

INTRODUCTION

With the Passion according to St. John in 1776, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach completed his second full cycle of Passions, beginning in 1769 with his first St. Matthew Passion and rotating through the four gospels. As was his custom, Bach began his Passion setting in 1775, so that the music could be copied and ready well before Lent of the following year.¹ For his first St. John Passion in 1772, Bach had used the gospel narrative and chorales from Georg Philipp Telemann's 1745 St. John Passion, TVWV 5:30, plus arias and choruses from Passions by Johann Sebastian Bach, Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, and Gottfried August Homilius (see CPEB:CW, IV/7.1). In 1776, Bach turned to a setting of the St. John Passion by Homilius, HoWV I.4, and except for a few substitutions from his earlier setting, this Passion follows closely its model (see table 1). In 1770, 1774, and 1775, Bach had adapted works by Homilius for his Passions according to St. Mark and St. Luke (see CPEB:CW, IV/5.1, IV/5.2, and IV/6.2, respectively). Such wholesale borrowing tends to make modern critics uncomfortable, but this practice was widespread throughout the eighteenth century.²

Around this time Bach also made a concentrated effort to shore up his legacy. To this end, he published some of his best original vocal and instrumental works: *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq 238 (written in 1769; published "im Verlag des Autors" in 1775); the "Kenner und Liebhaber" collections, Wq 55–59 and 61 (Leipzig, 1779–87); the accompanied keyboard trios, Wq 89 (London, 1776) and Wq 90–91 (Leipzig, 1776–77); a set of six keyboard concertos, Wq 43 (1771–72); four orchestral symphonies, Wq 183 (written in 1775–76; published in 1780); and the double-choir *Heilig*, Wq 217 (written in 1776; published in 1779). The latter work, first heard a few months after his second St. John Passion was performed, proved to be a particular favorite and was incorporated into several of his

cantatas.³ In the last years of his life, Bach published *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste*, Wq 239 (Leipzig, 1784) and *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Wq 240 (written in 1774; revised in 1778; published in Leipzig, 1787), and also prepared a collection of songs, Wq 200, for publication (published posthumously in Lübeck, 1789). All this suggests a conscious effort to distinguish between his workaday responsibilities directing the Sunday and seasonal church music at the Hamburg churches, and the work that he could publish to benefit his family and enhance his reputation as a composer.

The 1776 Passion, as was typical of the Passions Bach performed in Hamburg, was a pasticcio; in this case, an adaptation of a work by Homilius. Born in February 1714, a few weeks before C.P.E. Bach, Homilius was a pupil of J.S. Bach and began his residence at the university in Leipzig in 1735.⁴ At some point he might have become acquainted with C.P.E. Bach, even though the latter had already left Leipzig to matriculate at the university in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1734. Homilius served as organist at the Frauenkirche in Dresden from May 1742 until his appointment in 1755 as *Kreuzkantor* and music director of the three principal churches in Dresden—the Kreuzkirche, Frauenkirche, and Sophienkirche. (Wilhelm Friedemann Bach was organist at the Sophienkirche from 1733 to 1746.) In 1790, Ernst Ludwig Gerber concluded that Homilius was "without a doubt our greatest church composer."⁵ His St. John Passion was written for Dresden before 1774.⁶ It is

1. NV 1790, p. 60: "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Johannes. H. 1775 und 1776. Mit Hörnern, Flöten, Hoboen und Fagotts."

2. For a recent discussion of borrowing in the eighteenth century, see John T. Winemiller, "Recontextualizing Handel's Borrowing," *Journal of Musicology* 15 (1997): 444–70.

3. See Paul Corneilson, "Zur Entstehungs- und Aufführungsgeschichte von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs 'Heilig,'" *BJ* 92 (2006): 273–89.

4. See Ulrich Leisinger, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Gottfried August Homilius—Eine Neubewertung," *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs geistliche Musik. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium (Teil 1) vom 12. bis 16. März 1998 in Frankfurt (Oder), Żagań und Zielona Góra im Rahmen der 33. Frankfurter Festtage der Musik an der Konzerthalle 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach' in Frankfurt (Oder)*, ed. Ulrich Leisinger and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt/Oder: Konzerthalle "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," 2000), 240–60.

5. *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1790–92), 1:665: "Er war ohne Widerrede unser größter Kirchenkomponist."

6. Uwe Wolf, *Gottfried August Homilius. Studien zu Leben und Werk mit Werkverzeichnis (kleine Ausgabe)* (Stuttgart: Carus, 2009), 72.

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF HOMILIUS'S ST. JOHN PASSION AND BACH'S 1776 ST. JOHN PASSION

Homilius No. Type	Incipit	Bach No. Type	Incipit; Remarks
1. Chorale	Der Fromme stirbt		omitted by Bach in 1776 (hereafter "omitted")
		1. Chorale	Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld; = Telemann's 1745 Passion, no. 1; cf. 1772 Passion, no. 1; HG 1766, no. 113, 1
2. Recitative	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	2. Recitative	= Homilius no. 2
3. Chorale	Mitten wir im Leben sind	3. Chorale	= Homilius no. 3; HG 1766, no. 562, 1
4. Recitative	Als nun Jesus wusste alles	4. Recitative	= Homilius no. 4
5a-c. Aria— Accomp.—Aria	Nun kömmt die Stunde meiner Leiden	5a-c. Aria— Accomp.—Aria	= Homilius no. 5a-c; cf. 1789 Passion, no. 6 (revised for alto with different text and without accomp.)
6. Recitative	Da fragte er sie abermal	6. Recitative	= Homilius no. 6
7. Chorale	Christe, aller Welt Trost		omitted
		7. Chorale	Ach großer König; = Telemann's 1745 Passion, no. 18; cf. 1772 Passion, no. 7; HG 1766, no. 114, 8
8. Recitative	Da hatte Simon Petrus ein Schwert	8. Recitative	= Homilius no. 8
9. Aria	Wer kann den Rat der Liebe fassen	9. Aria	= Homilius no. 9; cf. 1789 Passion, no. 9 (revised for bass with different text)
10. Recitative	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesus nach	10. Recitative	= Homilius no. 10
11. Aria	Dein Wort ist Geist und Kraft und Segen	11. Aria	= Homilius no. 11
12. Recitative	Als er aber solches redete	12. Recitative (mm. 1-13)	= Homilius no. 12
13. Chorale	Was macht denn nur die wüste Not		omitted
14. Recitative	Simon Petrus aber stund und wärmte sich	12. (mm. 14-30)	= Homilius no. 14
15. Accomp.	Dich zu bekennen, Herr		omitted; cf. 1774 Passion, no. 14
16. Aria	Vor dir, dem Vater, der verzeiht		omitted; cf. 1774 Passion, no. 15
17. Recitative	Da führeten sie Jesum von Kaipha		omitted; see Bach no. 14
18. Chorale	Gloria sei dir gesungen		omitted
19. Recitative	Da sprach Pilatus zu ihm		omitted; see Bach no. 14
20. Arioso	Den Mörder, Barrabam, den Bösewicht		omitted; cf. 1774 Passion, no. 17
21. Aria	Herr, mach dich auf und rette deine Frommen		omitted; cf. 1774 Passion, no. 18
22. Chorale	Unter deinen Schirmen		omitted
		13. Chorale	Sei nicht vermessen! Wach und streite; source of chorale setting unknown
		14. Recitative	= Telemann's 1745 Passion, nos. 26-30, 32-35; cf. 1772 Passion, nos. 8c-8g, 10a-10c, 12a-12b
		15. Chorale	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden; = Telemann's 1745 Passion, no. 36; cf. 1772 Passion, no. 13; HG 1766, no. 129, 1
23. Chorale	Weg, Welt, mit deinen Freuden		omitted
24. Recitative	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum und geißelte ihn		omitted; see Bach nos. 14 and 16
25. Aria	Ich zage, Herr, vor ihrer Stimme		omitted; cf. 1774 Passion, no. 21
26a-b. Recitative	Pilatus spricht zu ihnen		omitted
		16. Recitative	Und gaben ihm Backenstreich; = Telemann's 1745 Passion, nos. 37, 39-40; cf. 1772 Passion, nos. 14, 16a-16d

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

Homilius No. Type	Incipit	Bach No. Type	Incipit; Remarks
		17. Chorale	Du trägst der Missetäter Lohn; = Telemann's 1745 Passion, no. 1; cf. 1772 Passion, no. 1 (with different text)
26c. Recitative	Da Pilatus das Wort hörete	18. Recitative	= Homilius no. 26c
27. Aria	Ich bin der Allmächt'ge	19. Aria	= Homilius no. 27
28. Recitative	Darum der mich dir überantwortet hat	20. Recitative	= Homilius no. 28
29. Aria	Der Sohn soll sterben, ich soll leben	21. Aria	= Homilius no. 29
30. Recitative	Sie nahmen aber Jesum und führten ihn hin	22. Recitative	= Homilius no. 30
31. Chorale	Selig sind, die aus Erbarmen	23. Chorale	= Homilius no. 31
32. Recitative	Darnach, als Jesus wusste	24. Recitative	= Homilius no. 32
33. Duet	Wir weinen dir und deiner Tugend	25. Duet	= Homilius no. 33; revised for soprano and tenor, instead of two sopranos
		26. Chorale	Mein Lebetage will ich dich; = Telemann's 1745 Passion, no. 1; cf. 1772 Passion, no. 1 (with different text); HG 1766, no. 113, 5
34. Recitative	Die Jüden aber, dieweil es der Rüsttag war		omitted
35. Chorale	Schreibe deine blut'gen Wunden		omitted
36. Recitative	Und der das gesehen hat		omitted
37. Aria	Wenn, Heiland, die dich schmähn		omitted; cf. 1774 Passion, no. 25
38. Recitative	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia		omitted
39. Chorus	O Gottes Lamm, das unsre Sünden träget		omitted

not clear exactly how or when C.P.E. Bach obtained a copy of Homilius's Passion, possibly directly from the composer or more likely from a third party such as Georg Michael Telemann, but Bach definitely owned some Passions and cantatas by Homilius.⁷ The music shares characteristics of both J.S. Bach and Carl Heinrich Graun, *maestro di cappella* to Friedrich II (Frederick the Great) in Berlin; it is therefore not surprising that C.P.E. Bach would have sought out Homilius's sacred music to fill his busy schedule at the Hamburg churches.

Sources and Musical Elements

The principal source for the 1776 St. John Passion is D-B, SA 19, which consists of an incomplete autograph score (labeled source A in the present edition) and the original

performing parts (source B). Presumably, Bach owned a copy of Homilius's St. John Passion; the copy of Homilius's St. John Passion in D-B, SA 123 (source Q1) has readings that are very close to the readings in Bach's adaptation, but we cannot be certain that this was Bach's direct *Vorlage*. Perhaps Bach himself copied out the music he planned to use in his 1776 Passion, rather than simply marking an existing score for his copyists to prepare performing material; but this would go against Bach's usual working method. Unfortunately, there are significant gaps in the surviving score, so it is impossible to know exactly how much of the work Bach copied himself.⁸ In any event, Bach did not use all of Homilius's setting of the gospel narrative, but decided to substitute a portion of Telemann's 1745 setting from Bach's first St. John Passion of 1772 (D-B, SA 4657, source Q2), some of which is also included

7. Scores of the St. Mark and St. Luke Passions by Homilius survive in D-B, SA 37 and SA 50, respectively, which were from Bach's library. AK 1805, lot no. 131, reads: "Passionsmusiken, von Homilus [*sic*], Musikdirektor in Dresden. Mscrpt." Bach's estate catalogue, NV 1790, p. 91, lists seven cantatas by Homilius.

8. One possibility is that Bach borrowed a copy of Homilius's St. John Passion, either SA 123 or another score, and thus simply copied the movements he wanted to use in his 1774 and 1776 Passions. See also table 1 in the critical report.

in source A. For one reason or another, Bach did not return to Homilius's setting in later years (1780, 1784, and 1788), preferring Telemann's setting instead.⁹

The main difference between Homilius's St. John Passion and C.P.E. Bach's 1776 adaptation is the overall length. Table 1 shows a comparison between the two Passions; even accounting for some substitutions, it is immediately apparent how much material there is in common between the two settings.¹⁰ Indeed, Bach follows his model closely through the first twelve movements, except that the chorales nos. 1 and 7 are borrowed not from Homilius but from Telemann's 1745 Passion.¹¹ Bach then introduced a new chorale, no. 13, and omitted Homilius's nos. 15–26, including arias for soprano, tenor, and alto, and three chorales, along with the connecting gospel narrative. The obvious reason for this is that Bach wanted to shorten his Passion: Homilius's St. John Passion is in two parts, with thirty-nine movements; Bach's has only twenty-six. Furthermore, Bach had already used several movements (nos. 15, 16, 20, 21, 25, and 37) from Homilius's St. John Passion in his 1774 St. Mark Passion, H 787 (as nos. 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, and 25; see CPEB:CW, IV/5.2). Therefore, it must have been somewhat easier for Bach to adapt the gospel narrative from his 1772 Passion that precedes the chorale "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" (in G major), combining nos. 8b (from m. 73) through 8g, 10a–10c, and 12a–12b. In the process, Bach also omitted two of the interpolated arias (nos. 9 and 11 in the 1772 Passion). Similarly, Bach combined the recitative following the chorale (nos. 14 and 16a–16d in the 1772 Passion) and omitted another aria (no. 15 in the 1772 Passion). But after the chorus "Wir haben ein Gesetz," Bach repeated the chorale melody "An Wasserflüssen Babylon" (used in the chorale no. 1), here with a text by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, "Du trägst der Missetäter Lohn." (This chorale melody is also employed in the opening movement in the 1772 Passion with the text "Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz," also by Gellert.)

9. See Uwe Wolf, "Der Anteil Telemanns an den Hamburger Passionen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," in *Telemann, der musikalische Maler, und Telemann-Kompositionen im Notenarchiv der Singakademie zu Berlin. Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz, Magdeburg, 10. bis 12. März 2004, anlässlich der 17. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage*, ed. Carsten Lange and Brit Reipsch, forthcoming.

10. The numbering follows that of *Gottfried August Homilius. Johanespassion*, ed. Uwe Wolf (Stuttgart: Carus, 2007).

11. Chorale no. 13 in Homilius's St. John Passion is not included in source Q 1, so Bach's recitative no. 12 is equivalent to Homilius's nos. 12 and 14.

Then he resumed with Homilius's setting, nos. 27–33, which are equivalent to nos. 19–25 in the 1776 Passion. Bach concluded with the chorale no. 26, and omitted the last section of Homilius's Passion (nos. 34–39).

Although Bach chose a different model for his second St. John Passion, he probably began planning with his first setting of 1772. A copy of the 1772 libretto in D-B, Mus. Tb 93, 3 has Bach's annotations in the margin, both for his own use as an aide-mémoire and possibly as a copy text for the printer, in which case the new texts would have been supplied on separate sheets. (Bach's annotations are listed in the critical report under "Autograph Changes and Compositional Revisions.") Four movements borrowed from Stölzel's 1749 Passion (nos. 5, 11, 17, 21 in the 1772 Passion), two movements from Homilius's St. Mark Passion (nos. 9 and 15 in the 1772 Passion), and one movement from J.S. Bach's St. John Passion (no. 23 in the 1772 Passion) were replaced in the 1776 Passion. Therefore, even with reusing some chorales and portions of Telemann's gospel narrative (nos. 1, 7, 14–17, 26 in the 1772 Passion), the overall shape of the 1776 Passion is completely different.

Where Bach has borrowed from Homilius (nos. 2–6, 8–12, 18–25 in the 1776 Passion), there is very little difference between the adaptation and the model, especially in the gospel narrative. Both settings begin with chapter 18 of St. John's Gospel; Bach's setting, however, concludes with the death of Jesus (John 19:30), while Homilius's continues to the burial of Jesus (John 19:42), as had Bach's 1772 Passion. The gospel narrative is divided in Bach's 1776 Passion as follows:

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
2.	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	18:1–3
4.	Als nun Jesus wusste alles	18:4–6
6.	Da fragte er sie abermal	18:7–9
8.	Da hatte Simon Petrus ein Schwert	18:10–14
10.	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach	18:15–21
12.	Als er aber solches redete	18:22–27
14.	Da führeten sie Jesum von Kaipha	18:28–19:3a
16.	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	19:3b–7
18.	Da Pilatus das Wort hörete	19:8–11a
20.	Darum der mich dir überantwortet hat	19:11b–16a
22.	Sie nahmen aber Jesum	19:16b–27
24.	Darnach, als Jesus wusste	19:28–30

Only one of the eight chorales in Bach's 1776 Passion is taken from Homilius's setting (no. 23 in the 1776 Passion = Homilius's no. 31). Five of the chorales are borrowed from Telemann's 1745 Passion, all of which Bach had used in his

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld	113, 1	Paul Gerhard	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)
3. Mitten wir im Leben sind	562, 1	Martin Luther	Mitten wir im Leben sind (Z 8502)
7. Ach großer König, groß zu allen Zeiten	114, 8	Johann Hermann	Wend ab deinen Zorn (Z 967)
13. Sei nicht vermessen! Wach und streite ^a	n/a	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Wer nur den lieben Gott (Z 2781)
15. O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	129, 1	Paul Gerhard	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
17. Du trägst der Missetäter Lohn ^b	n/a	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)
23. Selig sind, die aus Erbarmen	n/a	David Denicke	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)
26. Mein Lebetage will ich dich	113, 5	Paul Gerhard	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)

NOTES

a. Verse 12 of *Die Wachsamkeit*, Wq 194/55, published in *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* (Leipzig, 1758).

b. Verse 4 of *Passionslied*, Wq 194/14, published in *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*.

1772 Passion. Bach used the same chorale, “Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld,” for the opening movement (no. 1) that he had used in the 1772 Passion but in a different key (G major instead of A major) and with a different verse. This chorale serves as a frame and recurs with different verses and keys as nos. 17 (in A major) and 26 (in F major) in the 1776 Passion. Bach also substituted the chorales “Ach großer König, groß zu allen Zeiten” (no. 7) and “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden” (no. 15) in Telemann’s harmonizations for chorales in Homilius’s setting (nos. 7 and 22). Several chorales in Homilius’s Passion were omitted, including nos. 13, 18, 23, and 35. Perhaps Homilius’s chorales were less familiar in Hamburg, or Bach simply preferred the others. The only unknown chorale is “Sei nicht vermessen! Wach und streite” (no. 13); it is possible that Bach prepared his own harmonization of “Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten,” the tune Gellert recommended to be sung with his *Passionslied*, Wq 194/14 (see CPEB: CW, VI/1). In any case, since the chorale texts were printed in the librettos with page and verse references to the Hamburg hymnal (HG 1766), we may assume that the congregation joined in singing the chorales (see table 2 above).

Unlike the 1772 Passion, all of the interpolated arias and the duet in Bach’s 1776 Passion were taken from Homilius’s St. John Passion. As noted above, Bach did not use all of Homilius’s arias; Bach shortened most of the arias he did use by moving or adding a *dal segno* indication after the first paragraph, whereas Homilius usually placed the sign at the beginning of the first section. (For further details see “Autograph Changes and Compositional Revisions” in the critical report.) The only exception is the composite aria—

accompagnement—aria for bass (no. 5), “Nun kömmt die Stunde meiner Leiden,” which is through-composed in Bach’s and Homilius’s Passions. The only significant difference between the two are some changes Bach made in the text underlay in no. 5c. For example, Homilius’s text reads: “Ich geh, dass ich den Tod empfinde. / Gott, diese haben nichts getan.” Bach changed this to: “Ich geh, dass ich den Tod empfinde. / Gott, rechne diesen hier nichts an!” For the most part Bach uses the same orchestration as Homilius. In the duet (no. 25), however, Bach assigned the vocal lines to soprano and tenor, rather than two sopranos as in Homilius (no. 33), simply transposing the soprano II line an octave lower.

First Performances

Bach had seven or eight singers available to him for performances of his Passions and cantatas in the Hamburg churches.¹² The following singers most likely participated in the performances of the 1776 St. John Passion:

Soprano	Peter Nicolaus Friedrich Delver (“Magd” in no. 10b; aria no. 21)
Soprano	Ebeling (“Magd” in no. 10b; duet no. 25)
Alto	[Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein] (“Ein Diener” in no. 12b; “Ein Knecht” in no. 12f; aria no. 9)

12. See Sanders, 95–107, for a summary of the singers in Bach’s vocal ensemble; see also Neubacher 2009, 210–61.

Tenor	[Johann Heinrich Michel] (Evangelist and aria no. 11)
Tenor	unknown (Pilatus and duet no. 25)
Bass	Friedrich Martin Illert (Jesus and aria no. 5)
Bass	[Johann Andreas Hoffmann] (Petrus and aria no. 19)

Although the Evangelist is not named in the sources, it is likely that Michel sang the role, as he did in all of the Passions except the three St. Luke settings (1771, 1779, 1787) in which the Evangelist is assigned variously to soprano, alto, and bass instead of tenor (see CPEB: CW, IV/6.1). It is more difficult to determine who sang the other tenor part. Carl Rudolph Wreden sang in the early Passions through at least 1774, but it is likely that a tenor other than him sang the role of Pilatus in 1776. As usual, Illert sang the role of Jesus, and Hoffmann almost certainly sang the other bass part (Petrus). Until 1777 we only have one extant alto part among the sets of performing material (except for the 1775 Passion, where none of the parts survive). The alto part was probably sung by Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein, who also copied the parts.¹³

The 1776 St. John Passion requires a minimum of fourteen instrumentalists, assuming the oboe and flute parts are played by the same players. This is roughly the number Bach had available to him during his time at Hamburg. The surviving parts (see table 2 in the critical report) include two copies each of the violin I and II and cello, and one copy each of the oboe/flute I and II, bassoon I and II, and viola parts. Some of the parts contain initials in their headings that may refer to specific instrumentalists: “B.” (Johann Adolph Buckhoffer?) on the vn I part; “Ha.” (Johann Hartmann?) on the vn I* part; “JTant” (Johann Heinrich Tancke?) on the vc* part.¹⁴ There are three copies of the organ part in three different keys to match the tunings of the organs in the main Hamburg churches (see p. x). Flutes are used in the aria no. 5 and the duet no. 21, horns in nos. 11 and 19, and bassoons in the duet no. 25. Otherwise, oboes are used in the chorales and turba choruses, as well as the arias nos. 9 and 21 and the duet no. 23. In his later Passions Bach explicitly calls for violone and/or bassoon to double the cellos, so it is possible that another bass instrument doubled the cello part.

13. Peter Wollny, in a review of *Georg Philipp Telemann. Autographe und Abschriften*, ed. Joachim Jaenecke, *BJ* 81 (1995): 218, was the first to connect Telemann’s Hauptkopist A, Anon. 304, and Schieferlein. For further documentation see Neubacher 2009, 454.

14. See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of musicians who performed with Bach; see also Neubacher 2009, 415, 424, 458.

A *Schreib-Kalender* for 1776 has survived, and besides listing the phases of the moon and tides on the Elbe River, it includes the schedule of music in the Hamburg churches.¹⁵ Ash Wednesday fell on 21 February and Easter Sunday on 7 April. Thus, according to tradition, the first performance of the 1776 Passion took place at St. Petri on Invocavit (25 February), followed by St. Nicolai on Reminiscere (3 March), St. Catharinen on Laetare (17 March), St. Jacobi on Judica (24 March), and St. Michaelis on Palm Sunday (31 March). Oculi (10 March) was reserved for installation services at St. Michaelis, and there was also special music for the Annunciation at St. Catharinen on 25 March. Passion music was also performed at the smaller parish churches in Hamburg as follows: Kleine Michaeliskirche (28 March), St. Johannis (30 March), St. Gertrud (2 April), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge on Maundy Thursday (4 April), and Heilige Dreieinigkeitskirche St. Georg on Good Friday (5 April). Bach’s *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, was given at the Spinnhauskirche (14 March), and Telemann’s *Seliges Erwägen* was performed at the following churches: Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche (13 March), Waisenhauskirche (20 March), Heilig Geist (29 March), St. Maria Magdalena (1 April), and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (3 April).¹⁶

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I dedicate this edition to my parents, Linnea Ann Stone and Edward N. Corneilson.

Paul Corneilson

15. *Hamburgischer verbesserter Schreib-Kalender aufs 1776. Jahr, worinnen die Gerichtstage, Verlassungen, Predigten, Musiken in allen 5 Haupt- und Neben-kirchen u. s. f. wie auch die Zeiten der Fluth und Ebbe, die Jahrmärkte, die Posten, und die Eröffnung und Schließung der Thöre, u. angezeigt werden. Mit Fleiß beschrieben von Matthias Rohles* (Hamburg, [1776]); copy in D-Hs, Z 800/8–15. I am grateful to Reginald Sanders for sharing his transcription.

16. Barbara Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Dokumente zu Leben und Wirken aus der zeitgenössischen hamburgischen Presse (1767–1790)*, *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* 4 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2000), 424.