



Research Article

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The Double-Choir “Heilig” by C. P. E. Bach BR-CPEB F 77: An Unknown Pasticcio of 1785

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Abstract: The article focuses on the first study of the source found in the Foreign Books Department of the National Library of Russia. The printed booklet contains the original text of the work performed in the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* in Berlin in 1785 under Johann Christoph Kühnau (1735–1805), a cantor and music director. It is revealed, that the libretto gives evidence of a hitherto unknown Pasticcio compiled from the famous “Heilig” for double choir by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) and his Aria “Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen”, as well as some movements from the Oratorio “Das Weltgericht” and “Te Deum” by J. C. Kühnau. Based on the research of the existing letters, manuscripts, and other sources along with the printed text of 1785 the conclusion about Kühnau’s role in distribution and popularization of vocal works by “Hamburg Bach” in the late 18th century is drawn. One more important fact concerning the early reception history of “Heilig” BR-CPEB F 77 is added to our knowledge of its performances during the author’s life-time.

Keywords: C. P. E. Bach, “Heilig”, J. C. Kühnau, “Das Weltgericht”, Pasticcio, libretto, the National Library of Russia

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ИЗ ИСТОРИИ ЗАПАДНОЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ МУЗЫКИ

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Научная статья

«Heilig» для двойного хора К. Ф. Э. Баха BR-CPEB F 77: неизвестное Пастиччо 1785 года

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Аннотация: В статье впервые исследуется источник, найденный в Иностранном книжном фонде Российской национальной библиотеки и содержащий текст сочинения, исполненного в Троицкой церкви Берлина в 1785 году под руководством кантора и «музикдиректора» Иоганна Кристофа Кюнау (1735–1805). Выявляется, что либретто относится к неизвестному ранее Пастиччо, созданному из знаменитого «Heilig» для двойного хора Карла Филиппа Эмануэля Баха (1714–1788), его Арии «Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen», а также частей из оратории «Das Weltgericht» и «Te Deum» И. К. Кюнау. На основе изучения печатного текста 1785 года, сохранившихся писем, рукописей и других источников делается вывод о роли Кюнау в распространении и популяризации вокальных произведений «гамбургского Баха» в конце XVIII века. К истории исполнения «Heilig» BR-CPEB F 77 добавляется еще один важный факт ранней истории его рецепции при жизни автора.

Ключевые слова: К. Ф. Э. Бах, «Heilig», И. К. Кюнау, «Das Weltgericht», Пастиччо, либретто, Российская национальная библиотека

Благодарности: Автор статьи благодарит сотрудников Российской национальной библиотеки за помощь в работе с источниками и разрешение факсимильного воспроизведения текста, хранящегося под шифром 6.35.1.406. Кроме того, автор выражает признательность Эндрию Талле (США) и Рашиду-С. Пера (Германия) за содействие в получении необходимых материалов.

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Among the recent discoveries of originally printed texts for German music of the 17th and 18th centuries at the National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg) a group of Berlin sources of the second half of the 18th century deserves special attention (see [14, 51–58]). Although they are not so numerous as Leipzig, Dresden, and Hamburg “Texte zur Music” found in St. Petersburg, nevertheless they contain some exemplars, which are very rare or even have been hitherto unknown. Hence, among the texts for Berlin church music of the last decades of the 18th century, there were found some libretti of works performed under Johann Christoph Kühnau (1735–1805), a cantor and music director of the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche*.

Let us give short information about the life and work of this composer. Johann Christoph Kühnau was born on 10 February 1735 in Volkstädt, near Eisleben. Having finished

the *Schullehrerseminar* in Klosterbergen, in 1763 he moved to Berlin, where he first became a teacher at the *Realschule*; there he founded a choir which was regularly performing Oratorios in the so-called *Concert der Musikliebhaber* since the 1770s. During that period, supposedly since 1779, he began taking music theory lessons with a famous teacher and composer Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783), which surely happened to be an important addition to his musical education [9, 823]. After 1783 Johann Christoph became a music director of the Berlin *Dreifaltigkeitskirche* and then a cantor there.¹ Kühnau was the author of a number of vocal and organ compositions; he compiled and published two volumes of his contemporaries' works, including his own settings under the title of "Vierstimmige alte und neue Choralgesänge"² as well as organ and clavier arrangements of chorales under the title of "Choral-Vorspiele für die Orgel und das Klavier."³ He died on 13 October 1805 in Berlin, where he had spent the most part of his life.

The libretto⁴ which is the subject of the present article was found in the Hall no. 6 of the Foreign Books Department of the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg,⁵ under a shelfmark 6.35.1.406. Its title page (Figure 1) contains the following:

Heilig, | Heilig, Heilig | ist | GOTT! | mit untermengten neuen Arien | in der
Dreyfaltigkeitskirche aufgeführt | von | Johann Christoph Kühnau. || Berlin, 1785. |
Gedruckt bey George Ludewig Winters Wittwe.

It is a small booklet of printed texts consisting of four pages, measuring 19.2 × 15.5 cm. Unfortunately, the provenance of the source is unknown. It does not contain any stamps or handwritten markings of its previous owner, which could help us to ascertain its provenance. At the same time the absence of any registry-based marks is evidence that it belongs to the oldest repository of the Imperial Public Library.⁶

¹ The exact date of this appointment is not clear. In some biographical articles about Kühnau there is information that he became a cantor and music director of the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* in Berlin since 1788 (see, for example, [15, 1982]). However, judging by the earliest manuscript score of the Oratorium "Das Weltgericht" (see further), he began to perform these duties earlier (at least he became a music director of the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* as early as in 1783). In the article by Ulrich Leisinger it is stated that Kühnau became the music director of the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* not later than in 1784 whereas he became a cantor there in 1788 [9, 823].

² Vierstimmige alte und neue Choralgesänge, <...> von Johann Christoph Kühnau. Berlin: Im Verlag des Autors, 1786–1790. 2 Tle. 230 S.; 274 S.

³ Choral-Vorspiele für die Orgel und das Klavier / gesammelt und herausgegeben von Johann Christoph Kühnau, Kantor und Musikdirektor. Berlin: Im Verlag des Autors, [1790/1791]. 63 S.

⁴ Heilig, Heilig, Heilig ist GOTT! mit untermengten neuen Arien in der Dreyfaltigkeitskirche aufgeführt von Johann Christoph Kühnau. Berlin: George Ludewig Winters Wittwe, 1785. 4 S.

⁵ The sigle of the National Library of Russia according to RISM — RUS-SPsc.

⁶ The accession number (a number assigned to an item when added to the Imperial Public Library written as a form of fractional numbers indicating the year and the number assigned in special registration books) was written as a rule on the last page of an exemplar. Nowadays in the Department of the Archive Documents it is possible to ascertain when and who passed a book to the library. However, such accession numbers started being recorded in the most systematical way mainly since the second half of the 19th century. Their absence indicates as a rule belonging of exemplars to the oldest repository of the Imperial Public Library compiled in the late 18th to early 19th centuries. Concerning the history of the National Library of Russia and recent findings of the original texts for the German music of the 17th and 18th centuries in its halls see [12; 13; 14].

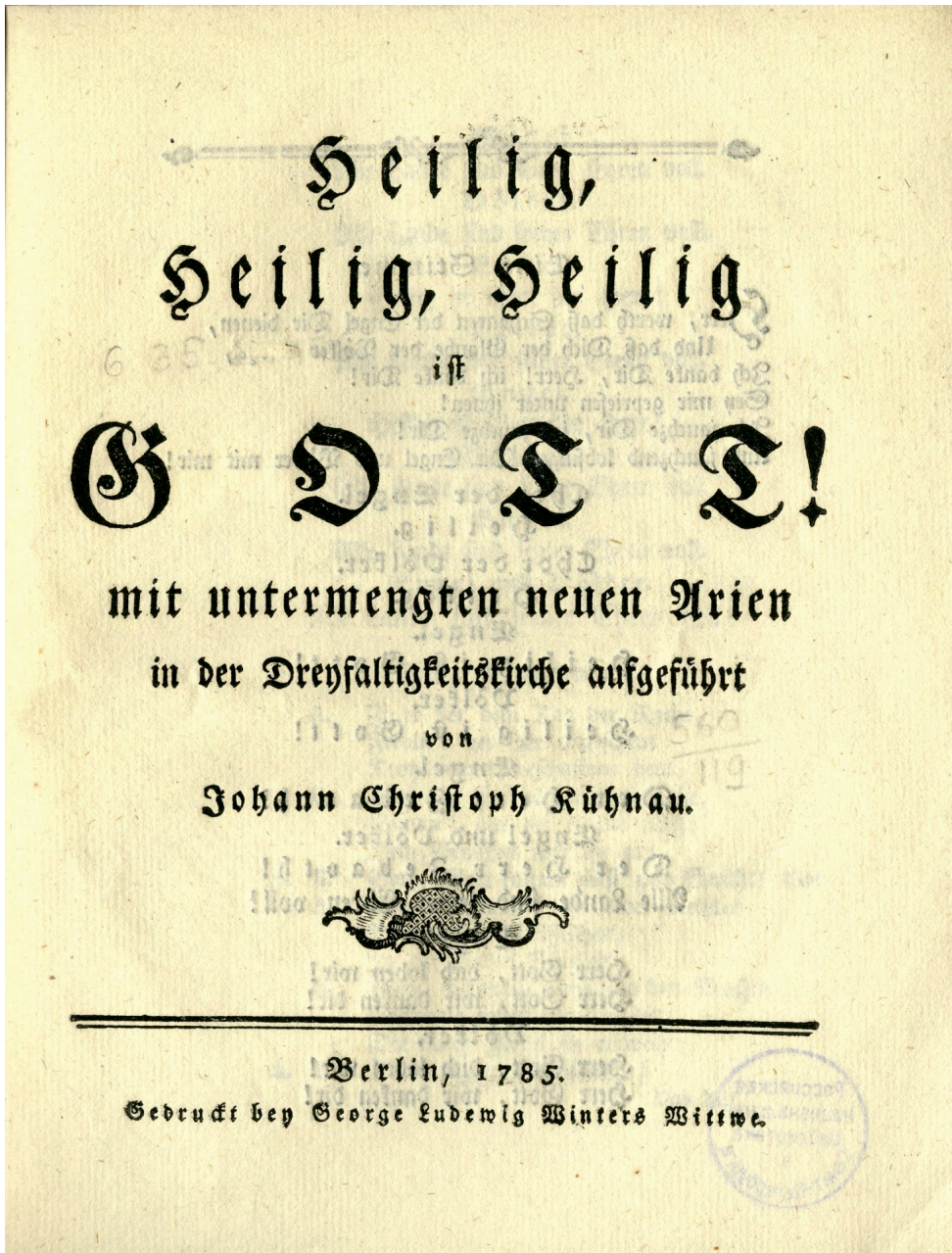


Figure 1. "Heilig", the title page of libretto, the original print (1785)
RUS-SPsc. 6.35.1.406

A grey cover of the booklet was made in later times, and its flyleaf contains a label typical for the old book funds of the library:

зала 6
шкафъ 35
полка 1 № 406

Hall 6
Bookcase 35
Bookshelf 1 no. 406

The text of the work printed in this libretto consists of the following divisions (further the original indications at the beginning of every one of them as well as their incipits in original spelling are given, see Figures 2–4):

Eine Stimme:

Herr, werth daß Schaaren der Engel Dir dienen...

Chor der Engel: Heilig.

Chor der Völker: Heilig.

Engel: Heilig ist Gott!

Völker: Heilig ist Gott!

Engel: Der Herr Zebaoth!

Engel und Völker: Der Herr Zebaoth!

Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll!

Engel: Herr Gott, dich loben wir...

Völker: Herr Gott, dich loben wir...

Engel: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.

Völker: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.

Engel: Heilig ist Gott der Herr!

Völker: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.

Engel: Heilig ist Gott der Herr!

Völker: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.

Engel: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll.

Engel und Völker: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll!

Zwo Stimmen:

A. Zittre vor dem Tag der Rache...

B. Hör' es, hör' es, und erwache...

<...>

Von Anf.

Zwey Chöre:

Chor 1.: Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben Dich,

Chor 2.: Und ehr'n Dein'n Namen stetiglich.

<...>

Beyde. Amen.

Aria: Wie prächtig wird Dein Lob erschallen...

<...>

Beyde Chöre. Choral: Dir sey Anbetung, Dank <...>

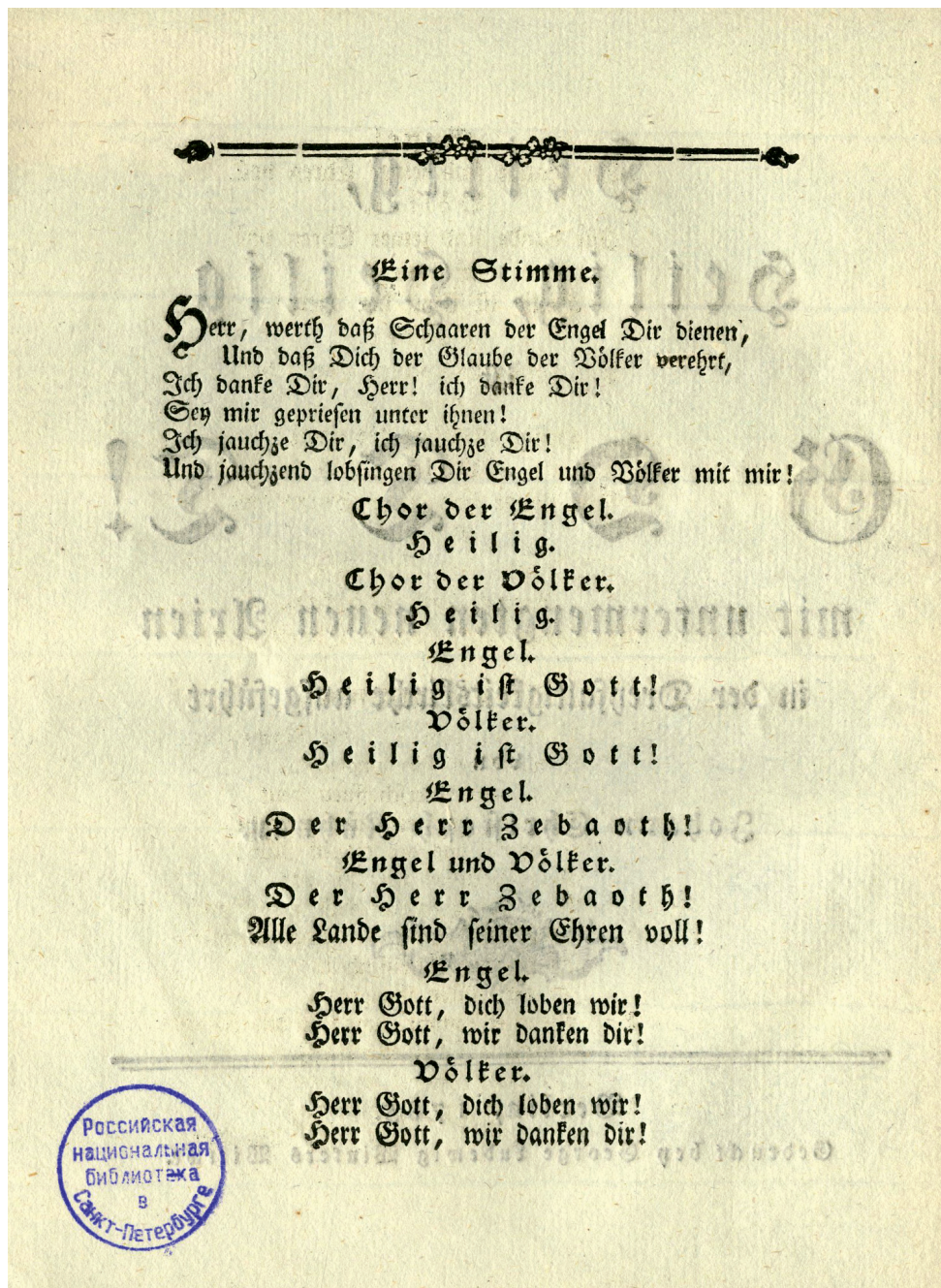


Figure 2. "Heilig", libretto, the original print (1785), page 2
 RUS-SPsc. 6.35.1.406

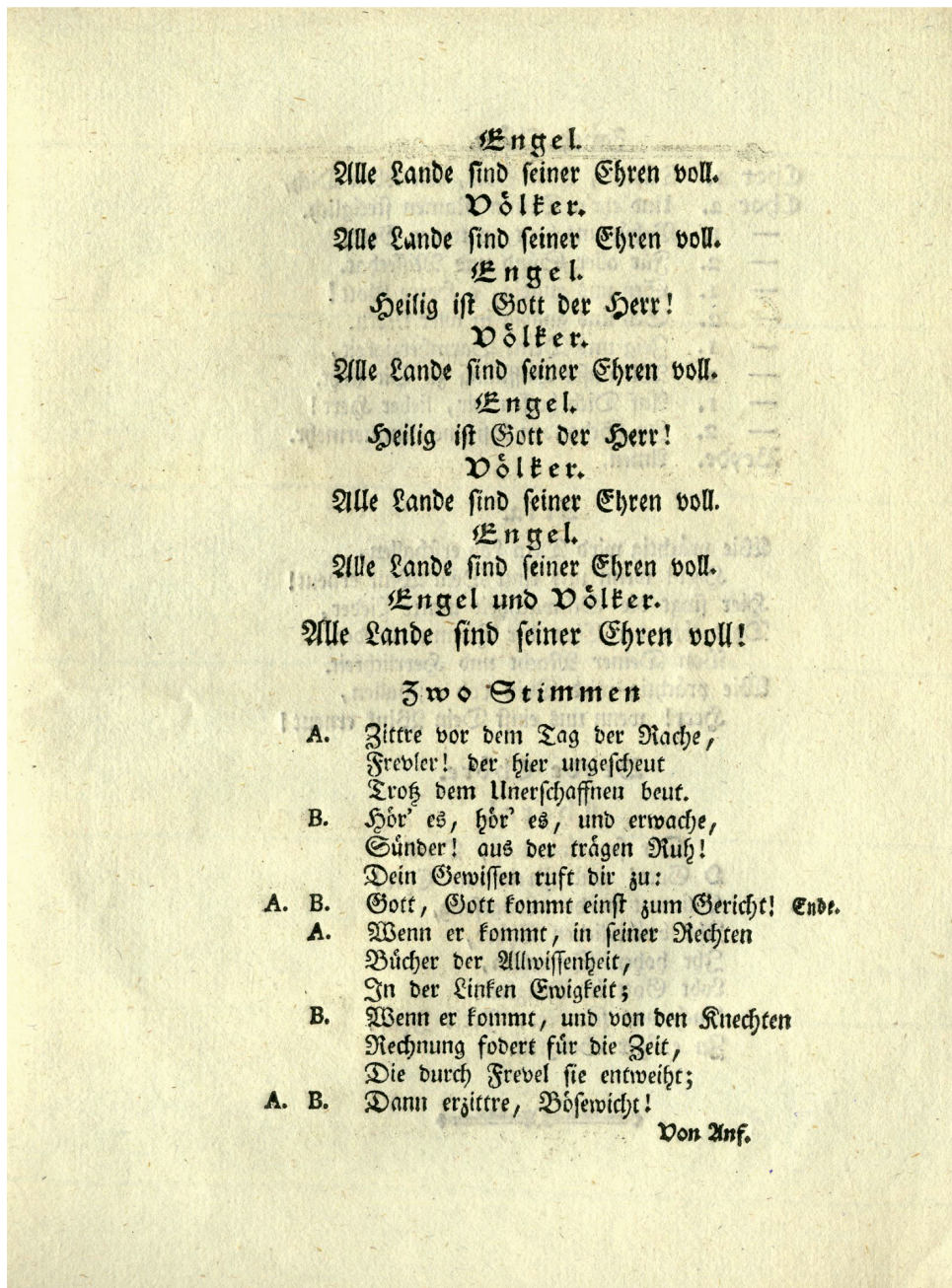


Figure 3. "Heilig", libretto, the original print (1785), page 3
RUS-SPsc. 6.35.1.406

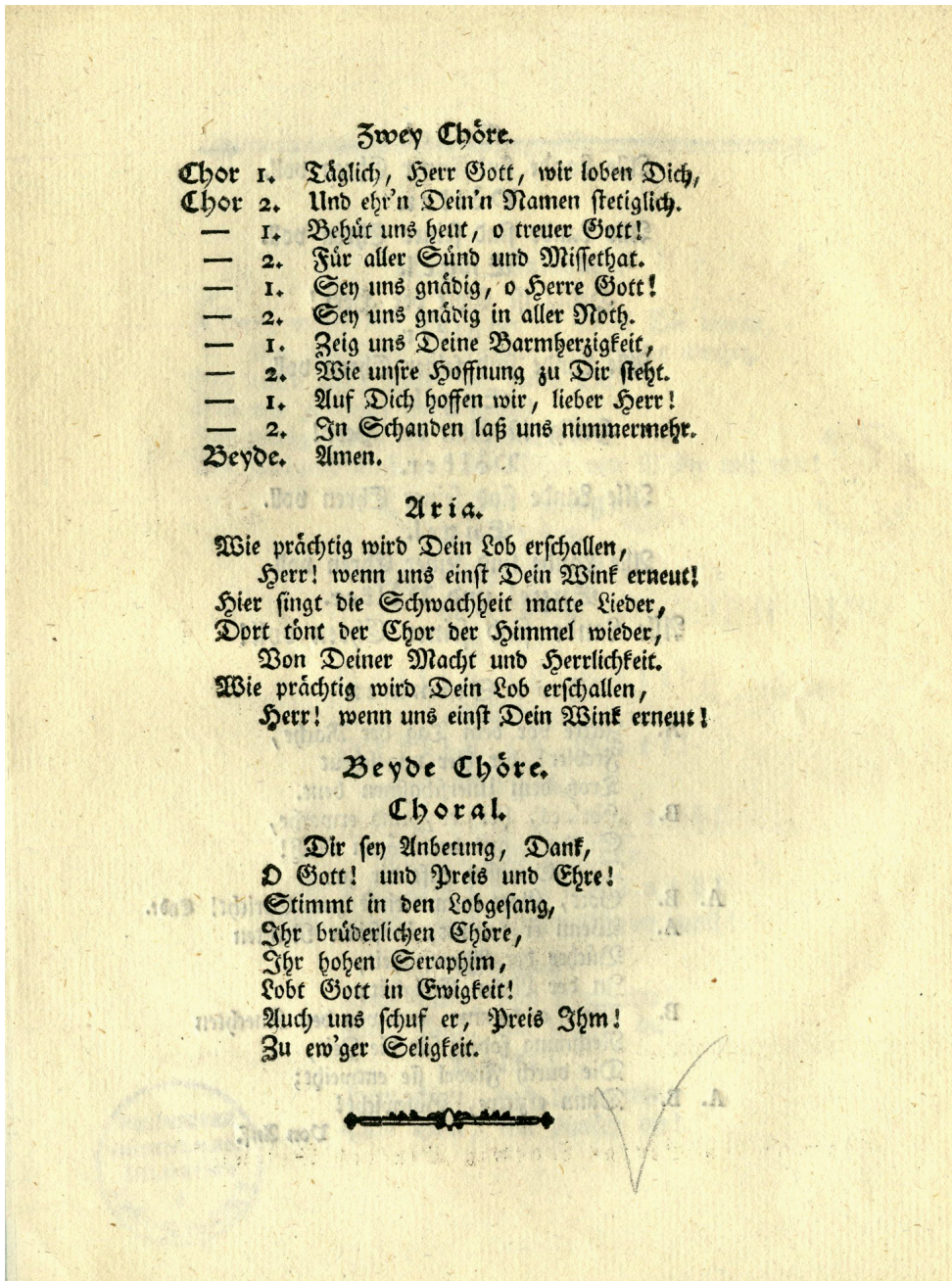


Figure 4. "Heilig", libretto, the original print (1785), page 4
 RUS-SPsc. 6.35.1.406

Judging by the text, the opening movement of the whole work was an Arietta “Herr, werth daß Schaaren der Engel” by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) and then his “Heilig” for two choirs (BR-CPEB F 77; H 778; Wq 217)⁷ followed. Having been composed by 1776 at the latest, the double-choir “Heilig”⁸ was performed in Hamburg during the author’s life-time more than once. The Arietta “Herr, werth daß Schaaren der Engel” for Alto and string instruments, having become somewhat of an introduction to the choral movement, was written and added to the work two years later (from 1776 to *Michaelistag* 1778 “Heilig” was performed with another introduction and as a part of different compositions).⁹ In 1779 the work was published with the Arietta “Herr, werth daß Schaaren der Engel.”¹⁰

Written for extensive performance forces with two choirs and double orchestra with six trumpets, four oboes, string instruments and organ, it became one of the most successful sacred works by C. P. E. Bach due to its laconic form with very impressive contrasts, dynamic opposition of Choir of Angels and Choir of People as well as the novelty of its tonal plan and expressiveness of the final Fugue. The full coincidence of the text and the opening movements of the Berlin libretto of 1785 with its division to the Choir of Angels (*Chor der Engel*) and the Choir of People (*Chor der Völker*) as well as all the other peculiarities of these movements¹¹ indicate Kühnau’s usage of this famous double-choir opus by the second son of Johann Sebastian Bach. The surviving Tenor part of another Pasticcio, made by Kühnau in the 1790s years (see further) proves that the Berlin cantor performed this work by C. P. E. Bach not once and evidently appreciated it.¹²

After the full text of “Heilig” there comes a duet “A. Zittre vor dem Tag der Rache; B. Hör’ es, hör’ es, und erwache” with an indication at the end “Von Anf.” (the German analog of “Da Capo”). It occurred, that this text coincides completely with the duet from the Oratorio “Das Weltgericht” by J. C. Kühnau. The difference between the two movements

⁷ Its full title is “Heilig, mit zwey Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung.” The numbering of the work is given according to the widely-used system of the thematic catalogues of works by C. P. E. Bach: BR-CPEB [5]; H [7]; Wq [18].

⁸ The text is based on the German variant of “Sanctus” (Isaiah 6:3, Martin Luther’s translation).

⁹ See about the history of performances of “Heilig” in the 1770s–1780s and the first variants of its introductory movement [5, 725–726; 6, XIII].

¹⁰ Bach C. P. E. *Heilig, mit zwey Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung*. Hamburg: Verlag des Autors; Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1779.

It is known, that the composer called this work his “Swan Song” and asked the publisher about printing the score on special paper (see about this and about success of numerous performances of “Heilig” during the composer’s life in the articles [10, 177–178; 4, 273–289; 6, XI–XVII].

¹¹ Among them there are repetitions of all words and lines as in the work by C. P. E. Bach as well as the inclusion into this movement of the lines “Herr Gott, dich loben wir! | Herr Gott, wir danken dir!” which are absent in Isaiah 6:3 and completely correspond to Bach’s “Heilig” representing its original compositional idea.

¹² There is evidence of earlier performances of the double-choir “Heilig” by C. P. E. Bach in Berlin on 31 October and 3 November 1779 in *Petrikirche* and *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche*, as well as on 15 September 1782 in the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* [17, 458–459, 461]. However, if it is unknown who conducted such a performance in 1779, in 1782 it took place under Johann Christoph Kühnau, as the newspapers of that time informed (“<...> Am vorigen Sonntag ward in der Dreyfaltigkeits-Kirche das Heilig! nach der erhabenen Composition des Herrn Bachs in Hamburg, bey einer sehr schönen und großen Begleitung der Instrumental- und Vocalstimmen, von dem Herrn Cantor Kühnau aufgeführt,” see *ibid.*).

is that in the Pasticcio of 1785 this duet was performed by Alto and Bass ("A." and "B.", as indicated in the libretto), while in "Das Weltgericht" this movement was written for Soprano and Tenor. There is a manuscript score of this Oratorium with the year of 1783 and the following title on its title page (D-SW1: *Mus.* 3223¹³):

Das | Weltgericht, | ein | Oratorium, | in | Musik gesetzt | von | Johann Christoph Kühnau, | Cantor und Lehrer bey der Realschule | und Musikdirektor in der Dreyfaltigkeits- | Kirche zu Berlin. | 1783.

In 1784 the *Klavierauszug* of the Oratorium¹⁴, edited and prepared for the print by Kühnau himself, was published at his own expense (Figure 5):



Figure 5. J.C. Kühnau. Oratorium "Das Weltgericht" Klavierauszug. Berlin, 1784. The title page D-SLUB. *Mus.* 3379-D-1

¹³ D-SW1 is a library siglum according to RISM: Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern; *Mus.* 3223 is a shelfmark of the manuscript in this library.

¹⁴ Kühnau, Johann Christoph. *Das Weltgericht, ein Singestück, in Musik gesetzt und als Klavierauszug herausgegeben* <...>. Berlin: Verfasser, 1784.

Das Weltgericht, | ein Singestück, | in Musik gesetzt | und | als Klavierauszug | herausgegeben | von | Johann Christoph Kühnau, | Musikdirektor und Lehrer bey der Königl. Realschule zu Berlin. || Berlin, auf Kosten des Verfassers. | In Kommission bey C.F. Stahlbaum in der Buchhandlung der Königl. Realschule. | 1784.

Several years after the composition of this Oratorio Kühnau might have decided to use his duet “Zittre vor dem Tag der Rache” in the Pasticcio of 1785. In all probability, the music of the duet from “Das Weltgericht” was transposed down from D major to G major as more corresponding to the general tonal plan of the Pasticcio as well as to the performance of the movement in the new composition by Alto and Bass. The inclusion of this movement as well as the others into this compilation explains the expression “mit untermengten neuen Arien” on the title page of the libretto 1785 (see above p. 446 and Figure 1).

As for the movement for two choirs “Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben Dich”, judging by another compilation by Kühnau (see further), it was also a chorale setting written by him. The fifth strophe of the hymn “Herr Gott! dich loben wir” (“Te Deum Laudamus” in its German Martin Luther’s translation) was used in the Pasticcio of 1785. Settings of this chorale for organ made by the Berlin music director survive; among its vocal settings there is “Te Deum” E minor for two choirs and the large orchestra including three trumpets, four trombones, timpani and organ (D-B: *Mus. ms. autogr. Kühnau, J. C. 1a N*):¹⁵

Das | TE DEUM | LAUDAMUS. | Oder | Herr Gott! dich loben wir | <...> | von | Johann Christoph Kühnau | Kantor und Musikdirektor zu Berlin.¹⁶

Supposedly, the same music was used in “Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben Dich” in the Pasticcio of 1785, the more so that this movement was included into another compilation, made by Kühnau in the 1790s. The Tenor part of this Pasticcio written by Kühnau himself has come down to us (D-LEB¹⁷: *Depositum Kulukundis II.3 Wq 217 [3]*, see [5, 730] and Figures 6–8). Its title is:

Tenore. | Zum | Chor der Völker, | aus dem | Heilig. | von | C. P. E. Bach. | JCKühnau.

In this Pasticcio, besides Arietta and “Heilig”, the Aria “Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen” by C. P. E. Bach (movement 5 from his Ostermusik “Gott hat den Herrn

¹⁵ D-B is a siglum of Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung; further the shelfmark of the manuscript kept in this library is given.

¹⁶ Even if “Te Deum” for two choirs and the big orchestra dates back to 1786, as is given in RISM (<https://rism.online/sources/464141316>), a chorale setting for four voices “Herr Gott! dich loben wir”, included into the first volume of the “Vierstimmige alte und neue Choralgesänge” (p. 76–79), was written by Kühnau not later than in 1784, as his preface to this collection was dated by him [8, X]. Supposedly “Te Deum” for two choirs and orchestra was also composed by Kühnau before 1784, because the preface to the above mentioned collection contains the indication of its performance parts [ibid., IX].

¹⁷ D-LEB: Bach-Archiv, Leipzig.

auferwecket" BR-CPEB F 5; H 803; Wq 244¹⁸), and the chorale "Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben Dich" were also used (Figures 7 and 8).¹⁹ The incipits of this compilation are the following ones:

1. Arietta and "Heilig"
2. Aria "Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen"
3. Chorale "Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben dich"
4. Repetition of "Heilig"

As we can see, in this Pasticcio the same movements as in the Pasticcio of 1785 were used (Arietta and "Heilig", the Aria "Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen" by C. P. E. Bach, and the chorale "Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben dich"). However, the changing of the general structure — the exchange of the movements "Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen" and "Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben dich", as well as the lack of "Heilig" repetition at the conclusion of the Pasticcio of 1785 and the addition of new movements into it — proves that those were both close and different compilations. Let us demonstrate their comparison in this table:

Pasticcio 1785:	Pasticcio [c. 1790–1799]:
1. Arietta with "Heilig" (BR-CPEB F 77)	1. Arietta with "Heilig" (BR-CPEB F 77)
2. Duet: "Zittre vor dem Tag der Rache" "Hör' es, hör' es, und erwache"	2. Aria "Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen" (movement 5 from BR-CPEB F 5)
3. Chorale "Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben Dich"	3. Chorale "Täglich, Herr Gott, wir loben dich"
4. Aria "Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen" (movement 5 from BR-CPEB F 5)	4. Repetition of "Heilig"
5. Chorale "Dir sey Anbetung"	

Apart from the duet "Zittre vor dem Tag der Rache" mentioned above, it is ascertained, that in the concluding chorale of the Pasticcio 1785, performed by two choirs, the chorale "Dir sey Anbetung", which ends the Oratorio "Das Weltgericht" by Kühnau, was used.

¹⁸ This movement of the cantata by C. P. E. Bach was set on the text "Freudig seh ich dir entgegen", but Kühnau changed it to "Wie prächtig wird dein Lob erschallen". Moreover, the initial text from Bach's cantata was also added into the surviving Tenor part of the Pasticcio of the 1790s in red ink and under the new text (see Figures 7 and 8). It is hard to say why such a double text was included into that manuscript. Probably Kühnau was going to perform the Tenor part in his compilation with the original text of the cantata by Carl Philipp Emanuel. However, the musical text of the existing part corresponds completely to the changed verbal variant (a part of the rhythmical revisions in it concerns another syllabic correlation in the new text).

¹⁹ The comparison of this movement from the Pasticcio and the Tenor part of the fifth strophe of "Te Deum" by J. C. Kühnau from his edition of "Vierstimmige alte und neue Choralgesänge" (p. 78–79) demonstrates, that the musical text of the Tenor part in both works coincides completely. It proves that Kühnau included this setting into his compilations with double-choir "Heilig" by C. P. E. Bach.

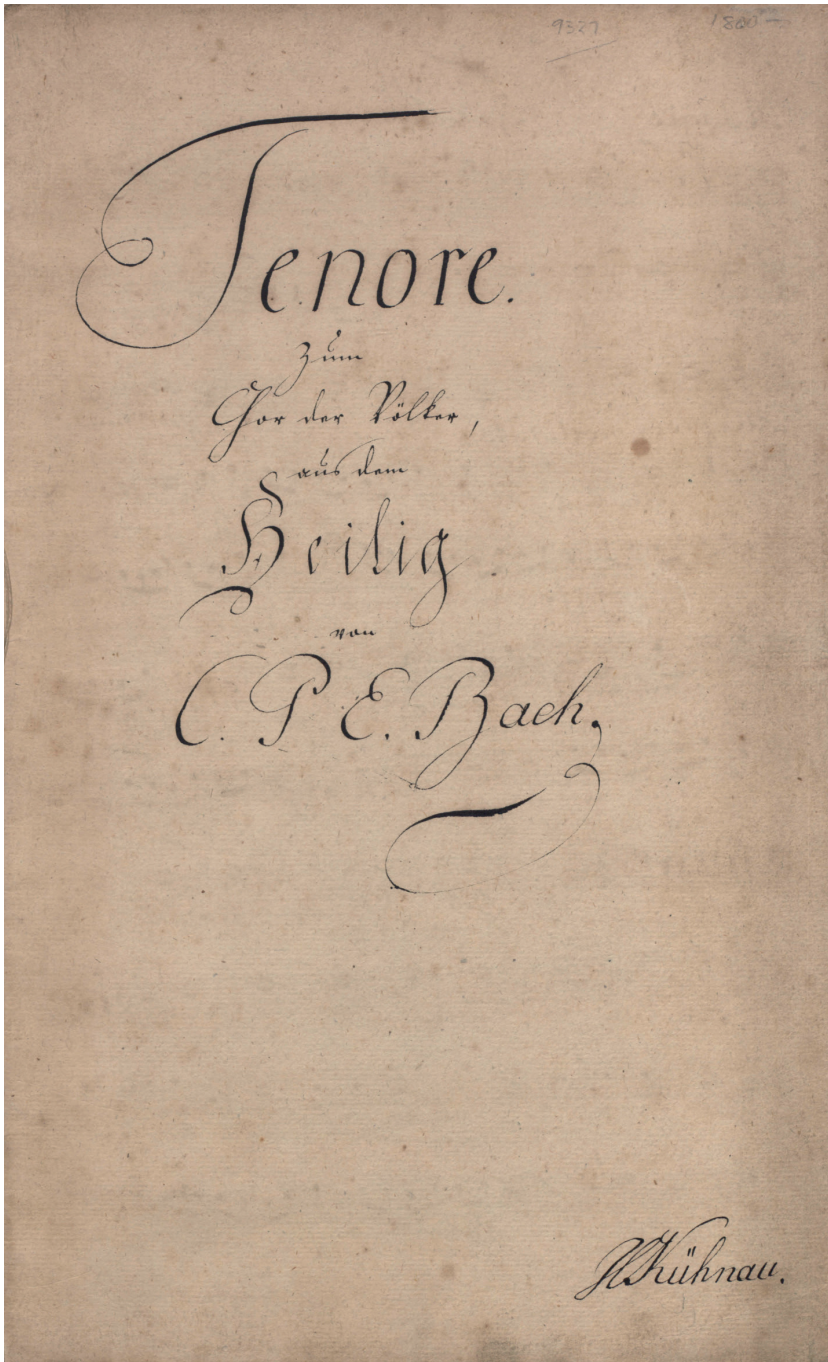


Figure 6. The manuscript of the Pasticcio with “Heilig” by C. P. E. Bach. The Tenor part handwritten by J. C. Kühnau, the title page D-LEb. *Depositum Kulukundis* II.3 Wq 217 [3] / Bach digital

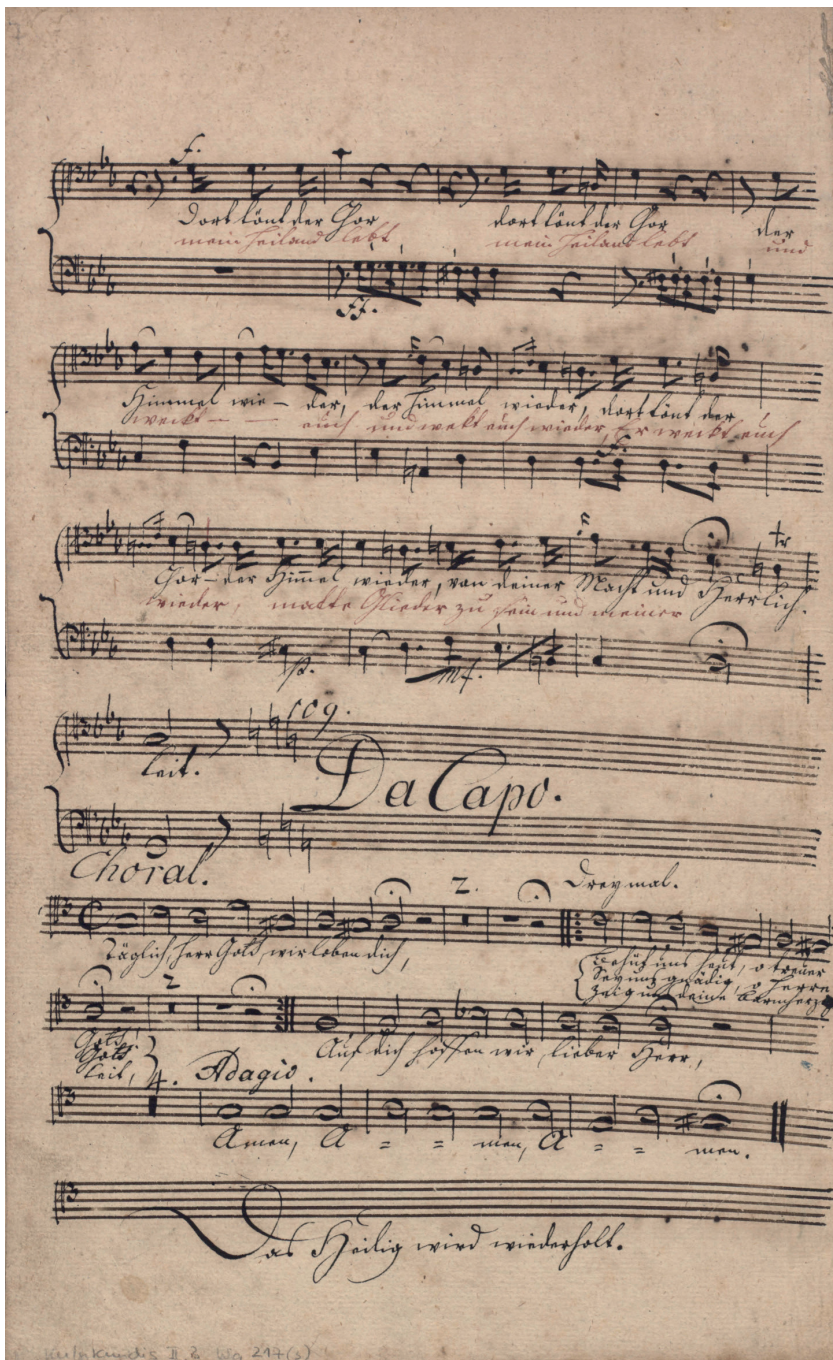


Figure 8. The manuscript of the Pasticcio with "Heilig" by C. P. E. Bach.
The Tenor part handwritten by J. C. Kühnau
D-LEB. Depositum Kulukundis II.3 Wq 217 [3] Fol. 4v / Bach digital

G major, the key of this movement in the Oratorio, most likely, was kept in the Pasticcio of 1785 and corresponded in this way to the general tonal plan of the new work with the return of the opening key at its end (G major – C major – [G major] – E minor – C major – G major).

If the performance of the version, which the Tenor part has survived from, took place in the 1790s, the Pasticcio of 1785 was chronologically the first of them. While the Pasticcio of the 1790s consisted mainly of works by C. P. E. Bach (we can identify an inclusion of only one movement by Kühnau), in the Pasticcio of 1785, along with the same movements by Bach, three movements from works by Kühnau were evidently used. It is peculiar, that its performance took place in the life-time of C. P. E. Bach.

It is known that both composers were acquainted with each other and had creative relations. Kühnau settled in Berlin from 1763 and C. P. E. Bach lived there from 1738 to 1768. So during five years – from 1763 to 1768 – they lived and worked in one city. Although nowadays there are no sources which would confirm their contacts in that time, there is documentary evidence of their relations in later years, after C. P. E. Bach's moving to Hamburg. Two Bach's letters to Kühnau from Hamburg to Berlin, dated 31 August and 23 November of 1784, are known. In the first of them Carl Philipp Emanuel thanked Kühnau for his sending of the score of "Das Weltgericht" and approved of his mastership in composing of the Oratorio:

Liebwehrtester Freund,

Sie haben mir mit Ihrer Partitur ein sehr angenehmes Geschenke gemacht. Ich danke Ihnen dafür aufs verbindlichste und versichere Sie von meiner wahren Hochachtung und Freundschaft. Sie haben Sich in Ihrem Stücke als ein fleissiger Setzer gezeigt u., was das Vornehmste ist, Sie haben an der Klinge gefochten. Dieses thun heute zu Tage leider wenige.²⁰

Most cherished friend,

You have made me a very agreeable present with your score. I am most obliged to you for it and assure you of my true respect and friendship. In your piece you have shown yourself to be a diligent composer and, what is most important, you have fought to the hilt. Unfortunately, few people do this today.²¹

As is clear from the following text of the letter, C. P. E. Bach especially approved of Kühnau's mastership in his usage of strict counterpoint. The expression "<...> you have fought to the hilt. Unfortunately, few people do this today" relates exactly to this aspect. Moreover, in the same letter, having indicated that Kühnau's strict counterpointal technique was sufficient, Carl Philipp Emanuel advised him to be "less artistic" and to give "more sugar" in the works that were to be printed, and therefore were for everyone ("Bey Sachen, die zum Druck, also für Jedermann, bestimmt sind, seyn Sie weniger künstlich und geben mehr Zucker" [16, vol. 2, 1036; 3, 213]).

²⁰ Document No. 483 [16, vol. 2, 1036].

²¹ The translation is cited on [3, 213].

In the second letter “Heilig” was mentioned, and Carl Philipp Emanuel answered Kühnau’s question about the rules of voice-leading in case of the fifths and the ninth:

Liebwehrtester Freund,

Da Ihre 5^{ten} (Quinten) nicht unmittelbar auf einander folgen, u. die Note, welche sie deckt, NB keine durchgehende oder geschwinde Note ist <...>, so kann sie niemand verwerfen. In meinem Heilig hat dieser Fall das Tempo-Adagio voraus. <...> Recht ist Ihre Vertheidigung der None gegen Hrn. Faschen (ich kann nicht glauben, dass dieser brave Mann an diesem, in starken u. gearbeiteten Werken sehr sehr oft vorkommenden u. zwar nicht aus Wollust, sondern aus Noth vorkommenden Sitz der None sich stossen sollte). Meine Vertheidigung stehet in meinem 2^{ten} Versuch, im Capitel von der None.²²

Most cherished friend,

Since your 5^{ths} do not follow one another directly and the note which covers them is NB not a passing or fast note <...>, then no one can reject them. In my *Heilig*, this case has the advantage of the tempo Adagio. <...> Your defence of the ninth against Herr Fasch is correct (I cannot believe that this honest man should take exception to this position of the ninth that occurs very very often in strict and contrapuntal works and indeed occurs not out of fancy, but out of necessity). My defence is found in the 2nd part of my *Versuch*,²³ in the chapter on the ninth.²⁴

It has to be underlined, that this correspondence took place shortly before the performance of the Pasticcio in the Berlin *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* in 1785. Taking into account the collegial and friendly character of relations of the two composers, it is reasonable to suggest, that the compilation of C. P. E. Bach’s works with the movements from Kühnau’s compositions was made with an agreement of Carl Philipp Emanuel.²⁵

The handwriting of the Berlin cantor, besides the Tenor part in the Pasticcio of the 1790s, is found in some other manuscript copies of C. P. E. Bach’s works prepared in the 1770s and 1790s years: in 23 parts of the Passion Cantata “Du Göttlicher”

²² Document No. 488 [16, vol. 2, 1048]. The original of this letter is kept at the Bach-Archive in Leipzig.

²³ Surely C. P. E. Bach meant his famous treatise “Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen <...>” [1; 2]. In its second part published in Berlin in 1762 chapter 17 was devoted to a ninth cord [2, 156–161]. Apparently in his letter to J. C. Kühnau Carl Philipp Emanuel referred to this chapter and recommendations presented in it.

²⁴ The translation is cited on [3, 217].

²⁵ Supposedly “Heilig” by C. P. E. Bach was so well-known in Berlin by that moment, that any special mentioning of this authorship was unnecessary. Thus, on the title page of the discovered original text only the name of the person who conducted that performance in the *Dreyfaltigkeitskirche* in Berlin was indicated (“aufgeführt von Johann Christoph Kühnau,” see above). It can be noticed that performance practice of “Heilig” as parts of different Pasticcios was already begun by C. P. E. Bach himself. Let us remember that he performed the double-choir “Heilig” not only as the part of his own compositions, but also as the movement of Pasticcios based on cantatas by his father (BWV 19) and his half-brother Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (BR-JCFB F 4, see [6, XI]).

BR-CPEB D^s 2 (D-B: *Mus. ms. Bach St 192*) [5, 83], as well as in the Tenor part of the movement 13 of the same cantata (D-B: *Mus. ms. Bach St 367*) [*ibid.*, 84], and in a copy of a piece from "Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern des neuen Hamburgischen Gesangbuchs" of 1787 BR-CPEB H 59/10 (B-Bc: 27346/1) [*ibid.*, 1044].²⁶ Kühnau is rightfully regarded as the "Kollekteur und Pränumerant von Werken Bachs" [16, 1031]. In the document concerning sending of the "Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste" by C. P. E. Bach on the text by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock BR-CPEB G 1; H 779; Wq 239, written by Anna Carolina Philippina Bach, there is a notice related to sending seven copies of this edition to Kühnau — "Berlin. | An H. Musik Director Kuhnau."²⁷ In a number of the original editions of C. P. E. Bach's works among their subscribers there is his name as "Kantor Kühno."²⁸

The fundamental theoretical background which was invigorated by studying under J. P. Kirnberger and relations to C. P. E. Bach, as well as references to samples of musical art by such authors as J. S. Bach and J. P. Kirnberger in the preface to "Vierstimmige alte und neue Choralgesänge" [8, IV–V], and the technique of his own compositions give evidence of Kühnau as a master devoted to the old German school of counterpointal writing. For the period of the 1780s it was a rare case, so it is no coincidence that C. P. E. Bach mentioned this feature of his style as infrequent for that time and even advised him to be less strict in his compositional technique (see above). Kühnau's devotion mainly to church music to which he remained loyal till the end of his life completes his creative image.

Thus, the discovery of the libretto in St. Petersburg has revealed a previously unknown fact of the performance of the Pasticcio based on the works by C. P. E. Bach and J. C. Kühnau in Berlin in 1785 and confirmed once more the role of the latter in the reception and distribution of works by "Hamburg Bach" during his life-time. In spite of an inevitably different level of various parts of the compilation of 1785, the Pasticcio can be reconstructed because all its movements survive and can be performed in the modern concert hall as a historical monument. It would be well-timed, since the interest of the researchers and performers in pasticcios of the 18th century is growing up at the moment.²⁹

Probably, the future research of the activity of Johann Christoph Kühnau will shed new light on his creative contacts with C. P. E. Bach and reveal new materials for the history of interpretation of Bach's works at the end of the 18th century. But even from what is known to date, the importance of the Berlin cantor's activity in the process of introducing to the audience the vocal works by the second son of J. S. Bach, though in a form of different compilations, is seen clearly enough, and new facts are added to our knowledge of the performance history of his works in the last decades of the Age of Enlightenment.

²⁶ B-Bc: Bruxelles, Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, Bibliothèque.

²⁷ Document No. 479 [16, 1030]. "H. Musik Director Kuhnau" surely means J. C. Kühnau.

²⁸ See, for example, Bach C. P. E. *Heilig, mit zwey Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung*, 1779.

²⁹ It is enough to refer to the recent and fundamental book devoted to various forms of musical Pasticcios of the 18th century [11].

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