

# INTRODUCTION

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Among the vocal works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's last decade are four pieces written on commission for the festive meetings of the Hamburg *Bürger-Capitains* in 1780 and 1783. Each celebration included a pair of works: an oratorio and a serenata, performed separately during the day's event. Both of Bach's compositions for 1780 are extant: *Bürgercapitainsmusik* (1780): Oratorium, H 822a (BR-CPEB G 14); and *Bürgercapitainsmusik* (1780): Serenate, H 822b (BR-CPEB G 15). For his pair of works written for the 1783 gathering, however, only the second survives: *Bürgercapitainsmusik* (1783): Serenate, H 822d (BR-CPEB G 17). The other, documented by its printed libretto, is lost: *Bürgercapitainsmusik* (1783): Oratorium, H 822c (BR-CPEB G 16).<sup>1</sup>

## The Annual Banquets of the *Bürger-Capitains*

For centuries, the free imperial city of Hamburg cultivated certain festive banquet traditions that celebrated its citizenry and their various organizations.<sup>2</sup> Foremost and historically most distinguished among these gatherings was the *Petri-Mahl* (St. Peter's Banquet), hosted yearly by the City Council upon the election of a new Council since the early times of the Hanseatic League (from 1356) until 1724; this took place around 22 February, the day of *Kathedra*

*Petri* (feast of the Chair of St. Peter).<sup>3</sup> The yearly assembly, or *convivium*, of the *Bürger-Capitains* (officers of the civic guard of Hamburg) was one among many such ceremonies intended to bolster a proud citizenry through the combination of an ostentatious outer display with a general inner conviviality—and originally was surely not the most splendid, by Hamburg standards. In 1806, such *convivia* were described as follows:

“Convivium” (from “vivere,” to live; etymologically: banquet, feasting): this name was given long ago in Hamburg to the festive dinner gatherings of certain common groups, social orders, or societies, organized for celebratory occasions, such as the *convivia* of the *Bürger-Capitains*, and held mostly in public houses. At these banquets, specially written verses composed as musical poems were typically prepared and sung during the *convivium*, accompanied by instrumental music. Similarly, the so-called *Börsenmahlzeiten* (stock market dinners)—still thriving to this day—celebrated annually at the Eimbeckschen Haus, in the Martensschen Kaffeehaus, and other places, are distinguishable virtually only in name from these *convivia*. The yearly autumn *Ochsenverspielung* (oxen lottery) with its celebratory banquet, held in the Baumhaus, also belongs in the category of the more ceremonial *convivia*.<sup>4</sup>

The *Bürgerwache* (citizen's watch) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belonged, in numerous German

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1. For the titles of these works in Bach's estate catalogue (NV 1790, p. 56), see the critical report.

2. For a short summary of the institution and tradition of the *convivium*, see Rathey 2004, 170–74; also see Markus Rathey, “Celebrating Patriotism: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Compositions for the Militia in Hamburg,” in *Eighteenth-Century Music* (2007), 265–83; and Markus Rathey, “Von Gerichtsposaunen und Erdbeben. Telemanns und Bachs Kompositionen nach Texten von Christian Wilhelm Alers,” in *Impulse—Transformationen—Kontraste. Georg Philipp Telemann und Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz, Magdeburg, 17. und 18. März 2014, anlässlich der 22. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage*, ed. Carsten Lange, Brit Reipsch, and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch (Hildesheim: Olms, 2018), 193–213; a more extended discussion is published in Rathey, 39–58. For a detailed, source-based description of the changing role and structure of the *Bürgerwache* from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, see Cipriano Francesco Gaedechens, *Hamburgs Bürgerbewaffnung. Ein geschichtlicher Rückblick* (Hamburg: Ranke, 1872).

3. Today's well-known *Matthiae-Mahl*, held in Hamburg probably until 1724, was re-established in 1956 and also reflects this tradition; it was established by the Council for the diplomatic corps and other high ranking persons on *Matthiae-Tag* (St. Matthias's Day, 24 February).

4. *Hamburg und Altona. Eine Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Zeit, der Sitten und des Geschmacks [sic]*, 5:3 (Hamburg, 1806), 77: “Konvivium (von vivere leben: Mitlebung) Gastgebot, Gasterey den Worten nach; diesen Namen gab man in Hamburg vor Zeiten, denjenigen meist in öffentlichen Häusern gehaltenen festlichen Mahlzeiten gewisser Gemeinheiten, Kasten, Kompagnien bey feyerlichen Veranlassungen angestellte, namentlich Convivia der Bürger-Kapitäne. Es wurden zu diesen Gastmählern gewöhnlich eigends versificirte und komponirte musikalische Gedichte verfertigt und von Instrumental-Musik begleitet, während des Conviviums abgesungen. Von diesen Convivien sind die noch jetzt florirenden sogenannten Börsenmahlzeiten, die alljährlich auf dem Eimbeckschen Hause, im Martensschen Koffehause und wo sonst gefeyert werden, fast nur den Namen nach unterschieden. Auch die zur Ochsenverspielung auf dem Baumhause gehaltenen jährlichen Herbstmahlzeiten gehören in die Klasse der solenneren Convivien.”

cities—and likely in its free imperial cities above all—to the communal life of a city; the residents themselves, if they held citizenship, were obliged to participate in the citizen's watch (see figure 1). The year-round nightly watch of the ramparts and city gates that formed Hamburg's outer boundaries was among their most important duties. A second purpose of the citizen's watch was the organization of the fire brigade; and if another situation should call for it—as in the event of riots—the group took measures to uphold the public order. The citizen's watch was organized in a strictly hierarchical manner, further reflected through customs derived from the military, such as armed marches with flags and drums.

Such citizen's watch groups had existed in Hamburg since 1619. In Bach's time, they were divided into five regiments, each under the leadership of a colonel (*Colonel-Herr*); altogether, these comprised fifty-seven individual companies, each with a *Bürger-Capitain*. While the colonels came from the Council membership, the citizen captains could belong to different professional groups. The citizen's watch was organized according to the established structures of the parishes of Hamburg's five main churches; accordingly, the colonel of the oldest main church, St. Petri, who was subordinate to the *Bürgermeister*, occupied the highest position.

An historical description of the city of Hamburg from 1760 explains this organizational structure in detail:

§10. On the armed citizenry of the Hamburg residents  
The citizen's watch is, in a literal sense, the armed citizenry. As the city is divided into five quarters, so each quarter must set up eleven companies. The St. Jacobi quarter however has, because of the addition of St. Jürgen, two more companies; together they total fifty-seven companies; the companies are not all equal in number. Each quarter has its colonel and lieutenant colonel, and also captains, lieutenants, and sergeants for each company. The colonel is a Council member. According to my knowledge, he enjoys no recompense for this trouble, any more than does the lieutenant colonel. The captain must be a citizen of the quarter where the position has become vacant. This position is not without income. Indeed it is not sold, but the voting captains receive favors, which are not to be considered forbidden. The lieutenant and lieutenant colonel, as well as the subordinate officers and common members, must however serve free of charge, yet officer positions never remain unoccupied. Each young citizen strives to perform his duty to the city.<sup>5</sup>

5. *Verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage des Tractats: die Stadt Hamburg in ihrem politischen, öconomischen und sittlichen Zustande; nebst Nachträgen zu diesem Tractate; und Beyträgen zu der Abhandlung*, ed. Christian Ludwig von Griesheim (Hamburg, 1760), 33–34:



FIGURE 1. Engraving by Christian Förster, "Die Bürgerwache 1790," in *Hamburger Bilderbogen* (Hamburg: J. F. Richter, 1872), Heft VII. Hamburg, Staatsarchiv, 720-1/261-01=62

The daily routines included evening marches of two companies at a time, "with flags and music," in the direction of the ramparts and city gates, where the nightly watch always took place.<sup>6</sup>

§10. Von der bewaffneten Bürgerschaft der Hamburger  
"Die Bürgerwache ist im eigentlichen verstande, die bewaffnete Bürgerschaft. Weil die Stadt in fünf Vierteln abgetheilet ist; so muss jedes Viertel elf Compagnien stellen. Das Viertel St. Jacobi aber, hat wegen der Zugabe von St Jürgen, zwey Compagnien mehr; die machen zusammen sieben und funfzig Compagnien aus; die Compagnien sind in der Zahl nicht ganz gleich. Jedes Viertel hat seinen Colonel, und Obristlieutenant, auch so viel Capitains, Lieutenants und Fähndrichs, als Compagnien sind. Der Colonel ist ein Rathsherr. Meines Wissens, hat er nichts für diese Bemühung zu geniessen, so wenig als der Obristlieutenant. Der Capitain muss ein Bürger aus dem Viertel seyn, wo die Stelle vacant worden ist. Diese Stelle ist nicht ohne Einkünfte. Verkauft wird sie zwar nicht, aber die wehlende Herren Capitains bekommen Duceurs, so man nicht unter das Verbotene zahlen kann. Der Lieutenant und Fähndrich, wie auch Unterofficiers, und Gemeine müssen aber umsonst dienen, doch sind Officiersstellen nie unbesetzt. Jeder junger Bürger beeft sich, der Stadt seine Dienste zu thun."

6. Griesheim, *Die Stadt Hamburg*, 35, provides further details: "The captain has a commander's staff, which is metal-shod at the top and bottom. It is made of ebony. . . . Before him walks a servant of the city, in

No house is exempt from providing an armed citizen, excepting the regimental personnel, clerics, scholars, and those foreigners living under the Schaumburg and Cathedral jurisdiction, the canons, and the vicars; on the other hand, the citizens residing in those places participate at the ramparts.<sup>7</sup>

A functioning citizen's watch was important for Hamburg community life: above all for the defense against fire and external intruders. Festive gatherings with an *Ehrenmahl* (honorary banquet) that was ordinarily organized yearly—though only in peaceful times, never when the citizen's watch dealt with anything more than their routine work—thus served to affirm and strengthen a citizenry of like-minded spirits.

Citizens who were required to report for duty, however, could arrange to be replaced by hired substitutes. Bach himself, as cantor at the Johanneum, was in fact exempt from the obligation to serve in the *Bürgerwache*.

In 1928, Heinrich Miesner was the first to comprehensively describe the function of the *Bürger-Capitains* and the institution of its yearly *convivia* within the context of

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costume edged with braided silk. The lieutenant has his spontoon, and the ensign carries the colors, which are brought from and to the captain's house upon the end of the watch. The citizen's watch has no uniform, and would indeed not let any such be imposed; an upper and side bayonet are not pleasing. The officers wear scarlet coats with their outfit, and hats trimmed with wide *point d'espagne* lace. Presumably they agreed upon it among themselves." (Der Capitain hat einen Regimentsstab, der oben und unten beschlagen ist. Er ist von Ebenholz. . . . Vor ihm her gehet ein Bedienter der Stadt, mit seidnen Borden besetztem Kleide. Der Lieutenant hat seinen Spondon, der Fähndrich die Fahne, welche aus und in des Capitains Haus bey der Ablösung gebracht wird. . . . Die Bürgerwache, hat keine Uniform, sie würde sich solche auch nicht aufdringen lassen; Ober- und Seitengewehr macht kein gutes Gesicht. Die Officiers tragen in ihrem Aufzug scharlachene Röcke, und Hüte mit breiter Point d'Espagne besetzt. Vermuthlich haben sie es unter sich abgeredt.)

In September 1783, a traveler from Karlsruhe poked fun at this ceremony: "Today I also saw the local citizen's watch march out; it occupies the rampart every evening. They truly look comical. The officers wear coats trimmed with gold, and while marching they doff their hats to acquaintances." (Heute sah ich auch die hiesige Bürgerwache aufziehen, die alle Abend den Wall besetzt. Sie sieht freilich komisch aus. Die Offiziere tragen rothe mit Gold besetzte Röcke, und ziehen vor Bekannten im Marschieren den Hut ab.) See Heinrich Sander, *Beschreibung seiner Reisen durch Frankreich, die Niederlande, Holland, Deutschland und Italien; in Beziehung auf Menschenkenntnis, Industrie, Litteratur und Naturkunde insonderheit*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1784), 220.

7. Griesheim, *Die Stadt Hamburg*, 36: "Von Stellung eines bewaffneten Bürgers ist kein Haus frey, als die Regimentspersonen, die Geistliche, die Gelehrten, und die so unter dem Schaumburgischen- und Domgericht wohnende Fremde, die Canonici, und Vicarien, hingegen die dort seßhafte Bürger ziehen mit zu Walle."

Hamburg's music history.<sup>8</sup> More recently, Willi Maertens and Markus Rathey discuss quite exhaustively the practice and its sociopolitical background relative to the compositions of Georg Philipp Telemann and Bach.<sup>9</sup>

The tradition of the citizen's watch with its *Bürger-Capitains* is indeed not limited to Hamburg; it existed in many German cities.<sup>10</sup> However, the refined type of ceremonial *convivium* that was cultivated there, framed with music, may have been a Hamburg idiosyncrasy. The practice of typically commissioning compositions for the event from the city's music director was apparently first established during Telemann's tenure. His predecessor, Joachim Gerstenbüttel, composed only for the church; accordingly, other composers (often the cathedral cantors) were called upon for the *convivia* during his time, for it was not among the duties of the music director to compose for these occasions.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, the task carried with it a considerable honorarium—which in the case of Bach's compositions was higher than that for his *Einführungsmusiken* (cantatas for the installation of clergy).<sup>12</sup>

During his years as music director in Hamburg (1721–67), Telemann provided music for thirty-six meetings of the *Bürger-Capitains*. However, the honorary banquet was cancelled eight times during that period, and for various reasons such cancellations continued during Bach's term of office (1768–88). Indeed, only five *convivia* of the *Bürger-Capitains* took place in the *Festsaal* of the Eimbeckschen Haus in these years:<sup>13</sup>

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8. Miesner, 102–9. His entries in the A-Wgm scores for both the 1780 oratorio and the serenata (see critical report, source B for H 822a, and source B 1 for H 822b) point to his personal consultation of the sources. Miesner errs, however, when he assumes that Bach's *convivium* performances took place in the Drillhaus, as with such earlier events as the renowned and pictorially documented *Jubiläums-Convivium* of 1719; in Bach's time they were celebrated in the Eimbeckschen Haus. In Bitter, 1:237, Bach's two works are designated as "Serenades," and are listed as instrumental works, since Bitter had not been able to verify the scoring himself.

9. See Rathey; Maertens; and Georg Philipp Telemann. *Musik zum Konvivium der Hamburger Bürgerkapitäne 1730*, TWV 15:5, Georg Philipp Telemann. *Musikalische Werke*, vol. 27, ed. Willi Maertens (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995).

10. During the eighteenth century, the term "Bürger-Capitains" is also documented, for instance, in Frankfurt, Berlin, and Braunschweig. Citizen's watch organizations, over which they presided, were present in a great many cities for the protection of the community, even if the designation "captain" was not universally in use.

11. An example from 1712 is Friedrich Nicolaus Brauns, "Gleichstimmiges Singen macht liebliches Klingen."

12. For Bach's *Einführungsmusiken*, see CPEB: CW, series V/3.

13. See Rathey 2004, 178.



- 27 August 1772: instrumental music only (lost?);  
composer unknown
- 7 September 1775: instrumental music only (lost?);  
composer unknown
- 7 September 1780: oratorio (H 822a) and serenata  
(H 822b) by CPEB
- 4 September 1783: oratorio (H 822c) and serenata  
(H 822d) by CPEB
- 4 September 1788: instrumental music only (lost?);  
composer unknown

Although a final two-part composition was commissioned from Bach in 1788, in late July or early August for the 4 September *convivium* of the *Bürger-Capitains*, he did not in fact compose this work. Instead, Bach immediately sent back the libretto written by Johann Ludwig Gericke (1752–1824)<sup>14</sup> to the presiding official of the “St. Petri Regiment,” as evidenced by that company’s records:

Herewith the honorable *Praeses* shared the following report regarding the forthcoming *convivium*, with respect to the vocal and instrumental music chosen in the *Collegio*: As indeed Doctor Gericke, as a well-known talented poet, was chosen for preparation of the text for music, and as the aforesaid delivered an oratorio with serenata most worthy of our approval, and as then discussion took place with Music Director Bach regarding the composition of the music for it, and regarding the honorarium to be paid for this; because the aforesaid required somewhat more than was otherwise [usually] paid for this, to the aforesaid not only what was requested but also somewhat more was granted to him by the *Schaffer* [who hosts the banquet], and he himself had then accepted the work; on the following day, however, he sent back the text and turned down its composition, declining with the excuse of an illness.<sup>15</sup>

14. Bach had already set a libretto by Gericke in 1786, with his *Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelisturms* (H 823; BR-CPEB F 67). Gericke, audibly influenced by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, demonstrated his expertise as an oratorio poet with the libretto for *Die Tochter Jephta*.

15. “Protokoll des Wohl-Löblichen Collegii der Bürger Capitaines für das Regiment St. Petri” (Commerzbibliothek Hamburg, S/308, 1786–1791, fols. 210–11; quoted in Rathey 2004, 177): “Hierauf ertheilte D<sup>ns</sup> Praeses in Hinsicht der a Collegio beschloßenen Vocal- und Instrumental-Musik bey dem bevorstehenden Convivio folgende Nachricht: Wie zwar zu Verfertigung des Textes zu Musik den Hn D<sup>em</sup> Gericke als einen bekannten geschickten Poeten erwählet und derselbe ein beyfalwürdiges Oratorium nebst Serenata eingeliefert; auch hieraus in Hinsicht der Composition des Musik dazu mit dem Hn Musikdirektor Bach geredet, und demselben wegen des dafür zu zahlenden Honorarii, weil derselbe etwas mehr gefordert, als sonst dafür bezahlet worden, nicht allein das Verlangte sondern auch ein Mehreres von Ihm und den Hn Schaffern zugestanden worden, auch derselbe sodann die Arbeit

The request from the *Bürger-Capitains* for compositions found Bach in a very unsettled phase regarding his health, which was marked by bouts of gout, and furthermore at a time during which he was occupied with the preparation of a print.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately in December, little more than three months after the *convivium*, Bach died, presumably from the consequences of the gout, whose accompanying symptoms include a general impairment of one’s abilities.<sup>17</sup> The speculation that Bach had wanted to rid himself of a troublesome obligation by requesting an excessively high honorarium is thus scarcely plausible.<sup>18</sup> Gericke’s libretto of 1788 was only subsequently set to music by Bach’s successor, Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke, on the occasion of the next *convivium* in 1792.<sup>19</sup>

It is no accident that the double form of sacred oratorio and secular serenata was established precisely in Hamburg for such festive events. It was there, in 1705, that the rise of free, oratorio-like musical forms began in Germany—indeed within the context of the most influential German-language opera and its proponents at the time.<sup>20</sup> Around 1715, exactly this type of opulently festive musical setting became well established for weddings and their accompanying celebrations for the upper *Bürger* class in Hamburg; this is evidenced by the first librettos for double compositions of this kind by Reinhard Keiser and Johann

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übernommen, am folgenden Tag aber den Text zurückgesandt, und deßen Composition unter Vorschützung einer Krankheit abgelehnet und verboten.”

The continuation of the entry in the minutes of 8 August 1788 then refers to the brevity of the time remaining until the *convivium* and the futile efforts of the *Bürger-Capitains* until then to engage a famous outside composer (“auswärtigen berühmten Componisten”) for a composition.

16. Bach was preparing to publish his *Neue Lieder-Melodien*, Wq 200 (see letter to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 26 July 1788; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1271–72; CPEB-Letters, 282–83).

17. Bach wrote on 29 July 1788, in a letter to Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal in Schwerin, “Thank God, I am better again”; he had earlier written, on 13 July 1788, “I am not well”; and then on 25 November 1788, “I have been very sick with gout and other ailments since the 18th of September.” (CPEB-Briefe, 2: 1279, 1280, and 1283; CPEB-Letters, 282–84).

18. See Rathey 2004, 177.

19. *Oratorium und Serenate, zur diesjährigen Feyer des Ehrenmahls, eines wohlloblichen Collegii der Herren Bürger-Capitaine der kayserlichen freyen Reichsstadt Hamburg, und aller hohen und geehrtesten Eingeladenen. Den 13ten September im Jahr 1792* (Hamburg: Peter Nicolaus Bruhns, [1792]), exemplar in D-Hs, A/70014; music lost.

20. See Christine Blanken, *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus von Reinhard Keiser. Das erste deutsche Passionsoratorium nach dem Text von Menantes im Kontext der geistlichen Musik Keisers* (Wandersleben: Menantes-Gedenkstätte, 2010), 7.

Mattheson.<sup>21</sup> Oratorios and serenatas first appear for the *convivia* of the *Bürger-Capitains* in 1719, for their one hundredth jubilee.<sup>22</sup> Before this, the celebrations were presumably accompanied only by instrumental music, or instead by individual pieces such as the *Ketten-Arie*.<sup>23</sup> Under Telemann, who was appointed to the Hamburg music directorship in 1721, this two-part structure remained mostly the norm; thus, a total of eighteen paired works by him are known, of which only nine are extant in their entirety.<sup>24</sup> After Schwencke, through whom the tradition advanced, it lapsed in the nineteenth century. The sacred orientation of the oratorio, still typical with Telemann, is also still found with Bach, albeit in a much freer, enlightened religious manner. Bach's pairs of works for the *convivium*, both in 1780 and in 1783, are scarcely distinguishable from one another in form. In general, his serenatas are shorter than

Telemann's works, most of which contain far more than twenty movements.<sup>25</sup>

### The Librettos

The librettist Christian Wilhelm Alers (1737–1806) was born in Hamburg, attended the Johanneum there, studied theology from 1757 to 1761 in Helmstedt (*Magister*, 1776), and was accepted in 1762 as a candidate (*Vikar*) for the Hamburg church ministry. In 1761, he wrote his first libretto for Telemann, the oratorio *Der Tag des Gerichts*; and in 1765, a secular cantata libretto (*Hamburgs Flor*) followed. After Telemann's death, during the interim cantorship of Georg Michael Telemann, Alers created the first cantata libretto for the installation of a pastoral colleague, and in 1767 he wrote two librettos for the honorary banquet of the *Bürger-Capitains*, which were set by cathedral cantor Lorenz Kühl.<sup>26</sup> After 1768, Alers served as chief pastor in Rellingen, a small city just north of Hamburg. As early as 1771 and 1772, Bach worked together with Alers for the composition of two pastoral installation cantatas (*Einführungsmusik Klefeker*, H 821b; and *Einführungsmusik Häsele*, H 821d; see CPEB: CW, V/3.1 and V/3.2, respectively). Finally, in 1780 and 1783, Alers and Bach were commissioned together for the *convivium* music of the *Bürger-Capitains*. The final post of Alers's career was a joint assignment as convent pastor and head pastor in Uetersen in Holstein (under the patronage of the Countess Auguste Luisa Stolberg-Stolberg), a position that he held from 1789 until his death.

Alers wrote a multitude of poems, both sacred and secular, many of which were first published in journals. He received commissions for numerous librettos, the majority of them works for specific occasions, along with sermons and sacred songs, some of which were adopted in contemporary hymnals. Other texts he apparently wrote of his own accord, including some sacred cantatas, oratorios, and Passions. Between 1786 and 1788, Alers published a selection of his work in three volumes: *Gedichte, der Religion, dem*

21. See Steffen Voss, "Johann Matthesons Hochzeitsmusiken," in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Hamburgs vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 233–56; and *MGG<sup>II</sup>*, Personenteil, s.v. "Keiser, Reinhard," by Christine Blanken, 9:1602–3.

22. *Das dem Herrn aller Herren gebührende Lob- und Dankopfer* (oratorio) and *Mars und Irene in vergnüglicher Verbindung* (serenata) are the first vocal-instrumental compositions for the *convivium* of the *Bürger-Capitains*. They are the works of Michael Richey (libretto) and Matthias Christoph Wiedeburg (music). This celebration is also documented in an illustration of the *Kettenschluß* in Michael Richey, *Umständliche Beschreibung des ansehnlichen Jubel-Festins, Welches Die Hoch- und Wohlloblichen Collegia der Herren Colonels und Bürger-Capitains in Hamburg nachdem Dieselben bey Ihren wolhergebrachten Verfassungen Hundert Jahre von Gott erhalten worden, A. 1719, d. 31. Augusti friedlich und fröhlich celebrirt, den künftigen Zeiten zur Nachricht ans Licht gestellt* (Hamburg, 1719).

23. One such corresponding song text is included with the 1780 libretto print (H 822a–822b, OT, [p. 25]), directly after the text of the 1780 serenata; it has the heading "Text, so bey Schliessung der Kette abgesungen wurde," and the text incipit "Schliesset die Kette der Einigkeit veste." This song belongs to the so-called *Kettenschluß*, in which all those attending the *convivium* held crossed hands (see Maertens, 395, and Maertens, ed., *Georg Philipp Telemann. Musik zum Konvivium*, facsimile on p. xvii). Telemann's "Kettenschluss-Aria" is extant, and employs this same text (published in Maertens, 387). While one may speculate that this same setting may also have been sung in 1780 and 1783, there is no specific evidence to determine this.

24. Telemann's *convivium* compositions with oratorio and serenata are only extant in their entirety for the years 1724, 1730, 1736, 1738, 1742, 1744, 1755, 1760, and 1764. For 1728, the oratorio alone exists; and for 1756 and 1761, only portions of the oratorios are extant. In 1741, 1745, 1750, 1757, 1758, 1762, 1763, and 1766, the celebration was skipped; from the remaining years of his tenure, the compositions are missing. In 1767, a libretto by Christian Wilhelm Alers was performed in a setting by the Hamburg cathedral cantor Lorenz Kühl (scan of libretto available online from D-Hs, A/70014; and in Alers, *Gedichte, der Religion, dem Vaterlande und der Freundschaft gesungen*, vol. 2 [Hamburg: Eckermann, 1787], 146–56).

25. See Maertens, who sheds light on various aspects of the genre and the individual compositions of Telemann. For a recent discussion regarding the political implications of the librettos used by Telemann, see Martin Schneider, "Bruchlinien der Integration. Konkurrierende Modelle politischer Gemeinschaft in den Libretti von Telemanns Kapitänsmusiken," in *Extravaganz und Geschäftssinn: Telemanns Hamburger Innovationen*, ed. Bernhard Jahn and Ivana Rentsch (Münster: Waxman, 2019), 159–73.

26. See Rathey, "Von Gerichtspausen und Erdbeben," 194, 207.

*Vaterlande und der Freundschaft gesungen*.<sup>27</sup> A fourth volume was apparently planned but remained unpublished.<sup>28</sup>

Alers's three collections show very impressive subscription lists. The second volume alone contains some 270 names, among which are listed not only the nobility of Hamburg and its environs, but also various church representatives; in addition the list includes all fifty-seven *Bürger-Capitains*. The ownership and the reading of Alers's poetry evidently was considered part of "fine manners" in northern Germany. Three of the four texts set by Bach for the banquets of the *Bürger-Capitains* appeared in 1787 in volume 2, where they are, together with the two Kühl librettos of 1767, divided between an oratorio and a serenata section of the volume.<sup>29</sup> Alers had already written the librettos for an oratorio and serenata for the *convivium* in 1769 (according to the "Protokoll des Wohl-Löblichen Collegii der Bürger Capitaines für das Regiment St. Petri"), which Bach presumably was to have set for that occasion. However, since the *Festsaal* in the Eimbeckschen Haus was not yet available due to renovation work, no *convivium* was held that year.<sup>30</sup> The next banquet to include vocal music did not take place until 1780, and Alers and Bach were then commissioned. Like Michael Richey (1678–1761) in the generation before him, Alers may be described as *the* poet in Hamburg for occasional music. His modern, religiously enlightened language, and his skillful inclusion of current political aspects against the background of Hamburg history—particularly together with his general patriotic outlook—were indeed surely decisive in engaging this renowned poet-theologian for the *Bürgercapitainsmusiken*. Alers's strongly associative figurative language must in any case have very well suited Bach for a musical setting. Whether Alers's famous Hamburg literary inspiration, Klopstock, was also an influence here may yet be demonstrated by further research on the librettos.<sup>31</sup>

27. See critical report for details, including references for the *Bürgercapitainsmusik* texts.

28. See Hans Schröder, "C.W. Alers," in *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg: Verein für hamburgische Geschichte, 1851), 1:45–47; and Georg Christoph Hamberger, *Das gelehrte Teutschland oder Lexikon der jetzt lebenden Teutschen Schriftsteller* (Lemgo, 1796), 1:50–51.

29. This further documents that oratorio and serenata are each to be viewed as independent works.

30. See Rathey, 50.

31. In any case, with his series of Jesus oratorios, Alers created what was virtually another Messiah libretto cycle, reminiscent of Klopstock's own epic *Der Messias* (1755).

For all four of Bach's works, the themes of Alers's librettos directly echo the occasion for which they were written, at times setting the patriotic duties of the assembled *Bürger-Capitains* alongside allusions to the wine and feasting of the *convivium* banquet itself. Designed to fête and to fortify the citizen captains, the librettos deploy their celebratory themes through an array of allegorical characters. Patriotism is personified in some guise in each work, either as an individual figure or multiplied as a recurring Choir of Patriots. This central character appears in consort with such attending personae as the figures of Gratitude, Truth, Peace, or Freedom. Hamburg herself—or her Guardian Spirit—appears allegorically in three of the four works. The 1780 serenata pits Deceit, Envy, and Insurrection against superseding Honesty, Unity, and Love of Country, and each work concludes with the unifying choirs of Virtues, of Patriots, or of the Thankful.

In the oratorios, the *convivia* participants were meant to join in singing the well-known hymns: in the 1780 oratorio, no. 8, "Sollt ich meinem Gott nicht singen?" (HG 1766, no. 525, v. 1); in the 1783 oratorio, no. 6, "Gott lasse seinen Frieden ruhn" (HG 1766, no. 540, v. 6), and likely also no. 17, "Wer sind wir, Gott der Macht und Huld" (not in HG 1766).

## The Music

With their introduction of "Querpfefe" and "Trommel," the two secular serenatas offer a performance practice peculiarity: these are instruments not otherwise found in the works of C.P.E. Bach.<sup>32</sup> Employed particularly in the *tutti* sections, these two instruments seem to hold a

32. It cannot be precisely determined what kind or size of drum in D ("Trommel in D") Bach intended. For illustrations and detailed descriptions of types of extant eighteenth-century German drums held in various museums, see Monika Lustig, "Mitteleuropäische 'Instrumente, welche geschlagen oder geklopft werden' aus drei Jahrhunderten. Dokumentation der Sonderausstellung," in *Perkussionsinstrumente in der Kunstmusik vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2010), 511–32, esp. 519–27.

The *Querpfefe* (also known as *Fistula minor Helvetica*, *Schweizerpfefe*, *Trommelpfeife*, or *Schwegel*) is made of wood and has at most six holes in addition to the embouchure hole; see Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), 258. The range given in Walther of d'–d''' does not entirely agree with the range used in Bach's two serenatas. In Bach's works, the *Querpfefe* reaches from f# to e''', which approximately matches the range in works by Telemann (see Maertens, 95). Eighteenth-century instruments from the German-speaking territories are extant in various keys; for various illustrations, see examples of German drums at "Musical Instrument Museums Online" ([mimo-international.com](http://mimo-international.com)).



special connotation as military instruments. Since the Renaissance, “Trommler und Pfeifer” (drummer and piper) have belonged to the ensemble of military bands, with the instruments of footsoldiers.<sup>33</sup> This is detailed in a 1726 description of the “complete German soldier”:

The *Querpfeiffer*, who is an excellent companion to the drummer, plays a good little morning song at reveille, and marches along beside the drummer to raise or lower the flag, and also pipes during marches; the technique of piping and of composing the little pieces is different. The *Querpfeife* players carry the large and small *Querpfeiffen* on their backs in a round wooden case, like cupid’s quiver with arrows.<sup>34</sup>

Telemann may have introduced this tradition into Hamburg’s formal music. In any case, he employed the combination of *Querpfeife* and *Trommel* in his serenata of 1738.<sup>35</sup> In 1744, 1755, and presumably also 1763, Telemann repeated this instrumentation once again, with several titles of his serenatas also explicitly referring to the *Trommel*.<sup>36</sup> Bach thus adopts a Hamburg practice for his own instrumentation.

Bach’s first serenata similarly returns explicitly to the old tradition of a “good little morning song” with his instruction that its opening movement should be interpreted “In der Zeitmaße der Reveille” (In the tempo of a reveille). The reveille (from French *réveiller*: to awaken), as daily morning music in the garrison both in times of war and of peace, is described by Fleming as the traditional counterpart to the evening “taps”:

The “Diana,” or reveille, is sounded in the field early in the mornings, as soon as day breaks, and the beginning of it is given again in the headquarters, and followed thus by all the

regiments, as with taps, whereupon the posted night watch and auxiliary watches are then once more led away and moved out.<sup>37</sup>

The citizen’s watch, which still observed military traditions during Bach’s Hamburg tenure, also apparently accompanied the disbanding of its nightly watch with a *Trommel*, as noted above. In beginning his 1780 serenata with a reveille march, then, Bach thus set this daily changing of the guard before the eyes and ears of the captains attending the *convivium* performance. Bach, however, already knew this tradition from his youth in Leipzig, for the Thomasschule, in which his family lived, was located immediately next to the *Thomaspförtchen* (the Thomas Gate).<sup>38</sup> Here, a daily musical ritual took place each morning and evening:

Leading out of the city, there are presently four great gates and three small gates, which are closed in orderly fashion in the evening after taps, and opened early after the reveille is sounded.<sup>39</sup>

For Bach, the composition of the *convivium* pieces provided a source of supplemental income to the regular salary as music director, for such ancillary celebratory music did not belong to his official duties. Thus, in 1780 Bach received 100 Marks for “the composition and direction” of the oratorio and serenata, together with a total of 130 Marks for additional performance costs that year: the fees for the instrumentalists, the ten singers, and the *Chorknaben*, as well as for such secondary activities as the three tunings of the harpsichord and the breakfast served dur-

33. See MGG<sup>II</sup>, Sachteil, s.v. “Militärmusik” (“Kriegsmusik des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts”), by Bernhard Höfele, 6: 273–78. Trumpets and timpani, on the other hand, were instruments of the cavalry (“Instrumente der Reiterei”).

34. Hanss Friedrich von Fleming, “Tambour und Quer-Pfeifer,” in *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat* (Leipzig: Johann Christian Martini, 1726), 144: “Der Quer-Pfeiffer, welcher ein guter Campagnon des Tambours, bläset bey der Reveille ein gutes Morgenliedgen, und marschiret nebst dem Tambour um das Fähnlein zu hohlen, oder Abzutropfen, pfeiffet auch währenden Marsche; Die Methode zu pfeifen und die Stückgen zu componiren ist different. Die Querpfeiffer tragen die grossen und kleinen Querpfeifen auf dem Rücken in einen hölzernen runden Futteral, wie Cupido den Köcher mit Pfeilen.”

35. See Maertens, 95–98.

36. These serenatas include *Die Trommeln ertönen; auf, Helden, zum Kampf* (1734); *Es locket die Trommel mit wirbelnden Schlägen* (1738); *Schlagt die Trommel, blast Trompeten* (1742); and *Wirbelt, ihr Trommeln, lärmt, Trompeten* (1754).

37. Fleming, *Der vollkommene teutsche Soldat*, 479: “Die Diana, oder Reveille wird Morgens frühe, so bald der Tag anbricht, in Felde geschlagen, und wird der Anfang abermahls damit gemacht in Hauptquartiere, und von allen Regimentern also nachgefolget, wie bey dem Zapfenstreiche, worauf denn die ausgesetzten Nacht- und Neben-Posten wieder abgeführte und eingezogen werden.” The phrase “Batter la Diana” may be translated from the Italian into German as “Reveille schlagen”; see Annibal Antonini and Giovanni Agosto Lehninger, *Nuovo dizionario italiano-tedesco, tedesco-italiano* (Leipzig: Caspar Fritsch, 1763), 170, 427.

38. Anna Magdalena Bach transmitted in the “Zweiten Notenbüchlein” (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 226) a “Reveille” in C major for keyboard (BR-WFB A 52; Fk 27); as the subsequent owner of the MS, the elderly C.P.E. Bach expanded upon this title with “von W.F. Bach” (by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach).

39. Iccander [Johann Christian Crell], *Das In gantz Europa berühmte, galante und sehens-würdige Königliche Leipzig in Sachsen* (Leipzig: August Martini, 1725), 63: “Aus der Stadt gehen anjetzo 4. grosse Thore und 3. Pfortgen, die Abends ordentlich nach dem Zapffen-Streich geschlossen, und früh nach geschlagener Reveille eröffnet werden.”

ing the first rehearsal at Bach's house.<sup>40</sup> These expenses are detailed in an invoice in Bach's hand, dated September 1780, which lists the groups of musicians who performed the two pieces:

Die Unkosten wegen der Musik bey dem Convivio der Herrn Bürger-Capitains betragen:

Für die Composition und Direction	100 Mk
Für 10 Sänger	40 —
Für 12 Instrumentalisten von der Rolle	48 —
Für den Accompagnisten	4 —
Für Copialien	19 — 8 ß
Für Frühstück bey der ersten Probe in meinem Hause und den Flügel	7 —
Für den Instrumenten Träger und seinen Gehülffen	1 —
Für den Chor Knaben	5 —
Für den Flügel u. denselben 3mahl zu stimmen	— 8 [ß]
	5
Summa	230 Mk

Hamburg im Sept. 1780.  
wurde gleich bezahlt<sup>41</sup>

In the 1780 oratorio, the vocal soloists for each allegorical character are specified by surname in the printed libretto:<sup>42</sup>

Role (Translation)	Singer (Voice)
Hammona (Hamburg) <sup>43</sup>	Johann Christian Lau (Soprano)

40. The phrase "ten singers" refers to the professional church singers whom Bach regularly engaged; regarding their known names, biographies, and periods of activity in Hamburg, see Sanders, 95–107; for additional documentary evidence, see Neubacher, 210–61.

41. "Rechnungsbuch der Kirchenmusiker" in D-Ha, 731-1, Handschriftensammlung 462, p. 70; transcribed in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:853–54. For an explanation of the term "Rollbrüder" (here "Rolle") and lists of names of Bach's instrumental ensembles, see Sanders, 83–87 and 90–91.

42. For both 1780 works, the cast is listed in OT, p. 2; see critical report for source description. The eight singers named in the libretto differ, however, from the "ten singers" specified in the "Rechnungsbuch" invoice transcribed above.

43. Hammona or Hammonia is the Latin name for Hamburg, as well as for the goddess and patron of the town—a personification typical in eighteenth-century music at least since a setting of music for *Petri-Mahl* by Barthold Hinrich Brockes in 1710. See Joachim Kremer, "Urbanität als Rahmen musikalischen Experimentierens," in *Extravaganz und Geschäftssinn*, 93–106, esp. 95–97. On musical depictions of the city of Hamburg, also 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*, 119–29, esp. 123–24.

Die Menschenliebe (Philanthropy)	Peter Friedrich Nicolaus Delver (Alto)
Der Patriotismus (Patriotism)	Johann Heinrich Michel (Tenor)
Die Dankbarkeit (Gratitude)	Friedrich Martin Illert (Bass)

Below the soloists, the libretto lists the oratorio's two choruses: Chöre der Tugenden (Choirs of Virtues) and Chöre der Patrioten (Choirs of Patriots).

For the 1780 serenata, the libretto similarly lists the following singers:<sup>44</sup>

Role (Translation)	Singer (Voice)
Die Freude (Pleasure)	Lau (Soprano)
Die Freude	Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke (Soprano)
Die Redlichkeit (Honesty)	Delver (Alto)
Die Arglist (Deceit)	Johann Matthias Seidel (Alto)
Der Neid (Envy)	Hartmann [Christian name unknown] (Tenor) <sup>45</sup>
Die Eintracht (Unity)	Michel (Tenor)
Die Vaterlandsliebe (Love of Country)	Johann Andreas Hoffmann (Bass)
Der Aufruhr (Insurrection)	Illert (Bass)

Below the soloists, the libretto then lists the two choruses for the serenata: Chöre der Patrioten (Choirs of Patriots) and Chöre der Tugenden (Choirs of Virtues).

In 1783, Bach received the same total payment for his oratorio and serenata as he had earned for the 1780 works, and presumably his honorarium for composing and directing was similar.<sup>46</sup> The details for 1783, however, are lost, since the Hamburg "Rechnungsbuch der Kirchenmusiken" is missing the leaf (p. 71) that once itemized Bach's expenses for that year's *Bürgercapitainsmusiken* performance.<sup>47</sup> The table of contents of the account book records only the total amount paid: "Preiß 230.— [Mk.], Bürgerkapitans Convivium. 1783. im Septbr. [Seite] 71"—an amount that matches the sum for 1780. The two 1783 works, however, were somewhat less elaborately conceived, both in their length and in their performing forces.

44. In addition to the singers listed in the libretto, an unnamed soprano ripienist apparently also took part—presumably the choirboy who was listed in the "Rechnungsbuch" invoice.

45. Possibly Johann Georg Hartmann; see Neubacher, 424.

46. See *CPEB-Briefe* 1:986–87.

47. Why several leaves are missing in the "Rechnungsbuch" is explained in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:184–85.



For the lost 1783 oratorio, five singers are specifically listed by surname in the libretto:<sup>48</sup>

Role (Translation)	Singer (Voice)
Die Wohlfahrt (Welfare)	“Nohrlich” <sup>49</sup>
Der Patriot (Patriot)	Hartmann (Tenor)
Der Friede (Peace)	Michel (Tenor)
Die Religion (Religion)	Hoffmann (Bass)
Hamburgs Schutzgeist (Hamburg’s Guardian Spirit)	Illert (Bass)

After the soloists for the oratorio, the libretto lists the Chöre der Danckenden (Choirs of the Thankful).

For the 1783 serenata, the libretto lists the following singers:

Role (Translation)	Singer (Voice)
Der Nachruhm (Posthumous Glory)	Delver (Alto)
Die Wahrheit (Truth)	Michel (Tenor)
Die Freiheit (Freedom)	Illert (Bass)
Hammona (Hamburg)	Hoffmann (Bass)

After the soloists for the serenata, the libretto lists the Chöre der Hamburgischen Patrioten (Choirs of Hamburg Patriots).

Contrary to what was still the norm for Telemann’s works, additional performances of Bach’s *Bürgercapitainsmusiken* after the *convivium* celebration are known only for 1780.<sup>50</sup> One month after their first performance, the oratorio and serenata were performed a second time on 14 October 1780 in the Hamburg Drillhaus concert hall—this time, however, for the public and at Bach’s own expense:

48. The cast for both 1783 works is listed in OT, p. 2 (see plate 10); see critical report for source description.

49. “Nohrlich” is likely the boy soprano Nehrlich who sang in the 1784 St. John Passion (see CPEB: CW, IV/7.4, xiv, 86) and in the 1784 Easter cantata, Wq 243 (see CPEB: CW, V/2.1, 257). Peter Wollny has identified this singer as the keyboard virtuoso and composer Johann Peter Theodor Nehrlich (b. 1770), who served as copyist for a score of Wq 222 (D-B, SA 264; see CPEB: CW, V/6.1, 148, source D 8); on Nehrlich’s biography and surviving copies in his hand, see Wollny’s summary in NBA, IV/11, Kritischer Bericht, 182–84.

50. Public second performances of works written for the *Bürger-Capitains* celebrations had already been given under Telemann’s direction. According to the “Protokolle der Commerzdeputation,” 31 December 1764: “Nach der Feyer des Jubilaei sollte es aber dem Herrn Telemann frey stehen, die Music öffentlich nach Gefallen aufzuführen” (After the jubilee celebration, however, Herr Telemann should be free to perform the music in public however he wishes); Commerzbibliothek Hamburg, Hanseatisches Wirtschaftsarchiv, S/599, vol. KK, p. 399; as cited in Neubacher, 92.

With official permission, Kapellmeister Bach will perform his music that was recently given at the *convivium* of the *Bürger-Capitains*, and at the same time will himself be heard on the fortepiano, in a public concert in the Drillhaus next Saturday, October 14th. The tickets, which can be purchased at 2 Marks apiece at his house or at the entrance, will likely be ready in a couple of days. The beginning of the concert is at half past five o’clock.<sup>51</sup>

As commissioned works, the three extant *Bürgercapitainsmusiken* pieces for 1780 and 1783 would likely have been newly composed; in any event, no direct musical connections with any earlier works from other genres have so far been demonstrated. Since none of these three pieces are transmitted in autograph, however, the evidence in this matter remains inconclusive. Nonetheless, Bach did indeed reuse movements from 1780 in three later instances.

The first such adaptation appears within the context of the *Bürgercapitainsmusiken* itself. In 1783, Bach parodied the closing movement from his 1780 serenata (no. 8, “Chor der Patrioten und der Tugenden”) for the final chorus of the 1783 serenata (no. 9, “Chor der Patrioten”). With the 1783 version, Bach slightly expanded the instrumentation of this movement, shortened the solo sections, and furnished it with a new coda (see critical report).

Additionally, Bach drew upon two movements from his 1780 oratorio in composing two separate occasional works in 1785 and 1786. The soprano aria no. 3 from 1780 forms the basis in 1786 for aria no. 5 of the *Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelisturms* (H 823; published in CPEB: CW, V/5.2), likewise set for soprano solo. Here, however, only the instrumentation and the music of the A section and the ritornello correspond with the earlier aria.

In 1785, Bach used four verses from the last movement of the 1780 oratorio (nos. 16b, 16e, 16f, and 16c, respectively) in parodied form for the final chorus of part I of the *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft* (H 824e), where they appear as nos. 14b, 14f, 14h, and 14l.<sup>52</sup> This chorus in the 1780 ora-

51. Wiermann, 460: “Mit Hochobrigkeitlicher Erlaubniß wird der Kapellmeister Bach künftigen 14ten October, am Sonnabend, seine kürzlich bey dem Convivio der Herren Bürger-Capitains aufgeführte Musik in einem öffentlichen Concerte im Drillhause aufführen, und sich zugleich auf dem Forte Piano hören lassen. Die Billets, welche in seinem Hause und bey dem Eingange, das Stück mit 2 Mark bezahlt werden, können in ein paar Tagen fertig seyn. Der Anfang des Concerts ist um 5 ein halb Uhr.” The work that Bach performed on the fortepiano as part of this concert is unknown.

52. For additional details regarding Bach’s adaptation of this movement for the *Dank-Hymne*, see CPEB: CW, V/5.1, 137–39, especially table 1 and Bach’s sketch for reworking the earlier chorus in figure 1 and example 1.

torio is entirely based on the chorale melody known today by the text “Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich,” set in the form of a choral partita “per omnes versus” and in a single key.<sup>53</sup> Bach, however, changed this uniform structure in 1785 by embedding it within a rondo structure.<sup>54</sup> The new form necessitated some changes to the four adapted chorale movements, as the thirteen sections of the new setting stand in various key relationships to one another in order to avoid monotony; Bach transposed the chorale verses and carefully adapted them to the new text. The instrumentation was only marginally changed in the process, while the composition had to be revised to accommodate the new key.

In 2014, the *Bürgercapitainsmusik* (1780) was revived in Hamburg by Ira Hochman and *barockwerk hamburg*, who performed the oratorio and the serenata, and in Magdeburg by Michael Schneider and La Stagione Frankfurt, who performed the oratorio. Both were given as part of the C.P.E. Bach tercentenary celebration using an early version of the edition presented here; each ensemble subsequently also released a recording of the work.

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53. The printed libretto refers, however, to another well-known text (see OT, p. 13): “Melodie: Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund etc.” This text appears in Telemann’s *convivium* compositions for the *Bürger-Capitains*, and may have belonged to the basic repertoire of chorales used in their celebrations.

54. For this, Bach was perhaps influenced by the text of Psalm 150 in no. 14 (“Lobet den Herrn in seinem Heiligtum”), where it is given in refrain a total of six times, culminating in a great intensification.

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Christine Blanken