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Choral Total:
Church Cantatas After Bach

Authorised Transcript

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Choral Total: Church Cantatas After Bach

Authorised transcript* of a live video discussion with Stephen A. Crist (SC), Andrew Frampton (AF), Gregor Richter (GR), and Magdalena Auenmüller (MA), moderated by Susan McCormick (SM). Questions from the audience were asked by Bernd Koska (BK) and John Butt (JB).

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*The following transcript has been edited and expanded for clarity and will at times differ from the spoken live discussion.¹

SM Good afternoon, and you're very welcome to this second session; Willkommen. This session will look at 'Church Cantatas after Bach'. Our four contributors will focus on composers. So, we're going to begin with Stephen A. Crist on Krebs; Andrew Frampton will look at Agricola; Gregor Richter on Benda; and Magdalena Auenmüller on Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach. I hope you enjoy the session. We've decided to have questions at the end of all four speakers, and then we'll open questions also to the audience. So, let's start with Stephen on Krebs. Thank you.

SC My remarks today come on the heels of finishing a scholarly edition of the complete vocal music of Johann Ludwig Krebs (1713–1780), one of Bach's most prominent students. It currently is in production for the Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era series of A-R Editions, and I expect it will be published sometime next year.² Compared to Johann Sebastian Bach, Krebs's output of vocal music was relatively modest.

On the bottom half of this slide, you can see that five liturgical pieces with Latin texts have been preserved: a *Missa brevis*, three settings of the *Sanctus*, and a *Magnificat*. There is also a German *Magnificat* and an a cappella motet, *Erforsche mich, Gott, und erfahre mein Herz* ('Examine me, God, and search my heart'). The last item on the list is a so-called *Oratorio funebre*, which doesn't resemble an oratorio at all, but is actually a *dramma per musica*, along the lines of Bach's cantatas for the birthdays of Saxon royalty. It was composed to mark the passing of Maria Josepha, Queen of Poland (1699–1757), who died in November 1757, and its libretto is in Italian. Given the theme of this year's Bach festival, however, I'm going to focus on the pieces at the top of the slide, a group of German cantatas in the mould of those by Krebs's teacher, J.S. Bach.³

The list includes two chorale cantatas: the fourth item, *Jesu, meine Freude* ('Jesu, my joy'), and the last one, *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* ('My heart is full of longing'). They invite comparison with Bach's extensive cycle of 66 chorale cantatas, most of which were composed 300 years ago, in the church year 1724 to 1725, and all of which have been performed here this week by choirs from around the world.⁴ The opening movement of Krebs's Cantata 109 includes one stanza of a hymn, set in four-part harmony, with the melody in the soprano. Interpolated between each sentence of the hymn text are two lines of poetic commentary, sung by the alto in recitative style. The words of the hymn are indicated here in bold type, and the words of the recitative in regular type. Essentially the same procedure is found in some of Bach's cantatas, for instance, in the seventh movement of Cantata 92, except that the recitative passages aren't assigned to a single voice. Rather, they're sung by each of the four voices in turn, first by the bass, then the tenor, alto, and soprano.

Bach's chorale cantatas are typically based on a single hymn. The first and last stanzas are set in the first and last movements of the cantata. The texts of the cantata's inner movements, usually a series of recitatives and arias, are poetic paraphrases of the remaining stanzas of the hymn. Krebs's chorale cantatas are

more eclectic than Bach's. In the middle column of this slide, you can see that the first and last movements of Krebs's Cantata 109 come from two different hymns, and the recitatives in movements one and three aren't based on either one of them. Rather, they were taken from Erdmann Neumeister's *Fünffache Kirchen-Andachten*, a huge collection of cantata texts published here in Leipzig in 1716.⁵ Another important difference is that Krebs's cantatas generally are shorter than Bach's. This one has only two inner movements, an aria and a recitative; Bach's chorale cantatas usually have a minimum of two each, for a total of at least six movements. And this is just one example of the very many ways in which Krebs's cantatas shed light on Bach's, and vice versa.

My edition is based on about 30 manuscript sources, including eight autographs as well as scores and performing parts in the hands of many different copyists. Quite a few of them are in major libraries in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, London, and Brussels, but some are in more out of the way places, such as church archives in the German towns of Stade and Luckau. The edition includes an extensive critical report and introduction, with many details about the transmission of Krebs's vocal music. For instance, the only sources for Cantata 109 are a score and a set of performing parts in the Kantoreibibliothek in Luckau.⁶ They're in the hand of Christian August Krieg (1740–1814), who served as cantor first at the Nikolaikirche in Luckau, and later at the Dreikönigskirche in Dresden.⁷ Here's a photograph of the wrapper...and the first page of the score.

After more than a decade as a student in Leipzig, Krebs took up his first professional position in the spring of 1737 as organist at the Marienkirche in Zwickau, and there he composed the first cantata that has come down to us, and the only one that's preserved in his own handwriting—the first item on the slide. Krebs also composed a cantata in his next position, as castle organist in Zeitz. The evidence for this compositional activity is in an unusual location, the steeple of the Friedenskirche in Radebeul, a suburb just a few miles northwest of Dresden. In the course of renovations in 1746, a handwritten libretto for the cantata *Erhöht erfreute Andachts-Lieder* ('Sound, joyous songs of devotion') was deposited in the church tower, and it survives. The occasion for the cantata was a celebration of peace that took place in the year 1746. Unfortunately, the music hasn't been preserved, but, against all odds, I was able to obtain photographs of the libretto.

In 2018, the steeple was renovated for the first time in nearly 60 years. The metal box containing documents from the renovation in 1746 was temporarily removed. The woman on the right in this photograph, Christina Nehr Korn-Stege, happened to have taken a few photos with her cell phone, and she was kind enough to make them available to me. They included the libretto for Krebs's Cantata 107: on the right-hand side, the first two movements, aria tutti and recitative, and then the second page. So, I'm very pleased to have that as well, even though there's no music.

The cantatas of J.S. Bach's favourite student, Johann Ludwig Krebs, are of obvious historical interest, contributing to our knowledge of the compositional output of the next generation of church musicians in Bach's orbit. The music has many lovely features, even if one has to overlook the sometimes excessive diatonicism. [Laughter] Krebs can be said to have written very competent music in the style prevalent in central Germany in the generation after his famous teacher. For this reason, even if Krebs is likely, in fact inevitably, going to remain permanently in the shadow of Bach, it seems clear that his vocal music is well worth recovering and knowing. Thank you.

[Applause]

SM Thank you so much, Stephen. We're going to move on to Andrew now. Thank you.

AF A crucial event in the development of sacred music in Berlin in the middle of the 18th century occurred in January 1755, when Rudolf Dietrich Buchholz (1719–1778) was appointed as Kantor of the Petrikirche, one of the oldest and most important Protestant churches in the city.⁸ Press reports from the *Berlinische Nachrichten* newspaper give detailed information on the cantata repertoire performed in the church at this time, and they reveal that there was an active cooperation in the provision of sacred music for the church between Buchholz and composers working for the Berlin court, especially the Kapellmeister Carl Heinrich Graun (1707–1759) and the former Bach pupil Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–1774).⁹ So, as a case study of the Lutheran church cantata after J.S. Bach's death, Berlin is particularly interesting, because its expression of Enlightenment culture was heavily influenced by the scepticism of Frederick II (1712–1786) towards religion. And, unlike many of their contemporaries elsewhere, such as Gottfried Homilius (1714–1785), Agricola and his court colleagues tended only to produce sacred music for high feast days or special events, because their compositional priorities were not liturgical.¹⁰

Nonetheless, Agricola's legacy as a church composer represents the most intact corpus of musical materials for his own works that we have, so it's of particular significance. Under his teacher J.S. Bach, Agricola would certainly have been exposed to the weekly ritual of cantata performances in the Leipzig churches, and, as his *Lebenslauf* (curriculum vitae) suggests, he might even have played organ in some of them.¹¹ And a letter from Agricola to Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767) refers to the fact that he had been experimenting with composing 'in the church style' since at least 1752.¹² But 1755 seems to have been a crucial year for Agricola's engagement with sacred music. Not only did it see the appointment of Buchholz as Kantor, but also the first performance of Graun's hugely popular Passion cantata *Der Tod Jesu* ('The death of Jesus'), in which Agricola sang the tenor solos. So, it was in the wake of this success that he began writing music for the Petrikirche.

Previous scholarship has underestimated the breadth and quality of his output of church music: most catalogue listings give only between 10 to 12 compositions. The true number is around twice that, and there are probably more that haven't been identified or no longer exist. And there are also eight pieces of doubtful authenticity that you can't see on the screen there.¹³ Music for the major feasts of the church year unsurprisingly dominates, but there are also several occasional works, including this funeral cantata, *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut* ('Flow, you souls, with melancholy'), AgWV 25. This was written as a commemorative mourning ode for Frederick II's mother, Queen Sophia Dorothea, who died in June 1757. Its opening movement, interestingly, seems to consciously draw some inspiration from the chorus 'O Mensch, bewein' ('O mankind, bemoan') from Bach's *St Matthew Passion*, BWV 244.¹⁴ But in this piece, we do see many core features of Agricola's church style, including homophonic choral textures against a polyphonic instrumental background in the opening movement; frequent alteration between tutti and solo parts; an extended choral fugue towards the end of the work; and one or more long soprano arias, in this case two, featuring long melismas and coloratura.¹⁵ Agricola was married to one of the court's star operatic sopranos, Benedetta (née Molteni, 1722–1780), and these arias were clearly intended as vehicles for her. Many of his cantatas also contain elaborate writing for obbligato organ.¹⁶

In this funeral work, as in many of his cantatas, chorales also play an important structural and expressive role. The libretto falls into two parts of four movements each, both concluding with a chorale, and Agricola chooses to conclude the first part of this cantata, which deals exclusively with mourning and melancholy, with the chorale 'Es ist genug' ('It is enough') (No. 4), to the text 'Den heissen Gram' ('The fervent sorrow'), which was of course set by J.S. Bach in *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* ('O eternity, you word of thunder'), BWV 60. This is surely symbolic on multiple levels. The chorale's famous tritone interval, and its eventual resolution at the final cadence, may be seen as both representing the transition from extreme pain into something more consolatory—so from the first to the second part of the cantata—and the crossing over of the soul into the afterlife. This idea of transition from grief to comfort is expanded upon both textually and musically in the following recitative that opens the second part (No. 5), which is a prayer that reflects on the notion of tears of pain becoming tears of joy.

One of the reasons Agricola's sacred music has been neglected by scholarship is that many of the relevant materials have only recently become available, through the rediscovery of the Berlin Sing-Akademie collection.¹⁷ This collection contains more of his cantata autographs than any other collection, and, indeed, sources for works that exist nowhere else. In most cases, the autographs have been carefully preserved alongside the original performing materials, so this allows us to study the interactions between the composer and his copyists. For example, in the sources for this 1758 Easter Day cantata, *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* ('The resurrection of the redeemer'), AgWV 7, we find this striking change in the solo

soprano part of the recitative text (No. 8), from 'Erhabner Held' ('noble hero') (also found in the autograph) to 'Erstandner Held' ('risen hero'). Crucially, the change is in Agricola's hand, and this also means he must have sanctioned other textual differences in this part not found in the autograph, such as the reassignment of the solo tenor aria to the soprano. But in another recitative (No. 4), the parts show an alternative version of bar 14 to the autograph, and here the autograph clearly shows some evidence of erasures, which suggests it has been subject to revision. And by matching the placement of the erasures to the readings in the parts, we can actually see that there is a kind of continuous dialogue between the autograph and the parts, between Agricola and his copyists, constantly revising and reshaping this work over one, or, perhaps more likely, several performances.¹⁸

There are many musical highlights in this beautiful cantata, but the real jewel is this soprano aria (No. 9). It is a long, virtuosic movement grounded in an operatic, galant style that marks a return to the full festive orchestration of the opening chorus. There are pairs of trumpets and horns in solo-tutti dialogue with each other, and the rest of the orchestra is itself in dialogue with the soprano. All the hallmarks of Agricola's coloratura soprano writing are on full display here: there are acrobatic triplets and arpeggios, often soaring to quite great heights, and the deployment of these musical features is all the more appropriate, given the subject of the text, which asks the angels to lend their songs of splendour.¹⁹ And the operatic quality of the vocal writing is also evident from several pauses that are written into the music, most notably this one at the word 'Engel' ('angels') which has this brief but magical moment that provides the soprano with the opportunity for elaborate embellishments, and also word-paints the image of angels descending to Earth. There is a real kind of radiant, festive quality to this aria that provides a fitting climax to the work before the final chorale. Also located in the Sing-Akademie collection is a set of parts for another Easter cantata, which had previously been unknown, and I located the autograph of this cantata in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.²⁰ So, it has been quite interesting to see the transmission of some of these works beyond Berlin.

Finally, I just wanted to mention the festive cantata *Der König jauchzt von dir entzückt* ('The king rejoices, enraptured by you'), AgWV 26a, which is the only cantata to have appeared in print in Agricola's lifetime, and it was widely disseminated. It is a free poetic translation of Psalm 21, and it was written for a thanksgiving service celebrating the Prussian army's victory at the Battle of Zomdorf in August 1758. This context explains the impetus behind the printing of the work in 1759, the very lavish festive scoring—three trumpets, timpani, and two horns—and also the choice of text, which speaks of the victories of King David over his enemies. However, not only was this work distributed in multiple printed and manuscript copies, but it seems to have given rise to a number of parody compositions.

The Ratzeburg Domarchiv and the library of Harvard University hold two 18th-century sources that transmit scores and parts for two cantatas attributed to Agricola, *Der Gottmensch jauchzt* ('The man of God rejoices'), AgWV 26b, and *Nie zagt ein Christe* ('A Christian never hesitates'), AgWV 26c.²¹ In fact, though, these constitute the first and second halves of *Der König jauchzt*, but with added recitatives and chorales, and one additional aria. The evidence suggests that these are most likely parodies of the Zomdorf cantata, rather than the other way around, and although there are strong arguments against their authenticity, we can't be certain that they're not Agricola's own work. Two further works attributed to Agricola from 1768, a *Dixit Dominus*, AgWV Anh. 8, and a Magnificat setting, AgWV Anh. 14, are likewise based on *Der König jauchzt*.²² But the significant extent of the restructuring and repurposing of the musical material makes them much more likely to be parodies by another composer. And one further, and unusual, parody is also known from an 18th-century manuscript held in Denmark, in which part of the cantata has been copied and translated into Danish.²³

So, that was a very quick tour through some of these sources, but they're all testament to the fact that Agricola's sacred music was widely known in Berlin but also extended beyond the confines of the city. Indeed, his cantatas are significant as representative examples of the post-Bach Lutheran cantata at a crucial transitional moment. The stylistic hybridity and the musical and poetic features observed in these works demand further study, in order to understand the complexities of how this transition occurred, and its relationship to further changes in the genre of Lutheran music that occurred later in the century. Thank you.

SM Thank you.

[Applause]

SM Thank you very much, Andrew. So, Gregor will speak to us now about Benda.

GR Hello, everyone, and thanks for having me. While today Georg Anton Benda (1722–1795) is known first and foremost for his melodramas and his *Singspiele*, for which even the young Mozart admired him,²⁴ he was equally valued by his contemporaries as a thorough church composer. The Württemberg poet and composer Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart (1739–1791), for example, not only counted Benda among the epoch-making figures of his time, but particularly highlighted his services to Protestant church music. And I quote Schubart, who wrote about Benda: 'Even in his sacred pieces this great man has distinguished himself. We possess a few church cycles by him, which prove to all of Germany how strong Benda was in sacred pathos. Wherever there is sacred music in our fatherland, there his cantatas were also performed. Even in the smallest musical towns, and in villages where one only knows music to some extent, Benda is known'.²⁵

Immediately after becoming Kapellmeister at the Gotha court in 1750, following the death of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749) a position for which the Bach pupil Johann Friedrich Agricola also applied,²⁶ Benda set the cantata cycle *Das Nahmen-Buch Christi und der Christen* by Benjamin Schmolck (1672–1737) to music for the church year 1750–1751. But unfortunately, no musical sources have survived for this first cycle. For the time being, the only evidence that we have is the surviving print that you see here.²⁷ However, it can be assumed that the compositions of the Schmolck cycle were Benda's first attempt at writing church cantatas. Compositions from his time at the Prussian court, where he served as a musician in the Hofkapelle of Frederick the Great (1712–1786), starting in 1742, are not yet known.²⁸

Probably because he was not entirely satisfied with his early cantatas produced in Gotha, Benda was later not interested in further distributing the Schmolck cycle, as can be seen from a statement that indirectly goes back to Benda. And I quote: 'Our *Capeldirector* has produced no more than 3 complete (cantata) cycles. None of which is printed: but they are, as he says, only communicated by him, [...] he leaves them for copying on request, but only the second or the third cycle, because he himself is not completely satisfied with his first one'.²⁹ And only slightly better is the source situation for Benda's second cantata cycle, on texts by the poet Johann Jacob Rambach (1693–1735), which was performed in Gotha in 1753 and 1754.

In addition to this libretto of the performance,³⁰ 11 cantatas, or fragments of cantatas, have survived,³¹ and some of these pieces point to Stölzel as a model: for example, the use of extended choral fugues in the opening dictum movements which can also be found in Stölzel cantatas. And it would not be surprising if Benda had modelled his work on that of his predecessor: Stölzel left a significant number of cantatas behind when he died, and which Benda performed several times during his time in Gotha,³² and which Benda, who was inexperienced in the field of church music, could have used as a reference.

Unlike Benda's first two cantata cycles, the music for his third cycle—his first cycle on texts by Balthasar Münter (1735–1793)—can fortunately be completely reconstructed, thanks to its widespread distribution in the second half of the 18th century. And no less than 400 musical manuscripts related to this cycle can be found in over a dozen archives and libraries across Europe.³³ So, when Schubart—you saw the opening quote—speaks of the smallest musical cities and villages in which Benda's church music was performed, he probably meant Benda's Münter cycle. Balthasar Münter wrote a so-called 'ideal cycle' for the church year of 1760–1761, with 72 cantata texts for all Sundays and feast days of the liturgical calendar.³⁴ And the cycle, therefore, was not tied to a specific church year, but could also be used in any other year. And for this reason, Münter's texts became attractive to other composers, including a member of the Krebs family, Johann Gottfried Krebs, from Altenburg, who set the cycle to music.³⁵

So, let me summarise very quickly. In 1750, the year of Johann Sebastian Bach's death, Benda began composing church cantatas. As I have tried to show, this part of Benda's oeuvre is, on the one hand, characterised by great loss, and, on the other, by a great abundance of sources. But it is this very contrast that makes Benda so interesting when studying the development of the church cantata after Bach. Thank you.

[Applause]

SM Thank you very much, Gregor. Our final speaker for this session is Magdalena, and she will look at Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach (1759–1845).

MA Thank you for having me. Today, I want to talk about the cantatas by Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach, their source situation, and the musical features. Only two church cantatas and eight secular cantatas can be attributed to Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach with certainty. The two church cantatas, both funeral cantatas, and three of the eight secular cantatas were probably commissioned during Bach's work in Minden. These are settings of texts by the Minden poet Sophie Friederike Martini (1743–1803). Of these works, only the musical score for the festive cantata *Westphalens Freude* ('Westphalia's joy'), BR-WFEB G 16.1, has survived. The music was performed in Minden on the occasion of the visit of King Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744–1797) on 5 June 1788. The performance led the monarch to appoint Bach to the Prussian court in Berlin. From 1789, he worked there as a chamber harpsichordist, Kapellmeister, and music teacher, first to Queen Friederike Luise of Prussia (1751–1805) and, since 1797, to Queen Luise of Prussia (1776–1810).

Among Bach's cantatas, it is the only work that can be proven to have appeared in print, even if only in the form of a piano reduction. This achieved national fame. There are three arrangements by other composers. In all arrangements, the sequence of movements given in the piano reduction was largely adopted. Bach himself stated in a letter that his cantata *Columbus oder die Entdeckung von Amerika* ('Columbus or the discovery of America'), BR-WFEB G 18, was also published in print.³⁶ However, there is no evidence of this. It could also have been a piano reduction, which is now lost.

At court in Berlin, Bach hardly seems to have been entrusted with commissions for cantata compositions. This is only likely in the case of his *Le Bouquet de la Famille Royale* ('The Royal family's [wedding] bouquet'). The work was performed on the birthday of Queen Friederike Luise of Prussia on October 16th in 1789. His farce *Concerto buffo* ('Humorous concert'), BR-WFEB G 19, which was composed at the court too, has cantata-like features. Due to its small scale and form, it should be seen more as an educational work to introduce instruments, and could have been made for and with the royal children.

The instrumental line-up that may have been available to Bach at court does not appear to have been extensive, so that the performance of large-scale orchestral, vocal, and stage works was not possible. Particularly in the first years of his time in Berlin, Bach was obviously looking for performance opportunities outside the court. For example, in 1791, he reperformed his cantata *Colma* in a concert of the *Musikliebhaber* in Berlin; it had its first performance in Minden in 1785.

Around the turn of the century, Bach got into a financial emergency, which resulted from cuts in the ensemble's budget, and was worsened by the suspension of his employment during the War of the Fourth Coalition in 1806–07. He tried to publish short piano pieces and songs with piano accompaniment in music periodicals, and focused on compositions for practical use. With the death of Queen Luise on July 19th in 1810, Bach's period of service finally ended. He receded into the background and shifted his musical activities to the Grand National Motherlodge.³⁷ At least two of his cantatas were performed in the lodge's concerts: the *Kantate zur Stiftungsfeier der Großen National-Mutterloge zu den drei Weltkugeln* ('Cantata on the celebration of the founding of the Grand National Motherlodge The Three Globes'), in September 1806,³⁸ and the cantata *Columbus oder die Entdeckung von Amerika*, in October 1810.³⁹

In summary, only the musical sources for the cantatas *Westphalens Freude* and *Columbus* have been preserved, along with the *Concerto buffo*. The partition into arias, recitatives, and choral movements was abandoned by Bach in favour of a colourfully orchestrated, through-composed form that highlights the dramatic events. Changes in metre, tempo, key, and instrumentation take place in a small space. In this, Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach's compositional approach is based on the typical development of secular cantatas in Germany in the later 18th century. Incidentally, the secular cantatas of his father, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (1732–1795), represent the high point of this development. It is characterised by rich instrumentation, sensitive cantabile melodics, and, in particular, by its free structure and form, with numerous interludes and movement transitions. Recitatives and arias were no longer rigidly opposed: instead, the composers oriented themselves towards the underlining poetry.

The dramatic and musical interpretation of a ballad text by Luise Brachmann (1777–1822) becomes particularly clear in Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach's cantata *Columbus*. The event becomes virtually audible. We will hear an excerpt shortly from near the end of the work: the two sailors finally turn against the captain Columbus because there is no land in sight, and they feel lost. The angry mood of the pair is combined with the roar of the sea, until the coast finally appears in front of them and brings salvation.

[Music]

Thank you for your attention.

[Laughter and applause]

- SM What a way to finish! Thank you, Magdalena. We'll open the discussion to the panellists first. Any comments or questions? Stephen?
- SC Well, first of all, thank you very much to all of my co-panellists here, and it's great to go out on such a high note. That was wonderful. My question actually is for Andrew. Just a factual question about the availability of the Agricola cantatas, and, particularly, I was interested in the funeral music from 1757, but also, to some extent, the cantata written for the peace treaty. I would be interested anyway, but 1757 was a tough year for queens. That's the year that I mentioned, very briefly, Maria Josepha died. And I think it's very interesting, even though I wasn't talking about the *Oratorio funebre*, now that I know two in the Bach circle were writing funeral music for queens: Agricola earlier in the year and Krebs later in the year. And then the cantata for the peace treaty...well, the text that I was able to get, for which there's no music, was also written for a peace treaty, about 15 years earlier. So, there's probably less to compare there, in terms of music versus just the text. But I'm just wondering what the availability is, because I would love to look and see what the commonalities are, or differences.
- AF Yeah. I agree, and some of those parallels are very interesting. The peace treaty cantata is not, as far as I'm aware, available in a modern critical edition. That print is available if you go onto RISM.⁴⁰
- SC Yeah.
- AF You can find the copy of that print there, and it's very nicely done. But as I alluded to, there's a complicated transmission history and possible revisions to the work, and some of those manuscripts are not easily available for consultation. So, more work needs to be done there. In terms of the funeral music, I have done an edition of that, as part of my doctoral thesis.⁴¹ Something that made it quite difficult...I mean, the sources are very nice to work with because they're very beautifully preserved, carefully preserved. There's the text booklet, and there are the original performing parts, or some of the original performing parts, and the autograph.⁴² Unfortunately, what I think is probably a single leaf from the autograph is missing, which is the opening to the final chorus before the concluding chorale.⁴³ And that can't be reconstructed. So, there is a kind of incomplete status to it, that we just don't know what the music sounded like for the opening of that final movement. But nonetheless, I think it's a wonderful piece, and deserves to be performed and studied more widely, particularly in the context of some of the things that you were talking about.
- SC Thank you.
- AF I had a question for Magdalena, actually. Just that I noticed that there were some scores in the British Library, and I wondered if you could speak more about why those scores, or how, they ended up in London, and if this is a particular pattern of transmission with his works, or it's just kind of coincidence.

- MA Yeah. Most of Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach's works were in his family's possession for a long time in autograph form. He published nearly no works at all. And later they were auctioned off to the Berlin Library and to Carli (Karl) Zoeller (1840–1889), who was a collector of music and a viola player. And he went to London to the British Library and auctioned them off and deposited them there. Yeah. That's it.
- SM Thank you very much. So, we'll open this to the audience now. Any questions from the floor?
- BK Bernd Koska here, and I just have a practical question to Stephen. Are there any recordings of the Krebs cantatas, or is it planned to have some?
- SC There is one recording; it was made by Michael Schönheit and with the Collegium Vocale Leipzig and Merseburger Hofmusik, done in 2013 on the occasion of Krebs's 300th birthday.⁴⁴ That's it. It's a very serviceable recording. I'm glad to have it...I...you know...there are quibbles, as I've done the edition, and I don't actually know what they used for the recording. They must obviously have scored it up to be able to record it, but yeah. So, I can recommend that, certainly. And there are a few other individual pieces. The motet has been recorded a couple of times.
- BK I hope there will be more recordings following your editions; I really would like to hear these pieces.
- SC Well, I certainly hope so, too. There certainly has been interest: when I was at the University of Cambridge in the autumn, one of the choral conductors there was very interested, and, unfortunately, the time constraints didn't allow it, but it certainly got his attention. And while I mention it, I just thought of this as well. There's a team of editors, two editors, who are putting together a life and works of Krebs, in English. And they've just recently been in touch and asked me to contribute a chapter about the vocal works.⁴⁵ And then I also have, in addition to the edition, an article coming out specifically on the cantatas, that will be published in the *BACH* journal this September.⁴⁶ So, a little bit of activity around Krebs.
- SM Thank you so much. We have another question here.
- JB The name is still John Butt. [Laughter] I'm the very proud possessor of the entire choral works of C.P.E. Bach in hardcopy, an absolutely wonderful new edition.⁴⁷ And what strikes me about that whole corpus is the huge amount of parody in it, parody of other composers' works. And there seems to be very little of this in the people that you've been looking at today. Is C.P.E. Bach the odd one out in this respect, as a parodist, as it were, or are there other...have you found evidence of other composers doing this sort of thing?
- SC None whatsoever in the few Krebs works. Benda? Agricola?
- GR This is not the case for Benda.

- GR Benda was used by C.P.E. Bach,⁴⁸ yeah...
- JB Oh yes, absolutely.
- SC Right.
- JB Stölzel, I mean, you name it... a huge amount of Telemann...
- GR Yeah. They exchanged music between Gotha and Hamburg.⁴⁹
- JB Yeah.
- AF With Agricola, to a very limited extent. It's probably better to say that there's parody within certain works, or inspiration, strong inspiration drawn from other composers' works. There are some allusions to J.S. Bach, as I said, also Jan Dismas Zelenka, and a few other composers, but no complete parody works, no.⁵⁰
- MA Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Bach only arranged some works by his father, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, such as the oratorio *Die Kindheit Jesu* ('The childhood of Jesus') (as BR-JCFB XD I), not of his uncle, no.
- SM Thank you very much. Well, it's time to bring this session to a close. Thank you so much for all of your contributions, wonderful and stimulating. And it does mean that we do have time, maybe during the ten-minute crossover, for further discussions and questions. Thank you very much.

[Applause]

Notes

- ¹ The spelling has been standardised following British English norms. Unless otherwise noted, all English translations are by the editors.
- ² Johann Ludwig Krebs, *Complete Vocal Works*, ed. Stephen A. Crist, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era (A-R Editions, 2025).
- ³ The theme of the Bachfest Leipzig 2024 was 'Choral Total' (styled as *CHORal TOTAL* to signal visually the interconnectedness of choirs and chorales). This Bachfest also marked the 300th anniversary of the cycle of chorale cantatas that Bach wrote mostly during his second season in Leipzig (1724–1725), along with the 500th anniversary of the first Lutheran hymnal.
- ⁴ During the Bachfest 2024, the entire chorale cantata cycle, including later additions, was presented in 16 concerts in various churches across Leipzig by choirs and orchestras from around the world (Bachfest Leipzig 2024 nos. 3, 11, 13, 34, 48, 49, 52, 66, 67, 69, 81, 83, 88, 97, 99, and 119). Each cantata was preceded by an organ prelude on the featured chorale melody as well as the first two stanzas of the chorale, sung by the audience; at the conclusion of each cantata, the closing chorale was repeated and the audience again invited to join in. See the Bachfest 2024 Programmbuch (Bach-Archiv Leipzig, 2024), and Johann Sebastian Bach, *Choräle des Choralkantatenjahrgangs: Mitsingheft zum Bachfest Leipzig 2024*, ed. Carus-Verlag (Carus-Verlag, 2024), which was produced as a special edition for this event.

- ⁵ Erdmann Neumeister, *Fünffache Kirchen-Andachten: bestehend in theils einzeln, theils niemahls gedruckten Arien, Cantaten und Oden Auf alle Sonn- und Fest-Tage des gantzen Jahres* (Leipzig: Joh. Großens Erben, 1716).
- ⁶ D-LUC 178. Manuscript score of four folios, with eleven performing parts of one folio each.
- ⁷ Christian August Krieg was born in Weißenfels. He matriculated in Leipzig in 1761, and he remained there for fifteen years, until he became cantor in Luckau in 1776. See Christian Johann Gottfried Haymann, *Dresdens theils neuerlich verstorbnne theils ietzt lebende Schriftsteller und Künstler* (Dresden: Walther, 1809), 305; Georg Erler, *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig, 1559–1809*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1909), 3:217.
- ⁸ Tobias Schwinger, 'Der preußische Hofkomponist Johann Friedrich Agricola in seiner Rolle als Kirchenkomponist für die Kirche St. Petri in Berlin', in Wolfgang Hirschmann and Peter Wollny (eds.), *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und die protestantische Kirchenkantate nach 1750*, Forum Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik I (Ortus, 2012), 195–220, at 201; Andrew Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–1774): A Critical Study and Catalogue of the Musical Sources' (DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2021), Vol. I, 159–60. Much of the material in this presentation is based on Chapter 4, 'Die Auferstehung von Agricola: Discoveries and Recoveries of Sacred Vocal Works from Berlin', 153–225.
- ⁹ See Christoph Henzel, 'Agricola und Andere: Berliner Komponisten im Notenarchiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2003, 31–98, at 32–3; Henzel, 'Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–86 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 1)', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2004, 216–91; and Henzel, 'Das Konzertleben der Preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–86 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 2)', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 2005, 139–241.
- ¹⁰ Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 153–59, and 223–4.
- ¹¹ 'Er hatte dabey Gelegenheit, unter seines Lehrers Anführung, bey der Kirchenmusik, und auch eine Zeitlang im Collegio musico, daß Elernte immer auszuüben. Hierauf unterrichtete ihn gedachter Herr Capellmeister Bach auch in der harmonischen Setzkunst, mit der ihm eigenen Gründlichkeit und Aufrichtigkeit'. ('He was given the opportunity, under his teacher's guidance, to continually practice what he had learned in church music, and also for a while in the *Collegium musicum*. The aforementioned Kapellmeister Bach then also taught him the art of music composition, with his own thoroughness and sincerity'.) *V. Lebensläuffe, Johann Friedrich Agricola*, in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (ed.), *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, Vol. I (Berlin: Johann Jacob Schützens sel. Witwe, 1754), 148–52, at 149.
- ¹² 'Vielleicht kann ichs itzo mit desto mehr Dreistigkeit thun; zumal, da ich, doch im Vertrauen gesagt, zeither angefangen habe, auch in den Kirchenstyl zu pfuschen'. ('Perhaps I can do it now with even greater boldness; however, between you and me, I have recently begun to dabble in the church style'.) Johann Friedrich Agricola to Georg Philipp Telemann, 20 October 1755. See Georg Philipp Telemann, *Briefwechsel: Sämtliche erreichbare Briefe von und an Telemann*, ed. Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung (Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972), 368–9, at 369.
- ¹³ These pieces are, respectively: *Ave maris stella* (AgWV Anh. 3); *Dixit Dominus* (AgWV Anh. 8); *Eja plausus hilares* (AgWV Anh. 10); *Din hoejre Haand skal de nokfinde defiender de* (AgWV Anh. 11); *Hymne an Gott* (AgWV Anh. 12); *Magnificat in D major* (AgWV Anh. 14); *Unsere Seele harret auf den Herrn* (AgWV Anh. 16); and *Unsre Seele harret auf den Herrn* (AgWV Anh. 17). Four more pieces are currently considered lost: *Der 25. Psalm* (AgWV Anh. 1); *Der 91. Psalm* (AgWV Anh. 2); *Deus noster* (AgWV Anh. 7); and *Te Deum* (AgWV Anh. 15). See the Anhang to the AgWV in Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. III, 739–53.
- ¹⁴ See the discussion in Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. II, 525–7. Although this movement first appeared as the opening chorus to the second version of the *St John Passion*, BWV 245.2, Agricola would most likely have known it from the final version of the *St Matthew Passion*; the early version of the *St Matthew Passion*, BWV 244.1, appears in an incomplete copy in Agricola's hand (D-B Mus. ms. Bach P 26).
- ¹⁵ Schwinger, 'Der preußische Hofkomponist Johann Friedrich Agricola', 214; Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 177–8.
- ¹⁶ It is no coincidence that Agricola copied many cantatas by J.S. Bach that feature obbligato organ. All six of the cantatas composed in 1726–27 as part of the third Leipzig cantata cycle (*Jahrgang III*) that call for concerted organ solos are found in copies by Agricola. Furthermore, he copied all other cantatas outside

this cycle that require obbligato organ in more than one movement, with the exception of *Ich habe meine Zuversicht* ('I have placed my confidence'), BWV 188. The organ solos in these Bach cantatas exhibit certain similarities in style with the organ obbligati in Agricola's own cantatas. See Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 250–1.

- ¹⁷ On the rediscovery of the Berlin Sing-Akademie collection in Kyiv in 1999, see Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, 'Bach Is Back in Berlin: The Return of the Sing-Akademie Archive from Ukraine in the Context of Displaced Cultural Treasures and Restitution Politics', *Spoils of War: International Newsletter*, no. 8 (June 2003), 67–104, and Axel Fischer and Matthias Kornemann, 'Myths and legends: The restitution of the Berlin Sing-Akademie Archive', in Fischer and Kornemann (eds.), *The Archive of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Catalogue / Das Archiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Katalog* (De Gruyter, 2010), 13–17. Since 2001, the collection has been on deposit at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.
- ¹⁸ See Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', including a more extensive discussion of the revision process in Vol. I, 185–9, and the critical edition of *Die Auferstehung des Erlösers* in Vol. II, 305–438 (score) and 532–49 (critical report).
- ¹⁹ The text reads: 'Steigt Engel, steigt Freunde der Edeln hernieder / Die Jesus euch einst ähnlich macht, / Kommt lehrt uns nur Himmeln verständliche Lieder, / Leih uns die Psalmen eurer Pracht: / Die Jubel festlich dem zu bringen, / Dem wir durch göttlich Leben singen'. ('Descend, angels, descend, friends of the noble / Whom Jesus will one day make like you, / Come, teach us songs understandable only to heaven, / Lend us the psalms of your splendour: / To bring joy to him in a festive manner / To whom we sing through divine life'.)
- ²⁰ The cantata in question is *Vom Thron des Ewgen* ('From Eternity's Throne'), AgWV 8. The original performing parts for this cantata are held in the Berlin Sing-Akademie collection (D-Bsa SA 45), where they are attributed to an anonymous composer; the autograph, which was removed from the Sing-Akademie collection in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, is located in the former library of St Michael's College, Tenbury, now held by the Bodleian Library, Oxford (GB-Ob MS Tenbury 1313). Regarding this discovery, see Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 202–12; a major article on *Vom Thron des Ewgen* and its place in Agricola's cantata oeuvre is in preparation.
- ²¹ D-RAad, without shelfmark (*Der Gottmensch jauchzt*) and US-CA bMS Mus 107 (*Nie sagt ein Christe*). The video recording incorrectly implies that both sources are held by the Ratzeburg Domarchiv.
- ²² D-Mbs Mus.ms. 4988 (*Dixit Dominus*) and D-Mbs Mus.ms. 4989 (*Magnificat* in D major).
- ²³ DK-Ch R133 (*Din hoejre Haand skal de nokfinde defiender de, Cantata Festo Gratorum actionis*), AgWV Anh. 11). Regarding the authenticity of all these works, see the discussion in Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 215–23.
- ²⁴ After a performance of Benda's melodramas *Medea* and *Ariadne auf Naxos* in Mannheim, the young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote an enthusiastic letter to his father in Salzburg on 12 November 1778: 'was ich gesehen war *Medea* von Benda—er hat noch eine gemacht, *Ariadne auf Naxos*, beÿde wahrhaft—fürtreflich; sie wissen, das Benda unter den lutherischen kapellmeistern imer mein lieblich war; ich liebe diese zweÿ wercke so, daß ich sie beÿ mir führe'. ('what I saw was *Medea* by Benda—he has written one more, *Ariadne on Naxos*, both truly—outstanding; you know that Benda was always my favourite among the Lutheran music directors; I love these two works so much that I carry them with me'.) See Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Wilhelm A. Bauer and Otto Erich Deutsch, Vol. II (Bärenreiter, 1962), 505–7, and *Mozart: Briefe und Dokumente – Online-Edition*, ed. Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, at <https://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1068&cat=&l=2> (accessed 12 May 2025). Translation by Gregor Richter.
- ²⁵ 'Auch in Kirchenstücken, hat sich dieser große Mann ausgezeichnet. Wir besitzen ein paar Kirchen-Jahrgänge von ihm, die es dem ganzen Deutschland beweisen, wie stark Benda im kirchlichen Pathos war. Wo es in unserm Vaterlande Kirchenmusik gibt, da sind auch seine Cantaten aufgeführt worden. Selbst in den kleinsten musikalischen Städten; auch auf Dörfern, wo man nur einigermaßen Musik kennt, ist Benda bekannt'. Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. Ludwig Schubart (Wien: J.V. Degen, 1806), 114–5. Translation by Gregor Richter.
- ²⁶ See Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685–1750*, Bach-Dokumente II (Bärenreiter/Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), 466, no. 596.

- ²⁷ Benjamin Schmolckens *Nahmen-Buch Christi und der Christen, zu heiliger Erbauung in einem Jahrgange eröffnet, und in hochfürstlicher Schloß-Capelle zum Friedenstein von Advent 1750. bis dahin 1751. musicalisch aufgeführt. Gotha, gedruckt mit Reyherischen Schriften.* (D-GOI Cant. spir 8° 879). Schmolck's poetry had already been set to music by Benda's predecessor Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel in 1731–32.
- ²⁸ Following his coronation as Prussian king, Frederick II, who saw himself as an enlightened monarch, organised the entire Prussian state according to the ideals of the Enlightenment. In this context, church music played only a secondary role, with opera taking the place of representative court music. The king's distaste for church music is also mentioned by Charles Burney: 'Indeed, I had been told before my arrival that his Prussian majesty carries his prejudice against this kind of music so far, that when he hears of any composer having written an anthem, or oratorio, he fancies his taste is contaminated by it, and says, of his other productions, every moment, Oh! this smells of the church'. Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces*, Vol. II (London, 1773), 91.
- ²⁹ 'Unser Capeldirector hat nicht mehr als 3. vollständige Jahrgänge verfertigt. Keiner davon ist gedruckt: sondern sie werden von Ihme, wie er es meint, nur communicirt, [...] er überläßt sie auf Verlangen zum Abschreiben, aber nur den 2.ten oder 3.ten Jahrgang, weil er mit dem ersten selbst nicht vollkommen zufrieden ist'. Stadtarchiv Nürtingen, Beilagen zu den Spitalrechnungen 1771/72, no. 521, Beilage no. 4. Translation by Gregor Richter. The documents in Nürtingen show that attempts were made to contact Georg Benda in Gotha in order to obtain the cantata cycle from him directly. This should be done via the Stuttgart town clerk Jacob Friedrich Klüpfel, whose brother Emanuel Christoph Klüpfel had a position in Gotha. After Benda sent his conditions for copying the parts to Nürtingen, the deal fell through, and the cantata cycle was obtained from Ulm instead. See Gregor Richter, 'Zur süddeutschen Überlieferung von Georg Anton Bendas Münter-Jahrgang', in Joachim Kremer, Norbert Haag, and Sabine Holtz (eds.), *Die Kantate im deutschen Südwesten. Quellen, Repertoire und Überlieferung 1700–1770*, Stuttgarter Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften 6 (Schott, 2021), 125–45, at 130–9.
- ³⁰ After its first performance in 1753–54, the cantata cycle was performed again in 1765–66. See the surviving text prints: *Johann Jacob Rambachs Poetische Andachten, auf Hochfürstlichen gnädigsten Befehl Sonn und Festtäglich in der Schloßkirche zum Friedenstein vom Advent 1753 bis dahin 1754 durch Hochfürstliche Kapelle aufgeführt, und harmonisch bekleidet von Georg Benda Fürstl. Sächß. Kapellmeister. Gotha, gedruckt mit Reyherischen Schriften.* (D-GOI Cant. spir 8° 872); *Johann Jacob Rambachs Poetische Andachten, auf Herzogl. gnädigsten Befehl sonn- und festtäglich in der Schloßkirche zum Friedenstein vom Advent 1765 bis dahin 1766 durch Herzogl. Kapelle aufgeführt, und harmonisch bekleidet von Georg Benda, Herzogl. Sächß. Kapellmeister. Gotha, gedruckt bey Johann Christoph Reyher, Herzogl. Sächß. Hofbuchdrucker.* (D-GOI Cant. spir 8° 872a).
- ³¹ See Julian Heigel, "Vergnügen und Erbauung" – *Johann Jacob Rambachs Kantatentexte und ihre Vertonungen*, Hallesche Forschungen 37 (Harrassowitz, 2014), 229–32.
- ³² Performances of Stölzel's cantata cycles by Benda took place in 1752–53, 1760–61 (alongside Benda's Münter cycle), 1763–64 and 1765–66 (alongside Benda's Rambach cycle).
- ³³ A rich and important manuscript transmission of Benda's cantata cycle by Münter can be found in southern Germany, for example. See Richter, 'Zur süddeutschen Überlieferung von Georg Anton Bendas Münter-Jahrgang', 125–45.
- ³⁴ The texts were printed in four volumes: *Cantaten über die Sonn- und Festtäglichen Evangelia, auf Hochfürstlichen gnädigsten Befehl in der Schloßkirche zum Friedenstein vom Advent 1760 bis dahin 1761 durch Fürstl. Capelle aufgeführt, von M. Balthasar Münter, F. S. Hofdiaconus, poetisch und von Georg Benda, F. S. Capellmeister, harmonisch verfasset. Erstes [–Viertes] Stück, [...] Gotha, gedruckt bey Joh. Christoph Reyher.* (D-GOI Cant. spir 8° 00883a–d).
- ³⁵ It seems that J.G. Krebs was the only composer, apart from Benda, who set Münter's cantata cycle to music in its entirety. Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to determine exactly when Krebs composed this music. A performance of his cantatas in Schmölln, near Altenburg, by the local cantor Johann Samuel Müller (who died around 1789), is documented by an undated printed text: *Cantaten, welche an Sonn- und Festtagen in der Stadtkirche zu Schmölln mit göttlicher Hülfe von dem dasigen Adjuvanten-Chore aufgeführt werden sollen. Unter Direction Johann Samuel Müllers Cantor. Altenburg, gedruckt mit Richterschen Schriften.* (D-GOI Th 8° 07204).

- ³⁶ Letter from W.F.E. Bach to W.C. Müller in Bremen, dated 14 May 1830, in: PL-Kj Berol. Varnhagen Sammlung 25, Bach.
- ³⁷ Founded in Berlin in 1740, the Grand National Motherlodge is the oldest recognised Masonic Grand Lodge in Germany. See <https://3wk.org> (accessed 15 May 2025).
- ³⁸ Georg Franz Burkhard Kloss, *Bibliographie der Freimaurerei und der mit ihr in Verbindung gesetzten Gesellschaften*, Frankfurt (Main) 1844, 121, no. 1792b: *Cantate zur Stiftungsfeier der Gr. Nat.-Mutterloge zu den drei Weltkugeln, von Aug. Hartung und Bach*. Berlin.
- ³⁹ 'Protokoll zur Versammlung des *Musicalischen Collegiums* der Großloge *Zu den drei Weltkugeln*' ('Minutes for the meeting of the Music Collegium of the Grandlodge *The Three Globes*'), dated 18 October 1810, in: D-Bga F.M. 5.1.4 Nr 3787, fols. 20–21.
- ⁴⁰ Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Der ein[-] und zwanzigste Psalm. Nach der poetischen Uebersetzung des Königlichen Hofpredigers Johann Andreas Cramer, in Musik gesetzt von Johann Friedrich Agricola, Königlichen Preußischen Hofcomponisten* (Berlin: George Ludewig Winter, 1759). RISM A/I A 434; AA 434; RISM ID 990000435. The digitised copy of this print linked on RISM is that held in the Paris Bibliothèque du Conservatoire as F-Pc D-194 (see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90817645>, accessed 12 May 2025).
- ⁴¹ See the critical edition of *Wallet ihr Seelen voll Schwermut* in Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. II, 439–517 (score) and 550–67 (critical report).
- ⁴² These three original sources are collectively preserved under the shelfmark D-Bsa SA 183. For a comprehensive description, see Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. II, 550–4.
- ⁴³ The movement in question is no. 7, the chorus 'Die Heiligen Gottes' ('The saints of God'). The music cannot be reconstructed using any of the other performing materials located in D-Bsa SA 183, as none of them include this movement. Regarding the hypothesis that the missing fragment constituted a single leaf of around 24 bars, see Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 172–4.
- ⁴⁴ *Johann Ludwig Krebs: Das Orchester- und Kantatenwerk, Merseburger Hofmusik, Collegium Vocale Leipzig*, dir. Michael Schönheit, Querstand VKJK1306, 2013.
- ⁴⁵ Penelope Cave and Wiebke Thormählen (eds.), *Johann Ludwig Krebs: Endorsed by Bach* (Peacock Press, forthcoming).
- ⁴⁶ Stephen A. Crist, 'Recovering the Cantatas of Johann Ludwig Krebs', *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 55 (2024), 261–83.
- ⁴⁷ *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: The Complete Works* (The Packard Humanities Institute, 2005–2025).
- ⁴⁸ Regarding the use of cantatas from Benda's Münter cycle by C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg, see Uwe Wolf, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und der Münter-Jahrgang von Georg Anton Benda', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 92 (2006), 205–28, and Wolfram Enßlin, "'Bendas Geist aus Bachs Händen". Zur Bedeutung Georg Anton Bendas für das geistliche Vokalschaffen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs', in Christine Blanken and Wolfram Enßlin (eds.), *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bachforschung 12 (Olms, 2016), 95–133.
- ⁴⁹ On the relationship between Benda and C.P.E. Bach and the possible exchange of music between Gotha and Hamburg, see Gregor Richter, 'Die Bach-Familie und ihre Beziehungen zu den Kapellmeistern der Gothaer Hofkapelle. Eine Spurensuche durch das 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in Knut Kreuch and Alexander Krünes (eds.), *"Der Anfang zur Musik ..." – Bach im Gothaer Land* (Gotha e.V., 2021), 181–96, at 193–6.
- ⁵⁰ Regarding the possible parody by Agricola of music by Jan Dismas Zelenka, see Frampton, 'Johann Friedrich Agricola', Vol. I, 238–9, which discusses similarities between a section of Zelenka's *Missa Paschalis*, ZWV 7—found in a manuscript copy by Agricola (GB-Ob MS Tenbury 749)—and Agricola's Whitsun cantata *Ein schnelles Brausen beweget die Lüfte* ('A quick breeze stirs the air'), AgWV 14. Although not strictly a parody composition, it is worth noting that Agricola also transcribed and arranged the *Ricercar a 6* from J.S. Bach's *Musical Offering*, BWV 1079, for organ (AgWV 110); see Christoph Wolff, *Kritischer Bericht to Johann Sebastian Bach, Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke, Series VIII, Vol. I, Kanons, Musikalisches Opfer* (Bärenreiter, 1976), at 78 and 117–8, and *Bach Digital* at https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00001729 (accessed 12 May 2025). Agricola's arrangement is published as Johann Sebastian Bach, *Ricercar à 6 c-Moll aus dem Musikalischen Opfer BWV 1079, Fassung für Orgel von Johann Friedrich Agricola*, ed. Rüdiger Wilhelm (Ortus, 2017).

