

INTRODUCTION

The centrality of Easter in the Christian liturgical calendar and the joyous nature of the festival were reflected in the special character of the celebrations in Hamburg. As one of the four quarterly festivals (along with Christmas, Pentecost, and Michaelmas), Easter was celebrated with a special piece of music (the *Quartalstück*) that was performed at each of the five principal churches in turn, and with an enhanced musical ensemble that included trumpets and timpani (the *Quartalstücke* for Pentecost are published in CPEB:CW, V/2.3, those for Michaelmas in CPEB:CW, V/2.4 and V/2.5, and those for Christmas in CPEB:CW, V/2.6 and V/2.7). We know the identity of the Easter *Quartalstücke* performed during eighteen of Bach's twenty-one Easter seasons in Hamburg from 1768 through 1788. Table 1 lists the known performances of Easter cantatas in chronological order.¹

There are several possibilities for cantatas that could have been performed in the three years that are missing from table 1. NV 1790 lists two Easter cantatas by Carl Heinrich Graun (p. 90) and an Easter cantata by Gottfried August Homilius (p. 91), in addition to other Easter cantatas contained in Bach's large collection of complete cantata cycles by Georg Anton Benda, Georg Philipp Telemann, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, Johann Friedrich Fasch, and Christoph Förster (see NV 1790, pp. 85–87). Although NV 1790 also lists Easter cantatas by Johann Sebastian Bach (pp. 76–77), it is unlikely that these would have been performed in Hamburg in the 1770s and 1780s, at least not as complete entities, due to stylistic traits (both musical and poetic) that would have been considered outmoded.

The present volume contains three cantatas performed as Easter *Quartalstücke* in C. P. E. Bach's first years as music director of the five principal churches in Hamburg: *Sing, Volk der Christen* (BR-CPEB F 6; H 808/3), *Er ist nicht mehr* (BR-CPEB F 7), and *Ist Christus nicht auferstanden*

1. Although no source material for an Easter *Quartalstück* in 1774 has survived, there are two references in letters written by Johann Heinrich Voß from that year (*CPEB-Briefe*, 1:381–82 and *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:382–85) wherein he claims to have heard Bach's *Auferstehung* (Wq 240) in the Vesper service on the day before Easter. This could have been similar to the truncated version of Wq 240 that served as the Easter *Quartalstück* in 1782, which consists of movements 2–7 from Bach's oratorio and a chorale (see libretto in CPEB:CW, VIII/3.3, 153–56).

(BR-CPEB F 8; H 808/4).² Only one movement from these three cantatas can definitely be said to have been composed by Bach; the rest were borrowed from other composers. The origin of one of the movements (BR-CPEB F 8, no. 1) has not yet been identified, but it is unlikely to have been written by Bach. *Sing, Volk der Christen*, the first piece that Bach performed publicly following his move from Berlin to Hamburg in 1768,³ uses movements from two cantatas by Homilius as well as an aria that Bach had composed a few years earlier in Berlin. For the other two works, Bach borrowed movements from cantatas by Benda, a former colleague from the court musical establishment in Berlin, as well as the one movement from an as yet unidentified composer. The Easter *Quartalstück* that was performed in both 1777 and 1785 is an arrangement of movements from part 3 of Handel's *Messiah*, to which Bach appended a chorale. Such a piece was described in NV 1790 (p. 91, "Ostermusik aus dem Meßias, von Händel"), but was otherwise unknown until Peter Wollny recently discovered an incomplete source in Paris. Because of the fragmentary nature of the source, however, the full music and text for Bach's arrangement is unknown, and cannot be presented in the main text of the edition. A description of the source, along with a partial reconstruction of one of the movements, is given in the appendix.

2. Entry 808 in Helm's catalogue discusses four works in very general terms under the heading "[Other Easter Cantatas]." Helm does not number these four pieces individually, so the specific designations "H 808/3" and "H 808/4" are constructs devised for use with the present edition. The two other pieces discussed under H 808 are: H 808/1, the 1782 Easter *Quartalstück* (see footnote 1); and H 808/2, a MS copy of the Easter cantata *Der Sieg des Erlösers* by Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, with an incorrect attribution to Bach, preserved in D-KNu (RISM no. 450063326).

3. "Today [2 April 1768] the first music by Kapellmeister Bach will be performed at Vespers in the St. Petri church." (Heute wird die erste Musik von dem Herrn Kapellmeister Bach in der St. Peterskirche, in der Vesper, aufgeführt werden.) *HUC* (2 April 1768), 4; Wiermann, 355. Bach's arrival in Hamburg was announced a little under a month earlier in the *Hamburgische Adreß-Comtoir-Nachrichten* (5 March 1768), 19; Wiermann, 66. Bach's first public concert in Hamburg outside of his church duties was given on 28 April in the Drillhaus, where he performed "keyboard concertos" among other works, presumably mostly of his own composition. *Hamburger Relations-Courier* (14 April 1768), 3; Wiermann, 435.

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

Year*	Title	Wq	H	BR-CPEB	Remarks	CPEB:CW
1768	<i>Sing, Volk der Christen</i>	deest	808/3	F 6	Pasticcio with music by Homilius and CPEB	V/2.2
1769	<i>Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket</i>	244	803	F 5.2	Written by CPEB in Berlin, 1756	V/2.1
1770	<i>Er ist nicht mehr</i>	deest	deest	F 7	Arr. of a cantata by Benda, L 550	V/2.2
1771	<i>Ist Christus nicht auferstanden</i>	deest	808/4	F 8	Pasticcio with music by Benda and other composers	V/2.2
1775	<i>Sing, Volk der Christen</i>	deest	808/3	F 6	See 1768 above	V/2.2
1776	<i>Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket</i>	244	803	F 5.3	See 1769 above; final chorale preceded or replaced by repeat of no. 1	V/2.1
1777	"Ostermusik aus dem Meßias, von Händel"	deest	deest	deest	Arr. of mvts. from part 3 of <i>Messiah</i> by Handel with concluding chorale	V/2.2 appendix
1778	<i>Jauchzet, frohlocket</i>	242	804	F 9	Pasticcio with music by JSB, C.H. Graun, Homilius, and CPEB	V/2.1
1779	<i>Er ist nicht mehr</i>	deest	deest	F 7	See 1770 above	V/2.2
1780	<i>Nun danket alle Gott</i>	241	805	F 10.1	Pasticcio with music by CPEB	V/2.1
1781	<i>Sing, Volk der Christen</i>	deest	808/3	F 6	See 1768 above	V/2.2
1782	<i>Gott, du wirst seine Seele</i>	deest	808/1	F 11	= Wq 240, nos. 2–7	cf. IV/2
1783	<i>Nun danket alle Gott</i>	241	805	F 10.2	See 1780 above; mvt. 1 replaced with Wq 226	V/2.1 appendix
1784	<i>Anbetung dem Erbarmen</i>	243	807	F 12	Pasticcio with music by CPEB	V/2.1
1785	"Ostermusik aus dem Meßias, von Händel"	deest	deest	deest	See 1777 above	V/2.2 appendix
1786	<i>Jauchzet, frohlocket</i>	242	804	F 9	See 1778 above	V/2.1
1787	<i>Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket</i>	244	803	F 5	See 1769 above	V/2.1
1788	<i>Anbetung dem Erbarmen</i>	243	807	F 12	See 1784 above	V/2.1

* The cantatas for the years 1772, 1773, and 1774 are not known. Helm's identification of a 1786 performance of Wq 244 is an apparent misreading of the figures "87" on the wrapper of D-B, Mus. ms. Bach St 182.

Sing, Volk der Christen, BR-CPEB F 6

When Bach arrived in Hamburg in early March of 1768 to assume his new duties as music director of the five principal churches there, he quickly had to learn the intricacies of a church music tradition dating back over a century. He had to become acquainted with the abilities of the singers and instrumentalists available to him, with the highly complex system for determining which cantatas were to be performed at which churches on which Sundays, with chorale texts and melodies that could be quite different from those he had been accustomed to in Leipzig and Berlin, and with a new bureaucracy that was certainly a change from that of the Prussian court from which he had come.⁴ It would hardly be surprising, then, that Bach would have had to make adjustments to any pieces that he had brought

with him from Berlin in order to use them in this new environment. This seems to have been particularly the case with the cantata *Sing, Volk der Christen*, which was first performed at St. Petri for Easter 1768, very shortly after Bach's arrival in Hamburg (it was also performed during the Easter seasons of 1775 and 1781).

Bach's terms of employment for his Hamburg position are not known, as we have no contract or other document that spells them out for us, but it surely would have been clear to both sides whether Bach was responsible for composing original music as part of his duties and on what occasions he would be expected to do so. That he presented a pasticcio cantata on an Easter Sunday service as the very first work performed by him in Hamburg suggests that original compositions were not required. Still, for a composer of Bach's stature not to present himself to his new public (and employers) with an entirely original composition suggests that Bach may have arrived in Hamburg too close to Easter for him to learn the ropes sufficiently to

4. For a detailed description of Hamburg's church music traditions before and during Bach's tenure there, see Sanders; also see Neubacher.

show himself to his best advantage, and that he turned to music by others in this case out of expediency.

Sing, Volk der Christen consists of movements from two Easter cantatas by Homilius and an aria from Bach's own *Trauungs-Cantate*, H 824a. C.P.E. Bach and Homilius were exact contemporaries, and Homilius had studied under J.S. Bach in Leipzig in the late 1730s. This was, however, after C.P.E. Bach had already left Leipzig, so they were probably only passingly acquainted. Still, Bach was an admirer of Homilius's music from early on, as is demonstrated by the large number of Homilius manuscripts listed in NV 1790, most of which Bach seems to have collected while still in Berlin.

The two Homilius cantatas that Bach used in 1768 are *Was suchet ihr den Lebendigen bei den Toten*, HoWV II.66, and *Musste nicht Christus solches leiden*, HoWV II.72. Bach selected a chorus and a chorale from HoWV II.66 as his first and last (sixth) movements. The chorus originally began with the voices entering immediately (it is an internal movement in the Homilius work, so the singers could obtain their starting pitches from the preceding movement), but since Bach placed the movement at the beginning of his *Quartalstück*, he felt it necessary to compose a seventeen-measure orchestral introduction to establish the tonality before the choral entrance. From HoWV II.72 Bach borrowed two recitatives and an aria, which became his movements nos. 2–4. Bach made no substantial changes to these movements.

Bach's original intentions for his fifth movement are not entirely clear. He seems to have initially planned to use a second aria from HoWV II.72, for bass, then considered an otherwise unknown tenor aria at this point, before finally settling on the soprano aria from his *Trauungs-Cantate*, perhaps as a way of showing his new audience at least one movement of his own composition. The evidence for these deliberations is given in the source description for source A in the critical report. Even after settling on his own aria from the *Trauungs-Cantate* Bach continued to tinker with the movement. To the original score for soprano and strings (see CPEB:CW, VI/4, 75–85) Bach added two horns and two oboes for the first Hamburg performance in 1768. Bach altered the aria again in 1775, adding three trumpets and timpani to go along with the horns and oboes he had added earlier, resulting in an exceptionally richly scored solo movement. For the third set of performances in 1781, Bach changed the vocal part for the aria from soprano to bass. The edition reproduces Bach's final thoughts on the fifth movement—for bass voice with trumpets, timpani, horns, and oboes—and gives

the earlier version for soprano with oboes and horns, but without trumpets and timpani, in the appendix. In addition to handwriting evidence attesting to 1781 as the date of the change from soprano to bass, the existence of a second soprano part that does not include no. 5 and was not copied by Anon. 304 reinforces the 1781 date, since Anon. 304 seems to have stopped copying for Bach at the beginning of 1781.⁵ Bach also added a verse to be sung in the final chorale in either 1775 or 1781 (see table 2), but made no changes to its music.

Er ist nicht mehr, BR-CPEB F 7

For the Easter *Quartalstück* in 1769—Bach's second Easter in Hamburg—he presented a cantata of his own composition, although it was not newly composed for the occasion. He had written *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket*, Wq 244, in Berlin in 1756, and he seems to have used it that year as a quasi-test piece for the very position that he now occupied: music director in Hamburg as successor to his godfather Telemann.⁶ For his third Easter in Hamburg in 1770 Bach performed an arrangement of Benda's cantata *Er ist nicht mehr*, L 550. Thus, for his first three Easter *Quartalstücke* in Hamburg, Bach compiled a pasticcio with movements drawn from various sources, reused an original composition, and presented an arrangement of a foreign piece. Throughout his remaining tenure he would move comfortably among these three options, but he never composed an entirely original cantata for a *Quartalstück* in Hamburg.

5. The last copies that Anon. 304 made for Bach that have come down to us are the two transposed organ parts for the 1781 St. Matthew Passion, H 794, the remaining parts of which are all in the hand of Johann Heinrich Michel. Anon. 304 would have copied these parts very late in 1780 or early in 1781, before the first performance of H 794 on 25 February 1781, and he may well have been asked to do so because Michel was still learning the intricacies of creating transposed figured bass parts. The same situation applies to Wq 241, the Easter *Quartalstück* for 1780, where Anon. 304 copied the transposed organ parts and Michel the rest of the parts. The earliest transposed organ part in the hand of Michel seems to be the org+ part for the 1782 St. Mark Passion, H 795. See CPEB:CW, IV/4.4, V/2.1, and IV/5.4, respectively.

6. For a full discussion of the genesis of Wq 244 and its 1756 performances in Hamburg, see CPEB:CW, V/2.1, xvi–xx; Peter Wollny, “C.P.E. Bach, Georg Philipp Telemann und die Osterkantate ‘Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket’ Wq 244,” in *Er ist der Vater*, 78–94; and Mark W. Knoll, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Osterkantate ‘Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket’ Wq 244 und ihre Hamburger Fassung,” 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: Georg Olms, 2018), 314–20.

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES IN CPEB: CW, V/2.2

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
<i>Sing, Volk der Christen</i>			
6. Wir danken dafür alle gleich	146, 6 and 7*	Kaspar Stolzhagen	Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn (Z 2585)
<i>Er ist nicht mehr</i>			
4. Lasset uns den Herren preisen	156, 1	Johann Rist	Lasset uns den Herren preisen (Z 7886)
8. Dank sei dir, o du Friedefürst	155, 9	Gottfried Wilhelm Sacer	Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ (Z 4373)
<i>Ist Christus nicht auferstanden</i>			
4. Nun ist des Höchsten Wort erfüllt	155, 2	Sacer	Same melody and harmonization as <i>Er ist nicht mehr</i> , no. 8
8. Dank sei dir, o du Friedefürst	155, 9	Sacer	Same melody and harmonization as <i>Er ist nicht mehr</i> , no. 8

*Verse 7 alone was used in the 1768 performances; both verses 6 and 7 were used in one or both of the later series of performances in 1775 and 1781.

Er ist nicht mehr, the Easter *Quartalstück* for 1770, was originally composed about a decade earlier as part of Benda's so-called Münter *Jahrgang*.⁷ The texts for the entire cycle were written by Balthasar Münter, who served briefly as deacon to the court at Gotha (1760–62) at the same time that Benda was *Kapellmeister* there, and Benda set the entire cycle, apparently as soon as Münter wrote the texts. Bach seems to have acquired scores for nearly all of Benda's cycle very shortly after his arrival in Hamburg in 1768, and he performed them regularly during his tenure there.⁸ The entry in NV 1790, pp. 85–86, indicates that Bach was missing cantatas for just a few Sundays from the cycle: "Ein Jahrgang Kirchenstücke von Georg Benda. Zu den meisten Stücken sind ausgeschriebene Stimmen. Der 5te und 6te Sonntag nach Epiphania und der 20ste Sonntag nach Trinitatis fehlen an diesem Jahrgange." (A cycle of church pieces by Georg Benda. Most of the pieces have written-out parts. Epiphany V and VI and Trinity XX are missing from this cycle.) In addition to perform-

ing many of the cantatas from Benda's Münter cycle during ordinary (i.e., non-feast day) Sunday services throughout his Hamburg tenure, Bach also used them as source material for pasticcio cantatas (see, for example, *Ist Christus nicht auferstanden*, below).

Bach's encounter with Münter's poetry via Benda's cantatas may have encouraged Bach to become involved in another project involving settings of Münter's texts a few years later. In 1773, a collection of fifty sacred songs was published in Leipzig, all with texts by Münter.⁹ Various composers contributed settings to the collection, which includes six by Bach (Wq 202/E, see CPEB: CW, VI/3), five by his half-brother Johann Christoph Friedrich, and settings by Benda, Johann Heinrich Rolle, Johann Adam Hiller, Ernst Wilhelm Wolf, and others. A second set of fifty songs based on Münter's poetry was published the following year, but this time all of the settings were by J. C. F. Bach.¹⁰

Bach and Benda had been members of the court orchestra in Berlin together from 1742 to about 1750 and remained on friendly terms thereafter. Bach is known to have visited Benda in Gotha in 1754, where he gave two concerts, and Benda returned the visit in 1778, spending an extended period in Hamburg and hearing Bach's music

7. See Wolf 2006.

8. See Wolfram Enßlin, "Mit Ostern fange ich mit 2 neuen Jahrgängen an: Aspekte zu Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Hamburger Kantatenschaffen," in *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und die protestantische Kirchenkantate nach 1750*, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Peter Wollny (Beeskow: Ortus Musikverlag, 2012), 221–43, esp. 238–39. For a list of all of the cantatas known to have been performed by Bach during regular church services in Hamburg, see CPEB: CW, V/6.4, and Barbara Wiermann, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Gottesdienstmusiken," in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998a*, 85–103.

9. *D. Balthasar Münters . . . Erste Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder* (Leipzig, 1773). Breitkopf did the printing for the publication.

10. *D. Balthasar Münters . . . Zweyte Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder* (Leipzig, 1774).

performed.¹¹ Given such amicable relations, it is likely that the copies from the Münter *Jahrgang* in Bach's library were based on *Vorlagen* provided by Benda.

For regular Sunday cantata performances, Bach would normally perform the Benda cantatas unchanged, or, at most, with chorale substitutions from the Hamburg hymn book that would have been more familiar to his congregations there. This is the case with *Er ist nicht mehr*, which Bach seems to have performed as a regular Sunday cantata before turning it into a *Quartalstück* in 1770 (see critical report). Benda's original had only one chorale movement, no. 4, "Gott sei gepreist und hochgeehrt." Bach substituted a chorale from HG 1766 (no. 156, "Lasset uns den Herren preisen") for this movement and added a second chorale at the end, also from HG 1766 (no. 155, "Wie lieblich sind doch deine Füß").

In order to make foreign pieces suitable for use as *Quartalstücke* in Hamburg, Bach usually had to bring them further into alignment with Hamburg tradition by adjusting the instrumentation. Specifically, the participation of three trumpets and timpani was expected. In the case of *Er ist nicht mehr*, Benda's original only included two trumpets and timpani, so Bach added a third trumpet part of his own devising.

Bach made other changes to Benda's original, including changing the vocal part of the recitative no. 2 from tenor to soprano and transposing the duet no. 3 down a whole tone, from D major to C major. Whether the upper voice of the duet remained a soprano, as in the original, is unclear. The movement is included in both of the surviving soprano parts in Bach's set of performing parts (which itself raises performance practice questions), but in each part Bach has added the label "Mr. Wreden." Carl Rudolph Wreden (also Vreden, Wrede) is documented as a singer in Hamburg from 1760 under Telemann until around 1774. He seems to have had an extended range, able to sing both bass and tenor parts.¹² His name occasionally also appears, as here, in music notated in soprano clef (see also CPEB: CW, IV/4.1, xvi and CPEB: CW, V/3.1, 177). This suggests one of three possibilities: Wreden sang the part in his tenor range, an octave lower than written; he sang it as a falsettist, as written; or there was another singer with the same name, who was a soprano. No other Wreden is known to have sung in Bach's choir, however, so one of the first two possibilities is most likely. Soprano falsettists instead of boy trebles were commonly used by Telemann in Hamburg, especially in

his early years there, but were increasingly replaced by boy trebles in the 1740s.¹³ Bach routinely used alto falsettists, so it is not out of the realm of possibility that he might also have turned to soprano falsettists on occasion. Interestingly, although Benda set this duet for soprano and bass, Münter might have originally conceived the piece with alto and bass in mind, since in the published libretto the lines are labeled "A" and "B." This likely refers, however, to how the text should be divided between two arbitrary singers ("A" and "B") of whichever vocal ranges that the composer chose, since Münter wasn't usually in the habit of prescribing how his texts should be set musically.

Ist Christus nicht auferstanden, BR-CPEB F 8

On the last day of January 1771, Bach wrote a letter to Georg Michael Telemann declaring his intention to start composing two complete yearly cycles of cantatas, beginning with the coming Easter services (see preface, xii).¹⁴ The magnitude of such a project must have soon dawned on Bach, since, as far as we know, he did not compose a single new cantata in 1771 (nor at any other time during his Hamburg tenure), let alone a complete cycle or two, and, just two months to the day from writing his letter, he presented yet another pasticcio cantata for that year's Easter *Quartalstück*.

Ist Christus nicht auferstanden consists of an opening chorus whose origin has not yet been discovered; four movements from Benda's Münter *Jahrgang* cantata for the second day of Easter, *In Kedars bängen Hütten*, L 534; a chorale harmonization borrowed from Bach's 1770 Easter *Quartalstück* (used twice); and a repeat of the opening chorus. While the origin of the opening chorus is not known, it is unlikely to be by Bach (see critical report), nor does it come from another cantata in Benda's Münter *Jahrgang*.¹⁵ Its text is a biblical *dictum* consisting of 1 Corinthians 15:17 and 20.

Similar to his treatment of the chorales in *Er ist nicht mehr*, Bach replaced Benda's original closing chorale with

13. Neubacher, 245.

14. Wolfram Enßlin, "Mit Ostern fange ich mit 2 neuen Jahrgängen an," 224–25, has suggested that Bach was not referring here to two cycles of newly composed cantatas, rather to two cycles of newly borrowed cantatas, ones that had simply not been heard in Hamburg before. In the context described by Bach in his letter to G.M. Telemann, however, it seems fairly obvious that Bach's intention was, in fact, to start composing his own cantata cycles.

15. Personal communication from Gregor Richter of the Bach-Archiv in Leipzig.

11. Ottenberg, 87; CPEB-Briefe, 1:701–4.

12. Neubacher, 462–63.

one from HG 1766, and he added a chorale after the first aria where Benda had none. But here Bach used the same chorale harmonization in both places, using two different verses. Bach would use the same chorale harmonization yet again in his Easter cantata for 1784 and 1788, *Anbetung dem Erbarmer*.

Bach made no significant changes to the two recitatives that he borrowed, and in the two arias he changed only the tessitura of the vocal parts. The first aria, for soprano, has several notes transposed down from Benda's original, apparently to make it easier for Bach's soprano. The vocal line in the second aria, for tenor, is extensively transposed, presumably for the same reason. The changes in the first aria are minor enough that they can be reported in the variant list in the critical report. Those for the second aria, on the other hand, are so extensive that Benda's original tenor part, along with the continuo line, is given for comparison in the appendix.

“Ostermusik aus dem Meßias, von Händel”

The surviving source material for the *Osterquartalstück* for 1777 and 1785 (now in F-Pn, L-1157) provides only an outline of what was performed. Extant are an autograph title page, a complete violin I part in the hand of Johann Heinrich Michel, three instrumental bass parts for the aria “The trumpet shall sound” in an unknown hand, and a title page labeled “Chor. Hallelujah.” also in Michel's hand. The violin I part can be compared to the corresponding part from Handel's oratorio. This shows that the following movements from *Messiah* were included: “I know that my Redeemer liveth” (aria), “Since by man came death” (chorus), “Behold, I tell you a mystery” (accompanied recitative), “The trumpet shall sound” (aria), and “Worthy is the Lamb” (chorus, without the “Amen” fugue). The first four of these movements are contiguous in Handel's oratorio, and Bach seems only to have made significant changes to “The trumpet shall sound” (see appendix B).¹⁶

In the Handel oratorio there are four movements between “The trumpet shall sound” and “Worthy is the Lamb,” but in Bach's violin I part there is only one—a recitative marked “tacet,” which is on the same page as, and directly between, the ending of “The trumpet shall sound” and the beginning of “Worthy is the Lamb”; thus, it is clear that there are no pages missing from the part. The identity of Bach's recitative is unclear. Handel places the

recitative “Then shall be brought to pass” directly following “The trumpet shall sound,” but it ends in B-flat major leading to the E-flat major of the duet “O death where is thy sting?” In Bach's arrangement, the unidentified recitative sits between two D-major movements, so it is unlikely that it would end in B-flat major. Bach must have either revised Handel's recitative to end in a more appropriate key, or provided a different one.

“Worthy is the Lamb” ends on a half cadence, which Handel resolves to the D-major tonic of the “Amen” fugue, but which Bach instead resolves to the D-major chorale “Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn”—the same chorale that he used to close his first two Easter *Quartalstücke* in Hamburg: *Sing, Volk der Christen* (BR-CPEB F 6) in 1768, and *Gott hat den Herrn auferwecket* (Wq 244) in 1769. As Bach was fond of reusing chorale harmonizations in his *Quartalstücke*, it seems likely that the harmonization here was the same as in 1768; in any case, the key and melody are identical (for Wq 244 in 1769 the chorale was in C major and used a harmonization from J. S. Bach with a version of the chorale melody that differs slightly from that used in 1768 and in the *Messiah* arrangement).

The paucity of source material leaves several aspects of Bach's arrangement unclarified and subject to speculation. First, Handel's score calls for only two trumpets, while Hamburg *Quartalstücke* traditionally required three. Bach had encountered this situation in other arrangements that he made, and had remedied it by simply composing a third trumpet part. It is highly likely that he did so here as well.

Second, Bach's *Messiah* arrangement as transmitted begins in an unusually subdued manner, with “I know that my Redeemer liveth,” a long, contemplative aria for soprano and strings. Normally a *Quartalstück* begins with a festive chorus that includes trumpets and timpani, or occasionally with a chorale (e.g., Wq 241 and 246), but still with participation of trumpets and timpani. No other surviving *Quartalstück* begins with an aria. The chorus that follows the aria, “Since by man came death,” also lacks trumpet and timpani, meaning that these instruments would first be used only in the penultimate movement—also unique in the surviving corpus of *Quartalstücke*. Further, the existing movements would be approximately twenty minutes in performance—on the short end of what a *Quartalstück* normally required. This all suggests that a chorus with trumpets and timpani might have opened the arrangement but somehow was not copied into the violin I part. If a chorus did precede the aria, the first violinists (and presumably the other instrumentalists) would have had to play it from a different part. There is precedence in Bach's

16. Handel's English movement titles are used, since the exact German text that Bach performed is unknown.

Quartalstücke, where a chorus was performed from a different set of parts than the rest of the piece. Bach's double-choir Heilig (Wq 217; see CPEB: CW, V/6.1) was used in several pieces where the players had to use a different set of parts just for that movement. Granted, this was usually indicated in the original parts with the instruction "Heilig" or something similar to inform the players, but the Heilig is always inserted in the middle or at the end of pieces, never at the beginning. Perhaps Bach's players in the *Messiah* arrangement would have needed no special instruction to start with a piece from a different part—they simply would have placed it on top of the other part on the music stand. Whichever chorus might have been used would almost certainly have been in D major, to match the tuning of the trumpets and timpani in the last two movements. From the context, the chorus that seems most likely to have been included is the one that precedes "I know that my Redeemer liveth" in Handel's original: "Hallelujah." Of course, this chorus closes part 2 of Handel's oratorio and "I know that my Redeemer liveth" begins part 3, so there is usually a lengthy pause, if not an intermission, between the two movements of the oratorio to smooth over the tonal transition from D major to E major. That would not have been the case with the *Quartalstück*, but Bach had made use of more jarring tonal juxtapositions elsewhere (including in his Heilig).

The surviving source material also provides a hint that the "Hallelujah" chorus might have been used. The last item in the composite and fragmentary manuscript is a title page, possibly the front half of a former wrapper, with the title "Chor. Hallelujah." in Michel's hand on the recto and with a blank verso. Could this have been the wrapper for a separate set of parts for just the "Hallelujah" chorus that Bach kept for insertion into other works or for independent performances, as in the case of the Heilig? Bach is known to have performed excerpts from *Messiah*, including the "Hallelujah" chorus, in other contexts, so his having a separate set of performing parts for it seems at least plausible.

Finally is the question of language. None of Bach's surviving parts contain any text underlay or even text incipits. It is nearly inconceivable that liturgical music in Hamburg would have been performed in a language other than German or Latin, so a performance of the *Quartalstück* in the original English of *Messiah* can essentially be ruled out. Luckily, two other Hamburg sources transmit the aria "The trumpet shall sound" in the abbreviated version found otherwise only in Bach's violin I part. These sources, also briefly described in the appendix, suggest that the Eas-

ter *Quartalstück* in 1777 and 1785 used the German translation of *Messiah* by Christoph Daniel Ebeling and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock.

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