

INTRODUCTION

Of the *Quartalstücke* performed in Hamburg under the direction of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach between 1768 and 1788 for the four major feast days of the church year (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Michaelmas), those for Michaelmas are the best transmitted. (The *Quartalstücke* for Easter are published in CPEB:CW, V/2.1 and V/2.2; those for Pentecost in CPEB:CW, V/2.3; and those for Christmas in CPEB:CW, V/2.6 and V/2.7; the remaining *Quartalstücke* for Michaelmas are published in CPEB:CW, V/2.4.) Only for the years 1768, 1773, 1780, and 1787 do we not know the Michaelmas cantatas that were performed. These feast-day cantatas were always performed as the “first pieces” (*erste Musiken*) before the sermon at the principal Sunday service.¹ Altogether, seven different Michaelmas cantatas have survived; table 1 lists the known performances in chronological order (see also the performance schedule in the “Choral Music” preface, p. xiii).

Of the three *Quartalstücke* in the present volume—*Es erhob sich ein Streit* (BR-CPEB F 18), *Wie wird uns werden* (BR-JCFB F 4), and *Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt* (BR-CPEB F 21)—only two are listed in NV 1790 (p. 82; BR-JCFB F 4 and BR-CPEB F 21, in that order), but as works by Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, in the latter case with a notation that one accompanied recitative is by C.P.E. Bach. In AK 1805, the parts for BR-CPEB F 18 and BR-CPEB F 21 are also listed (p. 30, no. 80 and p. 31, no. 86, respectively). Of the four remaining Michaelmas cantatas—*Den Engeln gleich* (Wq 248), *Ich will den Namen des Herrn preisen* (Wq 245), *Siehe! Ich begehre deiner Befehle* (Wq 247), and *Der Frevler mag die Wahrheit schmähn* (Wq 246)—three are listed in NV 1790 (pp. 61–62; Wq 245, 247, and 246, in that order), under the heading “Sing=Compositionen” (subheading “Ungedruckte Sachen”), and three are listed in AK 1805 (p. 30, nos. 66, 69, and 78; Wq 246, 245, and 248, in that order).

1. Regarding music at the principal services, and also the uncertainty about which compositions were performed in the afternoon and vesper services on feast days, see the “*Quartalstücke*” section of the “Choral Music” preface.

About Michaelmas

In the liturgical calendar of the Western Church, 29 September was dedicated to the archangel Michael as early as the year 493. Later the other archangels (e.g., Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel) were also integrated into this commemoration. It is generally held that Michael occupies the highest rank among the archangels.

In the Christian tradition, two formative biblical passages for the image of Michael as conqueror of the devil in the form of a dragon are Revelation 12:7–9 and 20:1–3 (Luther Bible); in the latter, the name of the angel is not explicitly mentioned:

Und es erhob sich ein Streit im Himmel: Michael und seine Engel stritten mit dem Drachen; und der Drache stritt und seine Engel, und siegten nicht, auch ward ihre Stätte nicht mehr gefunden im Himmel. Und es ward ausgeworfen der große Drache, die alte Schlange, die da heißt der Teufel und Satanas, der die ganze Welt verführt, und ward geworfen auf die Erde, und seine Engel wurden auch dahin geworfen.

Und ich sah einen Engel vom Himmel fahren, der hatte den Schlüssel zum Abgrund und eine große Kette in seiner Hand. Und er griff den Drachen, die alte Schlange, welche ist der Teufel und Satan, und band ihn tausend Jahre und warf ihn in den Abgrund und verschloß ihn und versiegelte obendarauf, daß er nicht mehr verführen sollte die Heiden, bis daß vollendet würden tausend Jahre; und darnach muß er los werden eine kleine Zeit.

Es erhob sich ein Streit, BR-CPEB F 18

This work is not included in NV 1790, but the listing for it in AK 1805 on p. 30 (no. 80) reads: “[Musik] auf Michaelis 1781.” As is customary for AK 1805, this date refers to the last documented performance of the work during Bach’s lifetime. It was first performed in Michaelmas 1770 (this version is listed as BR-CPEB F 18.1) and was reused twice: in 1776 with a few significant changes (this version is listed as BR-CPEB F 18.2; see below); and in 1781 reverting to the 1770 version, as indicated by Bach’s inscription on the title wrapper for the original performance parts (see

TABLE I. C. P. E. BACH'S HAMBURG PERFORMANCES OF MICHAELMAS QUARTALSTÜCKE

Year*	Title	Wq	H	BR-CPEB	Remarks	CPEB:CW
1769	<i>Den Engeln gleich</i>	248	809	F 17	Opening chorus possibly not by CPEB	V/2.4
1770	<i>Es erhub sich ein Streit</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	F 18.1	Pasticcio with music by CPEB, JSB, and Benda	V/2.5
1771	<i>Wie wird uns werden</i> [†]	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	Arr. of a cantata by JCFB, BR-JCFB F 4	V/2.5
1772	<i>Ich will den Namen des Herrn preisen</i>	245	810	F 19	Pasticcio with music by CPEB and Benda	V/2.4
1774	<i>Den Engeln gleich</i>	248	809	F 17	see 1769 above	V/2.4
1775	<i>Siehe! Ich begehre deiner Befehle</i>	247	812	F 20.1	Pasticcio with music by CPEB	V/2.4
1776	<i>Es erhub sich ein Streit</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	F 18.2	see 1770 above; CPEB's double-choir Heilig included only in 1776	V/2.5
1777	<i>Ich will den Namen des Herrn preisen</i>	245	810	F 19	see 1772 above	V/2.4
1778	<i>Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	F 21	Pasticcio with music by JCFB, CPEB, and Benda	V/2.5
1779	<i>Siehe! Ich begehre deiner Befehle</i>	247	812	F 20.1	see 1775 above	V/2.4
1781	<i>Es erhub sich ein Streit</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	F 18.1	see 1770 above	V/2.5
1782	<i>Ich will den Namen des Herrn preisen</i>	245	810	F 19	see 1772 above	V/2.4
1783	<i>Siehe! Ich begehre deiner Befehle</i>	247	812	F 20.1	see 1775 above	V/2.4
1784	<i>Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt</i>	<i>deest</i>	<i>deest</i>	F 21	see 1778 above	V/2.5
1785	<i>Der Frevler mag die Wahrheit schmähn</i>	246	814	F 22	Pasticcio with music by JCFB and CPEB	V/2.4
1786	<i>Ich will den Namen des Herrn preisen</i>	245	810	F 19	see 1772 above	V/2.4
1788	<i>Siehe! Ich begehre deiner Befehle</i>	247	812	F 20.2	see 1775 above; two new chorales added in 1788	V/2.4

* The cantatas for the years 1768, 1773, 1780, and 1787 are not known. Helm's identification of the Christmas cantata *Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe*, H 811, as a Michaelmas cantata derives from the misreading by Miesner (p. 78) of Bach's corrected inscription "~~Mich~~ Weynachts Quartalstück" on the wrapper of D-B, SA 247.

† The cantata BR-JCFB F 4 is listed under the rubric "N" (Notenbibliothek) in BR-CPEB, 2:394.

critical report, source B; see also the table of performance dates in BR-CPEB, 2:481).

Es erhub sich ein Streit is based largely on the cantata of the same name by Johann Sebastian Bach (BWV 19; see NV 1790, p. 81). C.P.E. Bach adopted nos. 1, 2, 4, and 8 from his father's model (there nos. 1, 2, 4, and 7) but replaced the arias with two arias by Georg Benda (no. 3: *Herr, ich will dir danken*, L 597, no. 2; no. 5: *Ich will dir danken*, L 544, no. 2). Recitative no. 7, probably newly composed by C.P.E. Bach, uses the same text as BWV 19, no. 6.²

While in 1770 and 1781 C.P.E. Bach reused the opening chorus as no. 6, in 1776 he instead performed the double-choir Heilig (Wq 217), which would become one of his most famous choral works, for the first time.³ A letter by

Johann Heinrich Voß, who had attended the performance at St. Nicolai on 6 October 1776, gives information about this. He wrote five days later (11 October) to his fiancée, Marie Christine Ernestine Boie:

We were also at St. Nicholas Church, and heard Bach's fine Michaelmas music. I know nothing finer, nobler, and more appealing by him than the song of the angels and people: Holy, holy, etc. etc. Two choirs, one softer and the other louder, constantly replied to each other, even in the most remote key, once in C-sharp major with D major, and so forth, and finally concluded with a fiery fugue: The whole earth is full of his glory. Two delightfully beautiful arias by Benda and a fugue by the old Sebastian Bach were also played, which however were all as mere shadows compared to that angelic music.⁴

2. For an overview of C.P.E. Bach's use of J.S. and J.C.F. Bach's Michaelmas music, see Ulrich Leisinger, "Es erhub sich ein Streit" (BWV 19): Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Aufführungen im Kontext der Hamburgischen Michaelismusiken," *BJ* (1999): 105–26.

3. The *Heilig mit zwei Chören und einer Ariette zur Einleitung* is published in CPEB:CW, V/6.1 (see the introduction, p. xi, and the critical report, pp. 132–36, for a discussion and partial reconstruction of the early version of the double-choir Heilig, based on the autograph

score *ante correcturam*, which was performed in 1776). Bach wrote a new arietta on the text used by Benda for the 1779 print.

4. *Bach-Dokumente* III, 303 (no. 814): "Auch waren wir nach der Nikolaikirche, und hörten Bachs herrliche Michaelismusik. Ich kenne von ihm nichts kühners, edlers und hinreißenders, als der Gesang der Engel u[nd] Völker: Heilig, heilig etc. etc. Zwey Chöre, eines sanfter das andre stärker, antworten sich immer, und in der entferntesten Tonart, auf *Cis dur* mit einmal in *D dur*, u.s.w., und schließen endlich mit einer

What is also remarkable about this document is the fact that Voß was aware and conscious of the pasticcio character of this Michaelmas cantata, but he saw no grounds for criticism.

On 25 October 1776 the Hamburg daily papers—in a rare instance of reporting on regular church music—announced the performance of the Michaelmas music including the double-choir Heilig, which would take place one or two days later in St. Michaelis, and gave information on the performance of the Heilig there:

The superb Michaelmas music of our worthy Capellmeister Bach performed the past few Sundays in our main churches has among other things a masterfully composed double chorus representing angels and people, who sing the Holy, holy, holy, etc. Tomorrow, Saturday, and the following day on Sunday, this double chorus will be so performed in the great St. Michaelis that the choir of angels [will sing] from high up over the church proper, and the choir of people from the organ loft; the fugue, however, will be sung by both choirs simultaneously, which in the other churches could not reasonably be done because of space.⁵

This notice indicates, among other things, that the Heilig was performed both on Saturday (at vespers) and on Sunday. This suggests that *Es erhub sich ein Streit* (and consequently every *Quartalstück*) would have been heard at least twice in each church.

The double-choir Heilig, which appeared in print in 1779, is set not only for double choir but also for double orchestra. For *Quartalstücke*, however, at most three trumpeters, not the six called for in the printed score of Wq 217, were available to Bach for performances.⁶ In general the use of two full orchestras would have been unlikely, for a second timpanist or a total of four oboists could not rea-

feurigen Fuge: Alle Lande sind seiner Ehren voll. Außer dem wurden noch zwey entzückendschöne Arien von Benda und eine Fuge von dem alten Sebastian Bach gespielt, die aber alle nur Schatten gegen jene Engelmusik waren."

5. "Die seit einigen Sonntagen in unsern Hauptkirchen aufgeführte vortreffliche Michaelis-Musik unsers würdigen Herrn Kapellmeisters Bach hat unter andern ein meisterhaft ausgearbeitetes Doppel-Chor der Engel und Völker, die das Heilig, heilig, heilig, etc. singen. Morgen, als den Sonnabend, und übermorgen, am Sonntage, wird dieses Doppel-Chor in der großen Michaelis-Kirche so aufgeführt werden, daß das Chor der Engel von der Höhe über dem Kirchen-Saal, und das Chor der Völker von der Orgel, die Fuge aber von beyden Chören zugleich gesungen werden wird, welches in den andern Kirchen des Raums wegen nicht füglich geschehen können." *HUC* (25 Oct. 1776), 4; identically in *HNZ* (25 Oct. 1776), 3; cited in Wiermann, 398.

6. See Sanders, esp. 6–9 and 77–94; see also Harasim, 205ff.

sonably have been engaged for the double-choir Heilig each time.⁷ Whenever the double-choir Heilig was performed in the context of multi-movement compositions, it was never copied out in the usual fashion in the relevant place in the performance parts; rather only a cue to insert the double-choir Heilig appears, in most cases.⁸ Separate parts would simply have been inserted at the corresponding places. Because this set of parts as such is no longer extant, except for the autograph first trumpet part for the Chor der Engel (as part of the composite manuscript in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 339), we do not know precisely how Bach performed the double-choir Heilig as part of each respective church piece.

Bach's parts for *Es erhub sich ein Streit* indeed contain crossing-out of the indication for the repeat of no. 1 as no. 6 ("Der Anfangs Chor wird wiederholt"); without, however, indicating the double-choir Heilig as its replacement in the 1776 version. (Bach indicated the Heilig on the title wrapper.) The other change Bach made for the 1776 version was to shorten aria no. 5 from its original five-part *da capo* form (A–A'–B–A–A') to a two-part form (A–A') by eliminating the B section and the *da capo*. He then set the text of the B section to the remaining A' section and ornamented a few measures in the vocal part.⁹

BR-CPEB F 18 contains no newly written texts; all movements are based on existing models. The author of each aria text (nos. 3 and 5) is unknown. The texts of chorus no. 1 and recitative no. 2 are paraphrases of Revelation 12:7–9 and 20:1–3, respectively, with alterations. The other two recitatives (nos. 4 and 7) have texts that are similar to poems from *Sammlung erbaulicher Gedanken* of 1725 by Picander (the pen name of Christian Friedrich Henrici). The chorale (no. 8) is based on strophe 9 of the chorale "Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele" by either Simon Graff or Caspar von Warnberg (see table 2). The text of the double-choir Heilig, used in the 1776 version of BR-CPEB F 18, comes from Isaiah 6:3 (the German Sanctus without the closing Hosanna), to which Bach added the opening lines from Luther's German *Te Deum*.

7. The few newspaper reports on performances during church services (see above) emphasize the separate deployment of two choirs, which was only possible in St. Michaelis; by contrast, two physically separate orchestras are not provable for those performances.

8. See Paul Corneilson, "Zur Entstehungs- und Aufführungsgeschichte von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs 'Heilig,'" *BJ* (2006): 273–89, esp. 279, table 1.

9. See Wolfram Enßlin, "'Bendas Geist aus Bachs Händen': Zur Bedeutung Georg Anton Bendas für das geistliche Vokalschaffen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," in *Leipzig 2014*, 117–21.

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES IN BR-CPEB F 18, BR-JCFB F 4, AND BR-CPEB F 21

No. Incipit	Text	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
<i>BR-CPEB F 18</i>			
8. Lass dein Engel mit mir fahren	HG 1766, no. 561, v. 9	Simon Graff or Caspar von Warnberg	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)
<i>BR-JCFB F 4</i>			
1a. Wie wird uns werden? Schauer liegt		Johann Gottfried Herder	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit (Z 4429a)
1c. Wie wird uns werden? Jammer liegt		Herder	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit (Z 4429a)
1e. Wie wird uns werden? Unser Flehn		Herder	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit (Z 4429a)
5a. Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt	“Der Schutz der Kirche” (Wq 194/12), v. 1	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott (Z 7377a)
5c. Triumph, Triumph ist unser Gott!		Herder	Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott (Z 7377a)
5e. In Tod und Leben unser Gott		Herder	Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott (Z 7377a)
<i>BR-CPEB F 21</i>			
1. Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt	“Der Schutz der Kirche” (Wq 194/12), v. 1	Gellert	Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott (Z 7377a)
8. Lob, Ehr und Preis sei Gott	HG 1766, no. 60, v. 3	Martin Rinckart	Nun danket alle Gott (Z 5142)

The most important source for BR-CPEB F 18 is the set of original performing parts (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 25b; source B), which are mostly in the hand of Anon. 304 (Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein), with an additional soprano part for the 1776 version of aria no. 5 (see plate 3) and other additions and corrections by Bach. There are no secondary copies, and no printed librettos are extant. In the present edition, only the 1770/1781 version (BR-CPEB F 18.1) is given; for the 1776 version (BR-CPEB F 18.2), the shortened aria no. 5 is given in the appendix (vocal and bc lines only), and the double-choir Heilig is represented in BR-CPEB F 21, where that movement was reused (see below).

Bach typically had a maximum of eight singers available to him for the performances of *Quartalstücke*. The surviving performance material for BR-CPEB F 18, however, contains parts for only five singers: two sopranos, one alto, one tenor, and one bass. There were probably ripieno tenor and bass parts in the original set of performing materials, allowing Bach to perform BR-CPEB F 18 with at least seven singers, but these have not come down to us. From indications in the vocal parts (see critical report, table 1), we know that the soprano Hartmann sang one of the two soprano parts (his name appears in both parts for aria no. 5) and Carl Rudolph Wreden sang the tenor part. Wreden was a singer in Altona who sang for Bach frequently through 1774, often as a tenor, though he was apparently known as a baritone. He probably sang only for the 1770 performances, and another singer would have

taken over in 1776 and 1781. In all performances of the work during Bach's tenure, the alto part might have been sung by Schieferlein. The bass part was probably sung by Friedrich Martin Illert. If there had indeed been ripieno tenor and bass parts, the tenor was probably sung by Johann Heinrich Michel and the bass by Johann Andreas Hoffmann.¹⁰ Some of Bach's singers also worked for him as copyists: certainly Michel, probably Schieferlein, and possibly Hoffmann.¹¹

Performances of *Quartalstücke* in Bach's day probably required a minimum of fourteen instrumentalists. This roughly corresponds with the number available to Bach during his time in Hamburg, where his ensemble for the *Quartalstücke* included the town musicians, trumpet and timpani players, and a continuo player who was probably paid extra. For BR-CPEB F 18, there are only eleven surviving instrumental parts, including one copy each of the

10. For more information on many of Bach's vocalists see Sanders, 95–107 and 148–59, and Neubacher, 411–64. See also Paul Corneilson's two case studies of Bach's regular singers: “C.P.E. Bach's Evangelist, Johann Heinrich Michel,” in *Er ist der Vater*, 95–118; and “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's ‘Principal Singer’ Friedrich Martin Illert,” in *Leipzig 2014*, 135–63.

11. For documentation on Michel see Neubacher, 443. Peter Wollny, in a review of *Georg Philipp Telemann. Autographe und Abschriften*, ed. Joachim Jaenecke, *BJ* (1995): 218, was the first to connect Telemann's Hauptkopsist A, Anon. 304, and Schieferlein. For further documentation see Neubacher, 454. For the identification of Hoffmann as Anon. 308, see Moira Leanne Hill, “Der Sänger Johann Andreas Hoffmann als Notenkopsist C.P.E. Bachs,” *BJ* (2016): 199–206.

oboe I and II, trumpet I, II, and III, timpani, violin I and II, viola, cello, and organ parts. The organ part (untransposed, notated in *Kammerton*) matches the tuning of the organ in St. Michaelis. The other two organ parts, in the necessary transpositions (down a major second and a minor third) for use in the other four principal churches of Hamburg, are apparently lost. The original set of parts probably also included duplicate copies of the violin I and II and cello parts. It is possible that the duplicate instrumental parts and ripieno vocal parts—none of which would have been strictly necessary to transmit BR-CPEB F 18 in its entirety—were discarded at some point by a collector, librarian, or archivist (see critical report for more information).

Wie wird uns werden,
BR-JCFB F 4

Unlike the other Michaelmas pieces in the present volume, this work is neither a cantata largely containing compositions by C.P.E. Bach, nor a pasticcio put together from movements by various composers. Rather, C.P.E. Bach performed an original Michaelmas cantata by his half-brother J.C.F. Bach (listed as BR-JCFB F 4; it is not included in BR-CPEB). NV 1790, p. 82, attributes this work to J.C.F. Bach: “[Von Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach.] Michaelis-Musik: Wie wird uns werden? Schauer etc. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Hoboen und Flöten. In Stimmen.” It was performed only in Michaelmas 1771 and was not reused, as indicated by C.P.E. Bach’s inscription on the title wrapper for the original performance parts (see critical report, source B; see also the performance schedule in the “Choral Music” preface, p. xiii). Since no independent source has been transmitted, it cannot be ruled out that C.P.E. Bach adapted the work for use in Hamburg, beyond the changes that are discussed below.

J.C.F. Bach—active as a court musician in Bückeburg from 1750, and in the position of concertmaster from 1759—composed this Michaelmas cantata after the end of April 1771, after the arrival in Bückeburg of Herder (1744–1803), who held the positions of head pastor and consistory councilor to Wilhelm, Count of Schaumburg-Lippe, until 1776. Nothing is known in detail about J.C.F. Bach’s compositional process.¹² No musical sources of the Bückeburg Bach are extant.¹³ There is no record of a performance

of BR-JCFB F 4 in Bückeburg; it cannot be excluded that the work was composed explicitly for Hamburg.

The text, by Herder, is transmitted in three extant versions, each in Herder’s hand (see critical report, source T). In terms of the corrections found in it, one manuscript agrees largely with the version adopted in BR-JCFB F 4, although there are still many differences. To what extent the corrections made there go back to J.C.F. Bach himself cannot be known at present (cf. source T, as well as the annotated libretto). The two extensive outer movements, with their alternating sequence of refrain-like strophes of a chorale and choral movements based on biblical text, are characteristic for this cantata. Herder gave an almost theatrical spatial dramaturgy to the first movement in particular: he wrote the directives “im fernen Ungewitter” (as from a distant storm) for the first chorus (no. 1b); “derselbe, weiter und stärker” (the same, broader and stronger) for the second chorus (no. 1d); and “im stärksten Gange” (in the strongest motion) for the third chorus (no. 1f).

C.P.E. Bach, ever on the lookout for suitable figural music for the Hamburg church services since his arrival there in 1768, must have received BR-JCFB F 4 from his second-youngest brother (with whom, of all his brothers, he had the best relationship and maintained the closest contact) very soon after its completion. It may be guessed that C.P.E. Bach received the original score for copying. C.P.E. Bach had the set of parts (source B) prepared by his principal copyist at the time, Anon. 304 (Schieferlein). Three duplicate parts (for violin I, violin II, and violoncello) were prepared at the same time by Michel, who would later become Bach’s principal copyist.¹⁴ A number of entries and corrections by C.P.E. Bach can be seen in the parts (for more details see the critical report). In addition to some minor text changes (e.g., in chorus no. 5d the reversal of Herder’s change of the biblical text from “und durch der Brüder Blut” [and through the brothers’ blood] to “und durch das Wort ihrer Zeugnis” [and through the word of their testimony]) and rhythmic changes in the continuo in accompanied recitatives nos. 2a and 3, C.P.E. Bach changed no. 4 from a *da capo* aria into a *dal segno* aria. The relevant source evidence shows that he decided to shorten this aria shortly before the completion of the set of parts: although, because the parts had already been prepared, in almost all of them the *segno* marking had to be supplied by Bach (as well as the indication “dal segno,” which follows the original

12. In BR-JCFB, 281, the possibility is discussed that the chorales in BR-JCFB F 4 transmit otherwise unknown settings by J.S. Bach.

13. The musical sources for J.C.F. Bach’s Pentecost cantata *Herr, wie lange willst du unser also vergessen* (BR-JCFB F 1) from 1773, also on a text by Herder, are completely lost.

14. The identity of Michel as the copyist of the duplicate parts is not entirely certain, but they apparently represent an early stage of his hand. See CPEB:CW, IV/2, p. 252 (description of source B), for an overview of the various stages of Michel’s hand in MSS that he copied for Bach.

“da capo” indication at the end of the aria), in the org+ part both of these indications were written by Anon. 304 (“da capo” and “dal segno” next to each other), while in the vc part the “da capo” is missing and Anon. 304 noted only the “dal segno.” From this, the fact that in all three duplicate parts the “dal segno” indication was entered subsequently by Bach can be taken as evidence that the set of parts and the duplicate parts were prepared simultaneously.

To date, the fact that nos. 1a–d were bracketed in source B, probably by C.P.E. Bach himself, cannot be satisfactorily explained. It cannot be ruled out that these movements were omitted in the performances of the Michaelmas music in 1771. The title wrapper of source B, however, lacks any of the indications for cuts, versions, etc., that can be observed on numerous other original Bach title wrappers in such cases. It is possible that the remaining nos. 1e–f from this set of parts were performed at a later time, but we have at present no direct evidence. The edition of BR-JCFB F 4 in the present volume gives the complete work without taking into account this abridgement, which cannot be explained in detail.

The texts of the individual movements of J.C.F. Bach’s version of BR-JCFB F 4 were all written or selected by Herder. All of the choruses are based on biblical texts: nos. 1b, 1d, and 1f on Revelation 12:7; no. 5b on Revelation 12:10; no. 5d on Revelation 12:11; no. 5f on 1 Corinthians 15:55; and no. 5g on Isaiah 49:13 and Psalm 29:10. The chorales (see table 2) use parody texts written by Herder: nos. 1a, 1c, and 1e on Bartholomäus Ringwaldt’s “Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit”; and nos. 5a, 5c, and 5e on Martin Luther’s “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.” But for the performances under C.P.E. Bach in Hamburg, no. 5a instead used the first strophe of Gellert’s song “Der Schutz der Kirche,” Wq 194/12 (“Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt”). The decision to use the Gellert text for no. 5a instead of the first strophe of Herder’s reworking of “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,” which was not replaced in source T (see libretto), can probably be traced back to C.P.E. Bach.¹⁵ This decision was made before the preparation of the set of parts, for there are no related corrections.

The sole music source for BR-JCFB F 4 is D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 265, which consists of the original performing parts (source B) in the hands of Anon. 304 and Michel, with additions and corrections by Bach. The original text by Herder survives in source T, but no printed librettos are extant.

15. Gellert himself had recommended “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott” as the melody for this poem; see CPEB: CW, VI/1, xvi (table 2).

The surviving performance material for BR-JCFB F 4 contains parts for seven singers (two sopranos, one alto, two tenors, and two basses). From an indication in the vocal parts (see critical report, table 2), we know that Wreden sang the first tenor part. The alto and first bass parts were probably sung by Schieferlein and Illert, respectively; and the ripieno tenor and bass parts were probably sung by Michel and Hoffmann, respectively. The surviving instrumental parts include two copies each of the violin I and II and cello parts, and one copy each of the oboe I and II, trumpet I, II, and III, timpani, and viola parts. There are also three organ parts, two of them in the necessary transpositions for use in the five principal churches of Hamburg.

Wenn Christus seine Kirche schützt,
BR-CPEB F 21

NV 1790, p. 82 lists this cantata as a work by J.C.F. Bach with the note that one accompanied recitative is by C.P.E. Bach: “[Von Johann Christoph Friederich Bach.] Michaelis-Musik: Wenn Christus seine Kirche etc. Mit Trompeten, Pauken, Flöten und Hoboen. In Stimmen. Bey dieser Musik ist ein *Accompagnement* von C.P.E. Bach.” The listing for it in AK 1805, p. 31 (no. 86) reads: “Kirchenmusik auf Michaelis 1778.” This date refers to the first documented performance of the work during Bach’s lifetime; it was first performed in Michaelmas 1778 and reused in 1784, as indicated by Bach’s inscription on the title wrapper for the original performance parts (see critical report, source B; see also the table of performance dates in BR-CPEB, 2:496). The parts do not indicate any musical differences between the 1778 and 1784 performances of this Michaelmas cantata.

BR-CPEB F 21 is a pasticcio consisting of borrowings from other composers, one self-borrowing, original compositions, and a chorale of unknown origin. Bach took chorale no. 1, chorus no. 2, and aria no. 4 directly from BR-JCFB F 4 (see above; there nos. 5a, 5b, and 4, respectively), and he added trumpets and timpani to nos. 1 and 2. He also transposed no. 1 from E-flat major to C major, and no. 2 from A-flat major to C major. Accompanied recitative no. 3 (“Was seh ich dort”) is a new composition by C.P.E. Bach, as mentioned in NV 1790 and on the autograph title wrapper, but is closely modeled on BR-JCFB F 4, no. 2a (“Welch ein Gesicht! Dort ziehen Drachen”). Movements 5–7 do not stem from J.C.F. Bach. The short recitative no. 5 may have been composed by C.P.E. Bach himself. As no. 6, he inserted the aria “Herr, wert, dass Scharen der

Engel,” which consisted of the A section of an aria by Benda (L 544, no. 2) that Bach had used as no. 5 in the 1770/1781 version of BR-CPEB F 18 (see above; the somewhat altered version of the same shortened aria used in the 1776 version of BR-CPEB F 18 is given in the appendix). As no. 7, Bach inserted his own double-choir Heilig, Wq 217, although it is unclear whether Bach performed the early version of 1776 or the revised version represented by the 1779 print. In the parts, the Heilig is indicated only by cues, and Bach’s ensemble would have had to perform from separate parts (see above and CPEB: CW, V/6.1). BR-CPEB F 21 concludes with a chorale (no. 8) of unknown origin. Due to the lack of significant entries by C.P.E. Bach, the set of parts shows no further clues as to the history of the cantata’s composition or reworking. No sources are extant that contain instructions for copyists in this regard (e.g., regarding transposition).

The author of the new poetic texts of BR-CPEB F 21 (nos. 3 and 5) is unknown. The texts for nos. 1, 2, and 4 match those used in BR-JCFB F 4 (there nos. 5a, 5b, and 4, respectively), and the text for no. 6 is the same as the A section of the 1770/1781 version of BR-CPEB F 18, no. 5.

In contrast to the principal model, BR-JCFB F 4, there are hardly any direct references to the context of Michaelmas in BR-CPEB F 21. Angels are mentioned in no. 6, and a “Chor der Engel” participates in no. 7. But the specific mention of St. Michael by name is absent; only at the end of no. 3 is the victory over the dragon a theme. Rather, the focus is the general protection of the church by God and Christ and the associated call for Christians to praise God.

The sole music source for BR-CPEB F 21 is D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 266, which consists of the original performing parts (source B) in the hand of Anon. 304, with additions and corrections by Bach. There are no derivative copies, and no printed librettos survive. Bach reused nos. 1, 5, and 7 in the 1785 Michaelmas cantata *Der Frevler mag die Wahrheit schmäh’n*, Wq 246 (there nos. 1, 5, and 6b; see CPEB: CW, V/2.4).

The apparently complete surviving performance material for BR-CPEB F 21 contains parts for eight singers (two sopranos, two altos, two tenors, and two basses). From indications in Bach’s hand in the vocal parts (see critical report, table 3), we know the names of the two sopranos: “Mr. Lau” (Johann Christian Lau), who—in his earliest firmly datable participation in a Hamburg performance—sang no. 4, and “Mr. Schwenke” (Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke), who sang no. 6. Schwencke, born in 1767, would have been only eleven years old in 1778, but seventeen years old in 1784 (quite remarkable for a boy

soprano). Lau, who was probably one year older than Schwencke, entered class 4 of the Johanneum in 1777, and class 1 (Primaner) in 1783.¹⁶ It is probable that one of the alto parts was sung by Schieferlein, one of the tenor parts by Michel, and the bass parts by Illert and Hoffmann. The sixteen surviving instrumental parts include two copies each of the violin I and II and cello parts, and one copy each of the oboe I and II, trumpet I, II, and III, timpani, and viola parts. There are also three organ parts, two of them in the necessary transpositions for use in the five principal churches of Hamburg.

Acknowledgments

I wish particularly to thank the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. Both institutions, as well as their staff, generously allowed access to the sources and granted permission for the publication of the edition and the reproduction of the facsimile plates. The CPEB: CW editorial office was always supportive and helpful in dealing with questions and problems. In particular, I thank Ulrich Leisinger of the editorial board and Jason B. Grant of the editorial office for their careful reading of and substantial improvements to this edition. I am grateful to my current and former Bach-Archiv colleagues Christine Blanken, Uwe Wolf, and Peter Wollny for their assistance and for serving as a sounding board during the day-to-day-work on the edition.

Wolfram Enßlin

16. See Reginald L. Sanders, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s Ensemble for Liturgical Performances at the Hamburg Principal Churches,” in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Hamburgs vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 367–403, esp. 398 and 401.