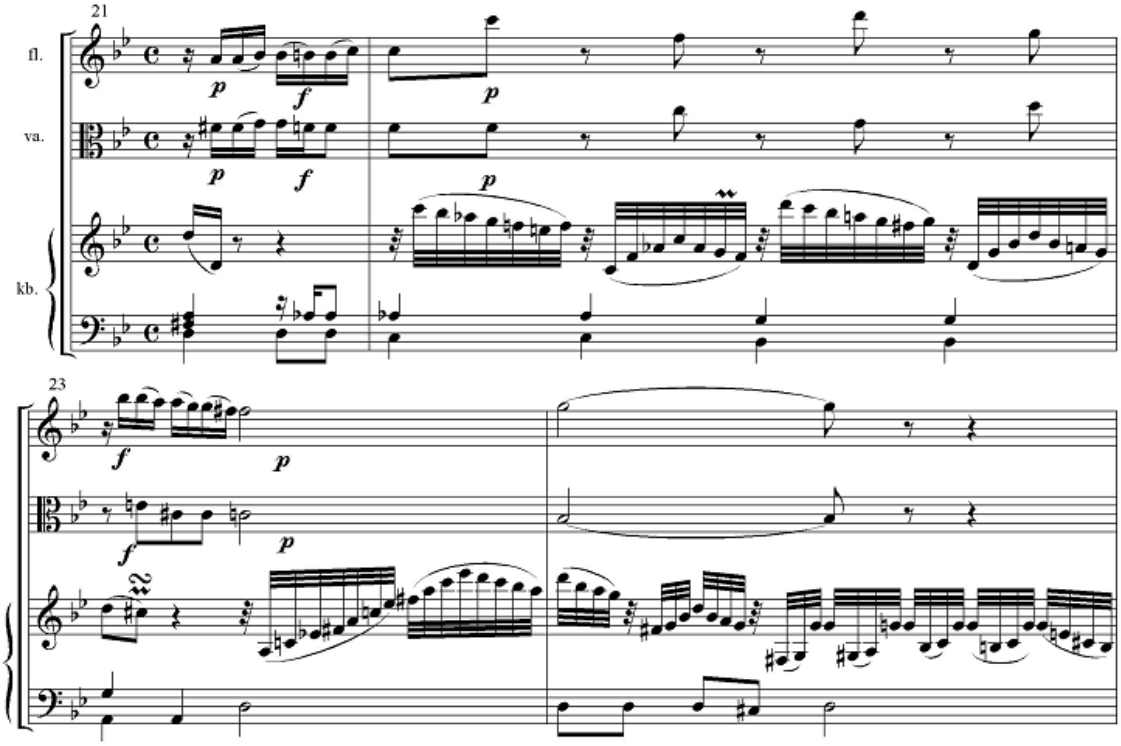


Bach's restraint in the use of clever modulations means that where they do occur they mean more here than in some of his solo rondos and fantasias. In the second movement of W. 94, a surprise Neapolitan harmony, just after a restatement of the theme in E minor, is immensely touching; its upper note (c") afterward becomes part of a step sequence that climbs ultimately to the tonic g" (online example 10.10). The slow movement of W. 95, in G minor, reaches an equally striking F minor (iv of iv) just four measures before the final cadence. This is by no means the movement's deepest plunge into “flat” keys, which extend to A-flat minor and E-flat minor a few bars previously. The little F-minor gesture, however, makes a special impression as it is interpolated into a long dominant pedal (online example 10.11). The almost Chopinesque filligree of the keyboard, which is heard in almost every measure of this movement, achieves its greatest intensity in these last few measures, leaping between registers as it moves sequentially from c''' upward to d''' and then e-flat''', the highest note used in the movement. This is not earth-shaking music, but with these gestures Bach puts to good expressive use the “research” into chromatic modulation that occurs almost obsessively in some of his other late compositions.

Example 10.10. Quartet in D, W. 94, movement 2, mm. 32–43



Example 10.11. Quartet in G, W. 95, movement 2, mm. 21b–24



David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 10.4. The collections for *Kenner und Liebhaber,*
with related works for keyboard (table)

The list below includes the complete contents of the *Kenner und Liebhaber* series as well as related works not published in the series *(shown in italics).* "Large" and "small" refer to the respective types of sonatas as described in the main text.

vol.	date	W.	title	key	composed	comment
—		*65/44*	*Sonata*	*Bb*	*1766*	*with varied reprises*
—		*65/45*	*Sonata*	*Bb*	*1766*	*substitute final mvt. composed ca. 1787?*
—		*65/46*	*Sonata*	*E*	*1766*	*with varied reprises, composed at Potsdam*
—		*65/47*	*Sonata*	*C*	*1775*	
—		*118/9*	*Variations*	*d*	*1778*	*on La Follia*
1	1779	55/1	Sonata	C	1773	best grouped with the smaller sonatas
		55/2	Sonata	F	1758	a larger work
		55/3	Sonata	b	1774	small
		55/4	Sonata	A	1765	large; composed at Potsdam
		55/5	Sonata	F	1772	small
		55/6	Sonata	G	1765	large; composed at Potsdam
2	1780	56/1	Rondo	C	1778	
		56/2	Sonata	G	1774	small
		56/3	Rondo	D	1778	
		56/4	Sonata	F	1780	small
		56/5	Rondo	a	1778	
		56/6	Sonata	A	1780	small
3	1781	57/1	Rondo	E	1779	the larger rondo in this key
		57/2	Sonata	a	1774	large
		57/3	Rondo	G	1780	the smaller rondo in this key
		57/4	Sonata	d	1766	large; composed at Potsdam
		57/5	Rondo	F	1779	
		57/6	Sonata	f	1763	large; compared by Forkel to an ode
—		*79*	*Variations*	*A*	*1781*	*on an arioso, for kb. and vn.*
—		*66*	*Rondo*	*e*	*1781*	*"Farewell" to the Silbermann clavichord*
—		*118/8*	*Variations*	*F*	*1781*	*on a canzonetta by the Duchess of Gotha*
4	1783	58/1	Rondo	A	1782	
		58/2	Sonata	G–E	1781	small; outer movements in different keys
		58/3	Rondo	E	1781	the smaller rondo in this key
		58/4	Sonata	e	1765	large
		58/5	Rondo	Bb	1779	
		58/6	Fantasia	Eb	1782	
		58/7	Fantasia	A	1782	
—		*65/48*	*Sonata*	*G*	*1783*	

vol.	date	W.	title	key	composed	comment
5	1785	59/1	Sonata	e	1784	the smaller sonata of this set
		59/2	Rondo	G	1779	the larger rondo in this key
		59/3	Sonata	Bb	1784	the larger sonata of this set
		59/4	Rondo	c	1784	
		59/5	Fantasia	F	1782	
		59/6	Fantasia	C	1784	
—	*1785*	*60*	*Sonata*	*c*	*1765*	*revised for publication (mvts. 2–3 replaced)*
—		*63/7–12*	*Sonatinas*		*1786*	*supplement to the* Probestücke
—		*65/49*	*Sonata*	*c*	*1786*	
—		*65/50*	*Sonata*	*G–a*	*1786*	
6	1787	61/1	Rondo	Eb	1786	
		61/2	Sonata	D	1785	
		61/3	Fantasia	Bb	1786	
		61/4	Rondo	d	1786	
		61/5	Sonata	e	1785	
		61/6	Fantasia	C	1786	
—		*67*	*Fantasia*	*f#*	*1787*	*arrangement with violin as "C. P. E. Bachs Empfindungen" (W. 80)*
—		*65/19*	*Sonata*	*F*	*1788?*	*revision of a work of 1746?*

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Supplement 10.5. The *Miscellanea musica* and the Pieces for *Kenner und Liebhaber*

The modulating rondos for *Kenner und Liebhaber* were a realization of the obsession with chromatic harmony that is expressed in more concentrated form in the *Miscellanea musica* (W. 121). The latter, in a manuscript of twenty-three pages, were evidently copied by Michel from various jottings of the composer.[222] Some of the latter look like sketches for actual passages in completed works, and a few are canons and related contrapuntal exercises or entertainments; a number of the canons are known from other sources, which allow them to be dated to the period 1774–84.[223] Other entries include long series of harmonic progressions, some fully notated, some only as figured basses. Among these are illustrations of enharmonic modulations between remotely related keys, as well as several series of changing chords beneath a single sustained or repeated note in the treble. There are also demonstrations of how to modulate from one key to another, as in several pages that contain multiple examples of chord progressions "from C major to G major," "from C major to F major," and so forth.[224] Bach might have envisioned these as illustrations for the "introduction to composition" that he contemplated writing, according to one of his last surviving letters.[225] But if Bach ever got beyond writing down these sketches, or drafted a verbal commentary—as Reger would do for another series of examples of modulation, a little over a century later[226]—nothing survives of it. Nor is it easy to find precisely these progressions in Bach's actual music; his imagination for chromatic voice leading and modulation was boundless, and he had no need to create a "harmony book" on which to draw in actual composing, like that used by Elliott Carter.[227]

Possibly the harmonic progressions in the *Miscellanea musica* represent an effort by Bach to conceptualize the principles underlying modulation. But the entries reveal no clear system, suggesting that Bach's harmonic thinking remained purely intuitive or practical, not the product of any genuine theory such as Rameau's. Although Bach's music is rarely contrapuntal in the usual sense, to the end of his career he conceived harmony in terms of voice leading, as in his

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[222] Preserved in B Bc 5895, whose contents are listed summarily in Leisinger and Wollny, *Die Bach-Quellen.*

[223] The canons are discussed and edited in Yearsley, "C. P. E. Bach and the Living Traditions of Learned Counterpoint."

[224] Demonstrations of these two modulations appear on page 3 (nos. 6 and 7 in Leisinger and Wollny's list of contents). One model for such sketches might have been the six examples of remote modulations illustrated by Telemann in his *Getreuer Music-Meister* (Hamburg, 1728–29), p. 24; Chapin, "Counterpoint," 406, draws a parallel between these and the "extended modulations over organ points" illustrated in examples for Bach's *Versuch*, ii.25.8–9.

[225] Letter of March 8, 1788 to Breitkopf (no. 330 in Clark, *Letters*, 279); Kramer, "The New Modulation of the 1770s," 592, suggests that this treatise would have been "a kind of last testament" that would "justify" Bach's late works, especially those for keyboard.

[226] Max Reger, *Beiträge zur Modulationslehre* (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt Nachfolger, 1903).

[227] *Elliott Carter: Harmony Book*, edited by Nicholas Hopkins and John F. Link (New York: Carl Fischer, 2002).

father's chorale settings—not in terms of the functional harmony implicit in Rameau's fundamental bass. This made it possible for Emanuel, like Sebastian, to imagine progressions that would not occur to later composers brought up in a system of harmonic thought based on chord roots and inversions. Bach was a composer, not a theorist, and the usefulness of the sketches in the *Miscellanea musica* lay not in their constituting a basis for theory or even pedagogy, but rather as exercises for the type of writing that Bach took up in many of his late compositions.

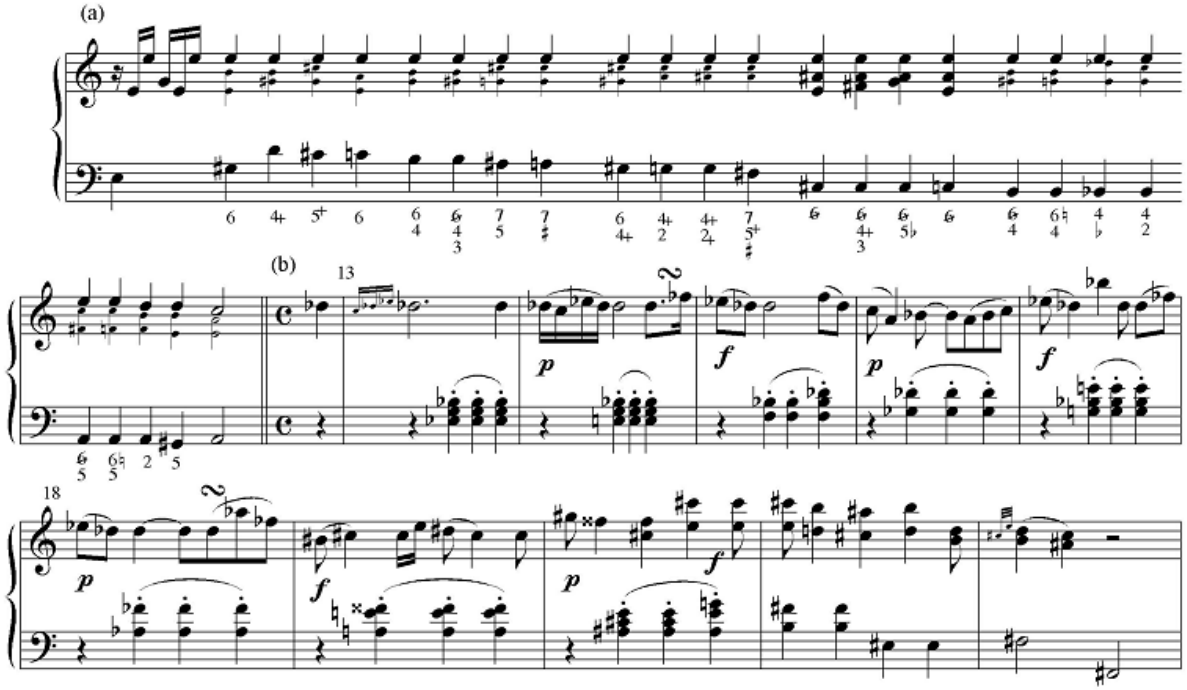
For instance, the central Andantino section of the Fantasia in C (W. 59/6) includes a passage whose melody is in essence a single note (d-flat") prolonged over a series of chromatically changing harmonies. This resembles one of the sketches in the *Miscellanea musica,* although the broken chord at the beginning of the latter suggests that it would have been realized as a type of *arpeggiando* sequence more characteristic of the rondos than the fantasias (online example 10.12).[228] In the Rondo in A Minor (W. 56/5), one of the iterations of the main theme is interrupted by a long series of modulations in which the treble and bass lines diverge chromatically toward the outer ends of the keyboard. This constitutes a chromatic elaboration of the traditional rule of the octave, a conventional type of exercise in figured bass realization that Bach had illustrated in the *Versuch* (online example 10.13).

Thus the *Miscellanea musica,* together with the more chromatic pieces for *Kenner und Liebaber,* represent a continuation of the consideration of harmony found in volume 2 of the *Versuch.*[229] Bach's pragmatic approach to voice leading and modulation left him free of the restrictions that a more rigorous theory might have imposed on his imagination. The downside of this was that Emanuel's attention remained focused on the musical surface. This arguably led him to make occasional miscalculations, as when a passage whose progressions are unimpeachable at the local level fails to be entirely convincing within a larger context (see online supplement 10.6).

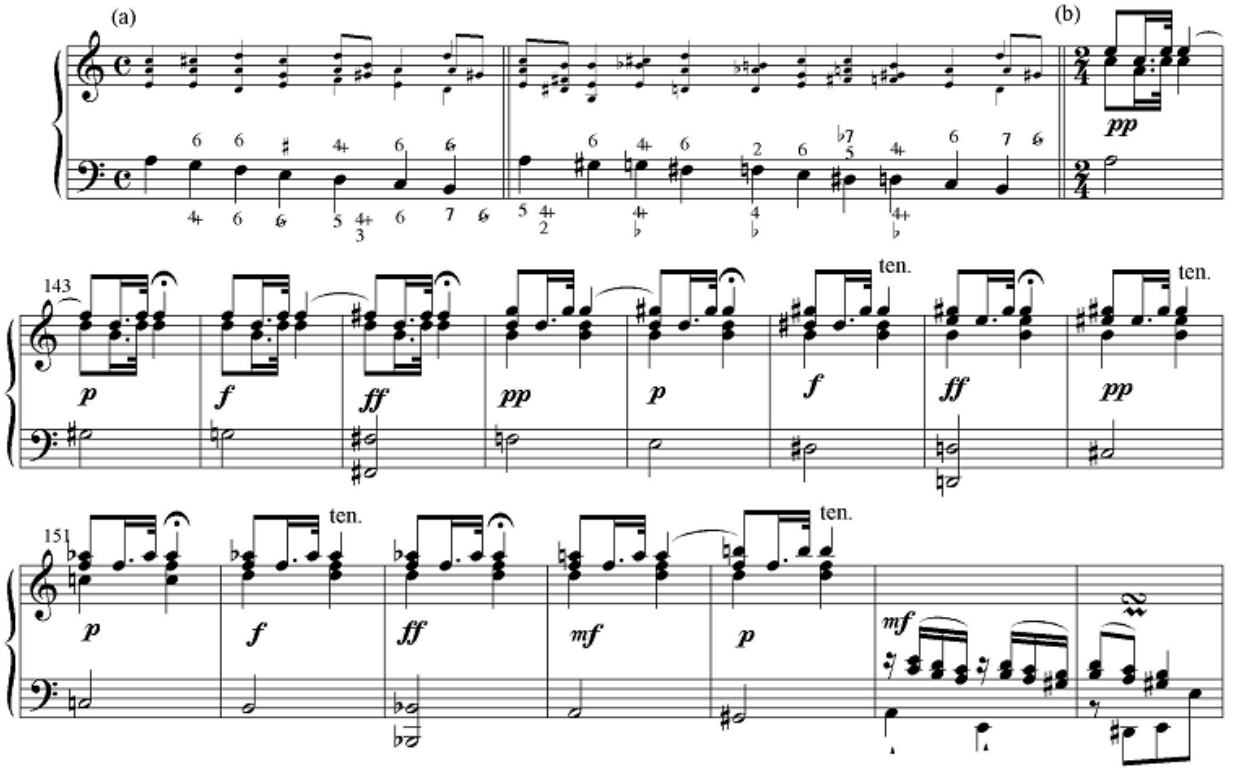
[228] For technical reasons the three-note slide in example 10.12b (m. 13) is shown as small notes instead of the original inverted turn symbol.

[229] This is made clear by Bach's late additions for the last chapter, published posthumously, which explicitly mention the first rondo in the *Kenner und Liebhaber* series (W. 56/1), discussed by Kramer in “The New Modulation,” 573–4.

Example 10.12. (a) *Miscellanea musica*, W. 121 (from Bc 5894, top of page 9; small notes are editorial); (b) Fantasia in C, W. 59/6, mm. 13–19



Example 10.13. (a) diatonic and chromatic descending scales in A minor, from *Versuch*, ii.41 (the two sets of figures represent alternatives; the editorial realization in small notes realizes the lower set of figures); (b) Rondo in A Minor, W. 56/5, mm. 142–57



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Supplement 10.6. Two Possible Miscalculations in the Sonatas for *Kenner und Liebhaber*

The retransition in the first movement of the F-Minor Sonata (W. 57/6) is not without problems. Despite repeated efforts, starting with the composer, to clarify the reading of accidentals in the passage, it appears wrongly in most editions. The musical problems are distinct from the notational ones, but both involve the modulation from F-flat at the end of the middle section to F minor at the return ten measures later (online example 10.22).[230] The passage begins by plunging even more deeply toward the "flat" side of the tonic, as the chord of F-flat becomes a dominant seventh through the addition of e–double flat' (m. 57). In the next measure, however, f-flat" moves upward to f-natural", forming a diminished-seventh chord; this serves as an enharmonic pivot, becoming redefined in the next three measures as a secondary dominant of F minor.[231]

The simplicity of the passage is concealed by the unfamiliar notation and by the fact that the diminished-seventh chord, in a characteristic example of Bach's harmonic misdirection, progresses first to the subdominant (B-flat minor, m. 59), not to the dominant, which appears only in m. 62. Bach would have understood the passage in terms of chromatic voice leading, not functional harmony, and this is the source of its weakness. For the dominant, when it does arrive, is only weakly articulated, the repeated c' in m. 63 not being reinforced in the lower octave. Thus the passage is not as strong as it might otherwise be, and low C arives only as part of the pedal-point passage in mm. 72–77.

This is a subtle point, and not every listener will agree that Bach has miscalculated here. A more blatant case, perhaps, occurs in the sonata W. 58/2, whose first movement is in G, its last in E. The problem here is that the middle movement, having begun in G minor, ends with a half-cadence that apparently prepares the key of C minor. The E major that actually follows therefore seems an utter non sequitur (online example 10.23).

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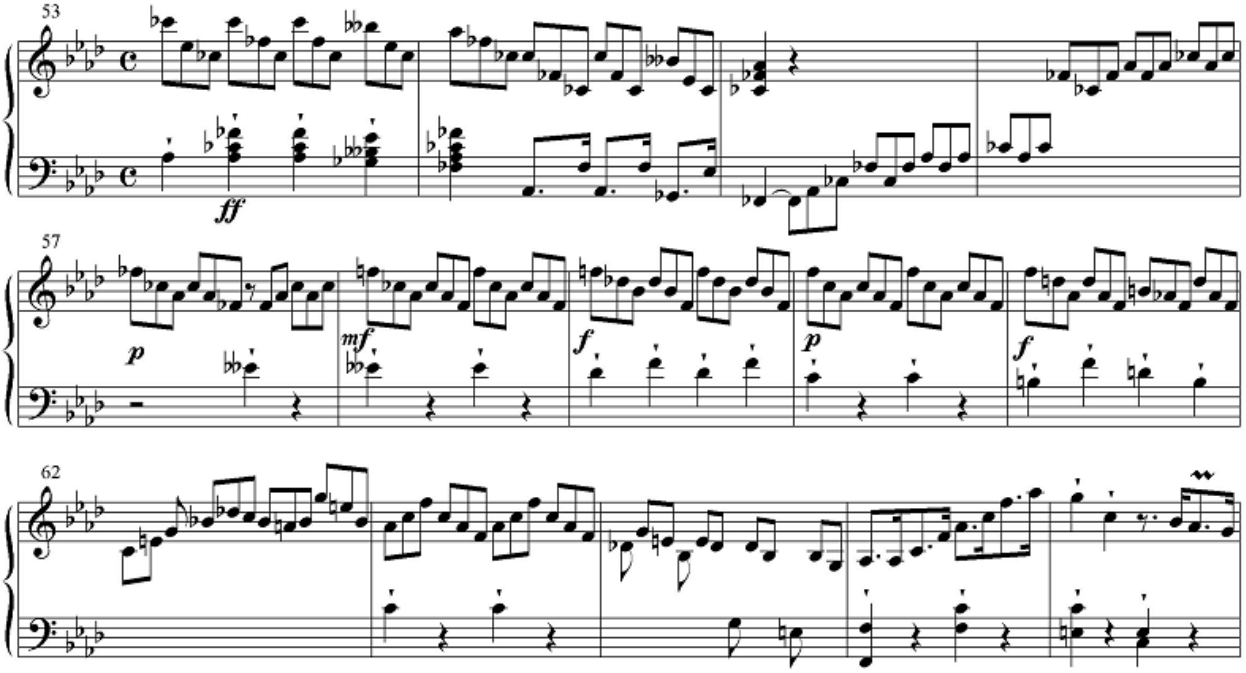
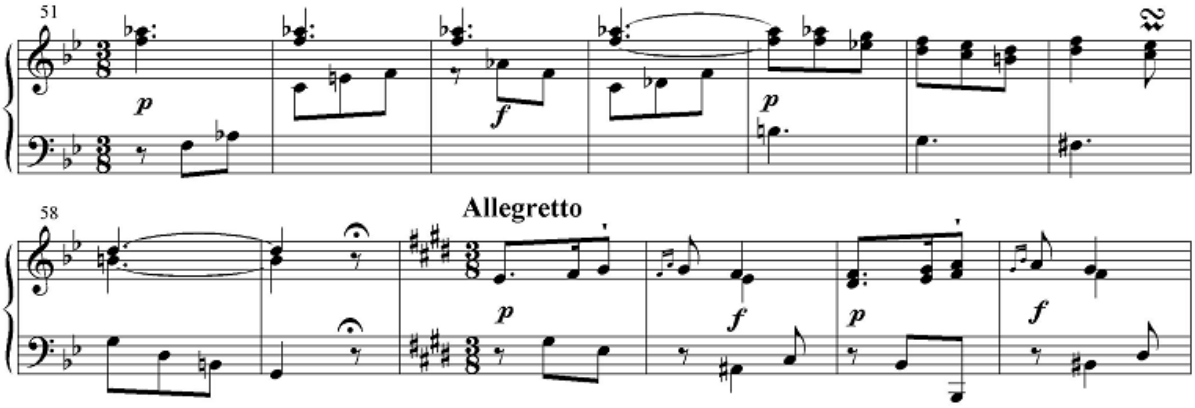
[1] Bach notated the double-flats on B (mm. 53–54) and E (mm. 57–58) as extra-large single flat signs. He drew attention to them in a letter to Breitkopf (April 3, 1781, no. 199 in Clark, *Letters,* 174), who indeed printed them that way, although it is easy to overlook the relatively small distinction between the two sizes of type that Breitkopf used for the accidentals. It has been exasperating to see the error perpetuated in modern editions when the passage was reprinted correctly as early as ca. 1861 in Louise and Aristide Farrenc's *Trésor des pianistes* (vol. 12). I gave the correct reading in my *Instrumental Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 115, and Schenker also hit upon it in his edition, albeit in a footnote, where he pointed out the equivalence of the chords in measures 58 and 61; evidently he did not notice the larger-than-usual accidentals in the original edition. The introduction to the most recent edition quotes Bach's instructions (CPEBCW 1/4.1:xviii), yet these were disregarded in the musical text, although the correct readings appear in an online list of selected errata.

[231] The same chord occurs twice, in different spellings, in two crucial cadential passages of the following movement (mm. 20 and 38).

Example 10.22. Sonata in F minor, W. 57/6, movement 1, mm. 53–66



Example 10.23. Sonata in G, W. 58/2, movement 2, m. 51, through movement 3, m. 4



Bach surely knew what he was doing. Clearly he intended this to be heard as another of his "new" modulations, and some listeners may be able to hear the progression from G major to E major (over a rest) as something like a deceptive cadence. The Larghetto in fact contains a series of surprise modulations; all follow pauses and involve chromatic or enharmonic voice leading, with root motion by major or minor third.[232] Within the last movement, moreover, the

[232] E-flat–C in measures 20–21; G:V–b:$I^{6/4}$ in measures 34–53; and a:V–f:$I^{6/4}$ in measures

modulation from G minor to E major—corresponding to the successive opening tonalities of the Larghetto and the Allegretto—is repeated at the end of the middle section (mm. 39–46). Does repeating a problematical modulation or progression make it more convincing? Within volume 4, the sonata is immediately followed by the Rondo in E (W. 58/3), whose composition immediately preceded that of the sonata during 1781. It cannot be coincidental that the rondo is in the same key as the last movement of the sonata. That the rondo somehow confirms or explains the strange tonal design of the sonata emerges when the rondo modulates, at its precise center, to G minor, restating its main theme in the key of the sonata's second movement (mm. 92ff.). Possibly the following sonata in E minor (W. 58/4) continues the sequence, although it is a much earlier composition, the volume's "large" sonata, composed at Berlin a decade and a half earlier.

46–47.

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Supplement 10.7. Other late sonatas

Several other late sonatas deserve notice. The 1783 sonata W. 65/48 for *Bogenclavier,* an experimental bowed keyboard instrument with gut strings, is a beautiful and substantial composition in three full-size movements. Less quirky or irregular than other late works, it has been plausibly connected with the exhibition in Hamburg earlier that year of an instrument of this type by Johann Carl Greiner, who was also maker of a combination piano-*Bogenklavier.* Bach had performed on a different *Bogenclavier* thirty years earlier, in a 1753 concert given by the queen of Prussia.[233] That instrument, which has been described as resembling a large hurdy-gurdy equipped with a keyboard, was an invention of Johann Hohlfeld; after his death, Bach had published a setting of Karsch's song "Der du wie Duft" as a memorial to him (W. 202C/11).[234] Neither the words nor the music of the song shows any trace of the instrument for which Bach wrote the sonata, but Hohlfeld was also known for other, probably more useful, inventions, such as a pedal device for changing the registration of a harpsichord while playing.[235] The sonata, which was the last important one that Bach did *not* publish, incorporates several passages that were probably designed to take advantage of the special capabilities of a sustaining stringed keyboard instrument (no examples survive). In the opening Andantino, a chromatic scale with an implied crescendo would have demonstrated not only the instrument's variable dynamics but its capacity for legato performance of such a line, something unattainable on a fretted clavichord. A version of the passage occurs in each of the three sections of the opening movement. In the slow movement, a chromatic progression in four voices echoes one from the C-Major Sonata W. 65/47 of eight years earlier (online example 10.27).

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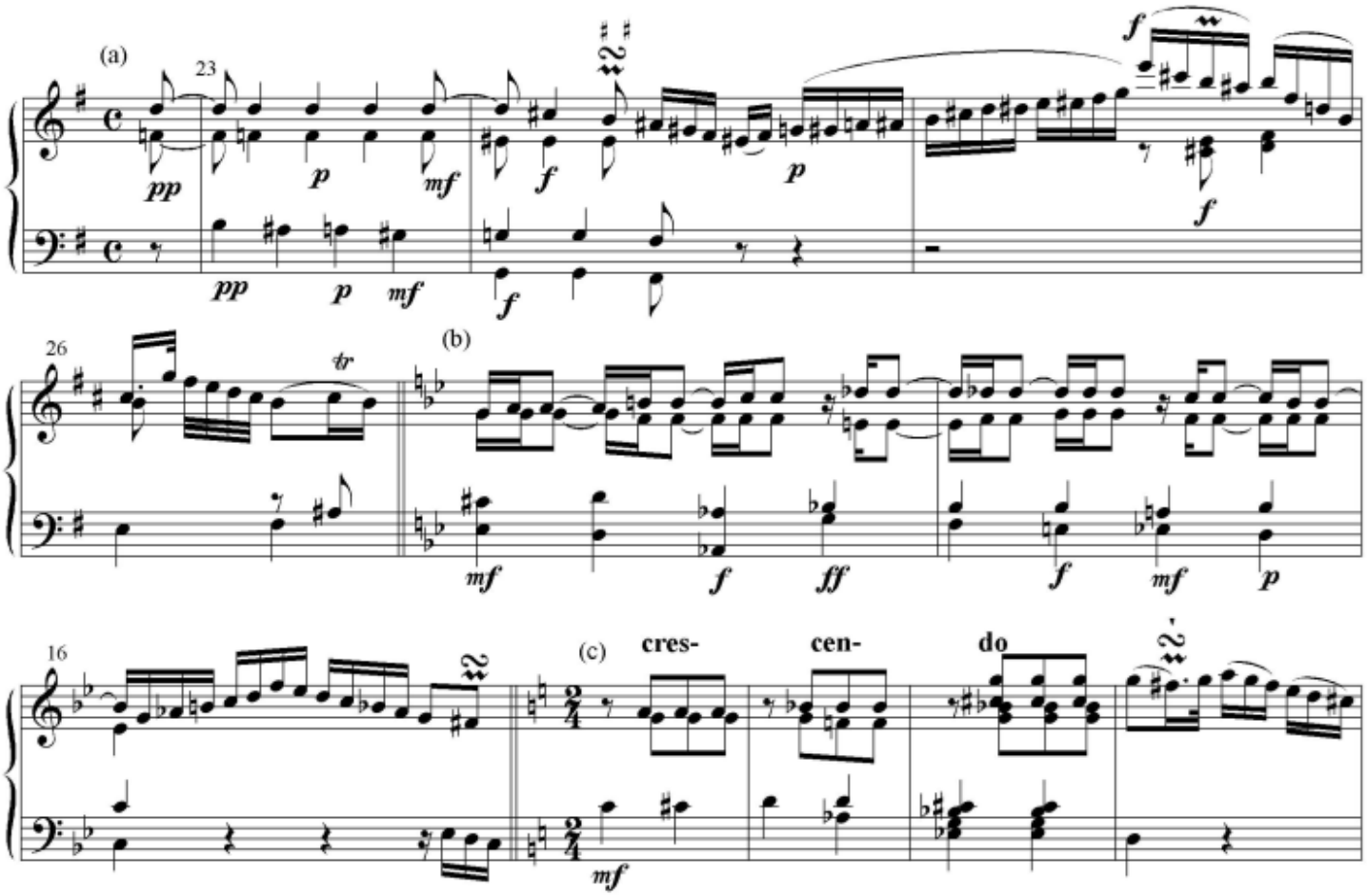
[233] The concert by the royal *Cappelle,* given by the queen at the Berlin Stadtschloss on Oct. 28, 1753, is listed as no. 347 in Henzel, "Das Konzertleben," 249. Manuel Bärwald, "'. . . ein Clavier von besonderer Erfinding': Der Bogenflügel von Johann Hohlfeld und seine Bedeutung für das Schaffen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 94 (2008): 271–300, argues that on this occasion Bach played the concerto W. 31.

[234] Hohlefeld's dates are usually given as 1711–71, as in the present author's article in *The Harpsichord and Clavichord: An Encyclopedia,* edited by Igor Kipnis (New York: Routledge, 2007), 244. Bach's song, however, appeared in the *Unterhaltungen,* which ceased publication in 1770. Bach mentioned the *Bogenclavier* approvingly in the *Versuch,* ii.intro.2.

[235] Described by Bach in the *Versuch,* ii.29.5.

Example 10.27. Sonata in G for *Bogenclavier*, W. 65/48, (a) movement 1, mm. 23–26, and (b) movement 2, mm. 14–16; (c) Sonata in C, W. 65/47, movement 3, mm. 10–13



Bach's last few keyboard sonatas are of limited intrinsic interest, but they provide hints about how he assembled the *Kenner und Liebhaber* collections. Breitkopf published Bach's C-Minor Sonata W. 60 on its own in 1785, between the fifth and sixth sets for *Kenner und Liebhaber* (hence its numbering in the Wotquenne catalog). Bach and Breitkopf had initially planned to add the sonata to a revised reprint of the Reprise Sonatas (W. 50), but this never came out.[236] The first movement of the work was taken from a sonata composed in 1766; this was last of the seven Potsdam sonatas of that year still remaining in manuscript, but two decades later Bach probably judged the last two movements too large for his present purposes. In their place he composed a new Presto, joining it to the opening Allegretto with a short transitional Largo. The opening movement is a full sonata form; the new Presto is a rondo in gigue rhythm (6/8). Unique in

[236] The expanded edition of the Reprise Sonatas was meant to head off an unauthorized reprint by Rellstab of Berlin (earlier pirated editions had also appeared in London). In the end, however, Breitkopf simply reissued W. 50 in its original form (see CPEBCW 1/5.2:xiv–xv).

Bach's output, the latter movement avoids the complexities of the modulating rondos for *Kenner und Liebhaber,* although it does incorporate an extended *arpeggiando* passage in the second of its two *couplets* or contrasting sections. Bach wrote rather disingenuously to Breitkopf that the resulting sonata was "new, easy, short, and almost without an Adagio."[237] Apart from incorporating music almost two decades old, however, it was also significantly longer than most of the shorter sonatas published for *Kenner und Liebhaber.* Nor is it particularly easy; the first movement, which alludes to the symphonic style of other large sonatas of the 1760s, contains some tricky passages, including one that requires an unidiomatic stretch of a tenth in the right hand (m. 43).

In order not to waste the two rejected movements, Bach composed a little rondo, which he inserted in front of them to form another C-minor sonata, W. 65/49. This remained unpublished, as did the last sonata listed in NV, W. 65/50. The latter, too, must have been assembled from disparate material, for its three movements are in different keys, without any connecting passages. To these "last" sonatas should be added W. 65/19 in F, which in its surviving state must also be a very late work. NV lists it as a composition of 1746, but its last movement is a polonaise, a type of piece that Bach is not known certainly to have composed before 1754 ("La Borchward," W. 117/17, is the earliest). Varied reprises in the polonaise ascend to f''', a note not used by Bach until the 1760s (it occurs also in the first movement). The autograph score of W. 65/19 is in the handwriting of Bach's last years, and it bears an index number indicating that Bach's heirs initially believed it to be his very last work for solo keyboard, dating from 1787 or 1788.[238] Although it is not impossible that W. 65/19 incorporates earlier thematic material, the style of the individual movements and the unique, if small-scale, cycle that they constitute are consistent with Bach's having assembled the work at the very end of his career.

All three of these sonatas resemble some of the smaller ones published for *Kenner und Liebhaber,* incorporating diverse movements that could have originated as separate little keyboard pieces. For instance, the slow movements of W. 65/50 and 65/19, each a little through-composed binary form, resemble two Andantes from a set of "Six Easy Keyboard Pieces" that Bach composed in 1775.[239] All but one of those pieces were incorporated into other works; presumably they were part of a storehouse of items on which Bach drew when necessary.

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[237] Quoted in CPEBCW 1/5.2:xiv from Bach's letter of Sept. 23, 1785, in Suchalla, *Briefe,* 1112 (no. 278 in Clark, *Letters,* 236).

[238] Further discussion in CPEBE 1/18:127.

[239] NV 175 (W. 116/23–28), preserved in the partially autograph P 748 together with the related little pieces H. 255–58.

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Supplement 10.8. Variations and Arrangements

Bach's arrangement of the F-sharp-minor Fantasia, although unique in its scoring, was only one of many adaptations of keyboard pieces that he had been making since at least the 1750s and which continued through his Hamburg period. These were probably written for special occasions or on commission, as were also a few variation sets. Although of limited musical interest, such things must have taken up a significant amount of Bach's time and creative energy. Scores for arrangements might have been prepared largely by copyists, following Bach's instructions, as in some of the Berlin concertos with alternate solo parts. Even these, however, would have required the composer's planning and proofreading, and the addition of even a single subsidiary accompanying part could have forced the rethinking of notational as well as musical aspects of the original score, as in the case of *C. P. E. Bachs Empfindungen* (W. 80).

Three sets of keyboard variations prepared in Bach's later years at Hamburg are loosely related to the rondos composed during the same period, inasmuch as the latter frequently apply variation technique to the restatements of their themes. The Variations with Varied Reprises (W. 118/10) must have followed the composition of the C-Major Keyboard Trio W. 91/4, composed and published in 1777. The theme for the two works was originally the little Andantino W. 116/23, the first of the six little pieces of 1775 that provided material for several other works as well (see table below). Better known today are Bach's variations on “La Folia [sic] d'Espagne” (W. 118/9), which, however, appear to have been obscure during Bach's lifetime, although they were published posthumously by Traeg of Vienna.[240] Why Bach in 1778 composed a dozen variations on a famous but outmoded Baroque ostinato is unknown. We can imagine, however, that he was sometimes requested to improvise variations on favorite tunes. A melody and ostinato bass line that had been the basis of a famous sonata by Corelli, whose works were still studied in the late eighteenth century, is likely to have come up on occasion. Bach must have known Corelli's work (op. 5, no. 12), and although it was by no means the only set of variations on the Follia, by 1778 it was probably the only well-known one. Bach seems to allude to Corelli's variations in several of his own, including nos. 1 and 7 (online example 10.35).

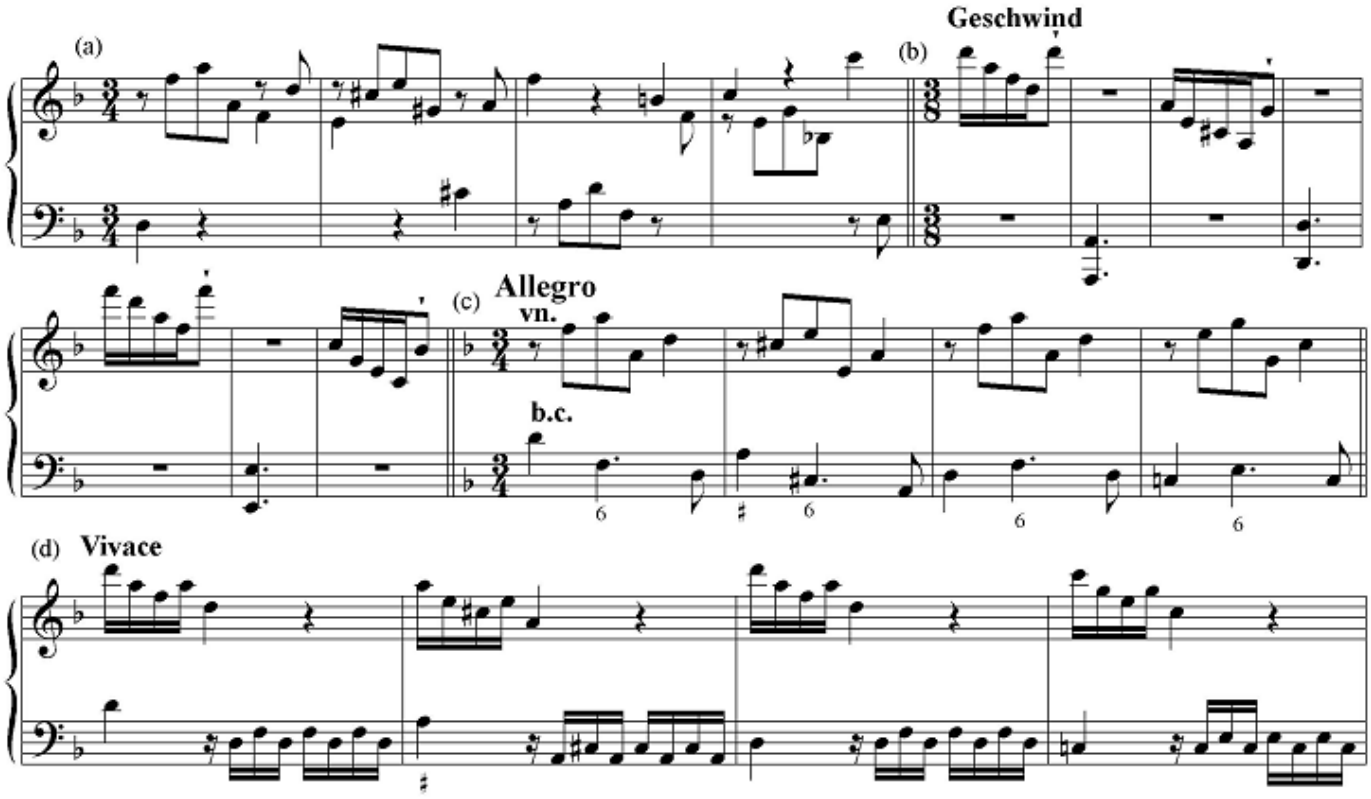
Corelli's opus 5 sonatas, of which the Follia variations constitute the twelth and last, are usually described as being for solo violin and continuo. An argument has been made, however, for regarding them as duo sonatas for violin and bass,[241] and many of Bach's variations are conceived polyphonically, in two real parts. On the other hand, the fundamentally harmonic basis of Bach's variations is clear from the “theme” as he gives it: a simple two-part skeleton doubtless intended to be realized with full chords (online example 10.36). Although the set, like most of Bach's variations, describes no clear overall arc, Bach, probably deliberately, mixes variations in

[240] In 1803; the publication is listed as W. 270. Traeg also published Bach's early Locatelli Variations (W. 118/7). The Follia Variations otherwise survive only in copies by Michel and Westphal.

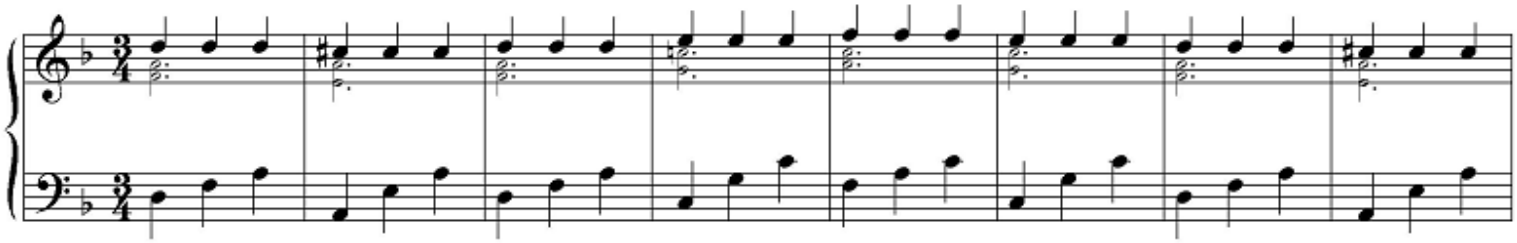
[241] The point, first made by Niels Martin Jensen and developed by Allsop, *The Italian “Trio” Sonata,* is reviewed and qualified in Walls, “On Divided Lines.”

a fairly archaic, perhaps Corellian, style, with others that are more clearly his own. Even if the set fails to add up to a convincing musical whole, it might be heard in the context of Bach's Hamburg concerts that deliberately programmed old and outmoded works like his father's alongside contemporary ones.[242]

Example 10.35. Variations on La Follia, W. 118/9, opening of: (a) variation 1, (b) variation 7; Corelli, Sonata in D Minor, op. 5, no. 12, opening of: (a) variation 17, (b) variation 10



Example 10.36. Variations on La Follia, W. 118/9, theme, mm. 1–8 (editorial additions in small notes)



[242] These concerts might have been organized in emulation of London's Concert of Ancient Music, praised by Burney; see my “C. P. E. Bach and Handel,” 15.

Table. Versions and arrangements of several late keyboard pieces

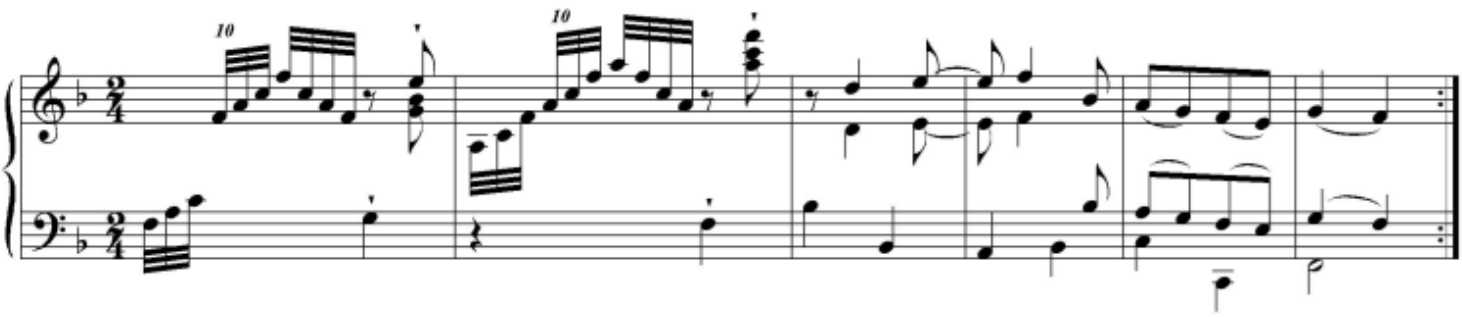
original (kb)		W. 115 (2 kb)		W. 92 (kb, cl, bn)		W. 184 (2 fl, 2cl, 2 hn, bn)		other		comment
W.	*key*	*no.*	*key*	*no.*	*key*	*no.*	*key*	*W.*	*key*	
65/50/1	G			2	Eb	5	A			sonata movement (rondo, *Lebhaft*)
65/50/2	C			5	Eb	2	F			sonata movement (Andante)
116/23	**C**							**91/4**	**C**	**Andantino; version with varied reprises: W. 118/10**
116/24	**F**	**2**	**F**					**186/2**	**F**	**Andante**
116/25	**D**	**1**	**Bb**	**6**	**Bb**					**Allegro, some passages also in W. 116/53; for clock as W. 193/2**
116/26	**G**									**Allegro; earlier (?) kb version: H. 256**
116/27	**g**									**Andante (no arrangements?)**
116/28	**D**	**4**	**Eb**	**3**	**Eb**			**185/1**	**D**	**Allegro; later (?) kb version: H. 255; theme recurs in the Resurrection Cantata, no. 11 (mm. 74–5**)
116/32	a									minuet; later (?) kb version: H. 258 (autograph in P 748)
116/50	a	3	a					186/1	a	Langsam und traurig; for clock as W. 193/28 (g)
116/52	Eb					4	Eb			Allegro ma non troppo
116/53	C							185/2	C	Allegro; some passages also in W. 116/25
116/57	C					6	C			Allegretto grazioso (rondo)
—				1	Eb	1	D			Allegretto (no kb version)
—				4	Bb	3	G			Allegro (no kb version); for clock as W. 193/2 (D)

kb = keyboard fl = flute cl = clarinet hn = horn bn = bassoon

W. 91/4 = Keyboard Trio in C
W. 185 = Six Marches for winds (2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, bassoon)
W. 186 = Two Pieces for winds (2 clarinets, 2 horns, bassoon)

Individual variations within the Follia set tend to be homogeneous in style, avoiding the dramatic shifts of pacing and other idiosyncracies that had become customary in Bach's keyboard writing by this date. Bach's only other late set of variations for solo keyboard, although shorter and demanding less of the player, is more recognizably a product of these years. Based on a canzonetta by Charlotte of Saxe-Meiningen, the reigning duchess of Gotha, W. 118/8 uses a theme that was also the subject of a pastiche set of variations published there in 1781 to which Georg Benda and other local composers contributed.[243] Bach's six variations alone, however, constitute a complete composition with a coherent plan: they gradually gain in complexity and speed, and after the *minore* variation 4 comes a little fantasia in the guise of variation 5, interpolating passages in A minor into the original, which is in F. The final variation alternates between grand arpeggios and a quiet syncopated line in octaves on which the set ends—giving the variations an unpretentious conclusion typical of Bach's late works (online example 10.37).

Example 10.37. Variations on a Canzonetta, W. 118/8, last six measures



The special treatment of the penultimate variation in the Gotha set shows Bach's willingness late in life to give new thought to a genre that had previously been of little interest to him. He had already shown similar imagination in the variations for keyboard trio—the basis of the Variations with Varied Reprises—where the penultimate section modulates from C to the mediant (E). Three years later, as part of his 1780 oratorio for the Hamburg militia (H. 822a), Bach wrote what is in effect a series of chorale variations.[244] In 1781, the year of the Gotha variations, Bach also composed the A-major Arioso With Variations for keyboard and violin (W.

[243] Not seen here, the print is mentioned by Helm (entry 275), but it does not include W. 118/8 (see CPEBCW 1/7:xxii). Helm's identification of the duchess as Luise Dorothea (whom Bach probably met during his visit in 1754) is based on a faulty supposition by Miesner, "Graf v. Keyserlingk und Minister v. Happe,"111–12, who evidently did not know the composition by her successor and niece. The latter's subsequent works included a symphony and twelve lieder, according to Klemm, *Die Frauen*, 5:147.

[244] This series of chorale settings, which involves variously scored stanzas using the melody "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allegleich," was further varied in the *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft* (H. 824e) of 1785. There the successive variations alternate with what is in effect a separate series of variations setting the six stanzas of Psalm 150. The same work ends with nine varied settings of a strophic aria or song.

79), which again goes to a third-related key (F) for the penultimate variation.[245] As in the keyboard trio, the relatively remote key is prepared by a short modulating bridge, and the work as a whole ends with a quiet little coda. In both cases it is the new tonality that is the point of the penultimate variation, for the original melody is otherwise almost unaltered. The effect is the same as in Bach's contemporaneous modulating rondos, where a transposition of the main theme to a remote tonality is often a climactic step into another world.

At Hamburg Bach also arranged many of his smaller compositions for instrumental ensembles of various types. Like the parodies and pastiches of vocal music created for church services during the same period, these are of varying musical interest. Most appear to have originated as little keyboard pieces, but unlike those written at Berlin none bear programmatic titles. A few are dances, but most are designated simply by their tempo marks, and most are binary forms rather than rondos. Most of Bach's Berlin arrangements occur among the movements of the ensemble sonatinas, which Bach presumably played during concerts that he directed as keyboard soloist. His Hamburg arrangements are mostly for mixed ensembles that must have served more varied purposes. Four pieces arranged for keyboard duo (W. 115), as well as six one-movement sonatas for keyboard with clarinet and bassoon (W. 92), must have been for domestic use. Most of the other Hamburg arrangements were probably used in more public settings, perhaps during civic functions such as the festive gatherings of the officers of the Hamburg militia, for which Bach also composed two oratorio-serenata pairs. In addition, Bach adapted a number of pieces for clocks and other mechanical instruments. Although the actual mechanisms, which might have provided information about tempo and other aspects of performance practice, do not survive, the scores of some thirty of these adaptations are extant (W. 193), mostly in Michel's copies.

The wind scoring of many of Bach's arrangements recalls the *Harmoniemusik* that was simultaneously fashionable elsewhere in Europe. As in other genres, however, Bach was probably as strongly influenced by French and even English practices as by Austrian and south-German music. The varying instrumentation from one set to the next suggests that Hamburg did not yet know any standard "Harmonie" ensemble, such as that established by Emperor Joseph at Vienna in 1782, although the reliance on arrangements rather than original compositions is a common feature.

Identifying the precise history of these and other arrangements will keep editors busy for some time; the nature of the problem emerges from the complex of related pieces and their arrangements listed in the table below. In general, NV provides dates of composition only for the original versions of these pieces, and, as Bach's own scores and parts survive for only a handful of them, their precise history may never be known.[246] The core of this particular group of pieces,

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[245]Ulrich Leisinger argues convincingly that the Arioso was originally conceived for solo keyboard (CPEBCW 1/7:xxi), but his edition overlooks a few early readings (reported in CPEBCW 2/3.1:18) that Bach apparently changed when he added the violin part. In particular, in the coda (mm. 102–3), the left-hand chords were originally on the fourth beat, now filled in by figuration in the violin.

[246] W. 184, 92, and 115 appear near the top of the list of "Kleinere Stücke" listed in NV, p. 52, together with the Six Marches W. 185 and the Two Little Pieces W. 186. All are marked "H," indicating that they originated at Hamburg, but only the entry for W. 184 also includes a

shown in bold in the table, is unusual for its survival in Bach's partial autograph score, which includes the Six Little Pieces of 1775 (W. 116/23–28).[247] Four of these turn up as movements in the keyboard duos W. 115, the keyboard trios W. 92, or other sets of arrangements, which in turn incorporate additional movements taken from other sources.

The Six Little Pieces of 1775 are the same group from which Bach took the theme of the variations in C for keyboard trio (later the Variations with Varied Reprises). As the table shows, Bach incorporated three other pieces from this set into the Duetti for two keyboards (W. 118). He also included two of these three in a group of six one-movement Sonatas for keyboard with clarinet and bassoon (W. 92). These keyboard trios overlap, in turn, with a different set of six one-movement Sonatas for wind ensemble (W. 184). There are also further arrangements of the original little pieces for variously constituted wind ensembles and for musical clock. In general, the versions for keyboard trio are somewhat simpler and, therefore, probably somewhat earlier than those for two keyboards; the versions for wind band were probably made independently of the others. Not all the pieces in each set were necessarily arrangements; a few may have been original compositions, as with two of the longer sonatas for wind band.[248]

Most of these pieces occupy no more than a single page in their original form for solo keyboard. Even the two that Bach also used as movements of the Sonata W. 65/50—probably not their original function—are relatively short. The arrangements leave many pieces in essentially their original form; for instance, the Andante from the Sonata W. 65/50 contains forty-five measures, as do the versions for keyboard trio and wind band.[249] The trio version, not surprisingly, leaves the original composition largely intact in the keyboard part, adding subsidiary accompanying parts for clarinet and bassoon. The arrangement for wind ensemble transfers the melody and bass to the first flute and bassoon, respectively, with few changes. Other wind parts provide either doublings or harmonic and rhythmic filler.

On the other hand, the third of the Six Little Pieces, W. 116/25 in D, was originally a rounded binary form comprising two periodic phrases of 8 + 8 measures each. The arrangements for two keyboards and for keyboard trio both expand this by adding twelve additional measures at the end of each half. In the keyboard duo, moreover, the original melodic line is varied or embellished while also being divided between the two parts (online example 10.38). The transposition of the trio version to E-flat was dictated by the decision to include a B-flat clarinet,

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date (1775).

[247] The manuscript, P 748, is reproduced in full in Berg, 5:129–34. Among four compositions added on the last page of the manuscript are alternate versions of two of the Six Little Pieces, listed in NV as item 175 and edited in CPEBCW 1/8.2:72–76.

[248] The Allegro ma non troppo W. 116/52 and the Allegretto grazioso W. 116/57 (a rondo) are significantly longer than other such pieces and may actually be keyboard reductions of their ensemble versions; see below.

[249] In its extant form, however, the version for solo keyboard (65/50, movement 2), is somewhat more ornate than the ensemble versions; it must represent an embellished version of a lost draft that served independently as the basis for all the surviving versions. The rondo from the same keyboard sonata (W. 65/50, movement 1) is likewise independent of the two ensemble versions, which lack the repeat of the theme in its final statement.

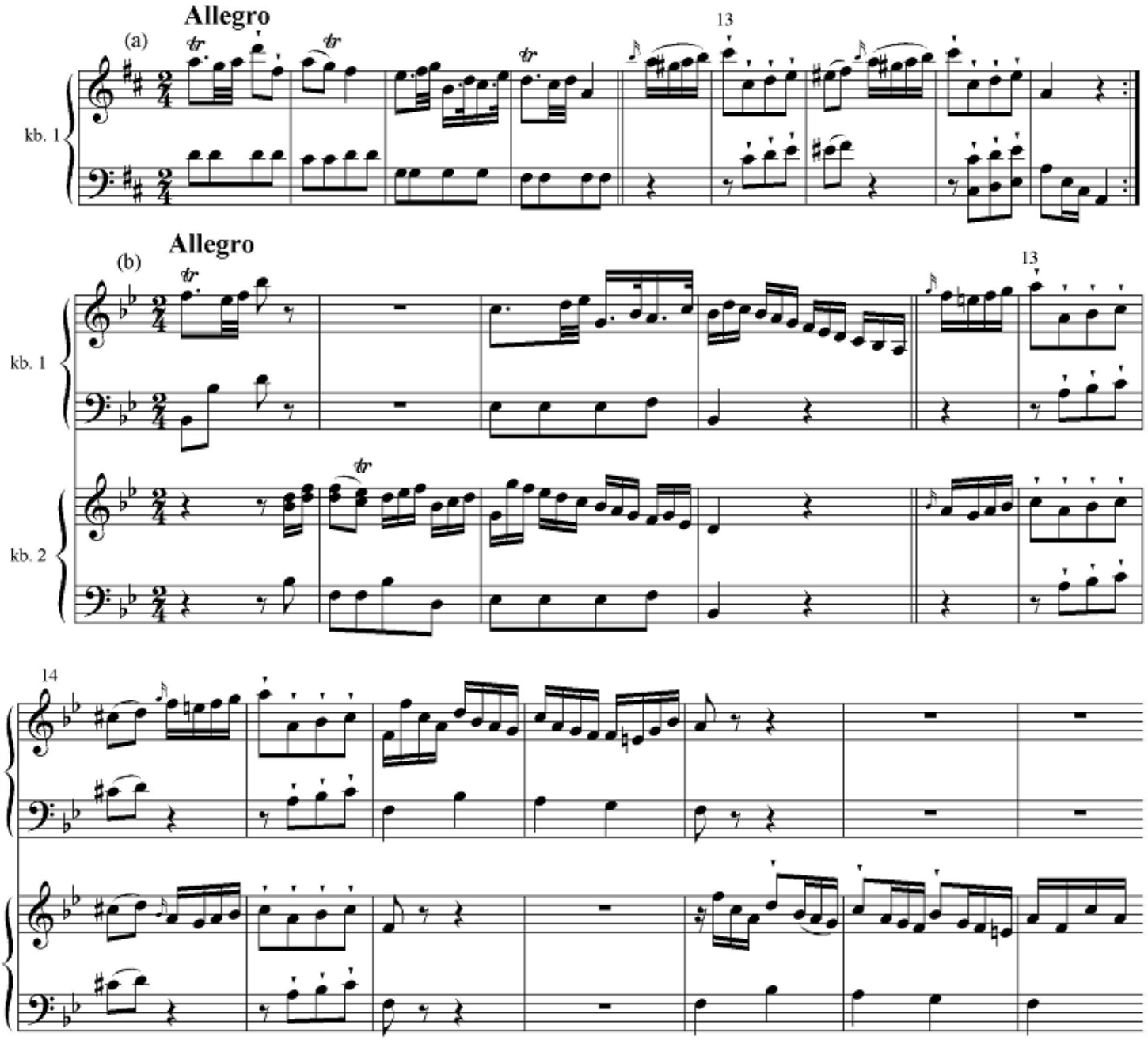
but why the keyboard duet was also transposed to a “flat” key (B-flat) is less clear. Possibly Bach prepared the duo version from the version for wind ensemble and not directly from the original. Considerations of range might also have come into play; in the four duetti, the second keyboard part ascends only to d'", and perhaps only one of the instruments belonging to the intended recipient had the compass up to f'" required by the first part. Whatever the reason, the four keyboard duets fail to constitute a satisfactory series, their sequence of keys (B-flat, F, A minor, E-flat) seeming almost random.

Even where Bach did not significantly expand the originals, the arrangements for keyboard trio reveal some imagination in re-assigning brief passages to the clarinet and bassoon, as in the *couplets* of the piece that also served as the opening rondo in W. 65/50 (online example10.39). Yet Bach's arrangements in general show little effort to adjust or develop his original ideas to make them idiomatic for particular instruments or ensembles. Although the arrangements employ distinctive and engaging sonorities (especially when played with piquant eighteenth-century woodwinds and natural horns), the melodies, basses, and inner voices are conceived largely in terms of the same three-part texture that prevails in Bach's other music; only the horn parts can be readily identified with their particular instrumental medium. This suggests that, in fulfilling commissions for simple entertainment music, perhaps to be played by amateurs, Bach saw no need for something more imaginative that would have made greater demands on players or listeners.

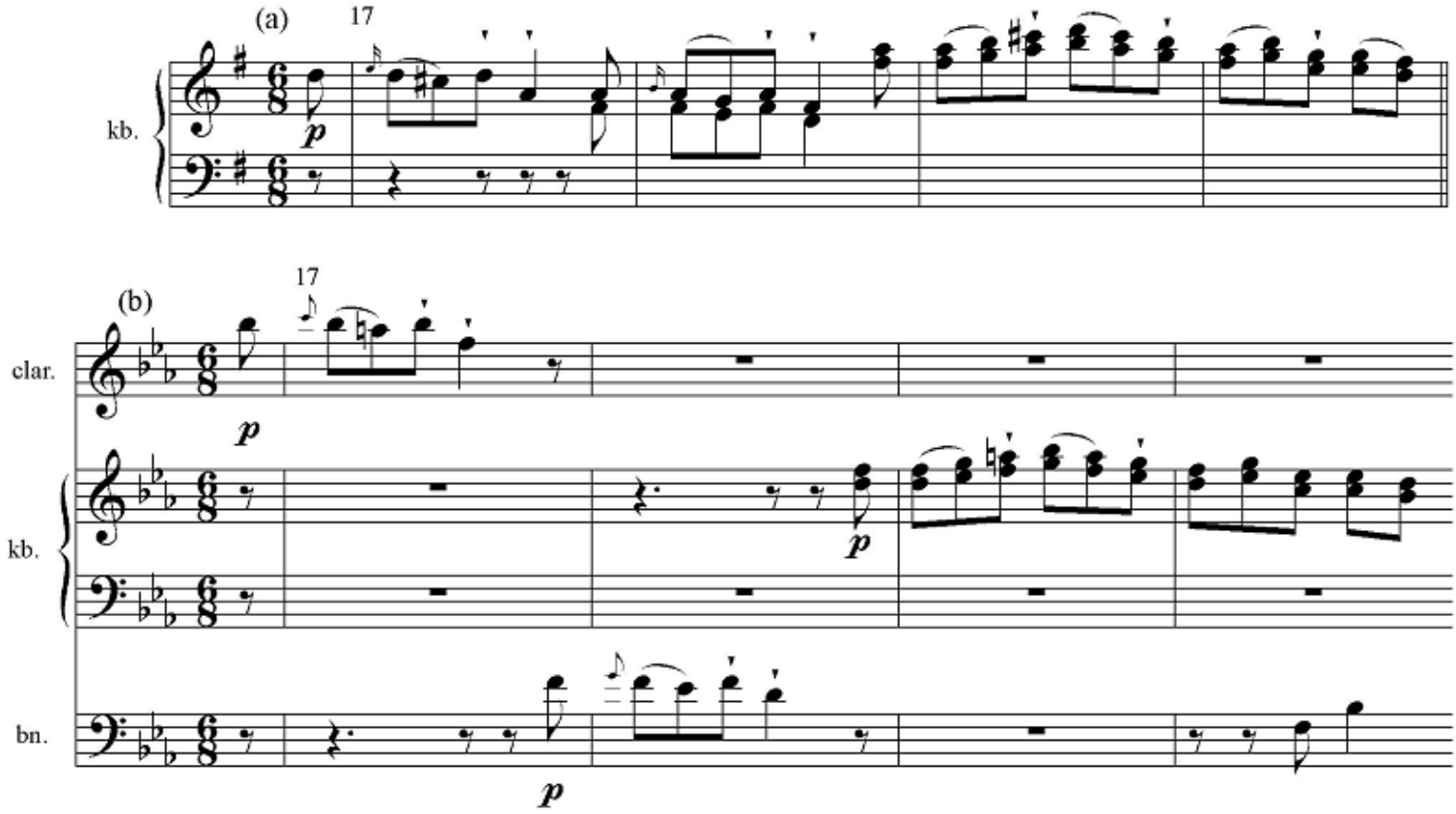
Still, the durations alone of these pieces (when played with the indicated repeats) suggest that they are not utterly trivial, and some achieve dimensions approaching those of serious chamber compositions. Among the six one-movement sonatas for wind band (W. 184) are two fairly substantial rondos, one of them the concluding number of the set. The latter, although not approaching the dimensions or seriousness of the modulating rondos for piano, ends, like the final movements in most of Bach's sinfonias, with a little coda that brings the set to a rousing finish. Another movement in this set, no. 4, is also relatively extended, constituting a complete sonata form. Although it exists in a keyboard version, the relatively unidiomatic character of the latter suggests that the ensemble version may be the original.[250]

[250] The same is suggested by the notation of the sole source of W. 116/52 (Bc 5898), which divides the beams of eighth notes in mm. 9–10 and elsewhere not according to the meter but rather to correspond with the division of the melodic line between horns, flutes, and clarinets, respectively in W. 184/4. (This beaming is preserved in the modern transcription of the source in Berg, 5:175–77.)

Example 10.38. (a) Allegro in D, W. 116/24, (a) mm. 1–4, 13–16; (b) Duetto in B-flat, W. 115/1, mm. 1–4, 13–20



Example 10.39. (a) Sonata in G, movement 1, mm. 17–20; (b) Keyboard Trio in E-flat, W. 92/2, 17–20

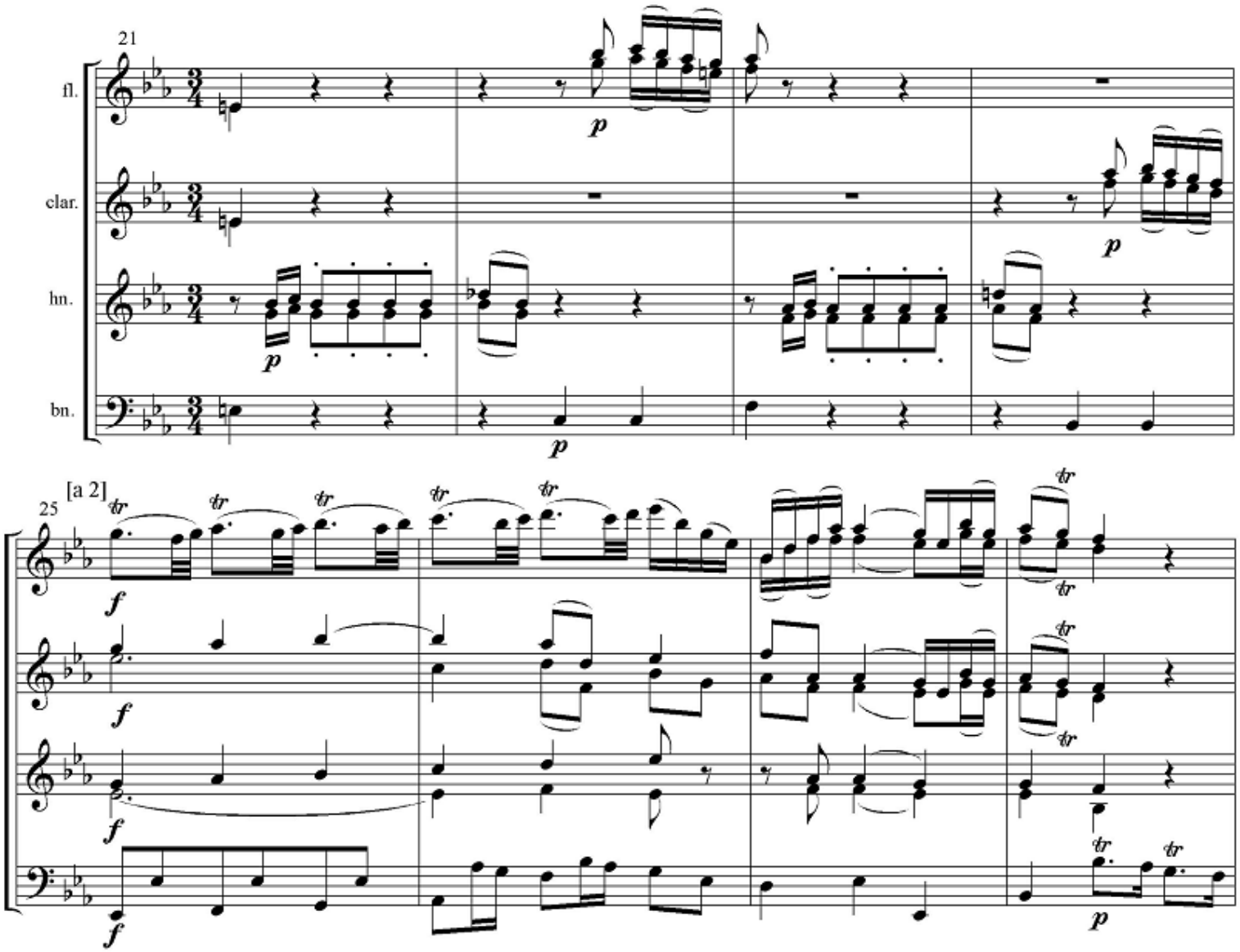


Within this set, even the arranged movements show some imagination in scoring, not always adhering to formula. The two flutes take the role of the violins in Bach's music for strings, sometimes playing in unison, sometimes divided. In “tutti” passages (generally corresponding to *forte* phrases in the original versions) the flutes are doubled by the two clarinets, either at the unison or an octave lower, sometimes in a simplified version of the flute line (online example 10.40). Elsewhere the clarinets may alternate with the flutes, exchanging brief motivic ideas with them, or they may accompany them by providing a bass and an inner voice; hence they correspond sometimes to the oboes, sometimes to the second violin and viola in orchestral scores. The horns usually play their traditional roles, but they also provide the bass in some passages, and Bach occasionally gives them little motivic statements as well—more frequently than in his orchestral music.Only the bassoon has an entirely conventional role as bass to the woodwinds (never, as in later orchestration, to the horns). Bach, incidentally, treats the bassoon rather conservatively in the pieces for wind band; in the keyboard trios, however, it ascends routinely to a-flat", often paired with the clarinet as an alto or tenor voice in *piano* passages that alternate with the keyboard.

None of the sonatas in W. 184 could have struck Bach or his listeners as very important, even if these pieces are more sophisticated than the many little marches and dances that he also arranged

in multiple settings. The routines involved in their production were similar to those that Bach was employing at the same time in his liturgical music. Most of the latter likewise comprises arrangements that involved varying degrees of recomposition and “renovation,” but at least with the present music the originals were Bach's own.

Example 10.40. Sonata for Winds in E-flat, W. 184/4, mm. 21–28



David Schulenberg
The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 11.1. Church Pieces and Cantatas: Terminology

After 1750 the expression *cantata* was already sometimes used more or less as we employ it today. Indeed, Neumeister, pastor at Hamburg from 1715 until 1756, had applied the term *Cantate* to the librettos for regular church services that he published during the first decade of the eighteenth century. Bach's friend Ebeling, in a posthumous evaluation of Telemann's music, likewise wrote of "German sacred cantatas."[251] Both writers, however, used the term to refer to the poetry for these sacred compositions, not the actual musical settings. Gottsched, professor of poetry at Leipzig during Emanuel's youth, instead used the term *oratorio* for what we would call a church cantata, and his pupil Scheibe followed him in this.[252] Telemann likewise called the church pieces of his 1730–31 cycle oratorios, although this was because in these rather special works the vocal soloists represent allegorical figures such as "Contentment," "Gratitude," and so forth.[253] The poet Ramler, on the other hand, applied the term *cantata* to his poem on the resurrection *(Die Auferstehung)*, whose settings, including those of Bach and Agricola, we call oratorios.

Members of the Bach family seem to have been reluctant to extend the term *cantata* beyond the secular compositions for solo singer and small ensemble to which it had been applied since the seventeenth century. For them as for us, oratorios were larger works involving multiple singers. Only a few compositions by Emanuel are listed in NV as cantatas or oratorios, however. Each is a rather special non-liturgical work of one sort or another that Emanuel seems to have written for concert use or in response to an individual commission. He retained the term *cantata* for his setting of Ramler's *Auferstehung* and for the Passion Cantata, probably because these, unlike the *Israelites*, lack named characters. NV designates *Israelites*, which does include roles and dialog, as an oratorio, along with the two allegorical dramas for the militia. The far greater number of works for church services are mostly described simply as "music" or "pieces" for given occasions, performed by Bach in fulfillment of his responsibilities as director of music in the city's principal churches.

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[251] "wir haben nicht wenig berühmte Meister darin gehabt, die deutsche geistliche Cantaten gesetzt haben," extract from his *Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek* (July 1770), no. 87 in *Georg Philipp Telemann: Singen ist das Fundament zur Musik*, 294.

[252] Poetzsch, "Ordentliche Kirchenmusiken, genannt Oratorium," 319, referring to Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Handlexicon oder Kurzgefaßtes Wörterbuch der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* (Leipzig, 1760), cols. 1210f., and Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus* (Leipzig, 1745), pp. 187, 189.

[253] That is, Vergnügsamkeit and Erkenntlichkeit, two of the four characters in *Vergnügen und Murren*, the "oratorio" for Septuagesimae Sunday (TWV 1:430); see the first page of Zell's text as published at Hamburg in 1735, reproduced in Poetzsch, "Ordentliche Kirchenmusik," 323.

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Supplement 11.2. Bach's Passions (table)

text	year	W.	H.	ms source	CPEBCW	source works (where known)		comment
						gospel, chorales	*recits., arias*	
Matthew	1769		782	SA 5155	4/4.1	BWV 244		recitatives and arias largely by CPEB
	1773		786	SA 5136	4/4.2	BWV 244	HoWV II.49, I.9	
	1777		790	SA 25	(4/4.3)	BWV 244		
	1781		794	SA 28	(4/4.4)	BWV 244		
	1785		798	SA 32	(4/4.5)	BWV 244		
	1789	235	802	P 339	(4/4.6)	BWV 244	HoWV I.4, 10	
Mark	1770		783	SA 37	4/5.1	HoWV I.10	HoWV I.10	
	1774		787	SA 24	4/5.2	HoWV I.10	HoWV I.4, 5, 9	
	1778		791	SA 26	(4/5.3)	HoWV I.10		
	1782		795	SA 49	(4/5.4)	HoWV I.10		
	1786		796	SA 30	(4/5.5)	HoWV I.10		
Luke	1771		784	SA 23	4/6.1	TWV 5:45	HoWV I.10	some items by Benda, Stölzel (1749 Passion); recitatives from TWV 5:45
	1775		788	SA 50	4/6.2	HoWV I.5	HoWV I.5	
	1779		792	SA 21	(4/6.3)	TWV 5:45	Benda, Homilius	one item by CPEB
	1783		796	SA 30	(4/6.4)	HoWV I.5		
	1787	234	800	SA 34	(4/6.5)	TWV 5:45		
John	1772		785	SA 4657	4/7.1	TWV 5:30	HoWV I.10	some items from BWV 245, Stölzel (1749 Passion)
	1776		789	SA 19	4/7.2	HoWV I.4	HoWV I.4	chorales and portions of gospel narrative from TWV 5:30
	1780		793	SA 27	(4/7.3)	TWV 5:30	Benda, Homilius	one item by J. G. Graun
	1784		797	SA 31	(4/7.4)	TWV 5:30		
	1788		801	SA 35	(4/7.5)	TWV 5:30	Homilius	also many original items

(Explanatory notes follow.)

CPEB = Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
CPEBCW = volume numbers in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works* (volumes whose numbers appear in parentheses have not been published as of this writing)

BWV 244 = J. S. Bach, St. Matthew Passion (especially *turbae* and duets); some chorales from BWV 245 and other works
BWV 245 = St. John Passion

HoWV I.4 = Homilius, St. John Passion *Der Fromme stirbt* (Bach's copy in SA 50)
HoWV I.5 = St. Luke Passion *Du starker Keltertreter*
HoWV I.9 = passion oratorio *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lieder*
HoWV I.10 = St. Mark Passion *So gehst du nun, mein Jesu, hin*
HoWV II.49 = Cantata for Estomini, *Legt eure Harfen hin*, Bach's copy in SA 368

TWV 5:30 = Telemann, St. John Passion of 1745, *Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld*
TWV 5:45 = St. Luke Passion of 1760; some readings from the revised version of 1764 (TWV 5:49)

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Supplement 11.3. Bach's Parody Technique

An aria by Benda, taken over in one of Bach's inaugural pieces, had large stretches of its vocal line rewritten.[254] This parody was, then, the product of "variation" similar to that which Bach habitually applied to the solo parts of his concertos. More frequently, however, Bach's parodies vary the original in other ways. In his last St. Matthew Passion, performed in 1789 after his death (W. 235), all five arias are shortened parodies taken ultimately from passions by Homilius, although Bach had previously incorporated them in other forms within his passions of 1770 and 1776. One of these arias became a rare instance of a genuine "modified" da capo, to use the traditional term for what is here called a through-composed ternary aria.[255] Homilius had composed "Wer kann den Rat der Liebe fassen" as a large conventional da capo aria; Bach had already abbreviated it as a so-called dal segno aria in the St. John Passion of 1776. His parody in the 1789 St. Matthew Passion, "Du trägst die Fesseln," is further shortened.[256] This transformation did not take place without some effort, and Bach's parody includes new transitional and closing passages.

Bach's changes in this case probably improved a long and diffuse aria. Bach likewise shortened Homilius's aria "Vor dir, dem Vater, der verzeiht" almost by half, yet the last fourteen measures in the parody, "Im Staub gebückt,"are mostly his own.[257] These incorporate the novel idea of having the voice cadence alone; then, in place of a closing ritornello, the violins play a quiet chromatic scale, echoing some modest chromaticism that Homilius's original version of the aria had not further developed (online example 11.1). Bach also eliminated a melisma sung in the original on the word *bewein* (mourn). In another aria, "Erfrecht euch nur," he substituted a single simple melisma on *verklagen* ("bewail") for several more athletic melismas originally sung on *verdammt*

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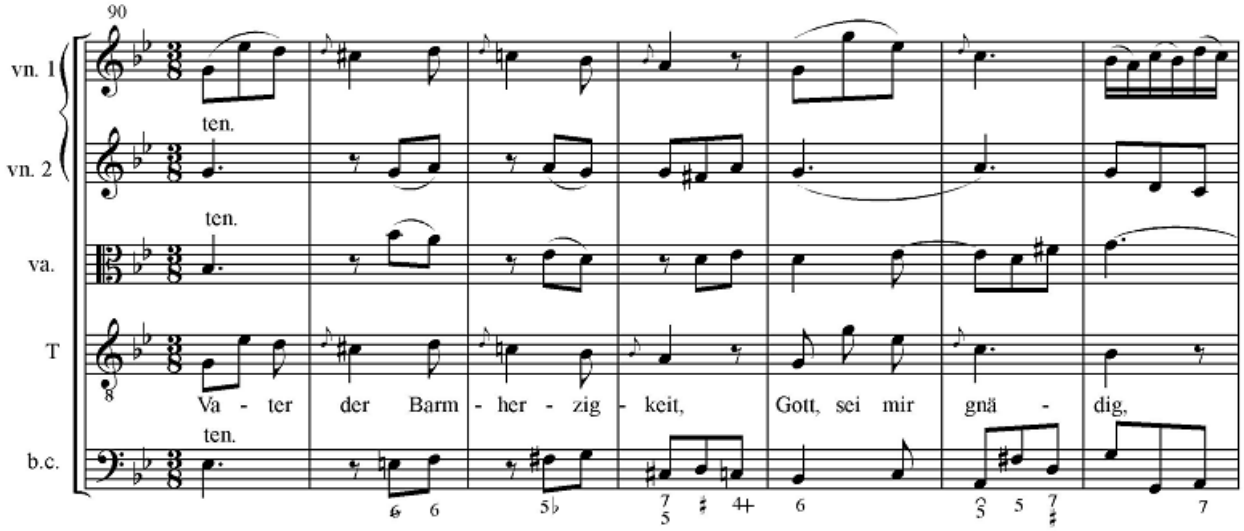
[254] Enßlin and Wolf, "Die Prediger-Einführungsmusiken," 142–43, on the aria "Ruhe sanft, verklärten Lehrter" (no. 7 in W. 251), which they trace to Benda's cantata *Der Herr lebet* (L. 548).

[255] See my "Modifying the Da Capo?." The same type of aria is called a "transformed" (*umgestaltet*) da capo by Smither, "Arienstruktur und Arienstil," 346–47. Smither lists nine arias of this type by Bach, including four of the six arias in the Resurrection Cantata (appendix, p. 368). Bach did not regularly use the other types of shortened da capo arias discussed by Smither in *A History of the Oratorio,* 3:71–74.

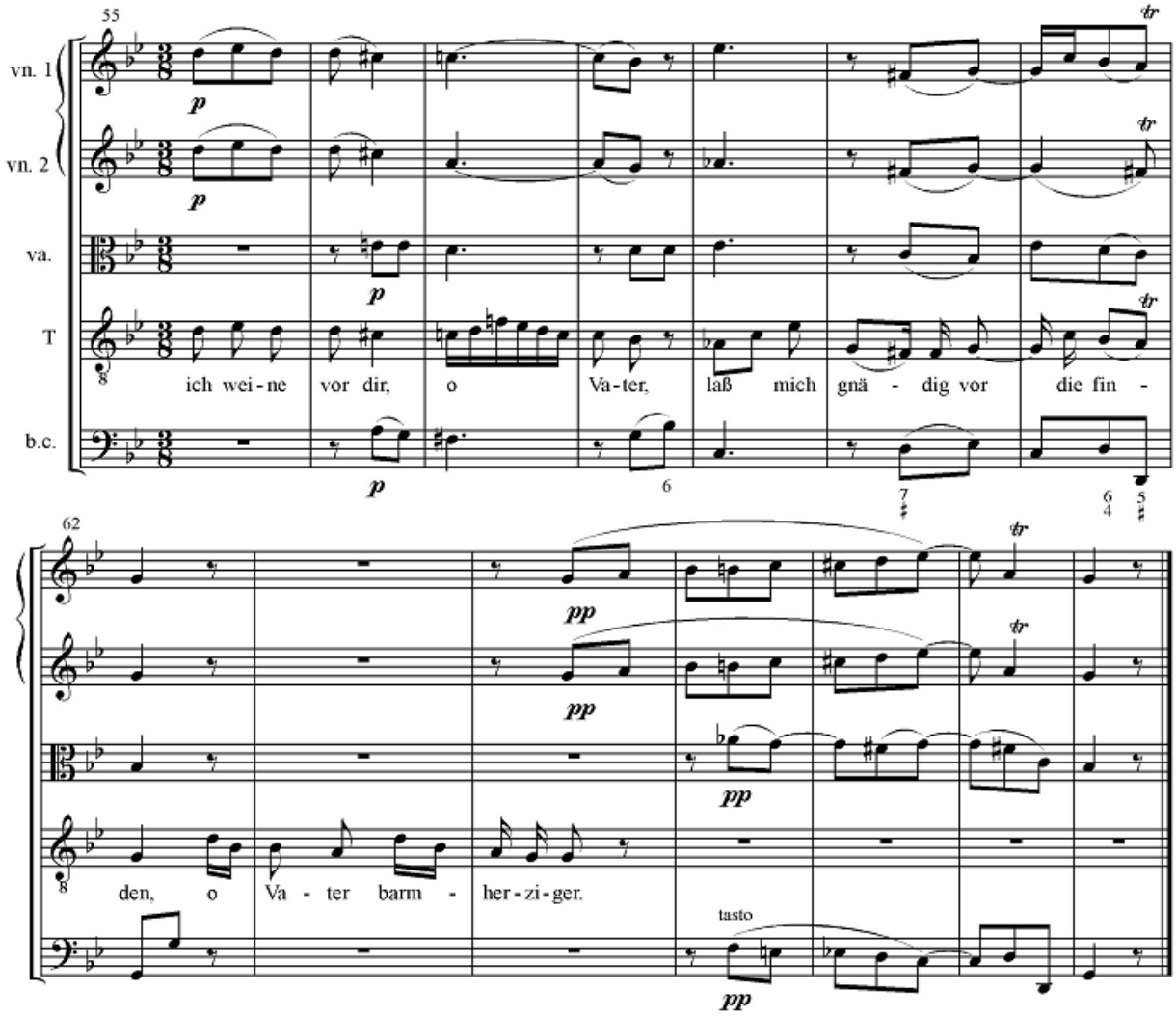
[256] The aria was originally no. 9 in Homilius's St. John Passion (see CPEBCW 4/7.2:xii). In Bach's parody for 1789, the second half of the A section is, in essence, transferred to the end of the aria, becoming the A' section. See my "Modifying the Da Capo?," 25–26, for an instance of the same procedure by Handel.

[257] The aria, originally no. 16 in Homilius's St. John Passion, became no. 15 in Bach's St. Mark Passion of 1774 prior to its re-use with a new text in the 1789 St. Matthew Passion (see CPEBCW 4/5.2:xii).

Example 11.1a. Aria “Vor dir, dem Vater, der verzeiht,” no. 15 in the 1774 St. Mark Passion, H. 787, mm. 90–96

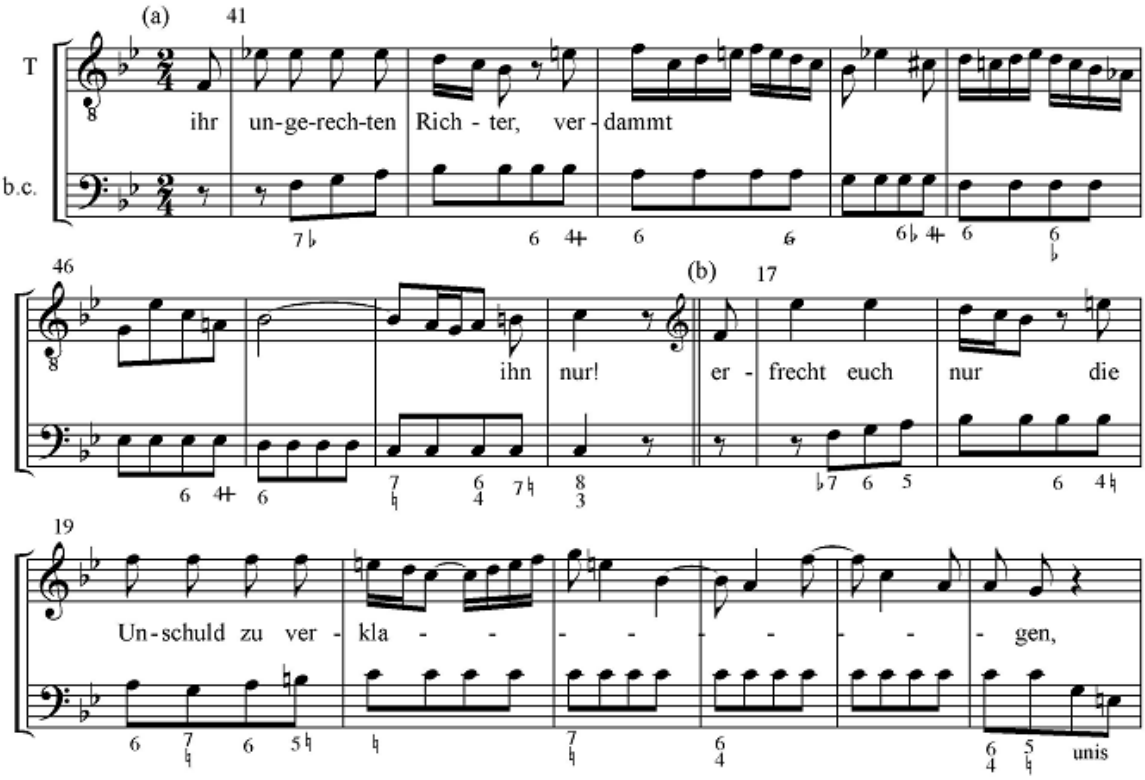


Example 11.1b. Aria “Im Staub gebückt,” no. 21 in the 1789 St. Matthew Passion, W. 235, mm. 55–68



(condemned); he also greatly shortened the aria as a whole (online example 11.2).[258] Hence Bach's parody reduced the level of virtuosity, facilitating its performance and, in "Erfrecht euch nur," muting the impression that is an old-fashioned rage aria. That type had been more clearly represented not only by the parody model "Verdammt ihn nur" used in 1770, but also by the aria at the corresponding point in Bach's 1769 St. Matthew Passion, "Donnre nur ein Wort." The latter—Bach's own composition—is an enormous virtuoso aria in through-composed da capo form (with *two* B sections). It must have taken its toll on both singer and listeners, and although Friedrich Martin Illert, who sang it in 1769, was still working for Bach in 1788, he might no longer have been prepared to sing such a demanding number.[259]

Example 11.2. (a) Homilius, aria "Verdammt ihn nur," no. 13 in the 1770 St. Mark Passion, H. 783, mm. 41–49; (b) Aria "Erfrecht euch nur," no. 30 in the 1789 St. Matthew Passion, W. 235, mm. 17–24 (both without strings)



[258] "Erfrecht euch nur," no. 30 in Bach's 1789 St. Matthew Passion, is a parody of "Verdammt ihn nur," no. 13 in Bach's St. Mark Passion of 1770 (originally no. 23 in Homilius's St. Mark Passion). Enßlin, *Die Bach-Quellen,* 478, identifies the model of Bach's "Erfrecht euch nur" as "Verlasst ihn nicht," but the latter is an aria in pastorale style (6/8) in G, sung just after Peter's second denial of Jesus in Homilius's passion oratorio *Nun, ihr, meinem Augen Lieder* and in Bach's 1773 St. Matthew Passion (H. 786). The present aria ("Erfrecht euch nur") is an Allegro (2/4) in B-flat, sung after the high priests have determined to have Jesus condemned.

[259] According to Sanders, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Liturgical Music," Illert's career as a singer in the Hamburg churches lasted from 1754 to 1792.

Bach's autograph scores survive for many of his substitute recitatives, arias, and choruses. Among the choruses are adaptations of sacred songs from the Gellert, Cramer, and Sturm sets, inserted into passions and other larger works as settings for four voices with orchestral accompaniment. Thus the chorus "Hallelujah! Auf Golgatha," based on the "Lobgesang auf den Tod Jesu" in the second Sturm volume (W. 198/23), is accompanied in Bach's autograph score (P 340) by directions for its insertion into the St. John Passion for 1784. Bach specifies where the new choral arrangement goes (after the words *und verschied*) and which stanzas are to be sung. Bach's score looks like a fair copy, but small alterations show that he was probably arranging it as he transcribed the soprano and bass parts from the original keyboard score.[260]

Bach's score for his final St. Matthew Passion similarly includes his orchestration of a passage derived from his own settings of the "Old" and "New" Litanies, published in 1786 (W. 204). This too was probably scored directly from the original version, but the parody arias in the same work required preliminary sketches. One of these is written in Bach's late hand into the part for the tenor ("Evangelist") in the St. Matthew Passion for 1773.[261] Like the sketch for Bach's late song "Nonnelied," it consists of the melody only, with occasional words underlaid; presumably Bach had the complete text in front of him as he wrote the sketch, or had memorized it. In neither of these cases did he make significant changes to the melody in the finished work, raising the question of why a sketch was necessary at all. In the passion aria ("Erfrecht euch nur"), the sketch begins only at the point where the melody of the parody departs from its model; presumably, then, Bach was planning, or trying out, the parody by writing the new portions of its vocal part prior to creating a new full score.

[260] For instance, in measure 5 of the arrangement, Bach erased eighth notes in the soprano part that corresponded to the original rhythm of the song, here replaced by a half note.

[8] The sketch is for the aria "Erfrecht euch nur," mentioned earlier; it is in SA 5136 (see CPEBCW 4/4.2:139). Hill describes further sketches in her dissertation, chap. 5.

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The Music of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach
Supplement 11.4. The Inaugural Piece for Pastor Hornbostel

The table below shows the plan of the first part of the work, centered around E-flat; the second half retains this tonal center. The integration of the work, however, involves more than just the recurrence of one key. The first line of the first aria ("Groß ist der Herr") recurs as a refrain not only within the B section—where the bass soloist briefly sings a duet with the timpani, echoing Telemann's *Donnerode* (see online example 9.49a)—but also at the opening of the second aria. The latter, moreover, has an unusual composite design resembling a through-composed ternary form: the final cadence of the A section is broken off, the choir entering with what seems an unrelated movement, but they eventually repeat the music of the A section, in a new key (again E-flat) and to new words. This allows a chorale in C minor to follow, and the first half ends with another composite movement: a modulating strophic aria whose outer stanzas, divided between tenor, bass, and chorus, are in E-flat, the tonic of the work as a whole.

Table. Inaugural music for Pastor Hornbostel, part 1 (H. 821e)

mvt.	type	text	key	comment
1	Chorus	Hallelujah	Eb	parody (?) of "Triumph" chorus in W. 240/H. 777
2*	Aria (bass)	Gross ist der Herr	Ab	through-composed da capo aria
3*	Recitative (tenor)	Wohin mein Auge	f>	
4*	Aria (bass)	Gross ist der Herr	Bb>	A section; textual and musical incipit = no. 2
	Chorus	Ihr Völker, hört	g>	B section
	Chorus	Ihr Himmel, tönt	Eb	A' section; musical incipit = no. 2
5	Chorale	Gross ist der Herr	c	setting by Telemann (melody = "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen")
6*	Recitative (soprano)	Welch ein Gesang	g>	
	Recitative (bass)	Ja, heilig	G>	
7*	Duet (sopr., alto)	Also hat Gott	d	John 3:16 (binary-form setting)
8*	Recitative (tenor)	Welch Entzücken!	g>	
9	Chorus	Anbetung	c	transposed to d in W. 243/H. 807
	Chorale	Heilig	c>Eb	
10*	Recitative (tenor)	Dreymahl beglücktes Volk	c>	
11*	Aria (tenor)	Seid mir getröst	Eb	stanza 1
	(alto)	Ich will entzückt	>g	stanza 2
	(soprano)	Oft, wenn ich, Gott	>c	stanza 3
	(bass, chorus)	Nun mischt	Eb	stanza 4 (music = stanza 1)

> modulating to the next key shown

*music re-used in *Auf, schicke dich*, the Christmas Music for 1775 (W. 249/H. 815)

Bach retained ideas from this plan when he later borrowed movements from the work. Its opening chorus became the recurring "Triumph!" chorus in the Resurrection Cantata, also centered on E-flat. Three years later the entire first part, constituting about two-thirds of the whole, served as the basis for *Auf, schicke dich*, the Christmas music of 1775 (W. 249).[262] The latter consequently shares the integrated plan of the original, despite the substitution of a simple chorale setting (in C minor) for the opening chorus.[263] A notable element of both versions, incidentally, is the use of A-flat as the key of the first aria. Bach's previous use of this tonality in songs and keyboard music has been noted, but it remained rare in orchestral music before this date, particularly in grand works of this nature. Although the strings here are reduced to a unison (or rather octave) doubling of the bass, the key prevents use of the open strings and would previously have raised intonation issues, not least involving the organ. Evidently by this date Bach could assume the use of something close to equal temperament, and any coloration of the string sound due to the use of "flat" keys throughout the work no longer seemed considered inappropriate for the festive occasion. (Supplement 11.6 below provides further discussion of music from Hornbostel's inaugural piece.)

[262] Bach's music for Hamburg services normally fell into two unequal parts, with a relatively brief closing series of movements following the sermon.

[263] The melody is that of the Christmas chorale "Wir Christenleut." Another movement from Hornbostel's inaugural piece, the chorus "Anbetung," was transposed from C minor to D minor to provide the opening of the Easter Music of 1784 (W. 243).

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Supplement 11.5. Bach's Hamburg Vocal Music (table)

In the list below, Helm catalog numbers are given alongside those of Wotquenne, as the latter failed to include entries for many vocal works, especially passions and installation pieces. Works that Bach or his contemporaries appear to have regarded as major creative efforts are shown **in bold.** The number of inaugural and seasonal pieces is partly a matter of definition, as many works were essentially repetitions of earlier ones; Bach's original contributions to some of them have yet to be sorted out from borrowings and arrangements.

type/title	W	H	date	comment
Israelites	**238**	**775**	**1769**	**libretto by Schebeler; published 1775**
Birthday Cantata	—	824b	1769	
Passion Cantata	**233**	**776**	**1770**	**libretto by Karsch (additions by Ebeling); based on 1769 Passion**
Spiega, Ammonia	216	829	1770	commissioned by Hamburg for visit by the Swedish crown prince
Cramer Psalms	**196**	**733**	**1773**	**42 strophic psalm settings, published 1774**
Resurrection	**240**	**777**	**1777–78**	**libretto by Ramler; published 1787**
Heilig	**217**	**778**	**1778**	**for double chorus, published 1779**
Sturm Songs	**197–98**	**749, 752**	**1780–1**	**60 lieder**
Militia Music		**822a–d**	**1780–83**	**2 pairs of oratorios and serenatas**
Morgengesang	**239**	**779**	**1783**	**poem by Klopstock, published 1784**
Hymn of Thanks	—	824e	1785	for a birthday
Two Litanies	**204**	**780**	**1786**	**"old" and "new" litanies**
Tower Festival Music	—	823	1786	for the completed tower of the Michel
New Melodies	203	781	1787	14 chorales
New Songs	200	734	1788	21 lieder and a cantata, revised
Inaugural pieces		821a–o, 824c–d		at least 19 works for the inaugurations of pastors and other officials
Passions		782–802		21 oratorios for Lent
Seasonal pieces		803–816		at least 7 "quarterly" liturgical works
Other service music				additional liturgical works
Individual choruses and motets	207–10, 218–30	825–826, etc.		songs and other works arranged for domestic or church use

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Supplement 11.6. The Aria "Noch steht sie"

Even if the musical imagery in "Noch steht sie" is rather traditional, Bach's musical rhetoric is his own, for the text was probably conceived as two stanzas of three lines each, the poet expecting it to be set in standard da capo form (see below).[264] Bach instead composed what is musically a rounded binary form, but with bits of text from the first stanza repeated at the opening of the second half. The entire "B" text is presented almost perfunctorily before Bach begins what seems to be a recapitulation of the latter part of the A section. But this is then interrupted by the first of two fermatas, and the aria concludes with a free recycling of phrases from the original "A" text.

Text as Bach presumably received it

A	Noch steht sie, zu des Mittlers Ehre,	Still it stands—to the Mediator's honor,
	Trotz allen Stürmen, seine Lehre,	Despite all storms—his teaching;
	Noch steht sie fest, wie Gottes Thron.	Still it stands, like God's throne.
B	Und nie, nie wird sein Wort vergehen;	And never, never will his word pass away,
	Und ewig, ewig wird sie stehen	And always, always, will it stand—
	Die göttliche Religion.	Divine religion.

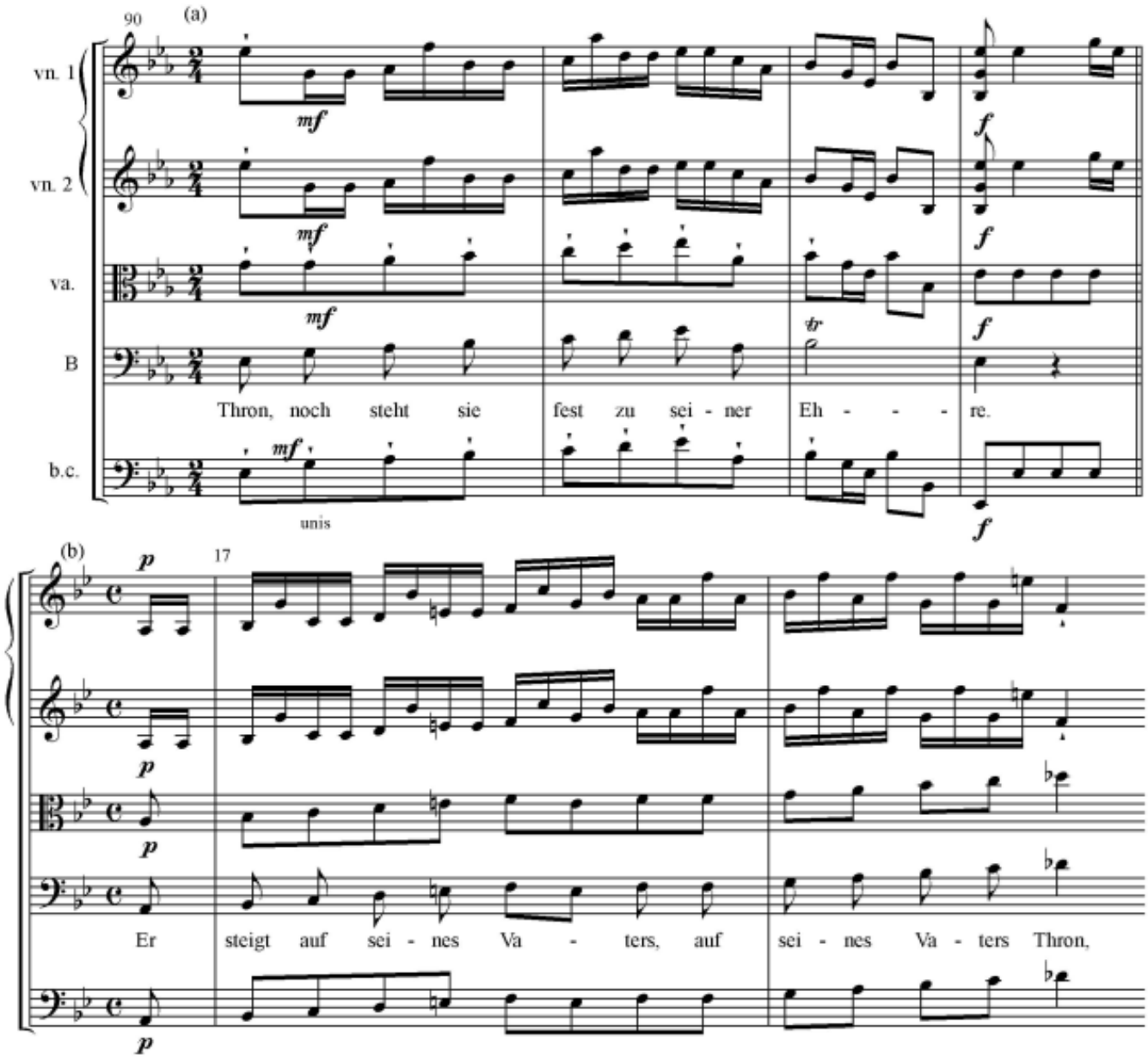
Text as Bach set it (with his punctuation)

A	Noch steht sie, zu des Mittlers Ehre,	[preceded by ritornello in E-flat]
	Trotz allen Stürmen, seine Lehre,	
	Noch steht sie fest, wie Gottes Thron,	[modulation to B-flat, then pause on Bb:V]
	Trotz allen Stürmen, steht seine Lehre,	
	Noch steht zu des Mittlers Lehre.	[cadence in B-flat, followed by ritornello]
B	Noch steht des Mittlers Lehre,	
	Und nie, nie wird sein Wort vergehen;	[modulating back to E-flat]
	Und ewig, ewig wird sie stehen,	[brief tonicization of C minor]
	Die göttliche Religion,	[modulation back to E-flat]
	Sein Wort wird nie vergehen,	
	nie seine Lehre,	[pause on Eb:V]
	Trotz allen Stürmen, steht seine Lehre,	[transposed recapitulation of this line]
	Steht	[fermata on Eb:V^7]
	Noch steht sie fast, wie Gottes Thron,	
	Trotz allen Stürmen, trotz,	[fermata on Bb:V^7]
	Des Mittlers Lehre	
	Noch steht sie fast, wie Gottes Thron,	
	Noch steht sie fast zu seiner Ehre.	[cadence in E-flat, followed by ritornello]

[264] The author of the text, the Hamburg poet Heinrich Würzer, is identified in CPEBCW 5/3.2:xxiii.

One is tempted to think that Bach forgot the proper order of the lines while composing the aria. More likely he chose to rewrite the text for his own purposes, preferring not to end, as the poet did, with the simile “like God's throne.” Rather Bach clarified the rather crabbed syntax of the original, closing with an improved version of the opening line (“still it stands firm, to his honor”). Bach must have remembered this when he wrote the Resurrection Cantata in (probably) 1774, for there the aria “Ihr Thore Gottes” contains another reference to “God's throne,” set in almost the same way. The rising melodic line, which in the present aria is attached to the abstract idea of “honor,” there clearly “paints” the ascension to the throne itself (online example 11.7).

Example 11.7. (a) Aria “Noch steht sie, zu des Mittlers Ehre,” no. 12 from Inaugural Piece for Pastor Hornbostel, H. 821e, mm. 90–3; (b) “Ihr Thore Gottes,” no. 21 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 17–18 (both without winds)



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Supplement 11.7. Other Vocal Works for Hamburg

Spiega, Ammonia fortunata

During his Hamburg years Bach wrote a few special compositions of a civic nature that are best considered in relation to his passions and church pieces, even though they are not strictly liturgical or even sacred. One of the first of these was *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata* (Show, happy Hamburg, W. 216), a single large choral aria whose performance Bach directed from the keyboard on Christmas Day 1770 at the recently opened Handlungsakademie; the performance honored the visiting Swedish Crown Prince Gustav and his brother.[265] One recent commentator finds it "curious" that the text celebrates only Hamburg, not the visiting royalty,[266] but the occasion must have reflected the recent diplomatic success of the republic. Hamburg had been declared a free imperial city in 1618, yet this had never been recognized by Denmark, whose king controlled neighboring Holstein (including the city of Altona). Only in 1768 did Denmark, under pressure from Sweden and its ally Russia, relent; the resulting Gottorp Agreement was recognized by the emperor in May 1769, and only then was Hamburg's autonomy unchallenged.

Bach's work was therefore a celebration of the city's freedom as well as of an alliance with Sweden, and NV makes a point of describing it as a commission from the city. The work may have had additional personal significance as well, for the treaty had been negotiated during the period in which Bach was seeking his release from Prussian service. Although Prussia was not a party to the agreement, Frederick was loosely allied with Russia and Sweden (where his sister was queen) against Denmark; the king's release of Bach from service could therefore have been viewed as a favor to a friendly state. The original performance must have been memorable, if only for the fact that Bach had had to compose the work in twelve hours.[267]

Why the anonymous text is in Italian (one of only two such poems assuredly set by Bach) is unknown; perhaps it was a diplomatic choice to avoid using either the local German or the visitor's Swedish. The work is among Bach's most amply scored, with three trumpets as well as two horns, two flutes as well as two oboes accompanying what was for his Hamburg performances a full complement of eight voices.[268] In form it is a grand da capo aria, with

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[265] Born in 1746, he became king as Gustavus III in 1771 and ruled as a reactionary if ostensibly enlightened autocrat until his assassination in 1792. Gugger, "C. Ph. E. Bachs Konzerttätigkeit," 178, associates the work with a visit the preceding May by Gustav's youngest brother and eventual successor Carl. For the December performance, see the reports reproduced in Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 441–43; one of these describes Bach's instrument as a *Flügel* (harpsichord), another as a *Forte Piano.*

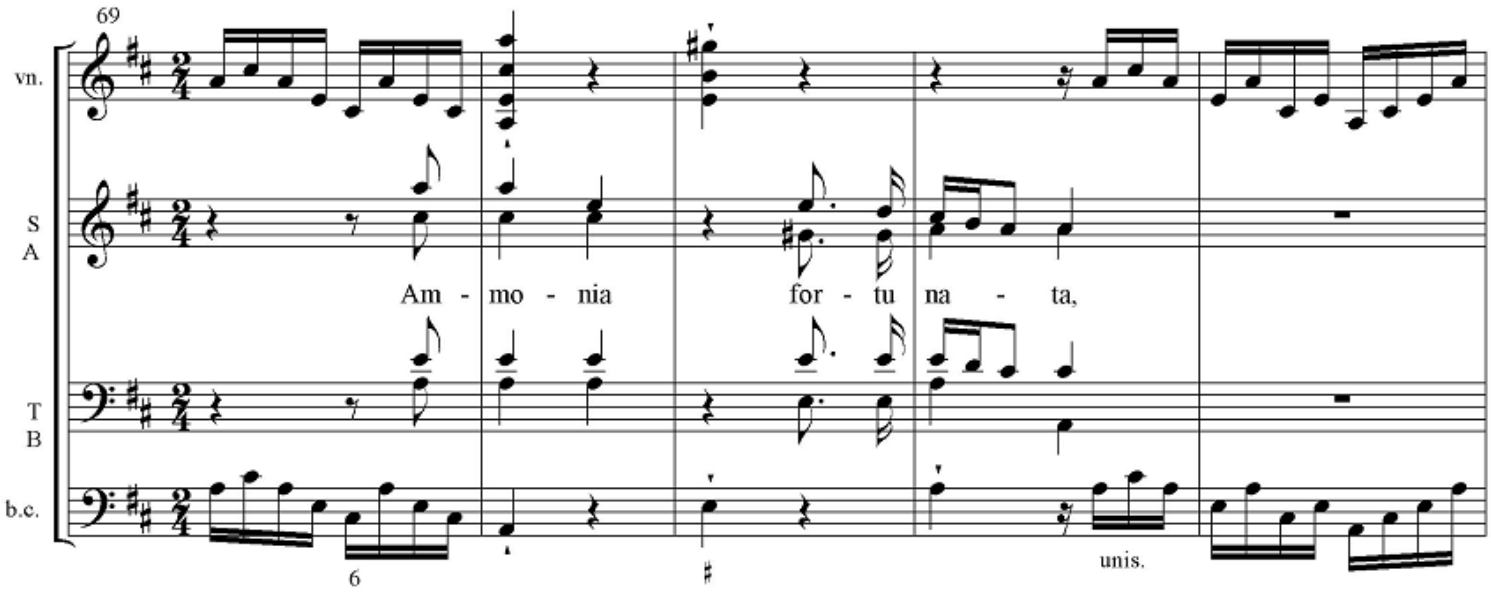
[266] CPEBCW 5/5.2:xix.

[267] So noted on the autograph wrapper for the parts (SA 1239). Bach adds that the work was performed twice. Unexplained is when the many needed performing parts would have been copied out.

[268] The original parts (SA 1239) are divided SSSAATTB. Most of Bach's Hamburg church performances seem to have involved only six or seven singers, although the frequently

soloists singing the B section as in “Gott Israels” from the *Israelites* of the previous year.[269] It is in the fairly generic Italianate style of other such choruses from Bach's early Hamburg works. A bit of rhetorical scoring at the center of the A section briefly has the chorus singing the two most important words (“Lucky Hamburg”) practically without accompaniment (online example 11.31).

Example 11.31. *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata*, W. 216, mm. 69–73 (without brass, winds, and viola)



performed *Heilig* also required eight; on this point see Rifkin, “'. . . Wobey aber die Singstimmen hinlänglich besetzt seyn müssen . . .'” as well as the critical commentaries for the passions and other church works published in CPEBCW.

[269] Bertil von Boer draws a parallel to the chorus “Nettuno s'onori” at the end of Act 1 in Mozart's *Idomeneo* (CPEBCW 5/5.2:xix–xx), but that is a chaconne, not a da capo aria.

Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft

Fifteen years later, Bach composed a much longer work in a similar vein. The "Hymn of Thanks for Friendship" (H. 824e) appears to have been composed hastily in January 1785 on a text by Hanna Agatha Hartung for the birthday of her husband Moritz Nicolaus Hartung, a Hamburg merchant.[270] The work was only partly new, its most prominent portion, the double-chorus *Heilig,* having been inserted into the first part. The concluding chorus of Part 1, a unique sort of rondo finale, was likewise taken from an earlier work (the militia music of 1780). Even without these, however, The Hymn of Thanks is a substantial score, occupying some seventy-five pages in the modern edition.

As Ulrich Leisinger points out, the relationship to Bach's militia music extends to the work's overall "structure, orchestration, and mood."[271] The work's two parts comprise, as in the militia pieces, a one-act oratorio in the manner of Telemann followed by a shorter serenata, although the present work lacks the oratorio's allegorical characters. At first glance the scoring looks similar to that of earlier festive compositions, and the aria and chorus that close the first half include the same type of heterophonic figuration in the violins that Bach had been using in grand Italianate works since the Magnificat. But now arias as well as choruses are generally syllabic, lacking the long melismas of "Spiega, Ammonia" and the early Hamburg church works; opening ritornellos are short, if present at all.

A surprising peculiarity of the work is the frequency of naive text painting, to a degree that one would suspect the device was being used parodistically were it not for the evident seriousness of the text. The B section of the first aria ("Wie soll dir Erd und Asche danken") is a good example, setting four lines whose music in turn represents trembling *(Zittern),* sinking into dust *(Staub),* a "troubled mind" *(betrübter Sinn),* and seraphim singing "Amen." The musical devices that represent these are traditional: bow vibrato in the lower strings, a descending chromatic line, an enharmonic modulation, and an extended melisma (the one example in the aria; see online example 11.32). Although the modulation from C major to B minor is carried out skillfully, the passage remains an inorganic concatenation of disjunct phrases. The only musical idea heard more than once is the chromatic motive for "dust," which recurs in the bass beneath the melisma on *amen.*[272]

More disconcerting is the musical imagery in the following aria ("Der Vogel singt's"), in which various animals are said to proclaim the wisdom and mildness of their "lord." An alarmingly naive expression of Sturm's nature theology, this is set in pastoral style, using 6/8 time and a ritornello

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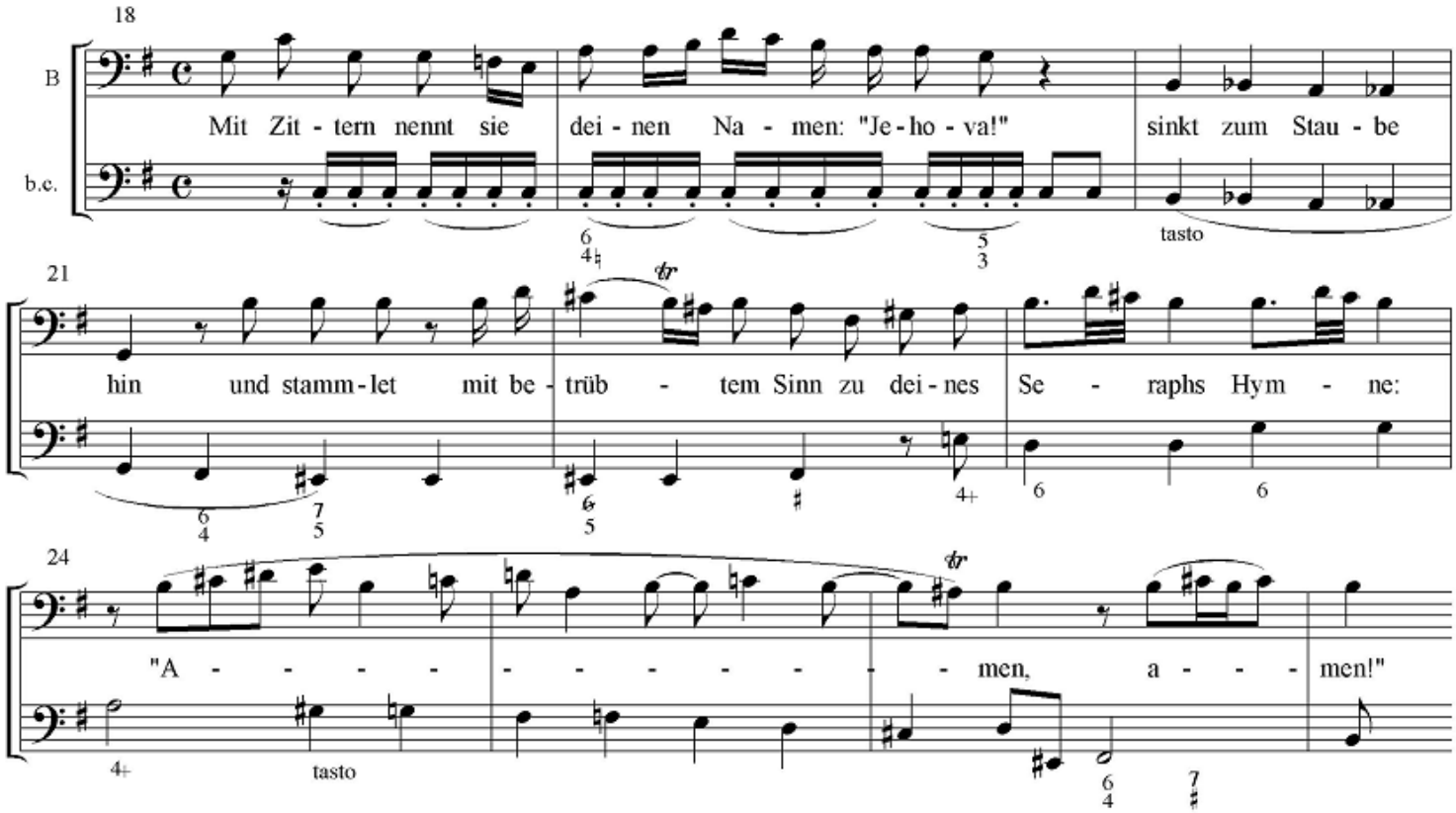
[270] Neubacher, "Der Hamburger Kaufmann Moritz Nicolaus Hartung, refuting the supposition (CPEBCW 5/5.1:xi–xii) that the work was written for Peter von Biron, duke of Curland, dedicatee of the concertos W. 43.

[271] CPEBCW 5/5.1:xiii.

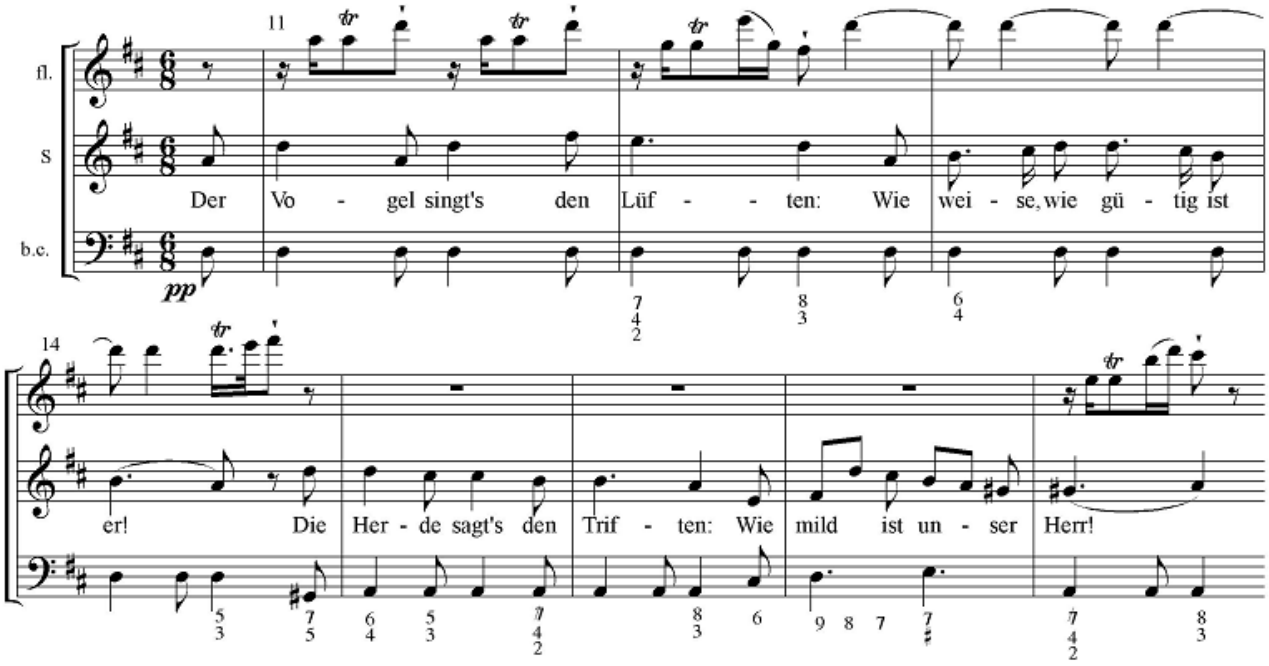
[272] Bow vibrato, or "slurred tremlo," is presumably signified by the repeated sixteenths bearing both dots and slurs in measures 18–19. Sebastian Bach had notated this device using slurs alone, but see the discussion in CPEBCW 3/9.2:xvi.

Example 11.32. Aria “Wie soll dir Erd und Asche danken,” no. 3 from Hymn of Thanks, H. 824e, mm. 18–25 (strings omitted)

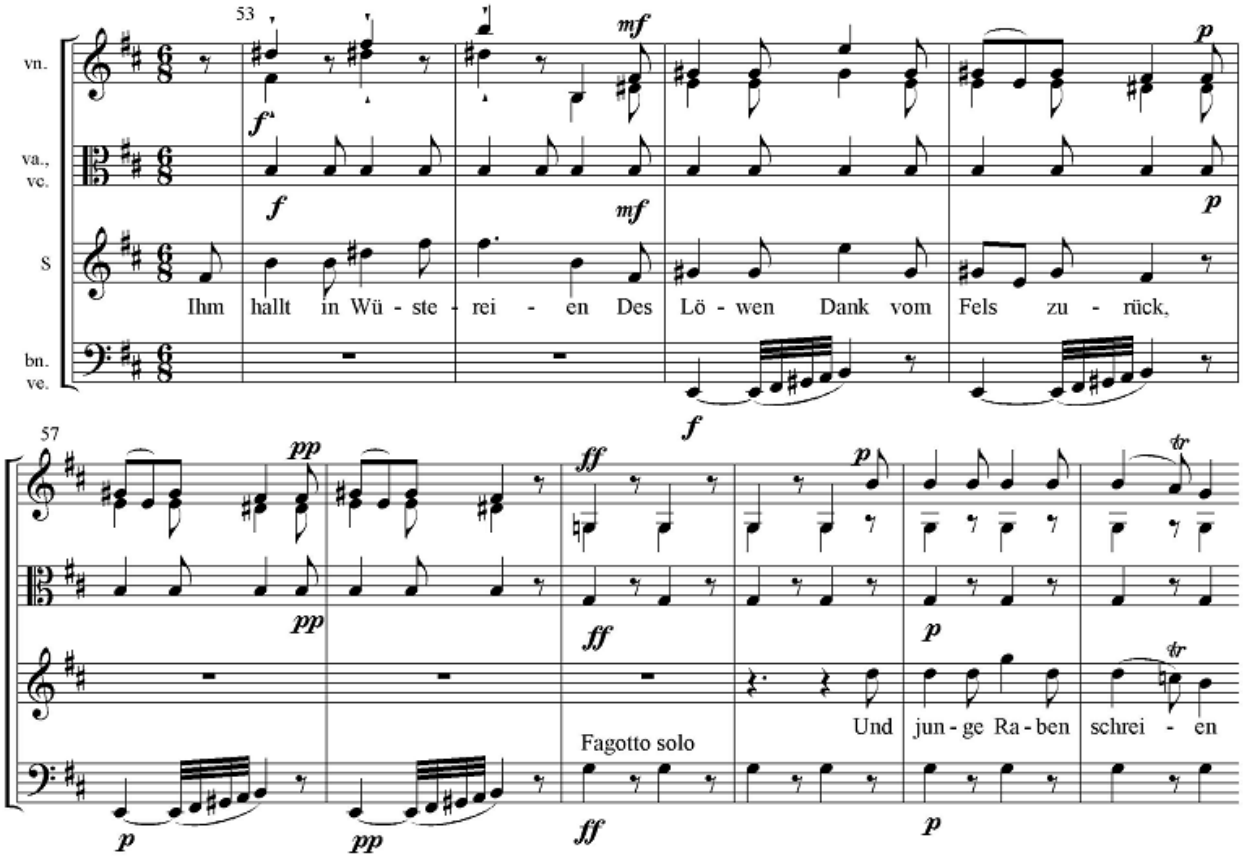


that begins over a pedal point. The ritornello already raises an eyebrow with its hackneyed use of a flute obbligato to represent “the bird.” The aria becomes ridiculous when the bassoon, silent until the B section, enters to represent a lion roar. A few measures later the same instrument, doubled by violins and violas playing their open G strings, represents the cries of “young ravens” (online example 11.33). Composed some thirteen years before the first performance of Haydn's *Creation*, this suggests that by the mid-1780s Bach had abandoned the austere view of word painting he had expressed to Lessing, even as he left behind the florid mid-century style in which it had typically been applied. The resulting mixture of the arcane and the vernacular presumably appealed to both *Kenner* and *Liebhaber*, although its use in a commissioned work is likely also to have reflected the taste of Bach's patron.

Example 11.33a. Aria “Der Vogel singt's,” no. 5 from Hymn of Thanks, H. 824e, mm. 11–18 (without strings)

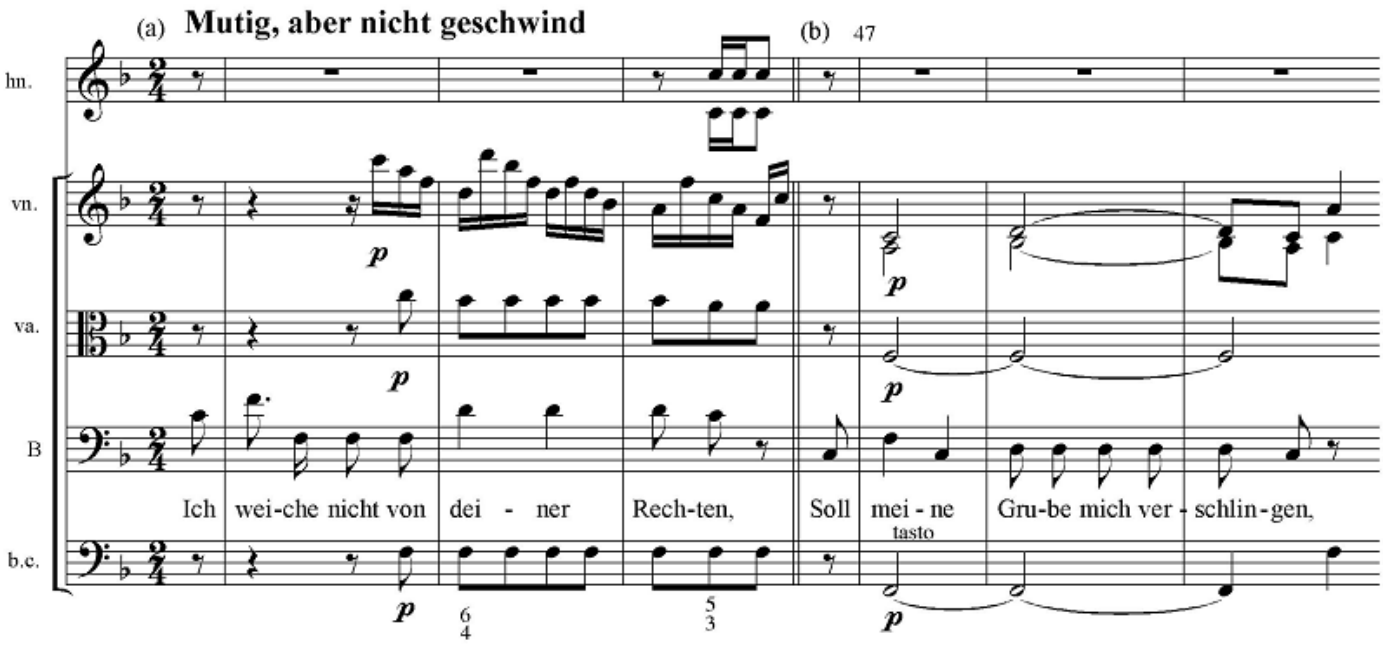


Example 11.33b. Aria “Der Vogel singt's,” no. 5 from Hymn of Thanks, H. 824e, mm. 53–62 without flute (doubling voice)



Two further numbers demonstrate the imaginative way in which Bach's late style could merge song and aria. The tenor aria “Schon schimmern,” which replaced the usual “arietta” for soprano as introduction to the *Heilig* (see chap. 12), has a strophic text comprising four stanzas of three lines each.[273] Bach sets it in the style of a lied, apart from some loud dotted rhythms in the strings at the end to represent thunder. The form, however, is that of a sonata-allegro, the music for the last stanza recapitulating that of the first one. Also in four strophes is the text of the next aria (“Ich weiche nicht”), but Bach sets this in bipartite form, essentially repeating the music of the first two stanzas for the last two. For stanza 3, however, this music is “de-ornamented” *(decoliert)*, losing its busy violin accompaniment as the anonymous poet's thoughts turn to the grave. The refrain “ich weiche nicht” (I yield not) is nevertheless repeated at the end of every stanza, including the third one (online example 11.34). The aria requires a strong bass voice with a range of nearly two octaves (G–f'), negotiating leaps as great as a twelfth. Herr Hoffmann, for whom Bach wrote it, sang a similar aria (“Erde, höre!”) in the Tower Festival Music (see below), showing that, while avoiding coloratura display, Bach's late arias could still make substantial demands on singers.

Example 11.34. Aria “Ich weiche nicht,” no. 12 from Hymn of Thanks, H. 824e, (a) mm. 1–3; (b) mm. 47–49



[9] The text is laid out wrongly in CPEBCW 5/5.1:xviii, where three of the four stanzas are broken up into four lines; in fact the rhyme scheme aab is maintained in all four strophes.

Equally imaginative formal invention occurs in the choruses that close each part of the work. The first "Schluss-Chor" is an unusually elaborate rondo or "vaudeville" finale built around choral settings of the six verses of Psalm 150. These alternate with seven settings (mostly for soloists) of verses from the chorale "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allegleich." Four of the latter, from the oratorio in the militia music of 1780 (H. 822a), were originally in E-flat; in this version, Bach changes their keys and scoring to produce a unique sort of double-variation movement.[274] The underlying design, combining variation with a complex modulating scheme, is reminiscent of the modulating rondos and the last two fantasias in the *Kenner und Liebhaber* series, although the range of keys is somewhat narrower and the expressive character completely different.

The work ends with a rather different sort of variation form, a strophic setting of a poem in no fewer than nine stanzas. The underlying composition is almost distressingly simple, a song in four short phrases whose folk-like melody is neither elaborated nor transposed for successive stanzas. These merely vary the scoring: the full ensemble participates in the first, fifth, and last stanzas, the others being set for various smaller groups of voices and instruments. (One variation includes obbligato keyboard, the only instance in Emanuel's vocal works of such scoring, well known from his father's church works and occasionally used in Friedemann's as well.) The absence of sophistication could only have been deliberate, presumably reflecting the influence of the folksongs that Bach was imitating in some of his lieder of the time. One wonders whether this exercise in vernacular style reflected things Bach had been hearing from Vienna or Paris. Did any who heard it sense a disjuncture between the simple underlying style and the grand orchestration? As with the zoological text painting, did the naiveté of Bach's setting reflect his own evolved taste or his patron's lack of it?

Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelisturms

Bach re-used the opening chorus of the Hymn of Thanks the following year, when a new tower on the Hamburg's Church of St. Michael (known as the Michel) was dedicated on Reformation Day 1786, that is, Oct. 31. The original church building, consecrated in 1661, had burned in 1750, and its replacement was dedicated in 1762 in a ceremony that included a work by Telemann (TWV 2:12). Despite its full scoring and lengthy text in twelve movements, what we may call Bach's "Tower Festival Music" (H. 823) is, like some of his other late church works, composed on a relatively small scale. Only the incorporation of the double-chorus *Heilig* into the first part, this time preceded by the usual arietta, makes it comparable in scope to some of the earlier inaugural and seasonal pieces. The arias are all short, despite their relatively lengthy texts; one of these ("Wenn Gott zu strafen schwöret") is a parody of "Wenn einst vor deinem Schelten" from the inaugural music for Pastor Schäffer, heard the previous year at the church of St. Nicholas. Here the energetic aria ("If God must punish") served conveniently as an answer to the preceding recitative, which recounted the destruction of the previous church building with vivid if predictable writing for the strings.
The second half of the work began, after the sermon, with a parody of the initial chorus from the

[274] Bach uses modern instruments to symbolize those named in the original Hebrew text; pizzicato strings stand for what Luther translated as *Psalter* and *Harfen* (verse 3), harpsichord for *Cymbeln* (verse 5). Table 3 in CPEBCW 5/5.1:137 shows the relationships between the two versions.

Hymn of Thanks. The new text (Rev. 21:3) was clumsily substituted for the original psalm verse (Ps. 106:1). Most of the remaining music may have been new; only movement 10c has been traced to an earlier work, the Inauguration Piece for Pastor Jänisch, H. 821k. But Bach came close to repeating himself in the soprano aria “Auch bei der Schöpfer Güte,” which is not very far in style from the song-like “Schon schimmern” of the earlier work. Bach could not be accused of shirking his duties, however, even in these late works. The opening chorus as well as the last aria are both ambitious through-composed da capo forms; whether or not that design carried special meaning within the Bach family, Emanuel preserved a small portion of his father's legacy through his special cultivation of it in his late vocal works.

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Supplement 12.1. Klopstock's *Morgengesang*

Bach's setting relates to Klopstock's poem as shown below. The first three columns list the nine strophes of Klopstock's poem and their assignment to "two voices" or "all"; the next four columns show the corresponding sections in Bach's setting.

str.	setting	incipit	no.	heading	voices	key	comment
1	2 voices	Noch kommt	1	Accomp.	S1	D	accompanied recit. preceded by instrumental introduction
2	2 voices	Heiliger	2	Arienmäßig	S2	b	arioso; ends with coda
3	2 voices	Schon wehen	3		S1	A	ends with coda
4	2 voices	Herr Gott	4a	Duett	SS	F	
5	all	Herr Gott	4b	Chor	SSTB	F	choral setting of str. 4 (identical text)
6	2 voices	Hallelujah	5	Duett	SS	C	
7	2 voices	O der Sonne	6	Accomp.	S1	C >	accompanied recit.
8	2 voices	Und du solltest			S2	G >a:V	accompanied recit. framed by ritornellos
9	all	Hallelujah	7	Chor	SSTB	C	choral setting of str. 6 with new coda (identical text)

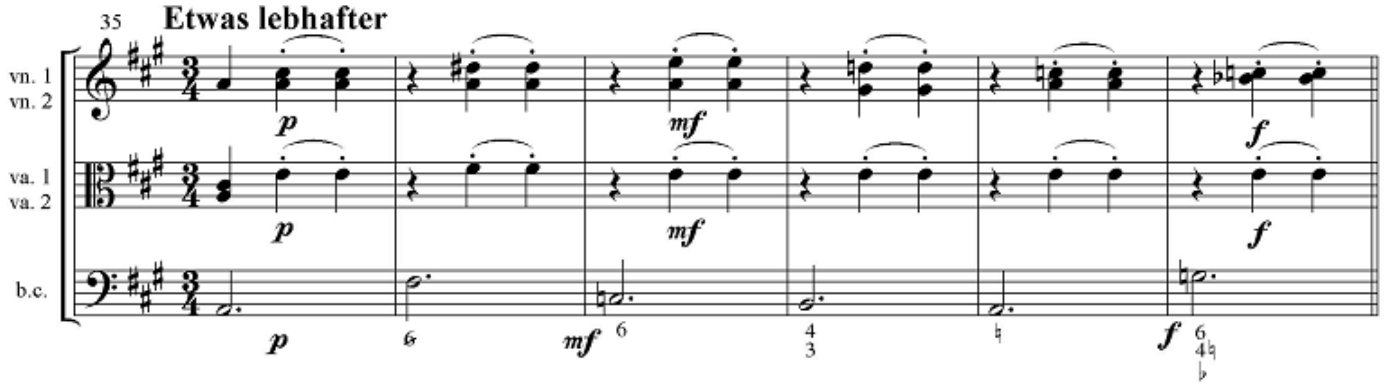
"str." = stanza in *Klopstock's Oden* (originally unnumbered)
"setting" = Klopstock's assignment
"no." = movement number in Bach's setting (as given in CPEBCW 6/4)
"heading" = Bach's movement title
> = "modulating to"

The first six sections are tonally closed, despite the modulating coda or bridge that connects each with the following movement. As in the Arioso with Variations (W. 79) and other late instrumental works that incorporate similar modulating transitions, Bach must have planned the overall scheme from the start. Yet the cycle is left open, ending in a key related only remotely to the opening one. A third-relation near the center of the work (A–F between nos. 3 and 4a) marks a shift from keys related to the opening D major to tonalities that point toward the closing C major. This corresponds with Klopstock's change of topic after strophe 3 from the creation itself to divine mercy and grace. It is therefore the latter, rather than genesis as such, which is associated musically with the "Hallelujah" refrain, sung by the two soloists in no. 5 and repeated at the end.

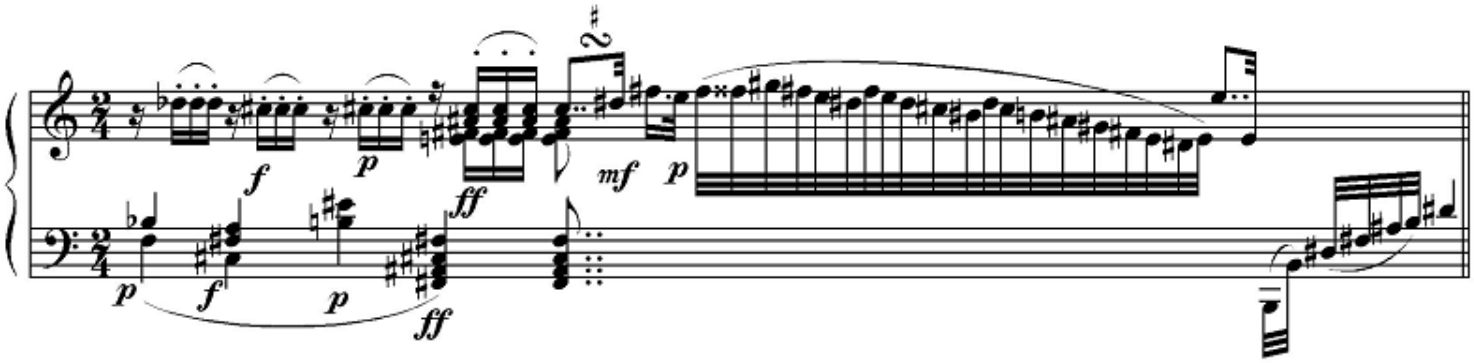
The modulating codas and bridges are chromatic, incorporating the same types of unusual voice leading (especially in their jagged bass lines) found in Bach's keyboard music of the period (compare online examples 12.2a and 12.2b). Only between the last two sections does Bach leave a broken-off harmonic progression of the type characteristic of his late style. The second soprano ends no. 6 with the question "du solltest nicht auferwecken?" (must you not awake?), cadencing on E; this is answered by a choral "Halleluja" in C. This is the same third-progression (E–C) that

leads into “Dann strahlet Licht und Majestät” in the Passion Cantata. Within the present work it is prefigured in the duet no. 4a, where Klopstock reminds the celebrants of the temporary nature of worldly existence: “wir . . . müssen dereinst auch untergehen” (we must someday perish). Bach sets this as a half cadence in C minor that is answered, after a full measure of rest (m. 24), by “und werden auch aufgehn” (and will also dissolve [as in flames]). The dominant-seventh chord on B at this point sounds unrelated to what has preceded it, but Bach might have explained that we have merely passed from the dominant of C to that of E (online example 12.3).[275]

Example 12.2a. Aria “Schon wehen,” no. 3 from Klopstock's *Morgensang*, W. 239, mm. 35–40

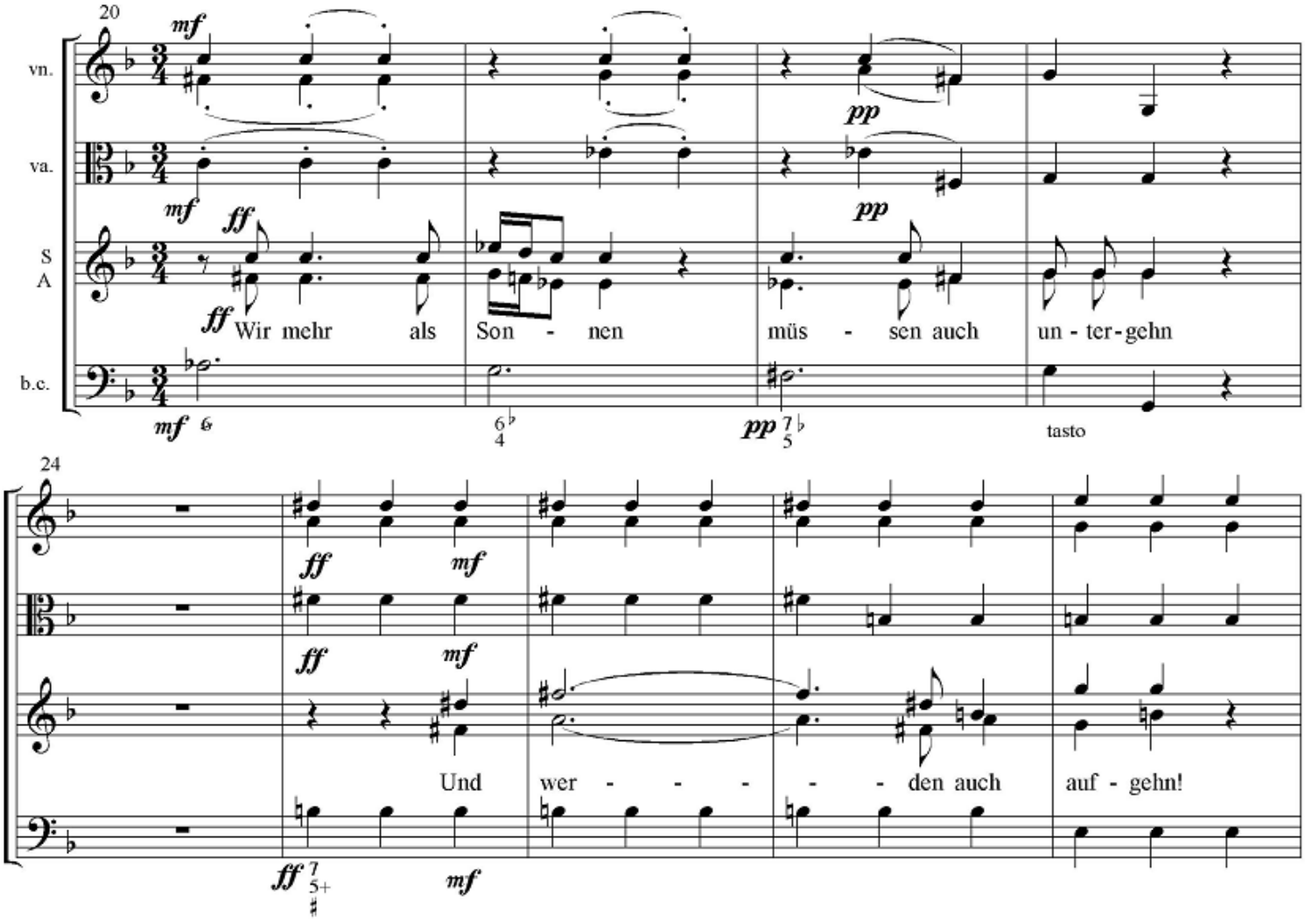


Example 12.2b. Sonata in E Minor, W. 59/1, movement 2, conclusion



[275] This is Bach's explanation for a similar progression in the *Heilig*, mentioned in *Versuch*, ii.41.12 (further discussion in online supplement 12.2).

Example 12.3. Duet “Herr Gott, barmherzig und gnädig,” no. 4a in Klopstock's *Morgensang*, W. 239, mm. 20–28



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Supplement 12.2. The Double-Chorus *Heilig*

The table below shows the design of the work. Further commentary on its history and structure follows.

m.	text	keys	choir	comment
Introduction (arietta)				
15	Herr, werth daß Schaaren der Engel	G > D		varied repeat of opening ritornello
29	Sey mir gepriesen . . . ich jauchzet dir	C | e > G		
"Prelude" (antiphonal choruses)				
1	Heilig	E > F#:V	Angels	*piano*, with strings only
8		G:V	Nations	*forte*, with trumpets 1–2 and oboes
13	Heilig ist Gott	e:V > F#	Angels	*piano*, with strings only
18		G	Nations	*forte*, tutti, dotted rhythms
23	Der Herr Zebaoth	C:iv > E:V	Angels	*piano*, *crescendo*, with strings only
30		C	Nations	*fortissimo*, tutti, dotted rhythms
Fugue				
1	Alle Lände	C	both, in unison	first exposition, two choirs in unison
26	Herr Gott dich loben wir	C >	Angels	chorale melody combined with orchestral stretto
49	Herr Gott dich loben wir	F >	Nations	chorale melody combined with orchestral stretto
73	Alle Lände	F > d >	Angels, then Nations	episode
91	Heilig + Alle Lände	C > d >	both, alternating	echo of "prelude" + subject in bass (ex. 12.5)
114	Alle Lände	C > a >	Angels, then both	episode recapitulated
134	Alle Lände	C	both, in unison	stretto and coda

Although NV dates the *Heilig* to 1778, Bach had already used a version of it in his Michaelmas Music of 1776. In that pastiche, the *Heilig* was heard alongside the opening movement of Sebastian's 1726 church piece BWV 19 for the same day, together with music by Emanuel's half-brother Friedrich. Probably nothing survives of this version, but peculiarities in the *Heilig* as published raise the possibility that it was originally a somewhat simpler setting of its text.[276] The familiar version contains only a few brief passages in which the two choirs are genuinely independent of one another, yet it was already described as involving a double chorus *(Doppelchor)* in a newspaper account of the 1776 performance.[277] This implies that at least the singers were already divided into two groups. The division between two performing bodies nevertheless is incidental to the structure of the music, even though the alternation between distinct types of music (representing heaven and earth) is fundamental to the expressive character of the work.

From his re-use of his father's passion music, Emanuel must have understood that Sebastian's two great passions were conceived along similar lines. Although there is already a rudimentary division between two choirs in the St. John Passion, even in the St. Matthew Passion the structure is only occasionally truly antiphonal.[278] The texts of several of the Cramer Psalms call for division between two choirs, but even the expanded version of one of these songs, arranged by Emanuel for church use, is for a single chorus alternating with a soloist.[279] The loss of Bach's original parts makes it impossible to know in what form the *Heilig* was given in its numerous performances at Hamburg, where the exceptionally large ensemble required by the published version would have posed practical problems.[280] This did not prevent Bach from having Breitkopf produce, or some 267 subscribers from paying in advance for, the extraordinary first edition, a *tour de force* of music printing on systems of twenty-eight staves.

The final stretto and coda are the one portion of the work in which a substantive revision is documented; Bach either expanded or, perhaps, reduced the stretto by four measures that contain

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[276] As argued by Harasim, *Die Quartalsmusiken,* 205–10.

[277] *Hamburgische Correspondent* for Oct. 25, 1776 (no. III/45 in Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 398–99).

[278] The two choirs of solo and ripieno voices in Sebastian's St. John Passion sing antiphonally in only two movements, and these are chorale arias that involve a soloist from one choir alternating with the four voices of the other (one of these movements was a temporary substitution, subsequently removed). On Bach's expansion of this conception into a not quite fully fledged double-chorus work in the St. Matthew Passion, see Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions*, 49–65.

[279] This is the setting of Psalm 8 (“Wer ist so würdig?”) whose choral version (W. 222), dating from 1774, was incorporated into the Easter Music for 1780 (W. 241).

[280] As observed by Ulrich Leisinger in CPEBCW 5/5.1:xiv. Harasim, *Die Quartalsmusiken,* 206–10, argues that an autograph “Tromba 1” part, the sole extant fragment of Bach's performing material for W. 217 (now kept as part of P 339), was prepared for a version that lacked measures 138–41 of the fugue. Those measures are present in the reduced score for one choir preserved in Cambridge, Harvard College Library, Mus 627.2.579 PHI, but the latter may transmit an arbitrary arrangement of the one Bach published, not an early version or an alternate reduced version by the composer.

the sole passage in which the two choirs briefly have independent parts (mm. 138–41).[281] In either case, the counterpoint did not require great skill, given the triadic nature of the opening of the subject. But the demonstration of what Bach elsewhere called "contrapuntal devices *[Künste]"* is not the point here; rather it was the incorporation, into a traditional *a cappella* fugue, of first the *Te Deum* citation and then, at the heart of the movement, the reminiscence of the angelic Sanctus heard in the "prelude." The work's bilateral symmetries reflect the division between two choirs; Bach would employ comparable planning only once more, in the Double Concerto W. 47 of his final year. The latter, of course, lacks the textual and sacred elements of the *Heilig*, and the two different keyboard instruments are not so strongly distinguished by their music as are the latter's two choirs. One nevertheless wonders whether Bach recalled the design of the *Heilig* as he wrote his last orchestral work, one which, although generally avoiding serous counterpoint between the two soloists, also ends with a grand stretto.

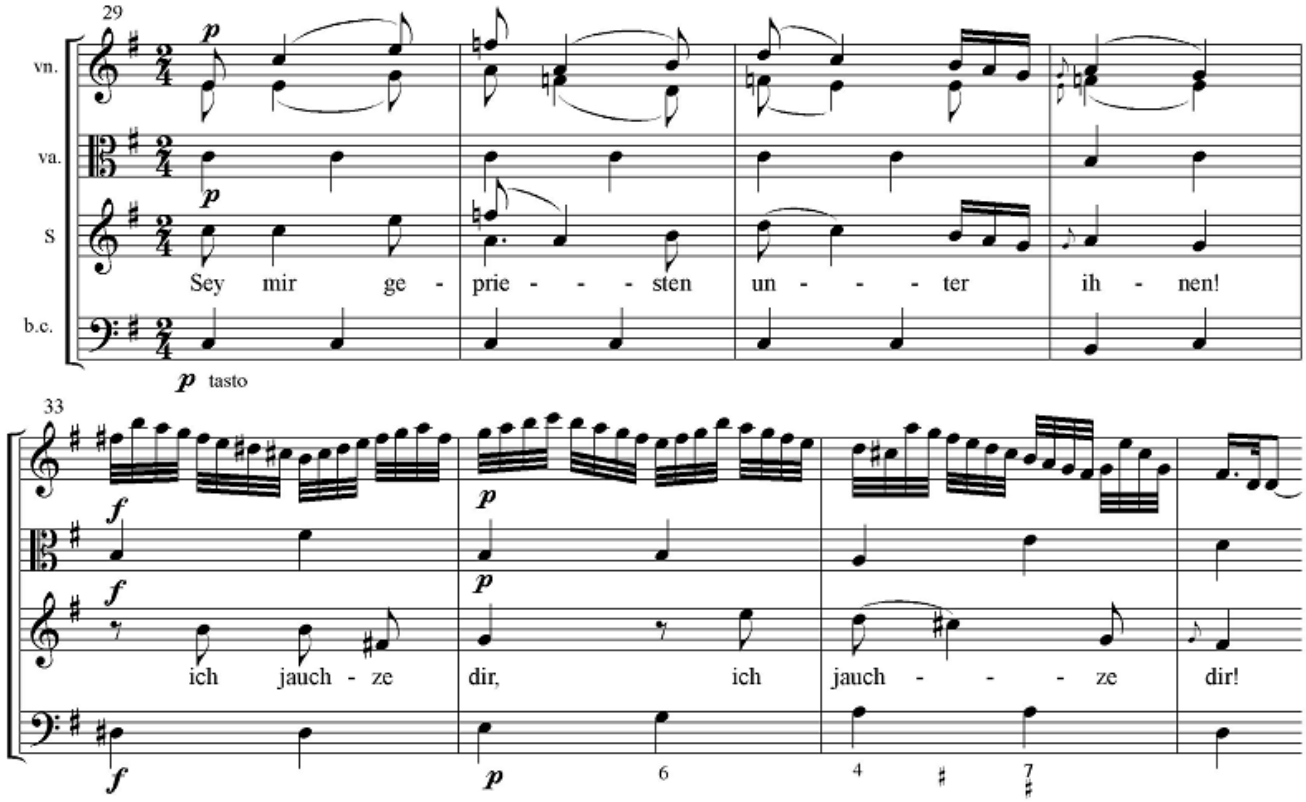
As Kramer points out, Bach's explanation for the key relationships in the work is "evasive."[282] To say only, as Bach does, that "E is the dominant of A, and A minor is very closely related to C" is to ignore the most interesting parts of the story.[283] Although one can explain any third-related progression through routine secondary dominants, Bach's juxtapositions of more remotely related harmonies are not so readily analyzed. The latter are already prefigured within the arietta, which, composed after the *Heilig* itself, must have been written with its plan in mind. As in many arias, the voice enters with a simplified repetition of the opening ritornello. But after what seems like a routine second ritornello in the dominant (D), the arietta is suddenly diverted to IV (C, m. 29), then vi (E minor, m. 34) through the same half-step dislocation (C–B) that will occur in the choral "prelude" (online example 12.8a). Although the arietta returns to G for its last line, the tonic is never strongly confirmed, and the final cadence is of the open type that Bach sometimes uses in his instrumental music when a movement ends with a "tonic preparation" (online example 12.8b). The arietta has, then, already led the listener into the maze of modulations that now continues in the "prelude."

[281] Whether the eight-part stretto was an insertion or was removed to simplify the work for performances by reduced forces is uncertain; the passage was originally present in the trumpet part mentioned in the preceding note, then removed.

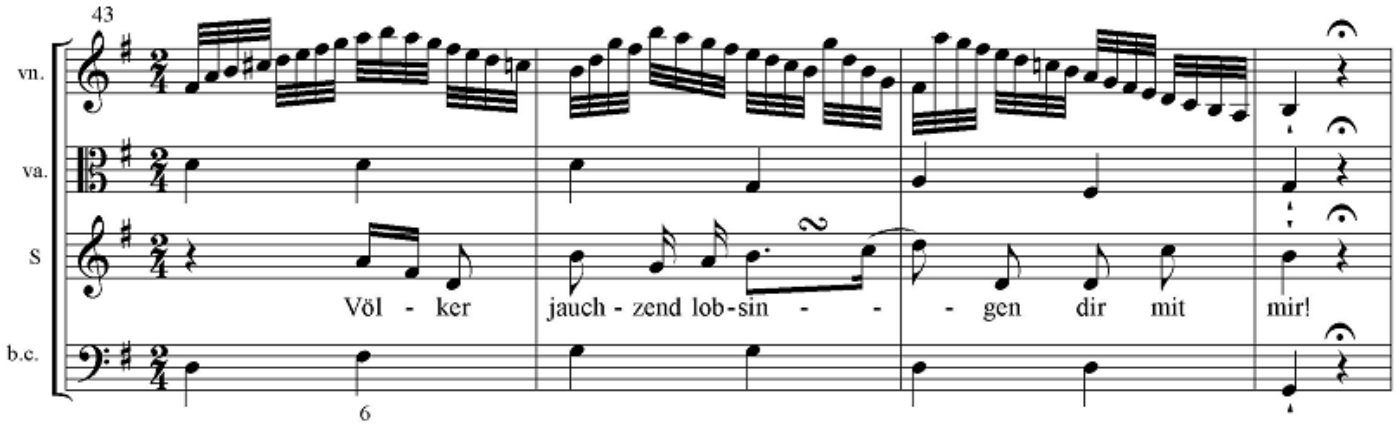
[282] Kramer, "The New Modulation of the 1770s," 552, referring to Bach's commentary in *Versuch*, ii.41.12. Bach represents the sequence of tonalities G–E as a figured bass progression, illustrating beside it three others (C#$^{\#}$–D#$^{\#}$, G–Ab^{6}, and Fb–E$^{6/4}$), which according to him also occur in the *Heilig*.

[283] Bach, *Versuch*, ii.41.12, as translated by Kramer, "The New Modulation," 573.

Example 12.8a. Arietta “Herr, wert daß Schaaren der Engel,” from *Heilig*, W. 217, mm. 29–36



Example 12.8b. Arietta “Herr, wert daß Schaaren der Engel,” from *Heilig*, W. 217, mm. 43–46



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Supplement 12.3. The Choral Fugue "Sicut Erat," no. 9 from the Magnificat, W. 215, and Its Parody "Herr, Es Ist Dir Keiner Gleich," no. 8 from the Easter Music for 1784, W. 243

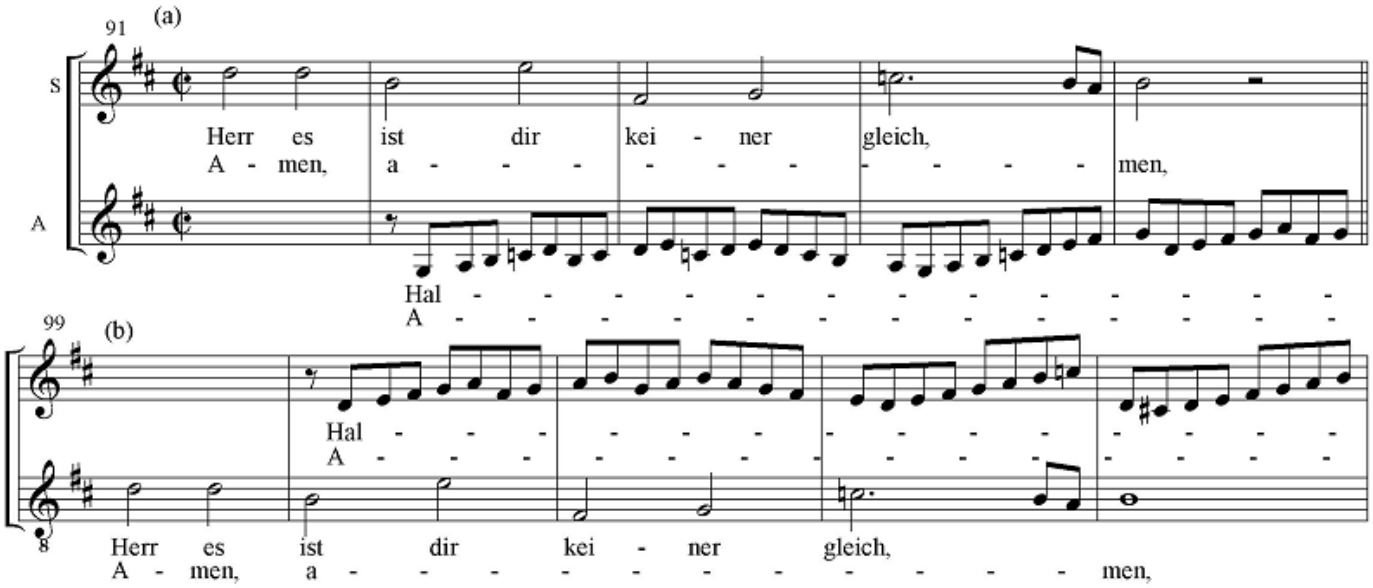
The table below serves as both an analysis of the original "Sicut erat" fugue in the Magnificat and a comparison with its parody in W. 243, as revised and sent to Princess Anna Amalia. Additional commentary follows.

section	keys	at m. no.		comment (revisions in bold)*
		orig.	*parody*	
(A)				
exposition (subject 1)	D	1	1	
episode	>	31	31	
exposition (subject 1)	e >	39	39	**mm. 42–43 replaced by 6 measures that combine upright and inverted entries of the subject 1**
episode	D	59	63	**mm. 52–64 replaced by 13 measures (to improve the entry of the subject 1 in m. 55?)**
(B)				
exposition (subject 2)	D	65	71	
exposition (subjects combined)	D >	87	93	
episode	b	119	125	
exposition (subjects combined)	b >	125	131	sequential entries of 1st subject in bass (b, A, G) **mm. 129–42 replaced by 26 measures that combine upright and inverted entries of subject 2, also including paired entries of subject 1**
episode	G >	143	163	
exposition (subjects combined)	e >	152	166	**rewritten to include paired entries of subject 2; extended by 4 measures**
(C)				
episode	D:V >	175	197	quasi or pseudo-strettos (both subjects)
exposition (subjects combined)	b >	190	212	
stretto (subject 1)	e	198	220	
episode		213	235	
exposition (subjects combined)	D	222	244	
coda	D	226	248	closes with stretto (subject 1) **8 measures added to include further (pseudo-) stretto entries**

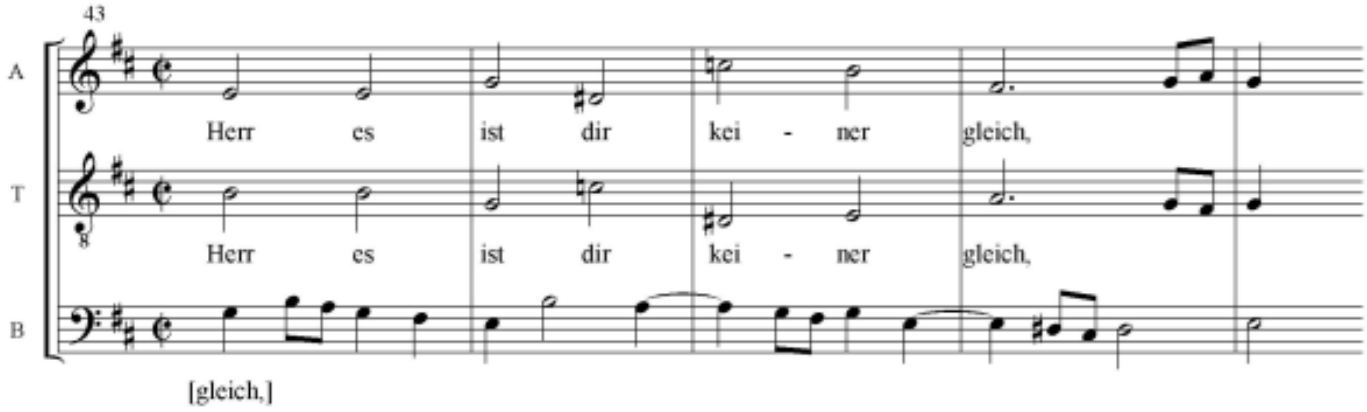
*Measure numbers in this column are those of the original version

In the original fugue, the two subjects are introduced individually, then combined in a series of double entries, including several in B minor and E minor. This leads to a strong arrival on the dominant that seems to promise a grand stretto, marking the return to the tonic (m. 175). In fact, however, at this point the fugue is only about two-thirds finished, and after several partial or quasi-stretto entries of both subjects the fugue rambles on, with further double entries in the same keys that were previously explored. Bach introduces several additional stretto passages, but no more sophisticated contrapuntal devices than the invertible counterpoint at both octave and twelfth that was already heard when the two subjects were first combined (online example 12.10).

Example 12.10. Subjects from the chorus "Sicut erat," no. 9 from the Magnificat, W. 215, with parody text from "Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich," no. 8 from the Easter Music for 1784, W. 243, (a) mm. 91–95 (mm. 97–101 in the revised parody), (b) mm. 99–103 (mm. 105–9 in the revised parody)



Example 12.11. Chorus "Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich," no. 8 from the Easter Music for 1784, W. 243, revised version, mm. 43–47 (three lower voices only)



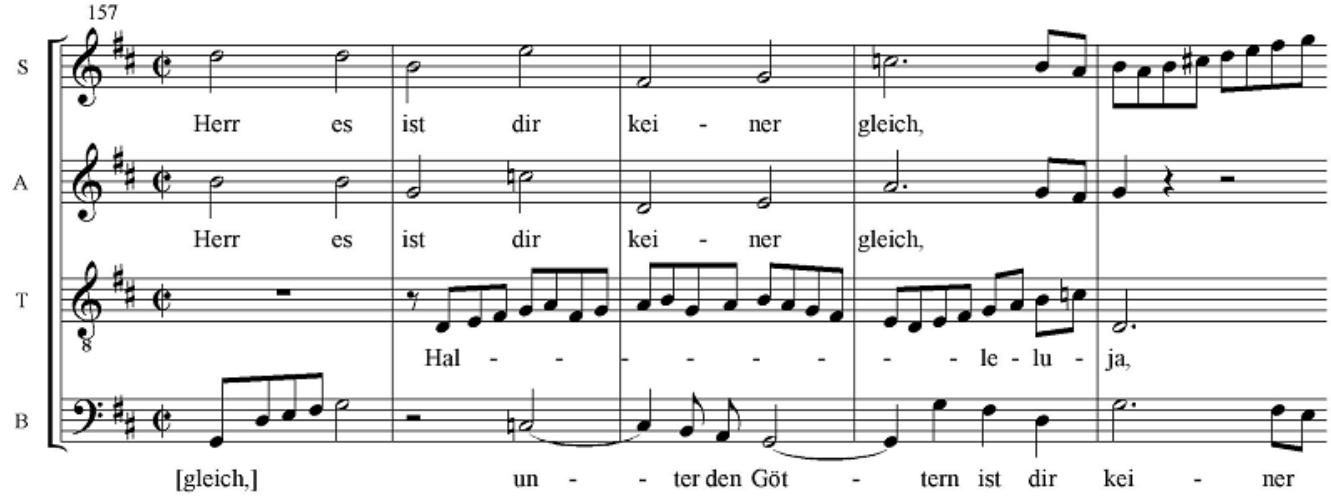
In the parody, most of the substance of the original fugue is unaltered. There is no evidence that Bach was concerned by the somewhat over-extended character of the fugue, unless this is what led him to insert several passages that demonstrate further contrapuntal devices, chiefly at the end of each of the fugue's three main divisions. Two of these passages combine each subject with its own inversion (online example 12.11). Another involved what can be called "paired entries," where one subject is doubled in thirds or sixths; in the present fugue this always occurs in combination with the other subject in a third voice (online example 12.12). Both techniques also occur in Sebastian's works, especially those intended to demonstrate advanced counterpoint. Here the possibility of introducing paired entries was implicit in the type of counterpoint that Emanuel had already worked out in the combination of the two subjects, which is invertible at both the octave and the twelfth. This, as well as the combination of each subject with its own inversion, was facilitated by the brevity of both subjects and their confinement to a narrow range.

Bach's explanation of what he had done in revising the piece was far from complete. Some of his changes look simply like improvements of the original, as in the softening of the grand announcement of what proves to be merely a pseudo-stretto. His changes at that point also reflected the rewriting of the previous passage to incorporate paired entries of the second subject.[284] No such explanation accounts, however, for Bach's rewriting of an earlier passage. He might have been dissatisfied with the preparation for the last entry of subject 1 in the opening section (at measure 55 of the original version). In the parody, that entry is now preceded by a cadence in D, and the soprano rests before entering with the subject in G (online example 12.13). Yet the passage retains awkward details, such as a three-note motive in the alto that was originally sung, irrationally, to "Amen"; now it is used for "Herr wie du."[285] Perhaps there was no better solution to one of many small problems that arose in the course of trying to make an imperfect work the equal in learning and elegance of his father's, or even Graun's, choral fugues.

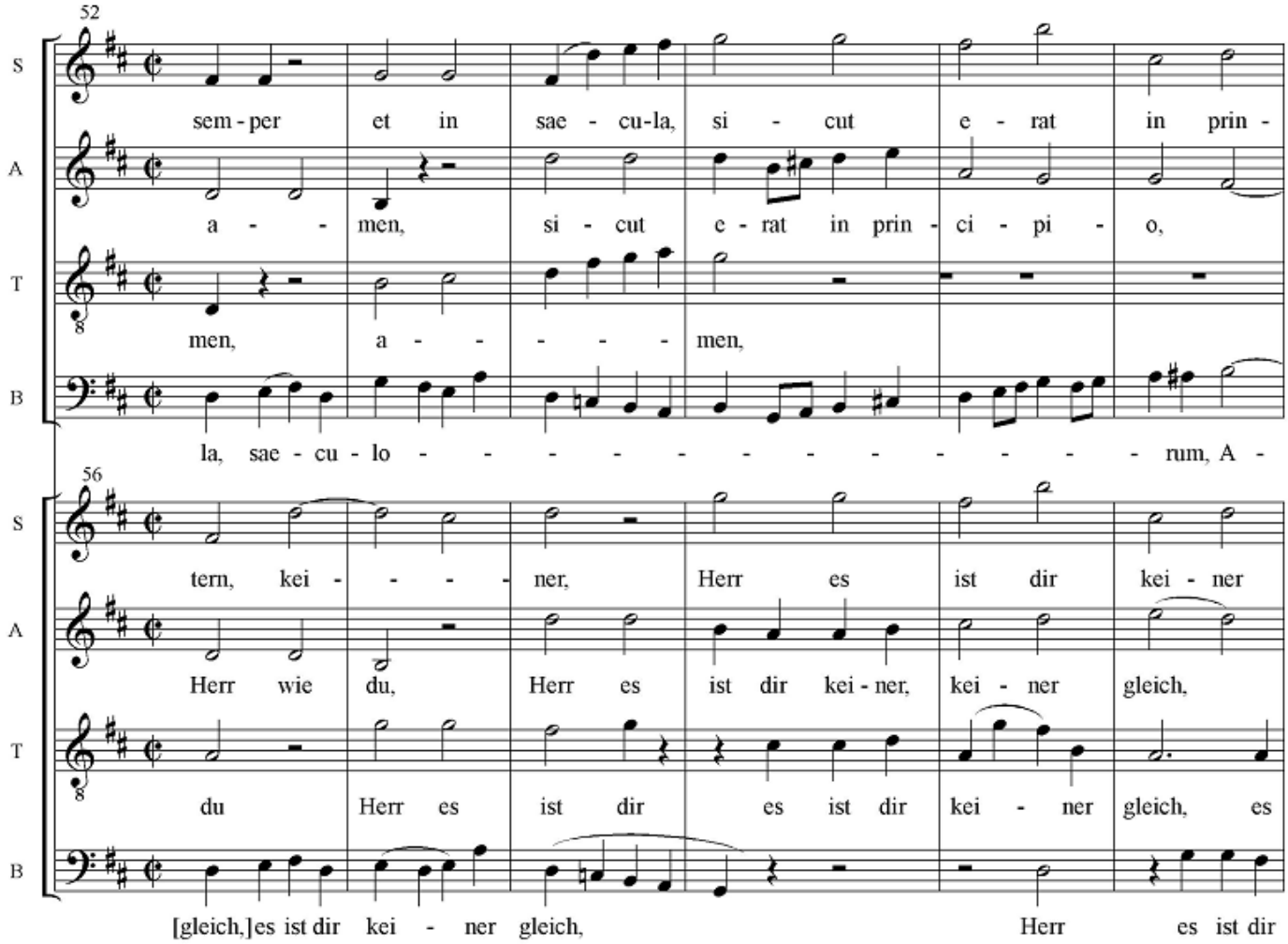
[284] Bach's revisions in the passage leading up to this point (m. 175 in the original version, m. 197 in the revised parody) can be compared with the original in an extended example given by Blanken, "Zur Werk- und Überlieferungsgeschichte des Magnificat Wq 215," 263–70. The example aligns the two versions incorrectly; measures 143–59 of the original actually correspond with measures 161–77, not 158–74, of the parody.

[285] The meaningless text underlay "a–a–men" is explicit in the autograph (P 341), where Bach drew a horizontal line beneath the second d' in the alto of measure 52 (original version). This is one of several suggestions that the "Sicut erat" text may not, in fact, have been the original one for this movement and that the version of the fugue in the Magnificat was preceded by a lost earlier composition.

Example 12.12. Chorus “Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich,” no. 8 from the Easter Music for 1784, W. 243, revised version, mm. 157–61 (voices only)



Example 12.13. Corresponding passages in chorus “Sicut erat,” no. 9 from the Magnificat, W. 215, mm. 52–57 (top), and “Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich,” no. 8 from the Easter Music for 1784, W. 243, mm. 56–61 (bottom)



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Supplement 12.4. The Two Litanies

The table below compares the two works, each of which falls into seven sections of varying length. The sections in both the Old and New Litanies are identified with respect to where they begin (in what measure) and which lines or verses they contain.

section	Old Litany		New Litany		comment
	m.	*verses*	*mm.*	*verses*	
introduction (Kyrie)	1	1–9	1	1–9	
responses: *behüt* (protect)	52	10–20	54	10–13	
responses: *hilf* (help)	140	21–26	117	14–22	
responses: *erhör* (grant)	190	27–50	193	23–34	main portion of work; new melody (b'–b'–b'–) for versicles, which are longer here
Christe (Agnus Dei)	477	51–54	504	35–38	*Lamm Gottes* begins in v. 52 with new melody (b'–d"–c")
close (Kyrie)	515	55–58	542	39–42	resembles opening
Amen	537		566		

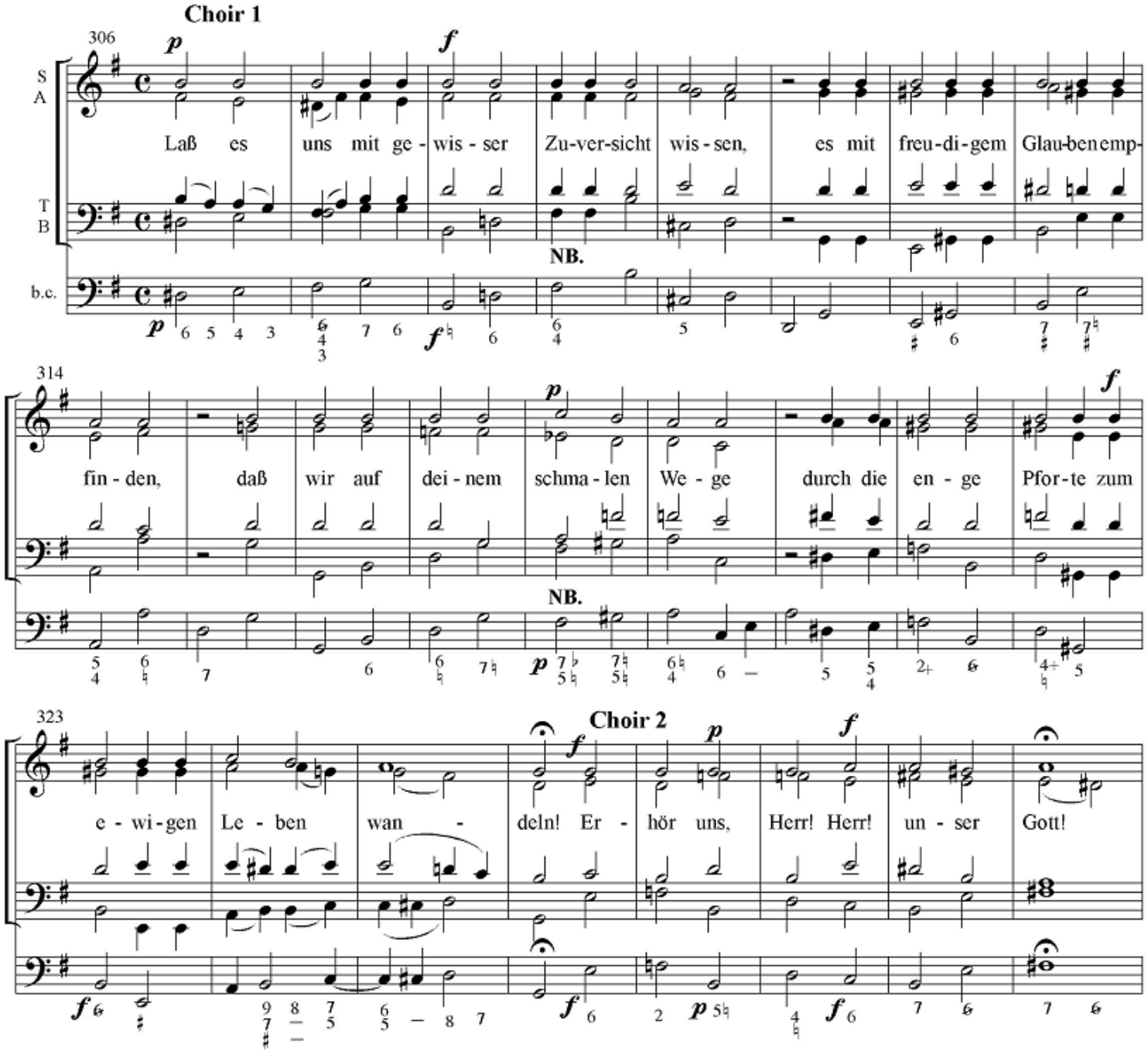
As in any litany, the repetitious nature of each work is an essential element of its experience, opening a window onto his and his contemporaries' musical thought, and perhaps also their spirituality, during his last years. In keeping with the nature of a litany, rhythmic variety and clarity of form were not paramount objectives. As each verse except the last cadences on the note a', with a medial cadence on b' (g' in the second and fourth sections), even Bach could devise only so many distinct tonal trajectories for every verse and every larger section of the two settings. But although the response that concludes each verse ends on A, it is the longer versicles that define the tonality; this is essentially G major, the key of the final Amen. Still, the ambiguous tonality inherent in a melody that uses just three or four pitches (with chromatic inflectons) means that, as in Bach's fantasias and other late works, modulation is constant.

Despite the unchanging basic character of both settings, significant conrast emerges as verses grow longer or shorter and as the dynamic level, as well as the level of dissonance and harmonic audacity, rises and falls in response to the text. There are few decisive musical articulations, and these do not always coincide with divisions of the text according to either its literary form or its biblical sources.[286] The New Litany, which Bach regarded as the more challenging to set, shows signs of having been the second composed. Only here does Bach reduce the texture in some passages—for instance, by omitting the continuo at the mention of "spiritual death" within verse 13 (*Seele Tod,* m. 106) and for the petitions in the first half of the verses 15–17. The contrast between each of the latter, sung *pianissimo,* and the following responses, sung *fortissimo* with accompaniment, might create a stunning effect.

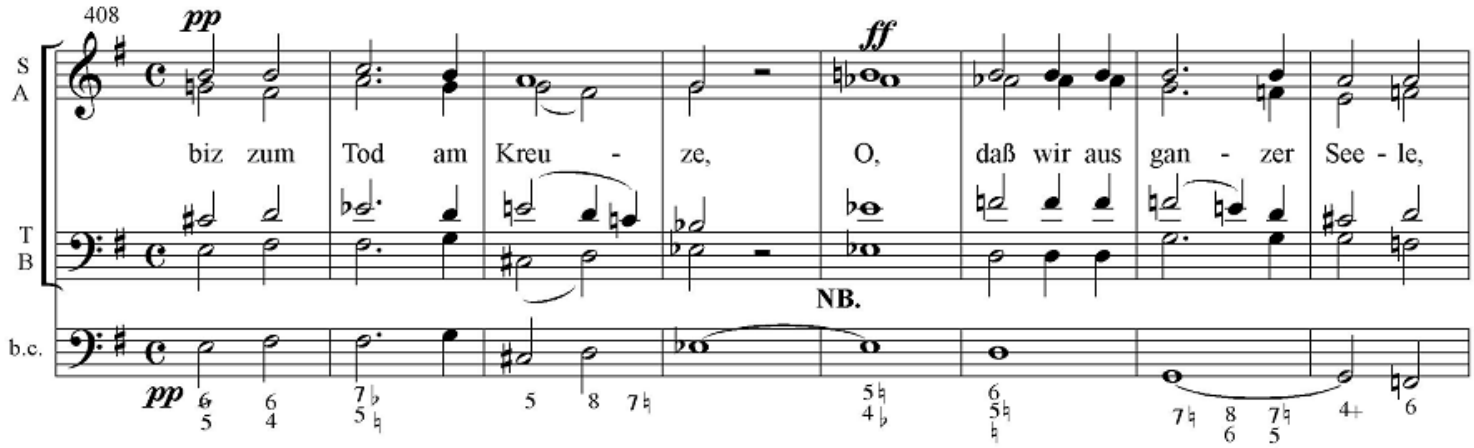
[286] Marx-Weber, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Litaneien," 203–5, divides Klopstock's text for the New Litany into nine sections, but these do not always correspond with the seven divisions articulated musically by Bach's setting, as shown in the present table.

The great length of some of Klopstock's petitions (or versicles) turns their settings almost into miniature self-contained motets. For example, in verse 28 (mm. 306–26), the petition consists largely of short declamatory phrases but concludes with an almost lively setting of *Leben* (life, online example 12.20). Verse 31 (mm. 393–430) is perhaps the most intense of all, recalling some of Bach's late passion songs in its enharmonic modulations: after the mention of Jesus's "death on the cross" *(Tod am Kreuze),* an apparent 6/4-chord of A-flat-minor chord is transformed into a suspended dominant ninth of C major (online example 12.21).

Example 12.20. New Litany, W. 204/2, mm. 306–30 (verse 28, complete)



Example 12.21. New Litany, W. 204/2, mm. 408–15



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Supplement 12.5. The Resurrection Cantata

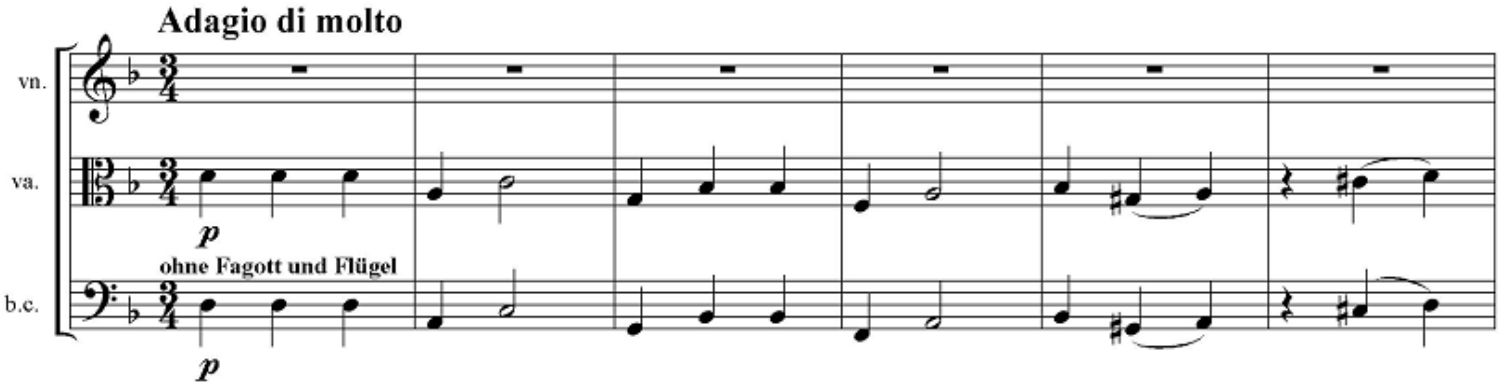
The following lists the individual numbers of the Resurrection Cantata, grouped into "scenes" or what Telemann called *Betrachtungen* (reflections). Detailed commentary on individual numbers follows.

no.	incipit	scoring*	key	comment
Part 1				
1.			d	orchestral introduction
2. Chorus	Gott, du wirst	SATB, 2 fl	D	binary form
3. Accomp.	Judäa zittert	B, timp	eb >	the earthquakes after the crucifixion
4. Aria	Mein Geist, voll Furcht	B, 2 hn	c	through-composed DC (two-tempo)
5. Chorus	Triumph!	SATB, 3 tr, timp, 2 hn, 2 ob	Eb	binary form
6. Recit.	Die frommen Töchter	T	c >	the angel and the three Marys
7. Aria	Wie bang	S	Bb	replaced "Sey gegrüßet" (bipartite)
8. Recit.	Wer ist die Sionitinn	B	g >	Mary Magdalene at the tomb
9. Duet	Vater, deiner schwachen Kinder	ST, 2 fl	d	through-composed DC
10. Recit.	Freundinnen Jesu	T	G >	Jesus and the Daughters of Zion
11. Aria	Ich folge dir	T, tr	D	DC (two-tempo)
12. Chorus	Tod! wo ist dein Stachel?	SATB, 2 hn, 2 ob	G	prelude and fugue
Part 2				
13.		str	e >	orchestral introduction
14. Recit.	Dort seh' ich	B	e	Jesus and the disciples at Emmaus
15. Aria	Willkommen, Heiland!	B, bn	Ab	through-composed DC (two-tempo)
16.Chorus	Triumph!	as no. 5	Eb	music = no. 5 (stanza 2)
17. Recit.	Elf auserwählte Jünger	T	Bb >	Jesus and doubting Thomas
18. Aria	Mein Herr! mein Gott!	T	g	through-composed DC (two-tempo)
19. Chorus	Triumph!	as no. 5	Eb	music = no. 5 (stanza 3)
20. Recit.	Auf einem Hügel	T	g >	the ascension
21. Aria	Ihr Thore Gottes	B, 2 tr, 2 hn, 2 ob	Bb	through-composed DC
22. Chorus	Gott fähret auf	as no. 5	Eb	quasi-rondo (musical form ABCA'DA") and fugue

*All except no. 17 include strings
Accomp. = accompanied recitative (both early and late versions) DC = da capo form
Recit. = originally simple recitative, accompanied recitative in revised version (except no. 17)

In the unaccompanied, harmonically ambiguous bass line that opens the work, Bach hit upon the gnomic musical sign that, via the instrumental recitative in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, would become a Wagnerian icon for brooding contemplation (online example 12.27). The connotations of the device in Bach's work, apparently newly invented for it, were probably different from those in later compositions. That he meant it to sound like recitative is unlikely, for it has nothing in common with the instrumental recitative in the first Prussian Sonata (admittedly a work more than three decades in the past) or with brief passages in Bach's fantasias that perhaps also imitate recitative. The 1778 "review" described the introduction as resembling a "Requiem,"[287] perhaps referring to an austere chanted funeral service rather than a polyphonic "concerted" setting such as Mozart's or Hasse's.

Example 12.27. Orchestral introduction, no. 1 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 1–6

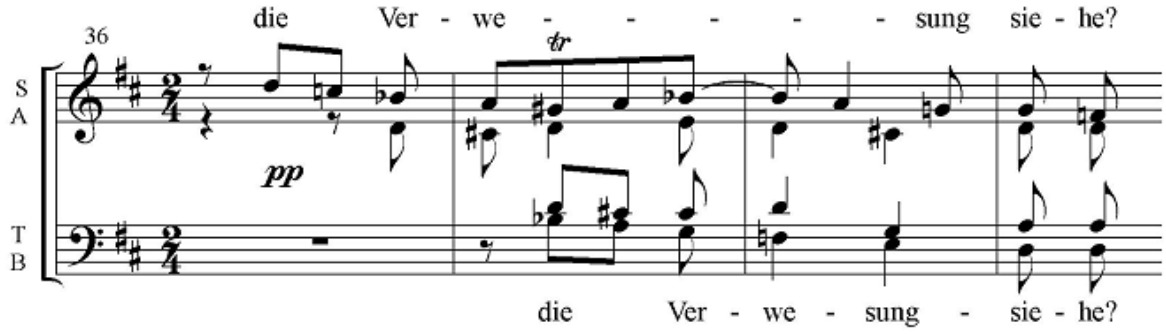


Although the harmonic implications of the unaccompanied bass tones are fairly clear, the featureless rhythm is enigmatic, and a partial repetition of the first phrase omits measure1. Hence one does not notice the repeat until after it has begun in measure 10. More significant than the darkness of the passage is the contrast formed by the consoling chorus in D major that follows; like the *Heilig*, the latter would be less meaningful without its introduction. Although the text of the chorus paraphrases a New Testament verse,[288] Bach sets it in a style similar to the choral arrangements of lieder that he was using regularly in his church pieces by the mid-1770s. It is, therefore, remote in manner from the severe choruses and chorales that typically opened earlier oratorios; even in Graun's *Tod Jesu* the opening chorus is more contrapuntal in conception. By the end of the first half of the movement, which is in a free binary (AA') form, Bach has asserted his expressive harmonic style by cadencing in the dominant *minor* (perhaps suggested by the word *Verwesung*, "corruption" or "decay"). The second half corrects this, ending in the major, but only after two imitative passages (the only such in the movement) that prefigure some of the work's chromatic obsessions (online example 12.28).

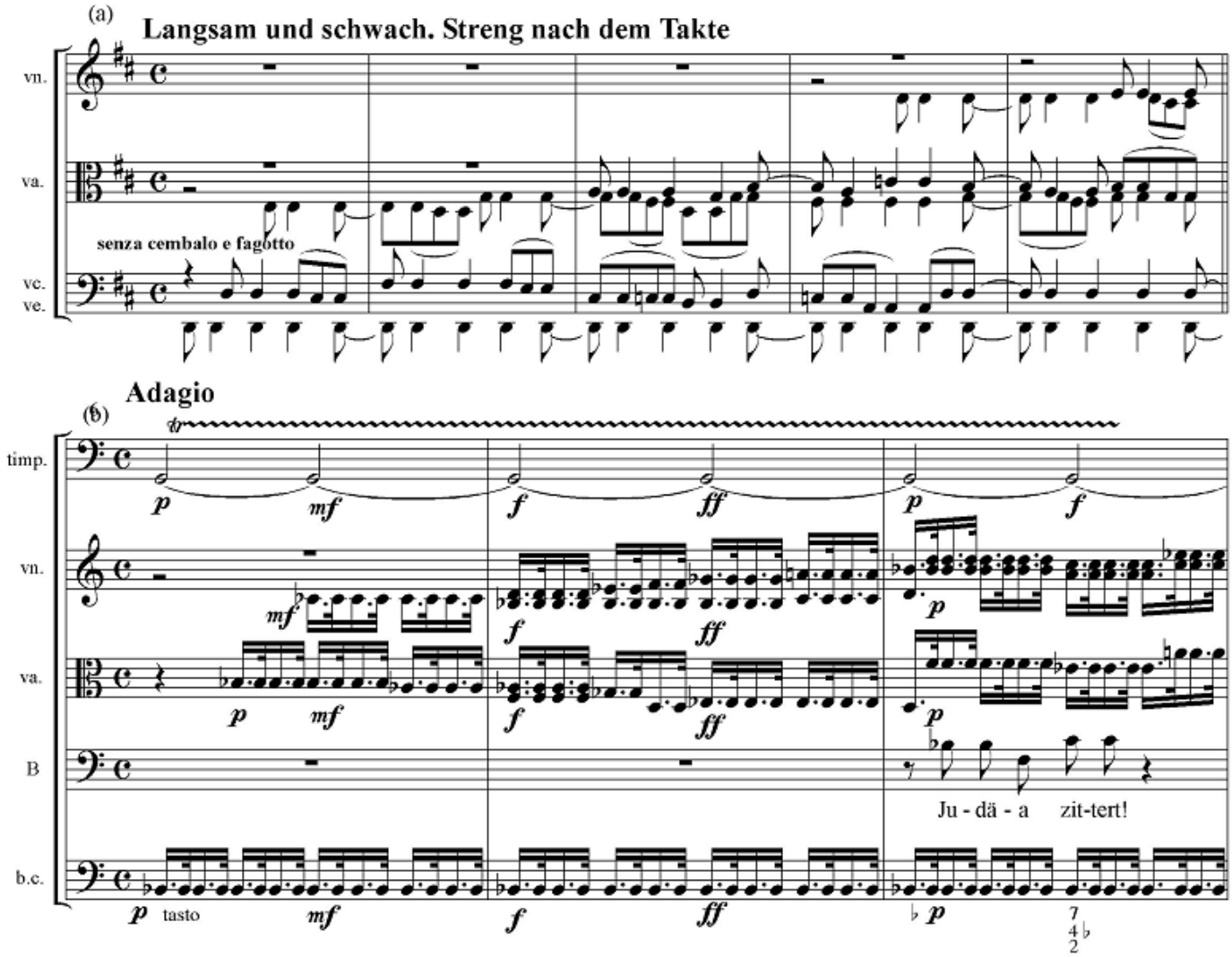
[287] "Den Anfang der Musik macht eine Art von *Requiem*," *Hamburger Correspondent* (March 17, 1778, no. IV/18 in Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach*, 452ff.).

[288] "Gott, du wirst seine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen" (God, you will not leave his soul in hell, from Acts 2:27).

Example 12.28. Chorus “Gott, du wirst seine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen,” no. 2 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 36–39 (voices only)



Example 12.29. (a) Recitative “Noch kommt nicht die Sonne,” no. 1 from Klopstock's *Morgensang*, W. 239, mm. 1–5; (b) “Judäa zittert,” no. 3 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 1–3



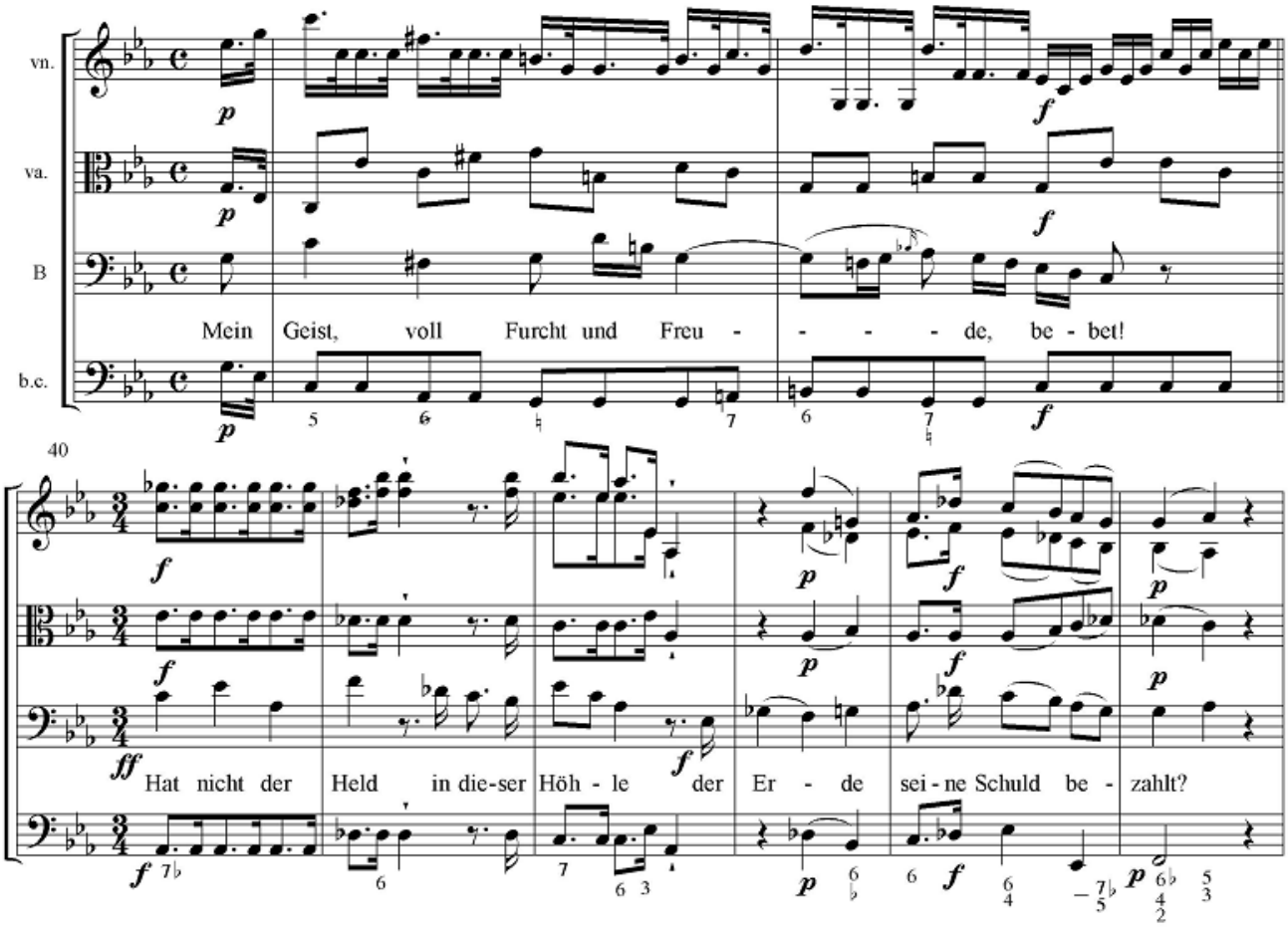
Telemann's *Donnerode* echoes again in the first recitative (“Judäa zittert”), for bass voice accompanied by timpani and strings (see example 9.49). As originally scored, without the drums, the movement represented the the miraculous earthquakes after the crucifixion in a way not unlike the chaos at the outset of the *Morgengesang* (online example 12.29). As in that work, or for that matter the orchestral introduction of the present one, chaos yields to tonality only gradually, as it becomes clear that the timpani and strings are sustaining the dominant of E-flat. But the latter never resolves to the tonic, and after the mountains are done shaking and Ramler's imagery has turned to a victorious heavenly host—all represented by unusually virtuosic versions of accompanied-recitative formulas for the strings—the music has passed through D major and B minor, only to end in G as the Roman soldiers flee. Bach has thus passed between the two main tonal poles of the work, and if one wished to seek so-called “tonal allegory” in this work, based on remote shifts of key, this movement might be the place to find it. Yet the “flattest” keys of the work, E-flat and even A-flat, will later be used for the its grandest moments. Although the other pole, D major, does retain its traditional association with military pomp in the aria no. 11 (“Ich folge dir”), it is not the keys themselves but their relationships that really count in the work.

As in some of Bach's late keyboard music, an apparent non-relationship may be equally important. In the first aria, the initial A section modulates from C minor to G minor; the B section, in a contrasting Adagio tempo, begins in a remote key, B-flat minor, ending on the dominant of A-flat:

A	B	A'
c > g	bb > Ab:V	c

The middle section is thus linked to the outer ones only by non-sequiturs. Yet the ambiguous augmented-sixth chord on A-flat so important in the A sections—where it is associated with the words *Furcht und Freude* (fear *and* joy)—recurs at the climax of the B section, now resolving normally as a dominant of D-flat (m. 41). There it sets the almost Wagnerian alliterating line “Hat nicht der Held in dieser Höhle der Erde seine Schuld bezahlt?” (Has not the hero in this hollow paid his debt to the world? online example 12.30). The dotted rhythms here echo those of the ritornello; the second A section returns momentarily to D-flat for a climactic melisma expressing the glory of divinity *(die Glorie der Gottheit*, m. 57*).* Hence, like a number of Bach's instrumental works of the period, the seemingly disjointed aria is more integrated than the shocks at the formal divisions between A and B sections may suggest.

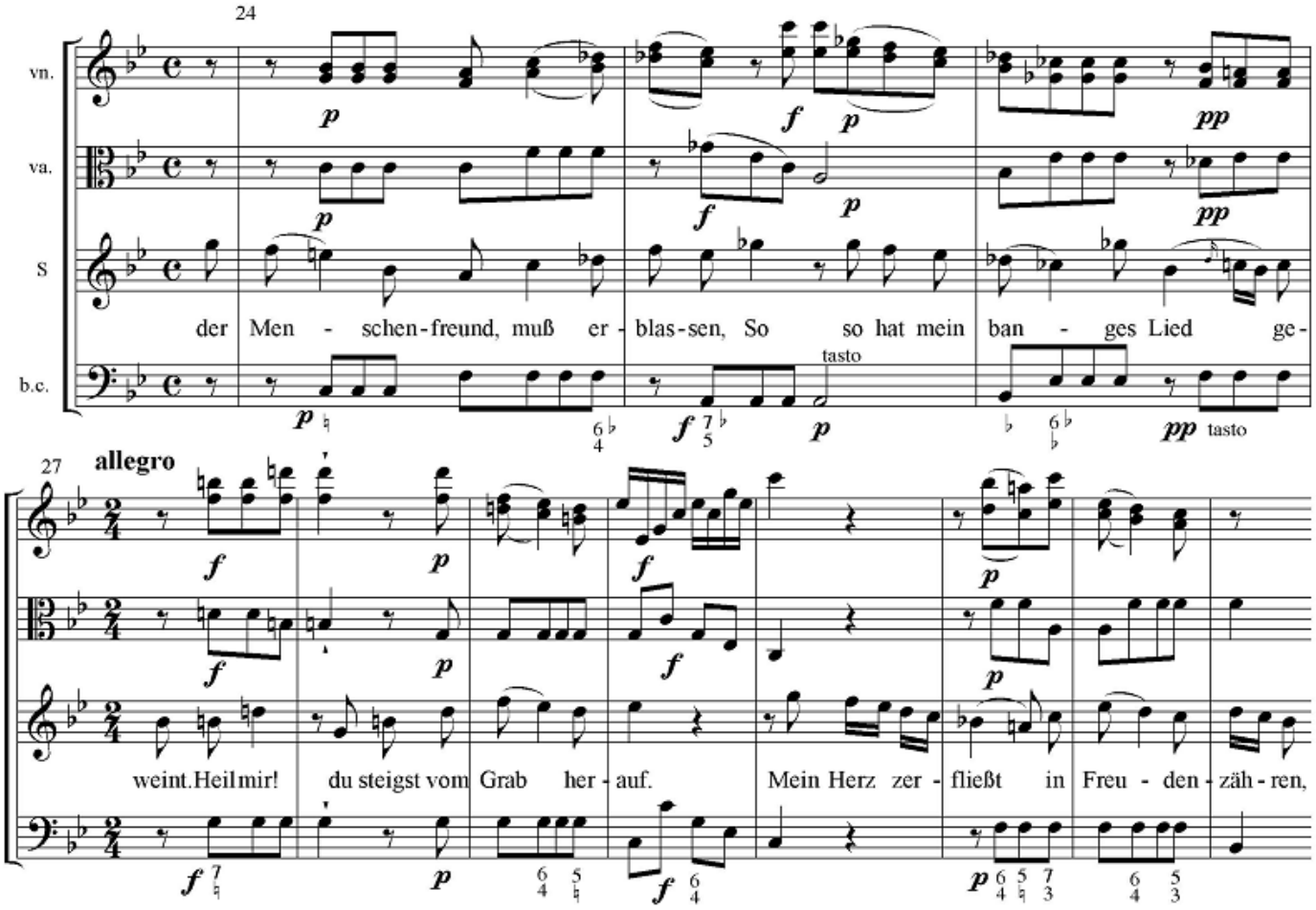
Example 12.30. Aria “Mein Geist, voll Furcht und Freude,” no. 4 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 5–6 and 40–45 (without horns)



The substitute aria no. 7, “Wie bang hat dich mein Lied beweint,” resembles arias in Bach's church works of the period in the absence of an opening ritornello and in the lied- or arioso-like character of its first half. The latter, a lament for Jesus, is ostensibly in B-flat major, yet the first tonicized key is C minor (m. 2), the first formal cadence is in F minor (m. 12), and the A section concludes in B-flat minor, the soloist's last note unaccompanied. At that point the mood shifts to joy (“Heil mir,” restore me!) and the tempo resets to Allegro. Yet the tonic B-flat major is established only after a series of modulating phrases similar to those that open the final movements in some of Bach's late sinfonias (online example 12.31). For Richard Will the rejoicing in this B section “sounds as if it comes too soon” within the work.[289] Yet Bach asked Ramler for precisely this type of two-tempo bipartite aria at this point. He says nothing in his letter to the poet about the aria's place in the emotional arc of the work as a whole, yet the latter must have been a consderation for him. It may not be a coincidence that the ritornello that ends the aria resembles that of “Dir sing ich froh” in the 1756 Easter Music, which Bach performed at Hamburg in 1769, 1776, and 1787

[289] “Reason and Revelation,” 101; Will later (p. 109) asserts that “the new second aria [“Wie bang”] makes the joy of the 'Triumph' chorus sound premature.”

Example 12.31. Aria "Wie bang," no. 7 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 24–34

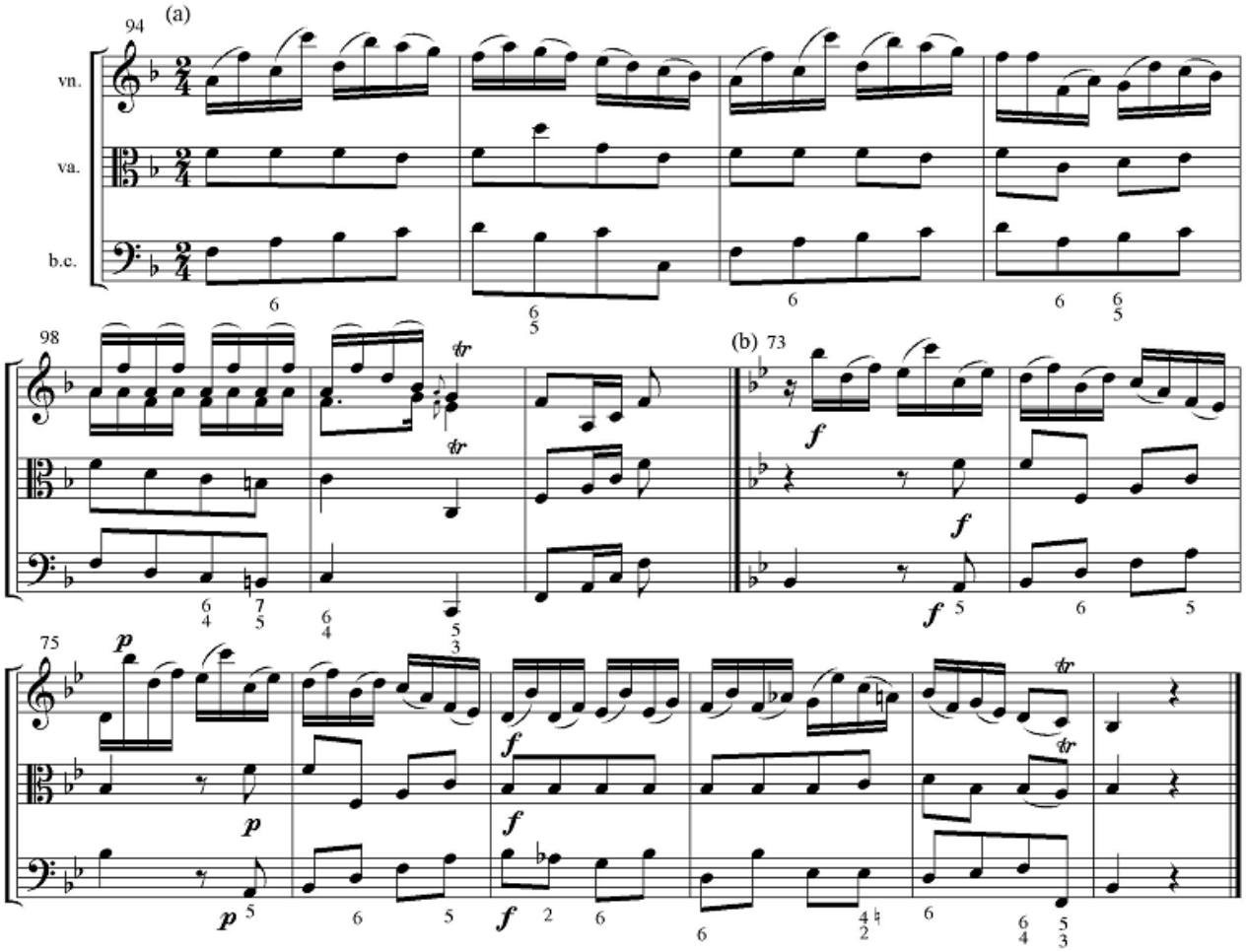


(online example 12.32).[290] The earlier aria, however, is far longer; here the rejoicing lasts for only a few seconds, and although the soprano soloist sings two extended melismas on *Wonne* (bliss), those moments have been hard won, following the anxious chromaticism of the first section.

It is true, nevertheless, that it is confusing today to encounter such passages at this moment in the work, or to be confronted by the first statement of the "Triumph" chorus even earlier, at the end of the first "scene." The "Triumph" chorus is, with the original aria no. 7 ("Sei gegrüßet") and aria no. 12 ("Ich folge dir"), one of three numbers that are thought to have been parodies, although it is difficult to understand how or why Bach would have fitted Ramler's texts to existing music. The music of "Triumph!" also occurs as the opening chorus of Bach's inaugural piece for Pastor Hornbostel in 1772 (H. 821e), where it sets Psalm 19:2, "Die Himmel erzählen" (The heavens are telling). The awkward, inconsistent declamation in the chorus for Hornbostel, however, makes the latter look more like the parody, despite Bach's indication on the title page

[290] Dates of performances from Sanders, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Liturgical Music," 272.

Example 12.32. (a) Aria “Dir sing ich froh,” no. 3 from Easter Music, W. 244, mm. 94–100; (b) aria “Wie bang,” no. 7 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 73–79



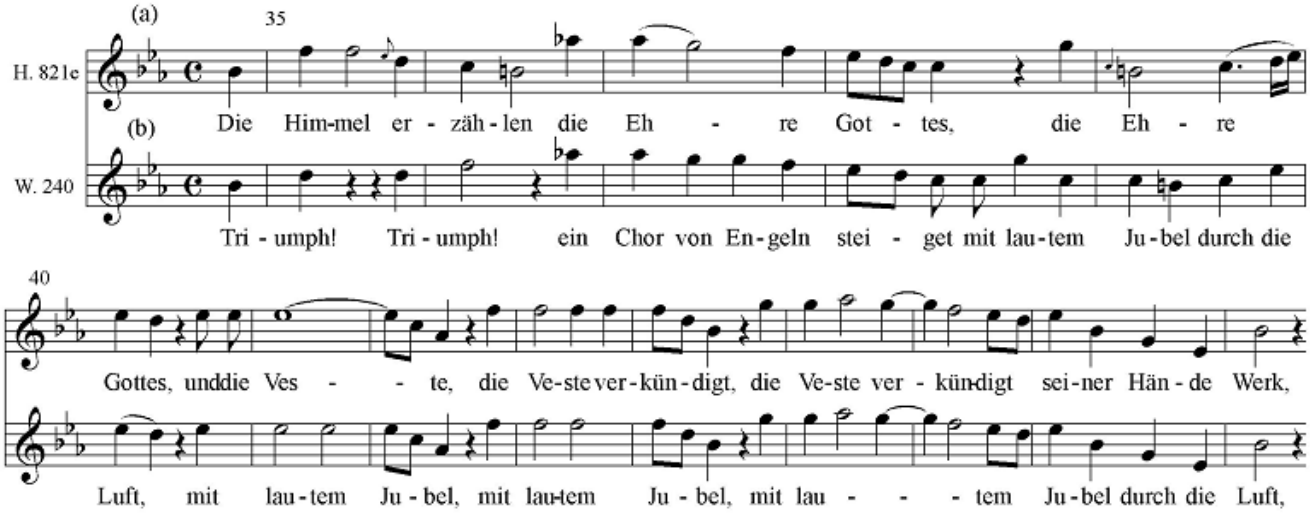
that the music was “entirely new.”[291] It is true that “Triumph!” itself is, in effect, parodied twice within the Resurrection Cantata, its music repeated for two subsequent stanzas with only small adjustments in the vocal parts. That, however, would have been a minor feat compared to the task of adapting Ramler's four-line strophes to a setting of a psalm verse, unless the latter happened to fall into two groups of four phrases each—which it does, a little too conveniently for one to believe it an accident.

In fact, there are suggestions within “Die Himmel erzählen” that the latter is the parody movement, not “Triumph!” The second half of the psalm verse, beginning *und die Feste,* is set

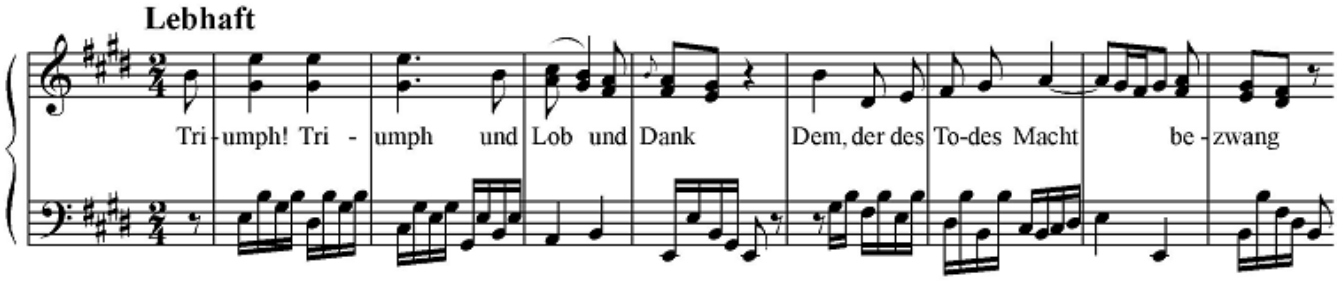
[291] “anno 1772 ganz neu gemacht, und hat niemand” (SA 707). Grant, “Die Herkunft des Chors 'Triumph!,'” does not consider the issues raised here, nor does the expanded English version (“The Origins of the Aria”), which extends the argument to an aria whose published version must again be a revised version of an earlier parody, “Dies ist mein Mut!” from the inaugural piece for Pastor Häseler (H. 821b).

awkwardly,[292] and the clauses of the verse are scrambled when it is repeated, although Bach did the same with what are apparently original texts as well (online example 12.33). Whichever text is original, the underlying conception is simpler than that of other numbers in the Resurrection Cantata, combining the Italianate chorus type seen in the opening movement of the Magnificat with a song-like melody. It is therefore curious that one of Bach's first Hamburg songs was a similar setting of a lied by Schiebeler (librettist of the *Israelites*). Could the latter have been a scaled-down version of an early draft of the "Triumph!" chorus (online example 12.34)? At the very least, this chorus, like the aria "Sei gegrüßet," raises the possibility that the history of Bach's Resurrection Cantata is even more complex than we know.

Example 12.33. (a) Chorus "Die Himmel erzählen," no. 1 from Inaugural Piece for Pastor Hornbostel, H. 821e, mm. 35–48; (b) "Triumph!," no. 5 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 35–48 (soprano only)



Example 12.34. "Auf die Auferstehung des Erlösers," W. 202C/8, mm. 1–8



[292] The phrase begins on an upbeat which is divided into two eighth notes (bb'–g") for the words *und die,* although the oboe, doubling the soprano, has only the quarter g" as in the "Triumph!" chorus (m. 16).

The chorus that ends the first half of the work is of an entirely different type. Surprisingly light and brief for a "prelude-and-fugue" chorus, it is almost upstaged by the brilliant virtuoso tenor aria with trumpet ("Ich folge dir") that precedes it. Perhaps this is Bach's point; in the chorus, the "prelude" reduces to six rather jolly measures Ramler's paraphrase of I Corinthians 15:55 ("O death, where is they sting?"). The passage breaks off on a dominant-seventh chord of G before the rest of the verse ("O grave, where is thy victory?") can be sung. Ramler in fact omits these words, although his next line—"Ours is the victory"—answers the question. Bach, following Telemann, sets this verse as a fugue, yet he mirrors the poet's elision: the fugue begins in A minor, and only after an entire exposition in that key does the music return to major keys, in a rapid series of entries that includes only two complete ones in the tonic G major. The fugue is nearly devoid of any conventional musical representation of victory; the brief coda rather emphasizes the final clause of the text, "Dank sei Gott" (thanks be to God). Although cheerful, this is a somewhat puzzling movement, thanks to the incongruities between text and musical character. Equally puzzling is that it reminded the author of the 1778 review of Handel's *Messiah*, which contains nothing very close to it.[293]

Perhaps, however, the chorus is misunderstood as the concluding movement of Part 1. Although both the autograph score and the Breitkopf print give the heading *Zweyter Teil* (Part 2) atop the next movement, that seven-measure orchestral passage at that point opens in E minor, a key that relates closely to the fugue but not to anything else in the work. It may be that Bach did not contemplate a significant pause at this point in the Cantata, which now proceeds to a long recitative (no. 14). The latter is the central passage of the work, setting what is essentially a long speech or sermon ("Unterricht") that the risen Jesus makes to two of his disciples. The sermon itself, comprising lines 10–37 of the recitative, begins with prophecies from the Hebrew Bible of the Messiah's disgrace and suffering; the events of the passion are then summarized, and it ends with Jesus's burial and ascension.

Bach sets this for bass voice, the strings beginning their accompaniment with the commencement of the sermon, which they punctuate with numerous brief interjections as in other accompanied recitatives (see table below). Ramler's poetry must bear most of the responsibility for maintaining the coherence or continuity of the passage. Yet the question of whether and how the music should shape the words—intensifying their expression or representing their meaning, speeding or slowing their delivery, articulating the long speech into clear subdivisions, and imposing some sort of organization or direction—would have occurred to any thoughtful composer facing forty-three lines of irregularly rhyming verse. Bach, like the composers of opera, faced these problems whenever setting recitative, but they are deepened here by the highly emotional character of Ramler's verses and the elevated subject matter: not only the passion but the resurrection and the ascension. Like many long *accompagnati*, the passage is articulated by figuration which the strings insert during pauses in the vocal part. These insertions gradually grow more frequent, especially when the passion story begins to be recounted in the central section of the speech (see table below).

[293] "dergleichen man nur in Händels Meßias zu hören bekommt," no. IV/18 in Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,* 453.

Table. The "sermon" in the Resurrection Cantata and its articulation into sections or divisions

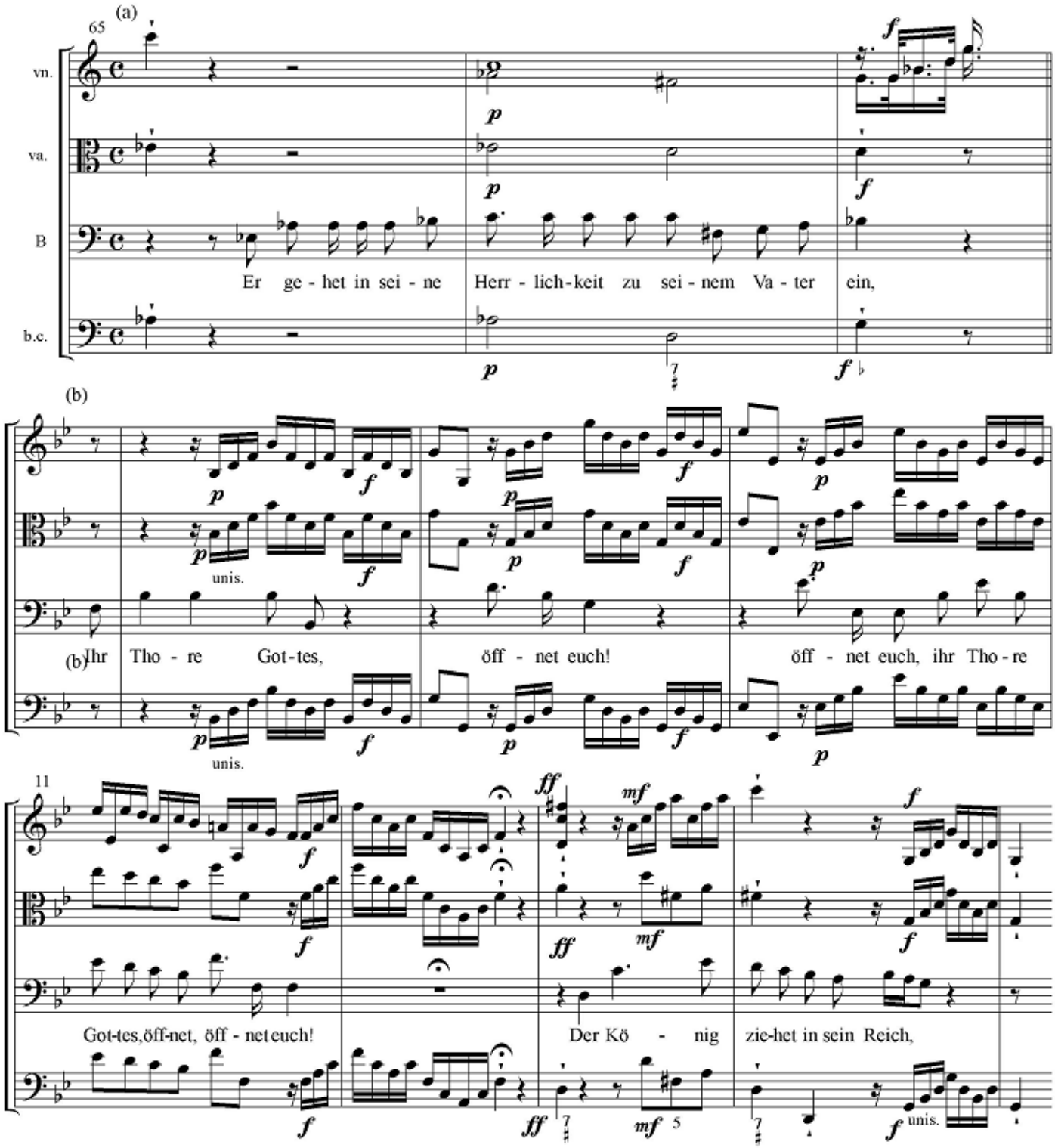
Column 4 characterizes brief instrumental passages that follow the text phrases described in columns 1–3. The three main divisions are signified by cadences listed **in bold type.**

after line	key	affective word (s)	prevailing figure (violins)
10	e	leiden	pairs of slurred sixteenths; cadence (E minor)
15	f	fallen	pairs of slurred sixteenths; cadence (F minor)
17	c	So spricht	dotted sixteenths; **cadence (G minor)**
19	Eb	verbirgt . . . nicht	slurred sixteenths
21	g	Schlägen	syncopated eighths
22	b	Schlachtbank	syncopated sixteenths; cadence (B minor)
23	>	Missethäter	slurred sixteenths
24	f#	Fleht er	slurred sixteenths; cadence (F-sharp minor)
25	e	durchgraben	syncopated eighths, bow vibrato, crescendo
27	>bb	Galle	slurred sixteenths; interrupted cadence (B-flat minor)
28	c	schütteln ihren Kopf	trills
29	f	verlassen	syncopated eighths
30a	bb	Völker werden sehn	pairs of slurred sixteenths
30b	Ab	wen sie durchstochen	pairs of slurred sixteenths
31a	eb	theilet sein Gewand	slurred sixteenths
31b	Db	Loos	slurred sixteenth; **cadence (D-flat)**
34a	Ab	zieht Gott ihn	dotted sixteenths (ascending arpeggio)
34b	Ab	stellt ihn auf den Fels	dotted sixteenths (ascending arpeggio)
35	>g	gehet . . . zum Vater	dotted sixteenths (ascending arpeggio)
36	F	Reich	dotted sixteenths (ascending arpeggio)
37	F	Sein Name bleibt	dotted sixteenths; **cadence (F)**

As the first nine lines of narration, set as simple recitative, are in E minor, and the following aria is in A-flat, the recitative as a whole must cover wide-ranging tonal ground. Although there is no straightforward modulating design, and few keys are repeated, the music on the whole passes from "sharp" minor keys (especially e and d), associated at the beginning with suffering and doubt, to "flat" major keys (D-flat and A-flat) used for lines that express the ideas of triumph and resurrection. These anticipate the following aria, but between the end of the "sermon" and the aria Ramler interposes further narration, which Bach sets as simple (unaccompanied) recitative beginning in F. Bach's specific choices of keys probably reflect his use of E-flat as the "tonic" of the work as a whole, not any pre-existing system of so-called tonal allegory. It is the modulations

themselves that express the sublime or transcendant. Thus a sudden enharmonic progression from A-flat to G minor near the end of the “sermon,” describing Jesus's entrance into glory (“Er gehet in seine Herrlichkeit”), anticipates a moment later in the work, when G minor is reached via a sudden *fortissimo* chord within the aria “Ihr Thore Gottes” (online example 12.35).

Example 12.35. (a) Recitative “Dort seh' ich aus den Thoren,” no. 14 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 65–67; (b) aria “Ihr Thore Gottes,” no. 21, mm. 8–15 (without winds)



The brief passages for strings that punctuate the speech are not ritornellos, as they are in certain other long accompanied recitatives (e.g., "So wird mein Heiland nun erhöht" in the 1756 Easter Music). Yet several recurring motives in these brief interjections by the strings help hold the "sermon" together. A trend in these passages away from slurred pairs of conjunct sixteenths toward dotted arpeggio figures parallels the shift in subject matter from past suffering to future glory. Slurred sixteenths function like "sigh" figures, syncopated rhythms during the recitation of the passion story are associated with agitation or suffering, and dotted figures relate to divinity or power. Yet the mode of expression is not chiefly symbolic or iconic, for it is above all the changes of harmony and key, their *rate* of change, and the varying degrees of remoteness in successive modulations that help shape the speech as a whole.

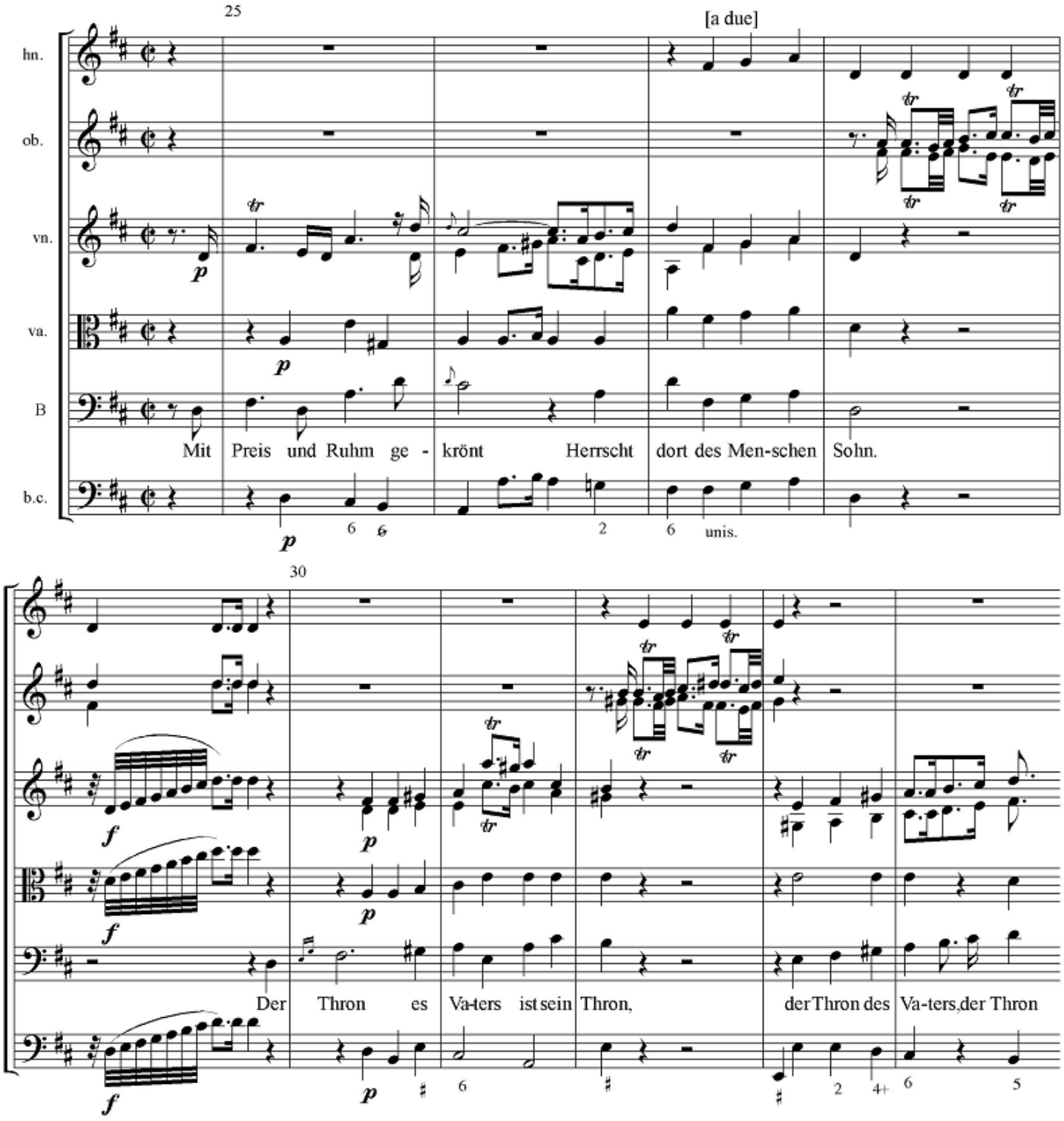
The following aria is one of two for bass voice in the work's second half, which focuses on Jesus and his male disciples, as the first half focused on women. The association of low voices with power and patrimony is hardly accidental in what is as much an ascension oratorio as a resurrection cantata. The use of obbligato bassoon alongside bass voice in the aria "Willkommen, Heiland!" would have reminded Bach's audiences of Moses's aria "Gott, sieh dein Volk" in the *Israelites*. The longest aria in the Cantata, it sounds at times almost too *galant* for its subject matter, and the long-winded, discursive style recalls some of the extended arias by Homilius that Bach used in his passions. Could this number have been a relatively early effort? The middle section, disproportionately short as in many earlier eighteenth-century arias, is perhaps remarkable for opening in G minor (vii). But whereas the remote key of the B section in the first bass aria (no. 4) is unmediated, here it is "explained" by a modulating bridge at the end of the first A section. Like similar passages in the W. 43 concertos and other instrumental works, the bridge seems tacked on, and it is not even necessary, given the preceding cadence in E-flat; much the same holds for the transition at the end of the B section. Similar modulating bridges, however, connect the sections of the following tenor aria "Mein Herr, mein Gott"—which otherwise has the concision of Bach's later arias, even omitting the opening ritornello.

More integrated is the famous bass aria "Ihr Thore Gottes," which celebrates the ascension and leads directly to the concluding series of choruses. It shares some features with arias by Homilius, particularly the grand "Preis und Ruhm gekrönt," likewise for bass, sung in the St. Mark Passion of 1770 after Pilate's question "Are you king of the Jews?." The latter, however, has an entirely different sound, echoing the old French overture with its pervasive dotted rhythms and *tirate* (online example 12.36). This may not yet have sounded old fashioned by the time Bach used it, but the aria in the Cantata has more sophisticated harmony and rhythm. Bach's ritornello comprises essentially a single line, played in octaves by the strings; the same line is simultaneously reduced to signals of repeated notes that are exchanged between the two trumpets (doubled by horns; online example 12.37).[294] But although the aria is in B-flat, the horns and trumpets are pitched in E-flat; this favors the "flat" side of the tonic and allows the natural brass

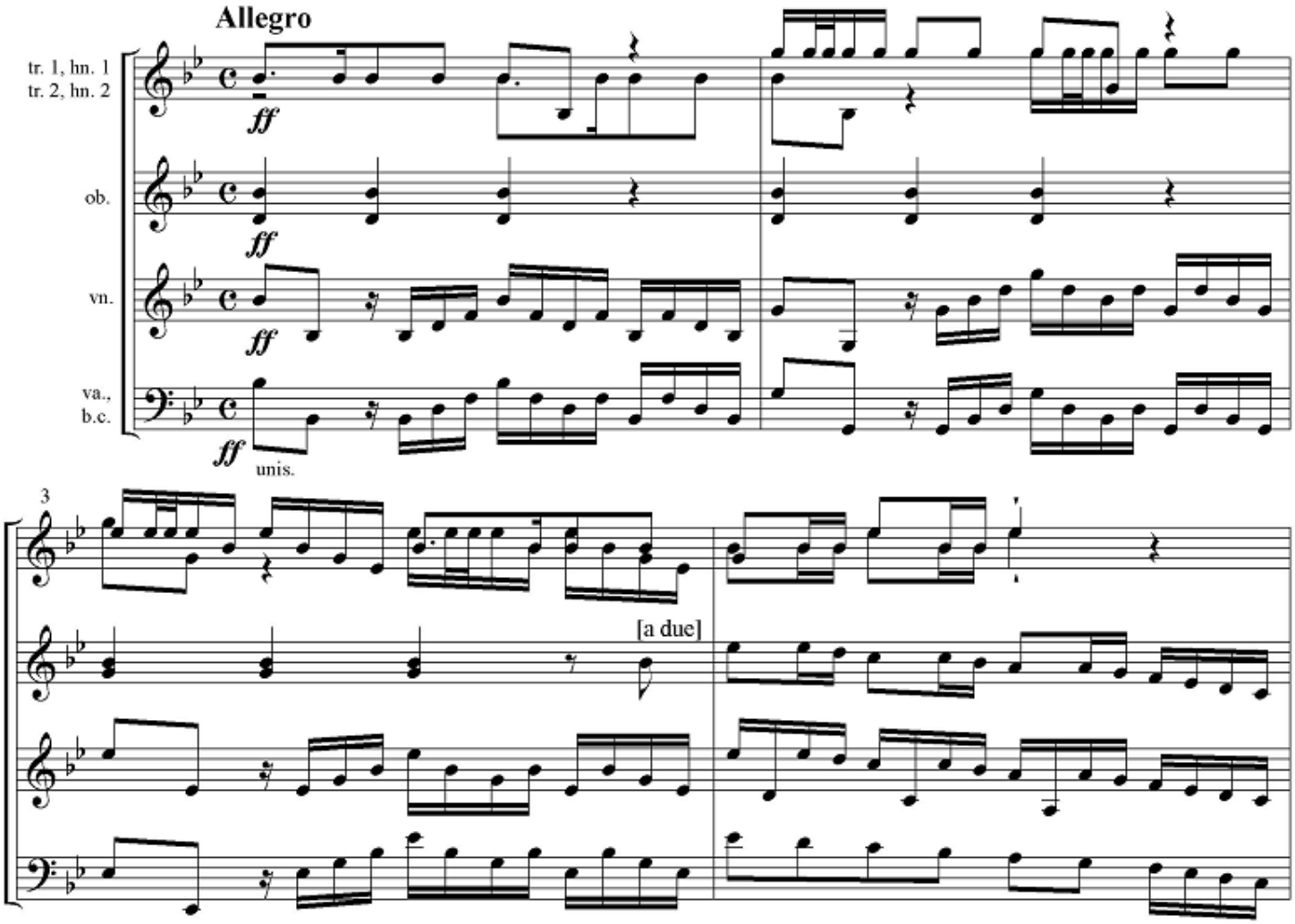
[294] In view of the almost monophonic texture, with so many doublings of parts, Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältniss zur Kunst des Tonsatzes,* 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1843-47), 3:461, urged employing "a choir of bass singers" on the vocal line. Zelter was so impressed by Bach's aria that he left out this portion of Ramler's text in his own setting of *Die Auferstehung* (Miesner, *Philipp Emanuel Bach in Hamburg,* 75).

instruments to play the note E-flat itself (as in measure 3). This in turn gives the aria a distinctive color while emphasizing the tonic note of the following chorus, if not of the work as a whole

Example 12.36. Homilius, aria "Preis und Ruhm gekrönt," no. 17 from the 1770 St. Mark Passion, mm. 25–34

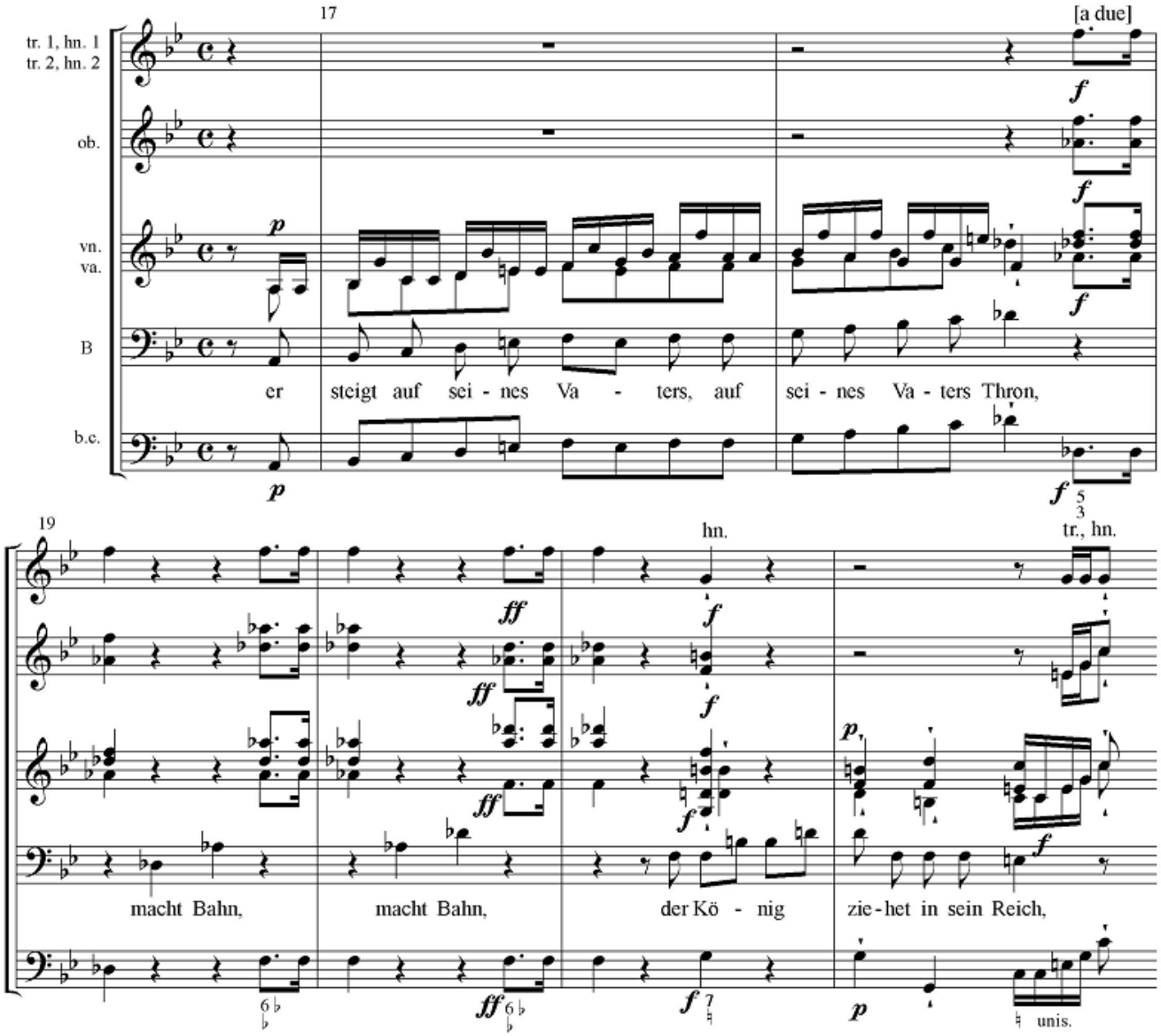


Example 12.37. Aria “Ihr Thore Gottes,” no. 21 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 1–4 (viola doubles continuo, one octave higher)



If in other works Bach treats instrumental timbre as something secondary, here, as in the “prelude” of the *Heilig*, he demonstrates an imagination for sonority colored by unusual harmonies. The brass, like the strings, often play in unison, although in many passages this is because only one note of the harmony is available to them. Thus the four brass instruments all double the third (f') in the stunning chords of D-flat (bIII) at *macht Bahn* (“make way,” mm. 19–21), thereby emphasizing the strangeness of those sonorities. This third is actually the preparation for a dissonance, becoming the seventh in the chord that follows; helpfully, it is also the note that the singer must find at that point (online example 12.38). The voice, too, often sings in octaves with the instruments, although at the beginning of the B section it is essentially independent. Here the oboes, usually neglected by Bach, are likewise independent, imitating the voice for a few measures (mm. 36–39). Sonority plays a key role a few measures later, when Bach repeats the modulation to G minor previously heard during the “sermon” recitative (cf. ex. 12.35a). The crucial stroke is a sudden dominant-seven played as a triple stop by the violins (m. 44), repeating a sound already been heard in the A section of the aria (in m. 13; see ex. 12.35b).

Example 12.38. Aria “Ihr Thore Gottes,” no. 21 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 17–22



As in the late keyboard music, connections of these types serve as fleeting reminders of past moments in the work. They do not form part of a connected argument or progression, and therefore they do not contribute to formal coherence of the sort found in either a Classical sonata form or a fugue by J. S. Bach. Rather they are points in a network of modulations to which the music returns insistently on various occasions, here in association with certain recurring textual ideas such as “glory” *(Herrlichkeit).*

Similar moments occur during the large chorus (“Gott fähret auf”) that concludes the work. Musically it is a sort of rondo (ABCA'DA") ending in a fugue, although, unlike the so-called vaudeville chorus at the end of the Passion Cantata, it substitutes new text when the opening “A”

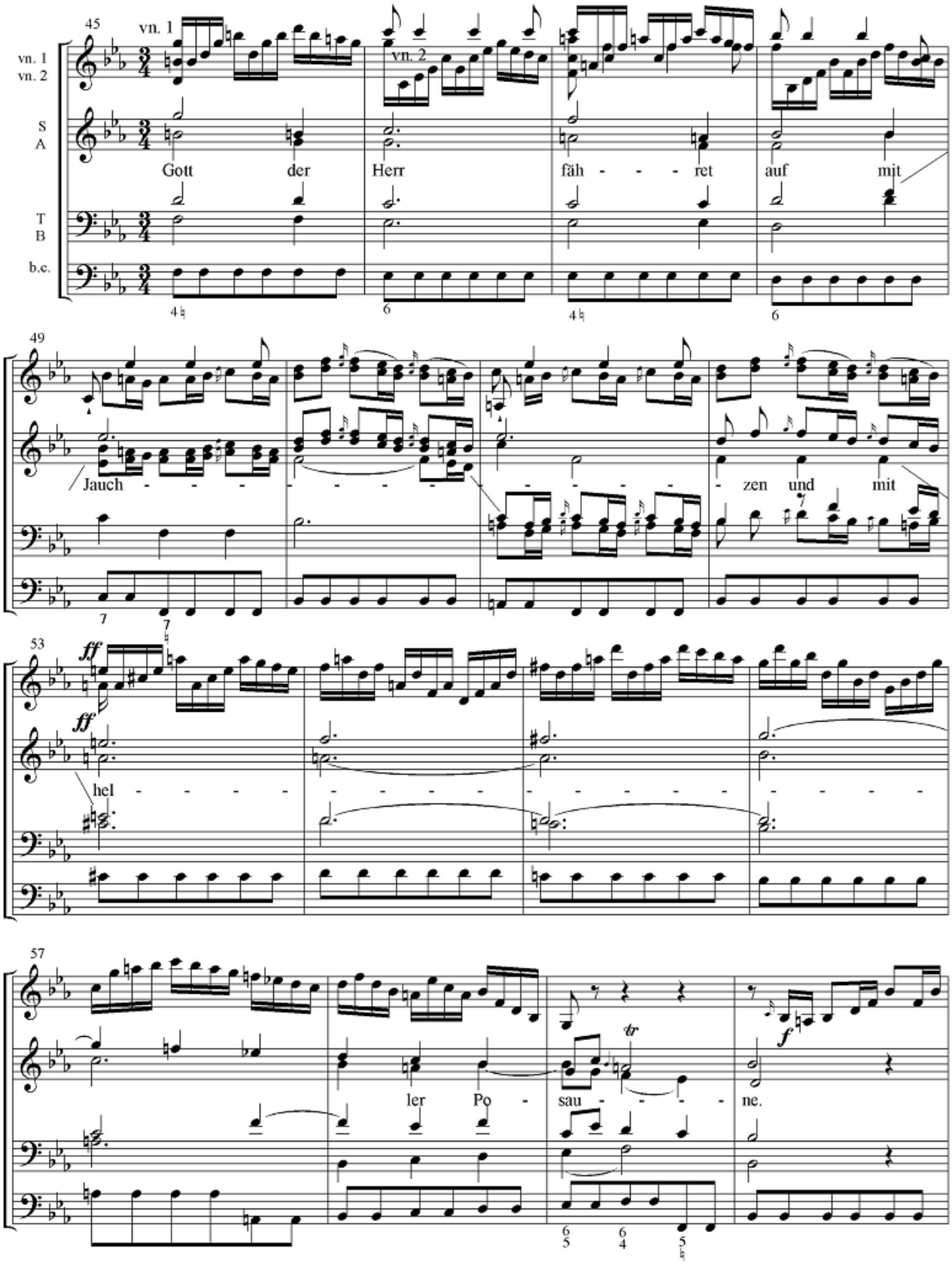
music returns in the course of the movement. Ramler's text, a medley of verses from no fewer than seven psalms, concludes with the favorite "Alles, was Odem hat" (Ps. 150:6), which Bach must have felt obliged to set as a grand fugue. His treatment of earlier lines in the text is more distinctive, although the sudden changes of texture, tempo, and key at several points break the movement up in a way that, as in some of the *Kenner und Liebhaber* pieces, threatens incoherence.

One striking "disruptive" moment—a sudden A-major chord in the opening section, on the word *heller* (bright)—is actually a momentary parenthesis. Like the false or premature reprises in remote keys that occur in the sinfonias of the same period, the passage on *heller* is embedded within a cadential phrase in the dominant B-flat (online example 12.39). Connecting this chorus with the preceding aria are the sudden D-flat-major chords that open the second contrasing section ("C"); these are echoed in A-flat major during the third ("D") section (online example 12.40).[295] Yet these hectoring, strenuously rhetorical octave passages weigh down the chorus as a whole, breaking it up into only a series of episodes, even if they do echo other passages in more or less subtle ways.

The final fugue, although longer than "Unser ist der Sieg," is conceived along similar lines: after its initial exposition there follow two more (at mm. 311 and 349) that incorporate numerous stretto entries. The tonal design is traditional, with the middle exposition centering on the relative minor, and there is also the obligatory coda after a fermata (m. 371), with particularly close stretto entries. It is a conventional ending for an extraordinary work, like the fugue of the Passion Cantata a demonstration of mastery in an approved contrapuntal idiom. Yet it is also modest in a sense, by its very conventionality diverting attention from the singular peculiarities of its composer.

[295] Will, "Reason and Revlation," 109, associates the chords of D-flat and later G-flat in the aria with its "otherworldliness," noting their connection with the setting of "Der Herr ist König" at m. 114 in the final chorus.

Example 12.39. Chorus “Gott fähret auf,” no. 22 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. 45–60 (winds, timpani, and viola omitted)



Example 12.40. Chorus “Gott fähret auf,” no. 22 from the Resurrection Cantata, W. 240, mm. mm. 113–23, 215–24 (winds omitted)