

INTRODUCTION

“Works for special occasions” is a broad category that we have defined for Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach rather narrowly as a repertoire of specially commissioned, large-scale works for voices and orchestra. The extant works include a birthday cantata, *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft*, H 824e (published in CPEB: CW, V/5.1); a chorus, *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata*, Wq 216 (H 829), written for the visit of the Swedish Crown Prince in 1770; and a cantata, *Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelisturms*, H 823, celebrating the completion of the St. Michaelis tower in 1786. To this could be added the various cantatas that C.P.E. Bach wrote while attending the university at Frankfurt an der Oder: several printed librettos survive, but the music for these works is lost (see discussion below). Although we have no record for any choral music before the Magnificat, Wq 215 (first completed in 1749, according to NV 1790), it is our good fortune that a solo cantata written in Leipzig c. 1733/34 survives; it is published for the first time in the present edition.

A number of other works were written by C.P.E. Bach for special occasions. The *Trauungs-Cantate*, H 824a, was composed in Berlin between 1765 and 1767 and possibly revised for a wedding in March 1773; this work “mit den gewöhnlichen Instrumenten” (with the usual instruments, that is, strings) is published in CPEB: CW, VI/4 with other chamber cantatas and arias. The oratorio *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq 238, was first performed at the dedication of the new Lazareths Kirche in 1769 (see CPEB: CW, IV/1). Bach’s famous *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste*, Wq 239, might have been included as an oratorio in series IV or as a choral work for a special occasion in series V, but its scoring and length are more like that of a chamber cantata. (Indeed, Bach published the work with a keyboard reduction to accommodate private venues; see CPEB: CW, VI/4.)

A few lost and incompletely transmitted works were also written for special occasions. The *Geburtstags-Cantate*, H 824b, scored with trumpets, timpani, and flutes, was probably intended for public performance. The music and text are lost, but this work was apparently written in Hamburg in 1769 for the birthday of one Madame Stresow (see further discussion below). The *Jubelmusiken* for the fiftieth

anniversaries in office of Dr. Heinrich Hoeck and Syndicus Johann Klefeker, H 824c and 824d, respectively, were intended for public performances, but these lost works are discussed with the *Einführungsmusiken* in CPEB: CW, V/3. The funeral music which Bach provided on occasion (for example, “Gott, dem ich lebe, des ich bin,” Wq 225) is treated in CPEB: CW, V/6, since none of the works survive with complete music, rather only single choruses.

Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande, Wq/H deest

It is regrettable that nearly all of Bach’s early vocal music is now lost. There was no trace whatsoever for any vocal works from the Leipzig years until the fortunate discovery by Peter Wollny in the fall of 2009 of the autograph composing score of an unknown church cantata by the young C.P.E. Bach, which was identified among anonymous music manuscripts in the parish archive of St. Johannis in Mügeln (D-MÜG, Mus. ant. 364; see critical report). The work is a three-movement solo cantata for bass, strings, and basso continuo with the text incipit “Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande,” and was intended for Septuagesima Sunday.¹ The score is written on paper that has a watermark consistent with Johann Sebastian Bach’s Leipzig autographs which can be dated to the period between July 1732 and February 1735. The date of origin of the cantata can be delimited further by the characteristic handwriting of C.P.E. Bach and by external data (Septuagesima being the ninth Sunday before Easter; autumn of 1734 when Bach moved to Frankfurt an der Oder). Bach’s treble and bass clefs, as well as the forms of the 8th and 16th rests, point to the period around 1733/34. Particularly striking is the similarity to the keyboard part, also in C.P.E. Bach’s hand, in the original performance material for J.S. Bach’s *Schweigt stille, plaudert nicht* (the “Coffee Cantata”),

1. On the discovery of the source and the stylistic classification of the cantata see Peter Wollny, “Zwei Bach-Funde in Mügeln. C.P.E. Bach, Picander und die Leipziger Kirchenmusik in den 1730er Jahren,” *BJ* (2010): 111–51. A complete facsimile edition of the autograph composing score is published as a supplement to series V.

BWV 211, which can be dated to 1734.² As a date of first performance either 1 February 1733 or 21 February 1734 might be considered. How and when the autograph came to the small town of Mügeln, about 37 miles (60 kilometers) east of Leipzig, is still unclear.

The text of this cantata comes from the renowned collection *Cantaten auf die Sonn- und Fest-Tage durch das gantze Jahr* by the Leipzig occasional poet Christian Friedrich Henrici (alias Picander), published in four installments in 1728 and 1729.³ Although Picander's text contains five movements, C.P.E. Bach set only the first three. The three-movement form of two arias connected by a recitative—first popular in secular cantatas—corresponds to a model that was commonly encountered in church music at least since Georg Philipp Telemann's *Harmonischer Gottes-Dienst* (Hamburg, 1725–26) and was preferred for solo cantatas. From the layout of the autograph it is clear that the decision to omit the second recitative and the concluding chorale came—at the latest—when the second leaf of the second bifolio was folded over to the front (thereby resulting in two nested bifolios) to become the title page. At present it is not known whether this truncation had artistic or practical grounds. It is possible that a concluding chorale—and perhaps a vocal or instrumental introductory movement—was added only in the now-lost performance parts. C.P.E. Bach's original plan to include an obbligato cello, as indicated by the caption title (“Dominica Septuages. a 2 Viol. Viola Basso solo e ~~Violoncello oblig.~~ con Continuo”), was discarded perhaps in the midst of or even prior to his writing the music. Possibly the naming of the obbligato cello in the caption title can be taken to indicate a planned complete setting of Picander's text. Since in both arias an additional bass part would not have been a good idea for reasons of sonority alone, the cello might have been assigned an obbligato part in the second recitative. In that movement, the promise of heavenly life might have suggested a setting in the manner of the second movement of J.S. Bach's cantata *Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen*, BWV 56.⁴

2. On the development of C.P.E. Bach's early hand see Andreas Glöckner, “Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender zwischen 1729 und 1735,” *BJ* (1981): 43–75, esp. 44–47.

3. For a description of what was then the only available exemplar see Tatjana Schabalina, “‘Texte zur Music’ in Sankt Petersburg—Weitere Funde,” *BJ* (2009): 11–48, esp. 20–30 and 41–44.

4. Picander's text reads: “Wenn ich des Lebens satt / und dort wie Israel von Arbeit matt, / wirst du mich aus Ägypten Land / nach Canaan versetzen. / Wie wird der Abend mich ergötzen, / wenn ich von deiner milden Hand / den Gnadenlohn empfangen / und deinen Himmel selbst erlange.”

In comparison with similar works by J.S. Bach, the three-movement plan is as unusual as the reduced scoring of one solo voice and simple string accompaniment. Among J.S. Bach's solo vocal works this minimal scoring was used only in the cantata *Widerstehe doch der Sünde*, BWV 54, composed for Weimar; all of the Leipzig solo cantatas contain five to seven movements and use a richer instrumental ensemble. So the question remains: for what purpose did C.P.E. Bach write his cantata? Is it possible that he wrote it for an outside commission or even directly for Mügeln? The still unclear transmission of the autograph permits no definite answer. Three-movement solo cantatas are very common in the Mügeln repertoire. The instrumental forces in these works are even smaller, reduced to two violins and basso continuo; they fit the limited possibilities for music-making in small towns. Nevertheless, two fundamental reasons speak against an outside commission. First, the score shows no traces of use, which is all the more notable since the Mügeln Cantors Daniel Jacob Springsguth, who died on 26 November 1756, and Johann Daniel Brehmer (in office 1757–83) usually wrote performance dates on title pages. Second, it would be unusual to send a commissioned work as a composing score that was difficult to read in many places due to numerous corrections. It also remains unclear why C.P.E. Bach did not add his name, either on the title page—written only after completion of the work—or in the caption title at the beginning of the first aria. This omission of his name seems likeliest in connection with a planned use of the work in familiar surroundings. Finally it should be remembered that it would have made little sense to provide a foreign user with a single work for a relatively unimportant Sunday of the pre-Lenten season. In the Mügeln collection the foreign works—aside from annual cycles of cantatas or other extensive series of works—as a rule are intended for the major feast days of the church year.

If, therefore, it is to be believed that C.P.E. Bach's cantata *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande* was originally intended for Leipzig, the exact performance conditions must be investigated. The possibility of a performance in the so-called second choir (zweite Kantorei) seems implausible. Only vague assumptions about this choir's repertoire have been made so far,⁵ but J.S. Bach's statement of 15 August 1736—in which he states that the second choir performed only on feast days, and that in choosing their repertoire

5. See Andreas Glöckner, “Ein weiterer Kantatenjahrgang Gottfried Heinrich Stölzels in Bachs Aufführungsrepertoire?,” *BJ* (2009): 95–115, esp. 104.

he had to judge the pieces according to the capacity of the choir to execute them properly⁶—speaks unambiguously against the regular performance of cantatas. Thus, the most likely remaining possibility is that the cantata was intended to be performed as a regular Sunday cantata in the principal churches under the direction of J.S. Bach. The striking brevity of the work invites speculation about possible expansions (perhaps by an introductory *sinfonia*—as in numerous solo cantatas in J.S. Bach’s third Leipzig cantata cycle—and a concluding chorale) or the possibility that it might have been performed in combination with another work, before and after the sermon.

It is well documented that J.S. Bach guided his sons and pupils to write their own works as part of their training, and that he sometimes performed their compositions. A notable example is the magnificent cantata *Durch die herzliche Barmherzigkeit* for St. John the Baptist’s Day (24 June), written by the eighteen-year-old Johann Gottlieb Goldberg and performed in Leipzig in 1745 or 1746. The performance parts of this piece show a peculiarity which may have also applied to C.P.E. Bach’s cantata: Goldberg composed his work for five voices, five strings, and basso continuo; at the Leipzig performance the violins were doubled by oboes and the bass by a bassoon.⁷ At the beginning of January 1748 J.S. Bach mentioned in his testimonial for Johann Christoph Altnickol that “a number of fine church compositions of his have found ample approval in our town” (*verschiedene wohlgerathene Kirchen-Compositiones seiner Arbeit unsres Orthes viele Adprobatation gefunden*).⁸ Finally, a Pentecost cantata by Johann Friedrich Doles, probably written in 1740, can be considered with good reason as a work written under J.S. Bach’s supervision—and probably also performed in Leipzig under his direction.⁹

The score of the cantata *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande*—which is, apart from the entries in the *Notebook for Anna Magdalena Bach*, the first identifiable composing autograph of C.P.E. Bach before 1740—shows impressively with what care the young composer labored at the

technical working-out of his composition. Careful scrutiny of the first measures of the opening aria reveals several distinct stages that the ritornello theme went through before its final formulation. Analysis of these stages shows the gradual approach toward the ideal of a flexible and sonorous four-part texture governing the homophonic setting, whereby the middle voices are not neglected.¹⁰ The almost manic corrections and revisions reveal the high artistic standards of the twenty-year-old composer. The Leipzig cantata gives us further insight into C.P.E. Bach’s working methods—the constant tinkering with his own works, the small- and large-scale revisions, and the renewing (*Erneuern*) of selected early works. Fortunately, this work escaped the destruction of the remaining youthful works.¹¹

In terms of style the cantata *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande* is a work on the brink of new departures; its Janus-faced nature owes a debt to the compositions of J.S. Bach from the late 1720s and early 1730s, but already shows elements of the *empfindsam* style that C.P.E. Bach was to make his own in the following years. The fashionable $\frac{2}{4}$ time signature is a forward-looking choice for the first aria. This aria has elements of rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic finesse, such as tense syncopation in the first measure, scale-foreign leading tones and suspensions, slurs set against the natural metrical accents, sinuous chromaticism, and deliberately placed, somewhat energetic disruptions of the periodically structured movement—elements that are typical of the *galant* scherzo sound developed first in instrumental music of the late 1720s and early 1730s.¹² In his

10. Four-part instrumental writing is also dominant in the early version of the Concerto in A Minor, Wq 1 (composed in Leipzig in 1733). See CPEB: CW, III/9.1.

11. Bach’s “Autographischer Catalogus von den Clavier-sonaten des C.Ph.E. Bach bis zum Jahre 1772 komponiert” (MS in D-B, SA 4261) contains the remark “I have destroyed all works before the year 1733, because they were too youthful.” (Alle Arbeiten, vor dem Jahre 1733, habe ich, weil sie zu sehr jugendlich waren, caßiret.); see Christoph Wolff, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Verzeichnis seiner Clavierwerke von 1733 bis 1772,” in *Über Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke: Aspekte musikalischer Biographie. Johann Sebastian Bach im Zentrum. Festschrift Hans-Joachim Schulze zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999), 217–35, esp. 222 and 230. Bach also reported the burning of “a ream and more of old works” (ein Ries u. mehr alte Arbeiten)—the so-called auto-da-fé—in a letter to the Braunschweig scholar Johann Joachim Eschenburg of 21 January 1786; see CPEB-Briefe, 2:1135 and *The Letters of C. P. E. Bach*, trans. and ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 244.

12. See Joshua Rifkin, “The ‘B-Minor Flute Suite’ Deconstructed: New Light on Bach’s Overture BWV 1067,” in *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 6, J.S. Bach’s Concerted Ensemble Music, *The Overture*, ed. Gregory G. Butler (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 1–98, esp. 31–43. In the partitas from *Clavier-Übung I*, three of the “Galanterie”-pieces

6. *Bach-Dokumente I*, 88; NBR, 176.

7. See *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* 35; cf. also Kirsten Beißwenger, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Notenbibliothek, Catalogus Musicus 13* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992), 129 and 286–87.

8. *Bach-Dokumente I*, 150; translation adapted from NBR, 231.

9. *Raset und brauset, ihr heftigen Winde*, preserved in D-DI, Mus. 3036-E-500 (Sammlung Grimma). Doles also chose for his work a text from Picander’s cantata cycle of 1728. See also Daniel R. Melamed, “J.F. Doles’s Setting of a Picander Libretto and J.S. Bach’s Teaching of Vocal Composition,” *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996): 453–74.

sacred vocal works J.S. Bach first used the $\frac{2}{4}$ time signature in the final movement of *Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen*, BWV 49 (1726), as well in the final movement of the solo cantata *Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen*, BWV 51 (c. 1730)—in both cases without syncopation. The $\frac{2}{4}$ time signature occurs several times in J.S. Bach's church and secular cantatas of the 1730s. Its use in the first movement of a cantata is first found in the Ascension Oratorio, BWV 11 (1735),¹³ and then in a pair of related works of 1737/38: the secular cantata *Angenehmes Wiederau*, BWV 30a, and the related St. John the Baptist's Day cantata *Freue dich, erlöste Schar*, BWV 30. The characteristic "scherzo" style appeared in J.S. Bach's church music at first only in a modified form, and came to full expression only from about 1730, after the composer had tested it first in secular congratulatory cantatas; in the Christmas Oratorio, arias in $\frac{2}{4}$ time are an essential stylistic marker. With his setting of *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande* C.P.E. Bach tried not only to keep up with the latest stylistic innovations, but perhaps even to be a step ahead of his father's development.

A traditionally Bachian procedure in the opening movement, however, is the choice of modified *da capo* form (A–B–A'). The A section modulates from E minor to G major and closes in the latter key with an emphatic cadence (m. 51), which is enhanced by a slightly abbreviated repetition of the ritornello (mm. 52–65). The B section begins in G major (m. 66), goes at once through different harmonic areas, and ends in the dominant key of B minor (m. 88). The reprise-like A' section (beginning in m. 89) remains in the tonic E minor, but by means of its rhythmic intensification and a long coloratura it serves as an effective heightening and rounding-off of the preceding material. Since the modified *da capo* form before 1740 has so far been identified only in the works of J.S. Bach,¹⁴ the structure of this movement is of particular importance. Other "Bachisms" are the short, motivically-oriented interjections by the

are notated in $\frac{2}{4}$ meter: the *Capriccio* from BWV 826 and the *Scherzo* from BWV 827 (both 1727), as well as the *Aria* from BWV 828 (1728). In C.P.E. Bach's early keyboard and chamber music $\frac{2}{4}$ meter is common for fast movements.

13. It is the general consensus that this movement is based on a secular model; despite several attempts, the actual model has not yet been identified. See the comprehensive discussion in Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Himmelfahrts-Oratorium und Picanders Geburtstagskantate für 'Herrn J.W.C.D.,'" *BJ* (2009): 191–99.

14. Miriam K. Whaples, "Bach's Recapitulation Forms," *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996): 475–513. It should also be mentioned that one of the arias in the above-mentioned cantata by J.G. Goldberg has a similar reprise structure.

strings in the vocal sections, the complementary rhythm in the first measure (and beyond), and the characteristic "working-out" of the exposition of the thematic material in the first ritornello.

The second aria—in stricter *da capo* form—with its *galant*, minuet-like style, is also connected to models from the church cantatas of J.S. Bach, apparently with the intention to develop these further. The smooth melodic flow of the first period contrasts with the rhythmic and harmonic stasis of the second and third periods. A striking and emphatically fashionable choice is the use of urgent syncopation chains (from m. 5). Once again, a look at J.S. Bach's cautious approach to *galant* innovations is enlightening: a first attempt in a 1731 town-council-election cantata (*Wir danken dir, Gott*, BWV 29) he rejected after a few measures,¹⁵ but put to good use later in the duet from *Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen* (*Hercules auf dem Scheidewege*, BWV 213),¹⁶ which was ultimately used in part III of the Christmas Oratorio. For a composer of the younger generation like C.P.E. Bach, the new idiom apparently presented no problem from the beginning. It already defined the final movement of the early version of the Sonata in D Minor for Flute, Violin, and Bass (BWV 1036/Wq 145) from 1731—a work that, especially in both of its fast movements, shows remarkable stylistic parallels with the newly discovered Leipzig cantata.

Additional Leipzig Cantatas by C.P.E. Bach?

The discovery of C.P.E. Bach's cantata *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande* invites on the one hand the speculation that J.S. Bach might possibly have delegated the setting of Picander's texts to his oldest sons (and eventually also to his most advanced pupils); on the other, it begs the question whether still further evidence can be adduced for C.P.E. Bach's contributions to the Leipzig church music repertoire. Two cases are offered for consideration.

Recently it has become possible to determine that the fragment of a setting of Picander's text for the Second Day of Easter (*Ich bin ein Pilgrim auf der Welt*)—known since

15. See Robert Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J.S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), vol. 2, no. 19; see also NBA, I/32.2, Kritischer Bericht, 17.

16. As discussed in NBA, I/36, Kritischer Bericht, 60–61, and *BJ* (1981): 54–55, the duet has a prehistory that goes back before BWV 213 but cannot be dated more precisely. It is unlikely that the unknown model could have originated before about 1730.

its identification by Alfred Dürr¹⁷—which is transmitted on the last page of the autograph score of the wedding cantata *Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge*, BWV 120a (in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 670), is another early instance of C.P.E. Bach's hand.¹⁸ Might this represent the remains of a composing score, and thus the scribe—that is, C.P.E. Bach—be regarded as its composer? If we pursue these notions and assume that the work was in fact completed by the young C.P.E. Bach (perhaps with assistance from his father), then our attention is drawn to the concluding chorale with the text incipit “O süßer Herre Jesu Christ.” Dürr held that this concluding chorale from *Ich bin ein Pilgrim auf der Welt* is identical with the arrangement of “Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn,” BWV 342, contained in the two collections of J.S. Bach's four-part chorales published by C.P.E. Bach,¹⁹ and that this amounted to a further argument for considering the fragment a once fully extant composition by J.S. Bach. It is noteworthy that BWV 342 also functions as the concluding movement of C.P.E. Bach's Easter cantata *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket*, Wq 244, from the year 1756. As Wq 244 was intended to promote Bach's own professional prospects outside Berlin,²⁰ the text model provides no chorale at all, and there was no need to insert a rather plain arrangement of a church hymn—unless, that is, we are dealing with an already existing separate movement, which would perhaps have run the risk of being lost elsewhere. Thus, the cantata fragment *Ich bin ein Pilgrim auf der Welt* can only with some reservation be considered a composition of J.S. Bach; comparably strong arguments support its being the relic of another youthful work by C.P.E. Bach. As only five measures of the continuo part of the second aria of this cantata are preserved, and the fragment is available in several facsimile reproductions,²¹ it is not included in the present volume.

The cantata *Ich lebe, mein Herze, zu deinem Ergötzen*, BWV 145 (intended for the Third Day of Easter), is as puzzling for researchers as is the expansion of the probably authentic material from the original five movements into a seven-movement pasticcio, already attested to in the eighteenth century.²² The work is known today only in a copy of the score from the early nineteenth century (as well as in two later copies directly dependent on these), which can be traced to the possession of Eduard Petersen (d. 1831), a physician practicing in Frankfurt an der Oder who was also an amateur musician.²³ Earlier evidence was limited to the inclusion of the title in several catalogues of the Hamburg music dealer Johann Christoph Westphal and in a catalogue of the Riga publisher Friedrich Hartknoch.²⁴ The almost identical formulation of their titles supports the theory that Petersen's copy and Westphal's house copy were closely related; in any event it remains unclear whether one copy was dependent on the other or whether the two go back to a common model. The reassignment of the work to the First Day of Easter and the expansion into seven movements are features common to all the definitively known sources. In this general scheme, the chorale “Auf, mein Herz, des Herren Tag” by C.P.E. Bach (same setting as “Jesus, meine Zuversicht,” H 336/3) and the chorus “So du mit deinem Munde bekennest Jesum” by Telemann are placed in front of the five movements of the Picander setting.²⁵ The attribution of the introductory chorale to C.P.E. Bach—now supported by three definitive sources (B-Bc, 16083 MSM; D-B, SA 817 [2] and SA 818 [p. 144])—initially gave rise to cautious guesses as to the compiler of the pasticcio and its use in Hamburg church music around 1770.²⁶ As this movement presumably is a youthful Leipzig work by C.P.E. Bach, it must

17. Dürr, “Ich bin ein Pilgrim auf der Welt. Eine verschollene Kantate J.S. Bachs,” *Mf* 11 (1958): 422–27 and table after p. 400.

18. See Wollny, *BJ* (2010): 134–37.

19. See *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge gesammelt von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Erster Theil* (Berlin: F.W. Birnstiel, 1765), no. 70, and *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge. Erster Theil* (Leipzig: J.G.I. Breitkopf, 1784), no. 79.

20. Wq 244 was probably written specifically for Hamburg in support of a possible candidacy by Bach to succeed his godfather Telemann there. See Peter Wollny, “C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate ‘Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket,’” in *Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Bub'n: Essays in Honor of Christoph Wolff*, ed. Paul Corneilson and Peter Wollny (Ann Arbor: Steglein Publishing, 2010), 78–94.

21. See Dürr, *Mf* 11 (1958); Marshall, *Compositional Process*, vol. 1, p. 32; and NBA, IX/3, plate 145.

22. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Die Bach-Kantaten. Einführungen zu sämtlichen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt; Stuttgart: Carus, 2007), 191. On the source situation and its transmission see also NBA, I/10, 128–49.

23. See *MGG*¹¹, s.v. “Frankfurt an der Oder,” Sachteil, vol. 3, col. 669; *Bach-Dokumente* VI, 564.

24. See *Bach-Dokumente* III, 266–75, and *Bach-Dokumente* V, 232.

25. On the identification of the introductory chorale see Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 141. The concluding chorus comes from Telemann's cantata of the same name, TVWV 1:1350; see Alfred Dürr, “Zur Echtheit einiger Bach zugeschriebener Kantaten,” *BJ* (1951/52): 37–38. An obscure source, mentioned in *Johann Sebastian Bach's Werke*, ed. Bach-Gesellschaft in Leipzig, vol. 31, no. 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885), xii, which in any event was not available to the editor at the time and has since been lost, perhaps contained, according to the brief description, only the five movements by Picander.

26. See Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 141.

also be reconsidered, in view of the new state of knowledge presented here, whether the seven-movement version of BWV 145 actually represents a later arrangement and whether the attribution to J.S. Bach is correct at all.

Despite an incontestably “Bach-like” tone, both arias of BWV 145 contain numerous uncharacteristic stylistic features. In the duet, the largely stagnant harmonies are glaring. At the beginning of the ritornello the pitch D is repeated in 8th notes over two measures; even more striking, however, is the seventh of the secondary dominant held over no fewer than five measures (mm. 6–10). With the entrance of both vocal parts the solo violin line becomes positively threadbare. The compositionally demanding handling of the vocal setting typical of J.S. Bach is glaringly avoided. In addition both vocal lines continue over wide stretches with very little independence; instead, parallel thirds and sixths define the sound. It seems rather implausible that these clearly less complex compositional procedures constitute stylistic features of a lost secular homage composition from the Köthen period, which since the 1950s has been almost universally recognized as a parody model for BWV 145.²⁷ On the one hand the duets of the Köthen works truly show a high level of compositional skill, but on the other—as has been set forth at some length above—the $\frac{2}{4}$ time signature, used for the duet from BWV 145, is not present at all in J.S. Bach’s cantatas before 1726. The second aria presents a similar picture. Even if we allow as valid a deliberate simplification of the compositional approach in the working-out of the light minuet style, the peculiar lack of independence in the woodwind parts, as well as the quite considerable number of open or hidden parallel octaves, hardly typical of J.S. Bach, strikes the eye. Along with this it seems exceedingly problematic to view the homespun working-out of the arias in BWV 145 as creations of the mature J.S. Bach; indeed, the observed deficiencies would tend to lead, absent other evidence, to the picture of a young, still inexperienced, yet rather ambitious composer who had not yet developed to his full creative potential. Since the cantata BWV 145 was edited by Alfred Dürr from the sources in NBA, I/10, it is not included in the present edition.

Finally the fragment “Reißt euch los, bekränkte Sinnen,” BWV 224/Anh. I 19, must be discussed. It includes seventy-one measures of a soprano line of an aria in the hand of C. P. E. Bach, but it breaks off due to unknown circumstances. On the reverse of the sheet Bach later wrote the

27. Friedrich Smend, *Bach in Köthen* (Berlin: Christlicher Zeitschriftenverlag, 1952), 45–47.

so-called Pedal Exercitium, BWV 598. The characteristics of the hand permit the fragment to be dated to the period around 1732–34.²⁸ The aria presumably formed the opening movement of a multi-movement cantata. Whether it was a sacred or secular work is as unknown as the nature of the rest of the scoring. The extended rests (mm. 1–20, 26–37, and 51–61) suggest instrumental ritornellos and a formal plan similar to that of the opening movement of *Ich bin vergnügt mit meinem Stande*. A facsimile and complete transcription are found in appendix A.

Lost Works for Frankfurt an der Oder

Of the many festive compositions that Bach is thought to have composed in his role as leader of the *collegium musicum* during his student years at the Viadrina (the university in Frankfurt an der Oder), probably none survived the auto-da-fé of 1786; only isolated text prints give witness to these works. According to his own testimony about his activities in Frankfurt an der Oder, C. P. E. Bach led “a musical academy” (sowohl eine musikalische Akademie), “as well as conducted and composed all public music for festivities” (als auch alle damals vorkommenden öffentlichen Musiken bey Feyerlichkeiten dirigirt und komponirt).²⁹ Indeed, evidence relating to the student *collegium musicum* in Frankfurt an der Oder is in scant supply, but it seems to have involved capable and steady personnel.³⁰ Since the Frankfurt *collegium musicum* regularly offered festive music for members of the royal family and high-ranking members of the university, it can be assumed that the filling of the director’s post—with its rights and duties—was steered significantly by the university, if not actually by the court. We must view the privileged post assumed by Bach during his student years at the Viadrina as quite an honorable distinction for a gifted and deserving young musician receiving his first public recognition.

28. See Glöckner, *BJ* (1981): 51–53; also Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 137–39.

29. *Autobiography*, 199. In Charles Burney’s English version of this text, this section is formulated somewhat differently: “It was in Frankfurt on the Oder that he first turned his talents to account, by composing and directing the music, at the academy, as well as at all other public exhibitions in that city, even while he continued his studies at the university.” See *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Becket, 1775), 2:261.

30. See Ernst Kirsch, “Zur Musikpflege an der Universität Frankfurt a. O. (16. bis 18. Jh.),” *Volk und Heimat* 3 (1924): 1–8; and Hans-Günter Ottenberg, “Bausteine zu einer Musikgeschichte von Frankfurt (Oder) im 18. Jahrhundert unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs,” in *Die Oder-Universität Frankfurt. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte* (Weimar: H. Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1983), 261–66.

With this background it seems we should take quite seriously Bach's testimony on his organizational and compositional responsibility for "all public music." Bach evidently drew on a tradition already cultivated by his predecessor Johann Gottlieb Janitsch, whose biography, doubtless based on autobiographical contributions, mentions "several large works" (verschiedene große Musiken) for persons of high rank and a number of "smaller works" (kleineren Musiken) for funeral services and other tributes.³¹ The surviving remainder of the *collegium musicum* repertoire (e.g., J.S. Bach's Overture-Suite in D Major, BWV 1068; and the Sinfonia from the Easter Oratorio, BWV 249/1–2) indicates a large and colorful orchestra, which besides strings included woodwinds and brass instruments.³²

The following list sets forth the known musical performances of the Frankfurt *collegium musicum* during C. P. E. Bach's student period:³³

1. 17 February 1735: music in homage to King Friedrich Wilhelm on the occasion of a speech of thanks on the founding of the "Märckische Stipendium"
Printed libretto: D-HAu, 78 N 17 (1)
The "Märckische Stipendium" was founded at the beginning of 1686 by Elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg on the occasion of his sixty-seventh birthday; the scholarship carried the sum of 20,000 Reichstaler, and the interest was awarded yearly in the context of an academic celebration.³⁴
2. 7 October 1735: funeral music for Christian Gottfried Hoffman
Printed libretto: D-Hs, B 3405 (44)
The legal scholar and historian Christian Gottfried Hoffman (1692–1735), after his studies in Leipzig and Halle, was a professor at the university in Leipzig and from 1723 a member

31. See Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1754), 152–56, esp. 153–54. Janitsch, who was a colleague of C. P. E. Bach at the court of King Friedrich II, led the Frankfurt *collegium musicum* from 1729 to 1733.

32. See Peter Wollny, "Zur Überlieferung der Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Der Quellenbesitz Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," *BJ* (1996): 7–21.

33. See also Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 135–36.

34. See *Unterthänigstes Danck-Opfer Welches Dem Durchläuchtigsten Großmächtigsten Fürsten und Herrn Hrn. Friderich Wilhelm dem Grossen Marggrafen zu Brandenburg des Heil. Römischen Reichs Ertz-Cämmerern und Churfürsten . . . Wegen der . . . unlängst hiesigen Professoribus geschenckten Tausend Thalern Jährliches Einkommens Beym Antritt dieses Jahres zu Churfürstlichen Brandenb. Märckischen Stipendiis denen auf hiesiger Universität Studirenden . . . ertheilten Zwanzig Tausend Thaler . . . Bey einer . . . Glückwunsch und Danck-Rede Demüthigst abstatteten Die daselbst Studirende* (Frankfurt/Oder: Cöpselius, [1686]); exemplar in D-B, an 4° Ay 23787.

of the law faculty at the Viadrina. The funeral took place on 4 September in the Frankfurt main church; a month later the academic memorial service followed, at which the funeral music was played.³⁵

3. 18 January 1736: cantata for the wedding of Johann Samuel Ungnad and Anna Elisabeth Thiele
Printed libretto: formerly Stadtarchiv Frankfurt an der Oder (shelfmark: Theol. 2° 110/96), lost since 1945 (see Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 135)
Bach is mentioned as the composer on the title page. Johann Samuel Ungnad (1709–79) was a graduate of the law department of the university in Frankfurt an der Oder. He may have been a member of Bach's *collegium musicum*.
4. 2 December 1736 (first Sunday of Advent): oratorio for the dedication of the Frankfurt Lower Church
Printed libretto: documented in Bitter, 1:325–27; no known exemplar
5. 24 January 1737: birthday cantata for Crown Prince Friedrich (born 24 January 1712)
Printed libretto: RUS-SPsc, 6.36.2.21;³⁶ parallel exemplar: formerly Stadtarchiv Frankfurt an der Oder (shelfmark: Prof: 2° 99/25), lost since 1945 (see Leisinger/Wollny 1993, 135)
Bach is mentioned as the composer on the title page. The libretto specifies two allegorical figures, "Liebe" (Love) and "Hoffnung" (Hope), and labels the final movement "Aria Duetto." This indicates that the piece was scored for two voices and orchestra, as is also documented for the cantata performed on 18 March 1737 (see below).
6. 18 March 1737: occasional music for Margrave Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg-Schwedt and his wife Sophia Dorothea Maria
Printed libretto: documented in Bitter, 1:328–30; no known exemplar
The performance of this celebratory work left a trace in the correspondence of King Friedrich Wilhelm I. Madame de Jaucourt, the house tutor of the margravess (a younger sister of Friedrich II), reported in a letter to the King: "[T]heir royal Highnesses had the pleasure of hearing some beautiful music, which was presented to them with great ceremony, by torchlight, by the students of this city. Two of them, the principals, presented their royal Highnesses the verses they had

35. Numerous elegies on Hoffmann's death are found in the composite MS in D-Hs, B 3405.

36. See Tatjana Schabalina, "'Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg. Neue Quellen zur Leipziger Musikgeschichte sowie zur Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit Johann Sebastian Bachs," *BJ* (2008): 33–98, esp. 60–61.

penned for this occasion.”³⁷ The performance of this piece has also left traces in the old archival materials of the university in Frankfurt, which prove that Bach was indeed the composer.³⁸ Shortly after the performance Bach submitted a detailed expense report (transcribed below), which gives welcome insight into the payment of the musicians involved. In addition to the *collegium musicum*, Bach hired the town musicians (Kunst-Pfeiffer) and the military band of oboists (Hautboisten). Bach also mentions the number of singers, the employment of a copyist (Notisten), and finally his honorarium for composing the cantata (Vor meine Arbeit). Since the payment was delayed, Bach had to appeal to the rector of the university in early July.

Vor die Kunst-Pfeiffer.	14 rthl [Reichsthaler]
Vor die Hautboisten.	10 rthl.
Vor die 2 Sänger	2 Ducaten
Vor den Notisten	3 rthl.
Vor meine Arbeit	12 rthl.
	44 -- 12 gl. [Groschen] ³⁹
	CPEBach.

7. 11 November 1737 (Martinmas): occasional music for King Friedrich Wilhelm
 Printed libretto: documented in Bitter, 1:331–33; no known exemplar

The name of the composer is indeed mentioned only in the case of nos. 3, 5, and 6, but until proved otherwise we may also assume Bach’s authorship for the four remaining occasional works. According to the classification in the biography of J. G. Janitsch, nos. 1 and 4–7 were occasional pieces for large orchestra, and nos. 2 and 3 were smaller pieces. The two-part oratorio named under no. 4 occupies a position of particular note. All the librettos except no. 3 are transcribed in appendix B.

37. “... leurs A[ltesses] R[oyales] eurent le plaisir, d’entendre une belle musique, qui leur fut donné en grande ceremonie, et a [über der Zeile nachgetragen: la] leur de cantité de flambeaux, par les Etudians, de cette ville, dont deux, des princepeaux, presenterent a leurs A[ltesses] R[oyales] les vers, quil avoient, composez, a ce Sujet.” Cited in Rashid-S. Pegah, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Kronprinz Friedrich in Preußen: Die erste Begegnung?” *BJ* (2008): 328–32, esp. 332.

38. See Ralf-Rüdiger Targiel, “Als Student in Frankfurt an der Oder—zur Frankfurter Zeit von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” in the program book *bach>oder. Marienfeste im Werk J. S. Bachs. 78. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft 20. bis 25. März 2003 in Frankfurt (Oder) im Rahmen der Musikfesttage an der Oder 14. März bis 5. April 2003* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 2003), 156–61. The documents discovered by Targiel are kept at the Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv in Potsdam (shelf mark: Pr. Br. Rep. 86 Universität Frankfurt/Oder, Nr. 136).

39. On the monetary units see *NBR*, 527.

Lost Works for Hamburg

In addition to the *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft*, H 824e, which is listed as a “Geburtstags-Stück” in NV 1790, there is one other such work listed (on p. 56): “Geburtstags-Cantate. H. 1769. Mit Trompeten, Pauken und Flöten.” The text and music of this work are lost; Helm assigned it the number H 824b. Although lacking a separate entry matching the work described in NV 1790, AK 1805 has an entry (p. 30) for “Jubelmusik auf dem Geburtstag der Madame Stresow.”⁴⁰ Although this work has no date or scoring, it might refer to the same lost “Geburtstags-Cantate.”⁴¹ Helm speculated along the same lines as Clark, but he assigned the work a separate number, H 824f. In the absence of surviving sources, we can neither prove nor disprove that this is one and the same work. One possibility is that individual movements were reused in other works, likely with a parody text (as in one of the choruses in H 823, discussed below), but again we cannot know without further evidence.

A printed libretto survives for an otherwise unknown Hamburg cantata: *Vater, deines Sohnes Geist*, Wq/H deest, on a text by Balthasar Münter;⁴² it was published along with the text for a “Weihnachts-Cantate,” *Die Himmel erzählen die Ehre Gottes*, Wq/H deest (based on the *Einführungsmusik Hornbostel*, H 821d; see CPEB: CW, V/3.2), and the chorus *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata*, Wq 216.⁴³ (The latter includes both the Italian text and German translation; see critical report.) However, there is no record of a

40. Madame Stresow has not been identified, but she might be the wife of Conrad Friedrich Stresow (1705–88), who in 1757 published a collection entitled *Sonn- und Fest-tägliche Erquickstunden, oder Geistliche Lieder über die gebräuchlichen evangelischen und epistolischen Texte, nebst einem Anhang*. On the title page of this publication, he is listed as “Hauptpastore wie auch Kirch- und Schulen-Inspectore zu Husum.” (The book was published in Flensburg and Altona.) He also served as “Propst und Consistorialrat” at St. Nikolai in Burg auf Fehmarn (Schleswig-Holstein) from 1761 to 1788.

41. See Clark, 191.

42. See Ulrich Leisinger, “Balthasar Münters Geistliche Lieder,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach als Lehrer. Die Verbreitung der Musik Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in England und Skandinavien. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 29. März bis 1. April 2001 in Slubice — Frankfurt (Oder) — Cottbus*, ed. Hans-Günter Ottenberg and Ulrich Leisinger (Frankfurt/Oder: Musikgesellschaft Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 2005), 265.

43. The libretto contains the specific attribution, “komponirt vom Herrn Kapellmeister Bach” (but without a date), for each of the three works. Copies survive in D-B, Mus. T 99 R, 7 and 22 and their evident continuations in D-B, Mus. T 99 R, 8 and 23, respectively.

performance of *Vater, deines Sohnes Geist*, nor is it listed in NV 1790 or AK 1805. No trace of the music has survived, but the libretto is transcribed in appendix B.

Spiega, Ammonia fortunata, Wq 216

The chorus *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata*, written on the occasion of the visit to Hamburg by the Swedish Crown Prince Gustav (1746–92), is one of only a handful of texts that C.P.E. Bach set in Italian, or indeed any language besides German. NV 1790, p. 56, lists the occasion and year of its premiere and instrumentation: “Chor: *Spiega, Ammonia fortunata &c.* Auf Verlangen der Stadt Hamburg, dem Schwedischen Kronprinzen, (jetzigem Könige) zu Ehren verfertigt. H. 1770. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Flöten und Hörnern.” (Oboes are also used.) The entry in AK 1805, p. 28, adds one additional bit of information: “. . . C.P.E. Bach mußte sie in 12 Stunden componiren.” This reference to Bach’s having to compose the work in twelve hours was probably derived from the wrapper, which has the following note in Bach’s hand:

With this chorus in 1770 Hamburg sang to the Swedish crown prince and his youngest brother in testimony of its devotion and joy over their sovereign presence. C.P.E. Bach had to compose it in 12 hours. It was given twice, strongly cast, copied, [and] sent to the king in Stockholm. Otherwise, it is still unknown.⁴⁴

Indeed, the original set of performing parts displays evidence of haste in copying, using three different scribes to copy duplicate parts and using *Auflagebogen* for shorter parts rather than using the front and back of a single sheet, in order to avoid waiting for the ink to dry. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the (autograph) score sent to Stockholm remain unknown.⁴⁵

In November 1770 Crown Prince Gustav left Stockholm with his brother Fredrik Adolf (1750–1803). Their first stop was the Danish court in Copenhagen, then they traveled

via Hamburg and Braunschweig to Paris, where they made the acquaintance of the *philosophes*.⁴⁶ The local newspapers in Hamburg announced their arrival in late December and noted that the brothers were traveling incognito, using the names “Grafen von Gothland und Oeland.” They attended a special concert on 25 December directed by Bach at the fortepiano at the Handlungs-Akademie. One of the papers printed the Italian text of the chorus, and another mentioned that it was received with the “utmost applause” (vollkommensten Beyfalle).⁴⁷ Gustav had an indirect tie to C.P.E. Bach through his mother Luisa Ulrika, who was a sister of Princess Anna Amalia and King Friedrich II, Bach’s former patron at the Prussian court.⁴⁸

It is not known who wrote the text for the chorus, and it is curious that Bach chose Italian rather than French or even German. There are no internal references to the Crown Prince or his visit, and in fact the subject of the work is the allegorical figure of Hamburg (*Ammonia* or *Hammonia*). The text is not unlike those written for the *Bürgercapitainsmusiken*, the irregular celebrations marked by an oratorio and serenata performed for the assembled militia. These works also feature allegorical figures such as Patriotism and Freedom, and these civic ceremonies celebrate the city of Hamburg. (Bach completed works for these ceremonies in 1780 and 1783; see CPEB: CW, V/4.)

Wq 216 is in a festive D major and is accompanied by full orchestra. In addition to three trumpets, two horns, and timpani, Bach also includes pairs of flutes and oboes— instruments that Bach employs at the same time in only a handful of other works (e.g., the 1769 St. Matthew Passion, H 782, and the Concerto in D Major, Wq 27, in which the woodwinds are *ad libitum*). The music is similar to opera choruses that intersperse solos and duets, with the full chorus and orchestra serving as a frame. Bach rarely incorporates such a design in his choruses for cantatas or Passions; presumably the Italian text and allegorical figures inspired him to a more operatic setting. Mozart’s *Idomeneo* (1781) has a chorus at the end of act 1 with a similar design:

44. “Mit diesem Chor ließ Hamburg anno 70 / dem Schwedischen Cron Prinzen und deßen / jüngsten Bruder seine Devotion und Freude / über Ihre hohe Gegenwart bezeugen und / besingen. C.P.E. Bach mußte es in / 12 Stunden componiren. Es wurde 2mahl / gemacht, stark besetzt, copirt, an den / König nach Stockholm geschickt. Sonst hat / es noch Niemand.”

45. Private communication with Hans Åstrand, librarian of S-Skma. The copy that Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal made (now in B-Bc, 3708 MSM) is probably a later copy based on the autograph score. It is possible that the score Bach sent to Sweden is among Gustav’s papers now in S-Uu.

46. See Robert Nisbet Bain, *Gustavus III and His Contemporaries (1742–1792)*, 2 vols. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1894), 1:52–60.

47. See Wiermann, 441–43.

48. Three months after his visit to Hamburg, Gustav’s father, Adolf Fredrik, died unexpectedly, and Gustav returned to Sweden to be crowned King Gustav III. In March 1792 Gustav III was assassinated during a masked ball at the Royal Opera House in Stockholm, which was the inspiration for operas by Daniel Auber, *Gustave III* (1833), and by Giuseppe Verdi, *Un ballo in maschera* (1859), though the Italian censors required the latter to shift the action to colonial Boston.

“Nettuno s’onorì” is in the same key and has the same instruments, but the first solo interlude is for soprano and alto, who are joined by a tenor and bass. The second interlude (in a different meter and key, G major) is for soprano and alto only. In contrast to Mozart’s chorus, which is relatively static harmonically, Bach’s solo section is more adventurous. The first solo is for tenor, accompanied only by strings; it begins in B minor (m. 139) and modulates to G major (m. 164). This is followed by two verses for soprano and alto, accompanied by strings and flutes: the first verse begins in G major (m. 165) and modulates back to B minor (m. 184); the second verse begins in E major (m. 197) but ends in E minor (m. 215). The trio for soprano, alto, and bass, with oboes instead of flutes, begins with an abrupt shift to C major (m. 216) and eventually ends on F-sharp, which allows Bach to pivot back to the opening ritornello in D major.

*Musik am Dankfeste
wegen des fertigen Michaelisturms, H 823*

St. Michaelis was the most recently built of the five Hauptkirchen in Hamburg (consecrated on 14 March 1661; designated a Hauptkirche in 1685), and it served as the parish church of Telemann and C. P. E. Bach. Both composers are buried in the crypt.⁴⁹ On 10 March 1750 St. Michaelis was struck by lightning and burned; even the masonry work was severely damaged. The architect Johann Leonard Prey produced plans for a new building on 24 May 1751, and Ernst Georg Sonnin carried out the construction. The “topping-off ceremony” (Richtfest) was held on 20 December 1756. The decoration of the interior, in a rococo style, took another six years to complete, and the festive opening of the new church was celebrated on 19 October 1762 with a cantata by Telemann, *Komm wieder, Herr*, TVWV 2:12.⁵⁰ The tower (or steeple; approximately 430 feet high) of St. Michaelis was begun in 1777 and completed in 1786, and to commemorate this occasion C. P. E. Bach composed

49. Johannes Brahms was baptized at St. Michaelis. The church survived the devastating fire of Hamburg in May 1842, but in July 1906 a fire destroyed most of the building, and it also suffered damage during World War II. Since then it has been restored closely to its eighteenth-century structure and decoration. For a history of its architecture, see Horst Lutter, *Die St. Michaeliskirche in Hamburg: Der Anteil der Baumeister Prey, Sonnin und Heumann an ihrer Gestaltung* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig, 1966).

50. Telemann’s score and a copy of the libretto are preserved in D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann 8. Telemann’s grandson Georg Michael later adapted the music for a performance in Riga.

a cantata that was performed on Reformation Day, 31 October 1786.⁵¹ (For a nineteenth-century illustration of St. Michaelis, see figure 1.)

The cantata is listed in NV 1790 (p. 57): “Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelis-Thurms. H. 1786. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Hoboen und Fagott.” The autograph score and performing material (in D-B, SA 243) remained in the Bach family’s possession until the death of his daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina Bach, and the work is listed in AK 1805 (p. 31): “Musik zum Dank-Feste wegen des beendigten Thurmbaues der großen St. Michaelis Kirche, 786.” C. P. E. Bach kept a copy of the printed *Ordnung zu der . . . feierlichen Einweihung des Thurms der Grossen St. Michaelis Kirche* in which he made a few annotations (exemplar in D-B, SA 242; see plate 11). Before the service began, a half hour of bell-ringing from the new tower at St. Michaelis called the citizens to worship. An outline of the service follows:

- Opening hymn: HG 1766, no. 167: “Komm heiliger Geist”
- Gloria in excelsis Deo (sung to HG 1766, no. 174: “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr”)
- Collect (ending with a choral “Amen”)
- Part I of H 823
- Sermon by Pastor Johann Jacob Rambach
- Prayer after the sermon
- Hymn: HG 1766, no. 529: “Herr Gott, dich loben wir” (German Te Deum)
- Part II of H 823
- Collect (ending with choral “Amen”)
- Hymn: HG 1766, no. 60: “Nun danket alle Gott” (same melody as final movement of H 823)

The first part of the *Musik am Dankfeste* was performed immediately before the sermon, and the *Ordnung* specifically mentions the inclusion of Bach’s very beloved double-choir Heilig, Wq 217 (“worinn derselbe sein mit Recht so sehr beliebtes: Heilig: eingeschaltet hat, aufgeföhret wird”). The sermon text was drawn from 1 Kings 8:57–58: “The LORD our God be with us, as he was with our fathers: let him not leave us, nor forsake us. That he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in all his ways, and to keep his commandments, and his statutes, and his judgments, which he commanded our fathers.” The second part of the cantata came after the sermon, prayers, and a hymn (“Herr

51. The special service was announced in *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* (25 October 1786): 6; see Wiermann, 415.



FIGURE 1. Engraving of St. Michaelis, published by B. S. Berendsohn (Hamburg, mid-nineteenth century).
Courtesy of Paul Corneilson

Gott, dich loben wir"). Twice in the *Ordnung* C.P.E. Bach wrote "Chor: Amen!" presumably signaling a four-part setting of the word *Amen* (so be it). Perhaps he wrote the now-lost Wq 210 for this occasion. (See example 1 for an incipit.)⁵² The closing chorale "Nun danket alle Gott" (HG 1766, no. 60) would have followed the prayer and choral "Amen"; the *Ordnung* refers to it as the "third part of the music" (dem dritten Theil der Musik), but this phrase was crossed out by Bach.

52. Wotquenne gives an incipit for this "AMEN für 4 Singstimmen," and it is also listed in NV 1790, p. 64: "Amen. H. Für 4 Singstimmen." Without any surviving sources, we cannot be certain whether Wq 210 is the piece Bach wrote for this occasion, and of course a four-part "Amen" could have been used for almost any festive service. One argument in its favor is that Wq 210 is in G major, the dominant of C major, the key of the final chorale, "Nun danket alle Gott."

The cantata libretto was prepared by Dr. Johann Ludwig Gericke, and its imagery refers to the destruction and rebuilding of the church. The opening chorus of part I, "Versamlet euch dem Herrn zu Ehren," evokes a psalm, praising God with angelic choirs ("Jubelchören") to the accompaniment of strings, horns, and trumpets. The first accompanied recitative (no. 2) paints a picture of the church being struck by lightning in a storm, and the flames engulfing the building and eventually bringing it down.⁵³ (A timpani roll, beginning *pianissimo* in m. 14 and gradually swelling to *fortissimo* in mm. 19–20, vividly depicts the approaching storm and the fateful lightning strike with a single stroke in m. 24.) The next aria in A major (no. 3) for bass is marked "Feurig" (fiery), and the arpeggiated strings represent the flames consuming the church. The destruction of the church and the people's lament are depicted in the tenor's recitative (no. 4), which evokes the Evangelist in the gospel narrative, and the people are commanded to build a new "Bethel" (place of God). The following aria (no. 5) for soprano is in F major and features an obbligato bassoon, added by C. P. E. Bach in the part, not in the score. The last line sums up the affect: "Das Leiden dieser Zeit ist jener Wonn nicht wert." (The sorrow of this time is not worth that delight.)

Bach uses the next recitative (no. 6) to set up his Arietta and double-choir Heilig, Wq 217 (no. 7). The reference to a "feierliches Loblied" (festive song of praise) in the recitative clearly refers to the grand double-choir Heilig, a work that Bach particularly liked to perform in his last years as music director.⁵⁴ For the dedication of the newly rebuilt church in 1762, Telemann had used the German Sanctus (Heilig) as a chorale in his cantata; coincidentally, part II of Telemann's cantata began with the German Te Deum ("Herr Gott, dich loben wir"), which C. P. E. Bach had incorporated into the fugue of his double-choir Heilig. Otherwise, the two works share no common texts or chorales. Part I of Bach's cantata closes (no. 8) with three chorale verses set to the melody "Herzlich tut mich verlangen."⁵⁵

53. See Jason B. Grant, "Representations of the City of Hamburg in the Occasional Choral Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," in *Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Bub'n*, 119–29, esp. 125ff.

54. See Paul Corneilson, "Zur Entstehungs- und Aufführungsgeschichte von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs 'Heilig,'" *BJ* (2006): 273–89.

55. Bach's harmonization might be based on Telemann's setting in TVWV 1:91/2. See Wolfram Enßlin and Tobias Rimek, "Der Choral bei Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und das Problem der Zuschreibung," in *Er ist der Vater, wir sind die Bub'n*, 130–85, esp. 164.

Wegen der Feŕlichkeit im Oct. 86 zu S. Michaelis kriegten	
Director fŕ die Composition u. Direktion	75 Mk
Der Copist	15 –
Illert	4
Hofmann	4
Michel	4
Kirchner	4
Schieferlein	1 – 8 β
Seydel	3
Delver	3
Schumacher sen.	3
Schumacher jun.	1 – 8
NN.	1 – 8
Organist	3
Bälgentreter	2
Knoph	1 – 8
Chor Knabe	1
3 Tr. u. Pauken	12 –
1 Paar Pauken zu leihen	1
8 R. Mus. u. 2 Expect.	30
Inst. träger	2
5 Rollmus. auf der Orgel	10
13 Rollmus. auf dem Engel Chor	26
	<hr/>
	Sumā 208 Mk.

For composing the music and directing, Bach received 75 Marks; the copyist (Michel) received 15 Marks. The two basses Friedrich Martin Illert and Johann Andreas Hoffmann, and two tenors Michel and Kirchner, each received 4 Marks; the altos Johann Matthias Seidel and Peter Nicolaus Friedrich Delver received 3 Marks, as did the soprano soloist Schumacher; the aged alto Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein (1704–87), the junior Schumacher, and Knopf each received 1 Mark, 8 Schillings.

Illert (unnamed in the surviving performing material) sang the accompanied recitative and aria (nos. 2–3); although the shorter accompanied recitative and aria (no. 10b–c) in part II was also copied into Illert’s part (**B I**), C. P. E. Bach indicated that it should be sung by Hoffmann instead. Michel sang the two simple recitatives (nos. 4 and 11), and Kirchner also had a short recitative in no. 10a, along with one of the altos. The aria and simple recitative for soprano (nos. 5–6) are included in both copies of the “Canto” parts (**S I** and **S II**), but these were probably sung by the elder Schumacher.

Since the double-choir Heilig, Wq 217, was incorporated into the cantata, extra musicians had to be hired, including “8 Ratsmusikanten und 2 Expektanten” (including a second set of timpani), “5 Rollmusikanten auf der Orgel”, and “13 Rollmusikanten auf dem Engel Chor.” The performance material for Wq 217 was kept separately in Bach’s library, including a score that he had published in 1779 at his own expense, so there was no need to copy the music into the parts for H 823.

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