

INTRODUCTION

When Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach became responsible for liturgical music in the five principal churches in Hamburg in 1768, the performance of cantatas for Christmas and the other three quarterly festivals of the church year (Easter, Pentecost, and Michaelmas) was among his many duties. The importance of Christmas in the Christian liturgical calendar and the joyous nature of the festival were reflected in the special character of the celebrations in Hamburg. Christmas was celebrated with an enhanced musical ensemble that included trumpets and timpani. Among the *Quartalstücke*, those for Easter and Michaelmas seem to have had a particular significance in Hamburg, if the surviving sources can be taken as a measure of esteem. Our knowledge of the specific repertory of Christmas *Quartalstücke* performed during Bach's tenure is more complete than for the Pentecost season, but it is substantially less complete than for the Easter season, and still less complete than our knowledge of the Michaelmas music. (The *Quartalstücke* for Easter are published in CPEB:CW, V/2.1 and V/2.2, those for Pentecost in CPEB:CW, V/2.3, and those for Michaelmas in CPEB:CW, V/2.4 and V/2.5; the remaining *Quartalstücke* for Christmas are published in CPEB:CW, V/2.6.) We are fairly confident about the identity of the Christmas *Quartalstücke* performed during nine of Bach's twenty Christmas seasons in Hamburg from 1768 through 1787. (Bach died ten days before the beginning of the 1788 Christmas season.) Table 1 lists the known performances of Christmas cantatas in chronological order.

There are several possibilities for cantatas that could have been performed in the years that are missing from table 1 but for which there is no direct evidence. NV 1790 lists five Christmas cantatas by Carl Heinrich Graun (p. 90; one of these entries may correspond to *Kommt, Christen, feiert dieses Fest*), in addition to other Christmas cantatas contained in Bach's large collection of complete cantata cycles by Georg Benda, Georg Philipp Telemann, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, Johann Friedrich Fasch, and Christoph Förster (see NV 1790, pp. 85–87). Although NV 1790 also lists the *Weihnachtsoratorium* (BWV 248) and other Christmas cantatas by Johann Sebastian Bach (pp. 69 and 74–75), it is unlikely that these would have

been performed in Hamburg in the 1770s and 1780s, at least as complete entities, due to stylistic traits (both musical and poetic) that would have been considered outmoded. C.P.E. Bach did present to the Hamburg congregations one of his father's most imposing choral masterpieces, "Jauchzet, frohlocket"—the opening chorus of part I of BWV 248—not as a Christmas work, but as the opening chorus of the Easter *Quartalstück* for 1778 (Wq 242, reused in 1786; see CPEB:CW, V/2.1). One possible candidate for a Christmas *Quartalstück* for the early 1770s is *Herr, leite mich* (details below).

Of the three works in the present volume—*Gott steigt herab*, BR-CPEB F 1; *Kommt, Christen, feiert dieses Fest*, arr. Graun WV Bv:IX:17 (hereafter *Kommt, Christen*); and *Herr, leite mich*, BR-CPEB F 4—only the first is known to have been performed by C.P.E. Bach for the feast of Christmas during his Hamburg tenure. The second work was likely a Christmas *Quartalstück* but its assignment is not fully documented. The third work's assignment to Christmas—or as a *Quartalstück* at all—is even more tentative. None of these works (with the possible exception of the second) is listed in NV 1790, but the first is listed in AK 1805. All three are arrangements of works by other composers with some compositional activity by Bach.

Gott steigt herab, BR-CPEB F 1

This work is not included in NV 1790, but the listing for it in AK 1805 on p. 30 (no. 81) reads: "[Musik] am Weihnachtstage 1784". This date refers to the last documented performance of the work during Bach's lifetime; it was first performed in Christmas 1771 and reused in 1777 and 1784, as evidenced by Bach's inscription on the title wrapper for the original performance parts (see critical report, source B). *Gott steigt herab* is Bach's arrangement of Benda's cantata of the same name (L 511). Bach used the movements of Benda's cantata in the same order, but repeated chorale no. 4 at the end as no. 8 with a different text. Bach also expanded the original scoring by adding a third trumpet part, and he reassigned some of the vocal solos (details in critical report).

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

Year*	Title	Wq	H	BR-CPEB	Remarks	CPEB:CW
1771	<i>Gott steigt herab</i>	deest	deest	F 1	Arr. of a cantata by Benda, L 511	V/2.7
1772	<i>Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe</i>	deest	811	F 2.1	Pasticcio with music by CPEB and Benda	V/2.6
1773?	<i>Die Himmel erzählen</i>	deest	deest	F 3.2	Based on part I of H 821e (see CPEB:CW, V/3.2)	V/2.6
1775	<i>Auf, schicke dich</i>	249	815	F 3.1	Based on part I of H 821e (see CPEB:CW, V/3.2)	V/2.6
1777	<i>Gott steigt herab</i>	deest	deest	F 1	see 1771 above	V/2.7
1778	<i>Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe</i>	deest	811	F 2.1	see 1772 above	V/2.6
1779	<i>Auf, schicke dich</i>	249	815	F 3.1	see 1775 above	V/2.6
1782	<i>Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe</i>	deest	811	F 2.2	see 1772 above; chorus "Herr, es ist dir keiner gleich" most likely omitted by 1782	V/2.6
1784	<i>Gott steigt herab</i>	deest	deest	F 1	see 1771 above	V/2.7
1786	<i>Auf, schicke dich</i>	249	815	F 3.1	see 1775 above	V/2.6

* The cantatas for the years 1768–70, 1774, 1776, 1780, 1781, 1783, 1785, and 1787 are not known. Helm's identification of H 811 as a Michaelmas cantata derives from the misreading by Miesner (p. 78) of Bach's corrected inscription "Mie~~h~~ Weynachts Quartalstück" on the wrapper of D-B, SA 247. The entry for H 816 (citing Miesner, 52, 78) reads as follows: "A considerable number of mss. of 'Weihnachts-Musik' are lost."

In addition to the poetic movements (nos. 1–3 and 5–7), *Gott steigt herab* contains two chorales (nos. 4 and 8). In the score of Benda's cantata that Bach used as his *Vorlage*, chorale no. 4 is an untexted setting of the melody "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ" (see table 2). Bach retained Benda's setting and selected v. 1 of the corresponding chorale text; for no. 8, Bach repeated the setting and selected v. 7 of the same chorale.

The most important sources for *Gott steigt herab* are D-B, SA 288—consisting of the original performing parts (source B) in the hand of Anon. 304 (Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein), with additions and corrections by Bach and a third trumpet part entirely in his hand—and D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. Benda 13 (2), a score (source A) from Bach's library, with entries in his hand, that served as the *Vorlage* for the parts. No printed librettos are extant.

Kommt, Christen, feiert dieses Fest,
arr. GraunWV Bv:IX:17

In NV 1790, p. 90, in the section "Von verschiedenen Meistern," there are two listings that read "Am 1 Weihnachtstage, von Demselben [C.H. Graun], in Partitur." One of these may refer to *Kommt, Christen*. The work is not listed in AK 1805. Performance dates are not documented, although the autograph inscription on the title page of the score from Bach's library indicates that the cantata was intended to be used as part I of the *ganze Musik* on the first day of Christmas. A partially erased entry on the title page

suggests that the piece may have been performed as a regular Sunday cantata before being used as a *Quartalstück* (see critical report). Given Bach's assignment of aria no. 5 to the singer Carl Rudolph Wreden, who sang for Bach through 1774, and since Bach's Christmas *Quartalstücke* for 1771 and 1772 are documented (see table 1), we can provisionally identify *Kommt, Christen* as Bach's Christmas *Quartalstück* for 1768, 1769, 1770, 1773, or 1774. *Kommt, Christen* is Bach's arrangement of a cantata of the same name that is attributed to C.H. Graun (GraunWV Bv:IX:17). Bach used the movements of Graun's cantata in the same order, but replaced the concluding chorale (see below). For the opening chorus Bach retained Graun's scoring, which included three trumpets and timpani from the beginning and was thus compatible with Hamburg specifications for *Quartalstücke* performances. But Bach altered the scoring of aria no. 5 by replacing the two flutes with concertante violins and reassigning the solo voice from alto to tenor.

In addition to the poetic movements (nos. 1–6), *Kommt, Christen* contains one chorale (no. 7). In the score from Bach's library, the copyist did not write out Graun's chorale after no. 6, but instead left a blank space, presumably on Bach's instructions. There Bach wrote a note indicating that the chorale was to be adapted from the cantata for the first day of Christmas from Telemann's 1744 published cantata cycle *Musicalisches Lob Gottes* (see critical report, source Q 2). That chorale is a setting of the melody "Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich" (see table 2), which Bach transposed down a minor third and set to a different verse.

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES IN *GOTT STEIGT HERAB; KOMMT, CHRISTEN; AND HERR, LEITE MICH*

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
<i>Gott steigt herab</i>			
4. Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ	73, 1	Martin Luther	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ (Z 1947)
8. Das hat er alles uns getan	73, 7	Martin Luther	Same melody and harmonization as no. 4
<i>Kommt, Christen</i>			
7. Die Zeit ist nun ganz freudenreich	71, 2	Martin Luther	Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich (Z 7869); harmonization by G.P. Telemann
<i>Herr, leite mich</i>			
5. Herzlich tut mich verlangen	559, 1	Christoph Knoll	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)

The sole source for Bach's version of *Kommt, Christen* is D-B, Mus. ms. 8182 (1), which is a score (source A) in the hand of Anon. 305 (Ludwig August Christoph Hopff), with additions and corrections by Bach. This source would have served as the *Vorlage* for the now-lost parts. Source Q 2 allows for a tentative realization of the chorale. No printed librettos are extant.

Herr, leite mich, BR-CPEB F 4

This work is Bach's arrangement of a cantata of the same name that is attributed to Johann Gottlieb Graun (Graun WV Av:IX:3). It is not listed in NV 1790 or AK 1805. No performance dates are documented, and its liturgical assignment is uncertain. But the inclusion of three trumpets and timpani in Bach's version suggests that it was used as a *Quartalstück*. One source for J. G. Graun's version assigns it to the first Sunday after Epiphany. Since that Sunday marked the end of the Christmas season in Hamburg, we can tentatively identify *Herr, leite mich* as a Christmas *Quartalstück*. Given the initial assignment of no. 4 to the singer Hardenack Otto Conrad Zinck, who sang for Bach until 1777, its reassignment to the singer Holland, who sang for Bach until 1771, and its further reassignment to Wreden, who sang for Bach until 1774, we can provisionally identify *Herr, leite mich* as Bach's Christmas *Quartalstück* for 1768, 1769, or 1770, with a possible revival in 1773 or 1774.

Bach used all of the movements of J. G. Graun's cantata but switched the order of the chorale and duet and used a different chorale text (see critical report, source Q). Other differences in Bach's version include a different ending for recitative no. 4, the rescoring of the chorus by adding *colla parte* oboes and replacing two horns with three trumpets and timpani, and the omission of horns in the chorale.

In addition to a biblical *dictum* (no. 1) and the poetic movements (nos. 2–4 and 6–7), *Herr, leite mich* contains one chorale (no. 5), which is a setting of the melody “Herzlich tut mich verlangen” (see table 2). Bach used v. 1 of the corresponding chorale text, which is different than the verses used in the various sources for Graun's version of the cantata (see critical report).

The sole source for Bach's version of *Herr, leite mich* is D-B, Mus. ms. 8290/1, consisting of the original performing parts (source B) in the hands of an unidentified Hamburg copyist and Anon. 304 (Schieferlein), with additions and corrections by Bach. There are no secondary copies, and no printed librettos are extant.

Performance Practice

Bach apparently had a maximum of eight singers available to him for the performances of *Quartalstücke*. But the surviving performance material for *Gott steigt herab* contains parts for only five singers (one soprano, one alto, two tenors, and one bass). There were probably ripieno soprano, alto, and bass parts in the original performing materials, allowing Bach to perform *Gott steigt herab* with eight singers, but these parts have not come down to us. From indications in the vocal parts (see the critical report, table 2), we know the name of only one of the tenors, at least for the 1771 performances: Wreden, a singer in Altona who sang for Bach frequently through 1774, often as a tenor, though he was apparently primarily used as a baritone. Wreden probably sang only for the 1771 performances, and another singer, whose name we do not know, would have taken over in 1777 and 1784. But Wreden's name was not scratched out from the part book originally assigned to him and replaced with another name. A name was written on the second tenor part book, but it was later erased

and is no longer legible. This part may have been sung by Johann Heinrich Michel. The alto part might have been sung by Schieferlein, and the bass part was probably sung by either Friedrich Martin Illert or Johann Andreas Hoffmann. At no. 3 in the score (source A) Bach added the name “Mr. Hartmann,” a soprano who sang for Bach in the late 1760s and early 1770s, but this was later erased.¹ Some of Bach’s singers also worked for him as copyists: certainly Michel, probably Schieferlein, and possibly Hoffmann.² The performance material for *Kommt, Christen* does not survive, so information about the singers for that work is very limited. From an indication in the score (see the critical report, table 3), we know only that aria no. 5, originally for alto, was assigned to the tenor Wreden. Assuming that *Kommt, Christen* was the Christmas *Quartalstück* for 1773 or 1774, Wreden probably would have sung only for the performances in one of those years. If Bach reused *Kommt, Christen* in later years, another singer would have taken over. The remaining solos lack assignments in the score. The alto solo in no. 4 might have been sung by Schieferlein, the tenor solos in nos. 1a and 6 by Michel or Wreden, and the bass solos in nos. 2 and 3 by Illert or Hoffmann. The surviving performance material for *Herr, leite mich* contains parts for only five singers (two sopranos, one alto, one tenor, and one bass). From indications in the vocal parts (see the critical report, table 4), we know the names of some of the singers for the various performances during Bach’s Hamburg tenure. The altos Zinck and Holland and the tenor Wreden were variously assigned to sing recitative no. 4, which is contained in both the second soprano and tenor parts. Michel also used the tenor part as the assigned singer for nos. 3 and 6 (the original assignments for those movements were erased and are illegible). The bass part, which contains no solo material, was again probably used by either Illert or Hoffmann. The alto part also contains no solos and may have been used by Zinck, Holland, or Schieferlein.

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

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

Performances of *Quartalstücke* in Bach’s day probably required a minimum of fourteen instrumentalists. This roughly corresponds with the number available to Bach during his time in Hamburg, where his full ensemble included the town musicians, trumpet and timpani players, and a continuo player who was probably paid extra. There are only eleven surviving parts, however, for *Gott steigt herab*, including one copy each of the oboe I and II (whose players doubled on flute), trumpet I, II, and III, timpani, violin I and II, viola, cello, and organ parts. The organ part (untransposed) matches the tuning of the organ in St. Michaelis. The other two organ parts, in the necessary transpositions for use in the other four principal churches of Hamburg, are lost. The original set of parts probably also included duplicate copies of the violin I and II and cello parts. It is possible that the duplicate instrumental parts and ripieno vocal parts—none of which would have been strictly necessary to transmit *Gott steigt herab* in its entirety—were discarded at some point by a collector, librarian, or archivist. Oboes, trumpets, and timpani are used in the choruses and chorales, and flutes are used only in aria no. 2. No performing parts survive for *Kommt, Christen*, although we can conclude, based on its scoring and the contents of other surviving sets of parts, that the original set included two copies each of the violin I and II and cello parts, and one copy each of the oboe I and II, trumpet I, II, and III, timpani, violin concertante I and II, and viola parts. There also would have been three organ parts, two of them in the customary transpositions. Trumpets and timpani are used in the chorus and the chorale, oboes are used in the chorus and were probably added by Bach to the chorale (oboes are not included in the instrumentation of source Q 2), and concertante violins are used in aria no. 5. There are fourteen surviving parts for *Herr, leite mich*, including two copies each of the violin I and II and cello parts, and one copy each of the oboe I and II, trumpet I, II, and III, timpani, viola, and organ parts. One of the copies of the violin I part has the initial “B” in pencil, which might indicate Johann Adolph Buckhoffer, the director of the town musicians from 1757 to 1788.³ One of the violin II parts and one of the cello parts also have initials in pencil (respectively, “LM” [?] and “T.M.”), but the identity of the musicians is uncertain. The only surviving organ part (transposed down a minor third) matches the tuning of the organs in St. Petri and St. Jacobi; this part includes a separate leaf in Bach’s hand with the organ part for

3. See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of musicians who performed with Bach; on Buckhoffer, see also Neubacher, 415–16.

no. 2 in the same transposition. The other two organ parts normally needed for Hamburg *Quartalstück* performances are presumably lost. Trumpets and timpani are used in the chorus, and oboes are used in the chorus and chorale.

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