

INTRODUCTION

In 1773 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed his second Passion according to St. Matthew in Hamburg. With the St. John Passion of the previous year the first cycle of Passion performances had been completed, and Bach had to make basic decisions on how to proceed. Of the four prior Passions, only the 1769 St. Matthew Passion contained a significant amount of original material: the arias and choruses as well as most of the simple recitatives were Bach's own composition, whereas the chorales and the turba choruses had been borrowed from works of his father, most notably the St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244. The 1770 St. Mark Passion, on the other hand, was based on a Passion by Gottfried August Homilius, HoWV I.10, with minimal compositional adaptation. The 1771 St. Luke and 1772 St. John Passions were pasticcios drawing from different sources: for both Bach took the entire biblical narrative as well as the majority of the chorales from other composers' works, and the arias, choruses, and additional chorales from various sources.

The decision not to perform the 1769 Passion unaltered a second time was made early on; a letter of 4 September 1772 from Niels Schiørring, who visited Bach in Hamburg, to their mutual friend Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg in Copenhagen reveals that Bach had completed Passion music that he was willing to distribute.¹ This letter most likely refers to the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, based on his 1769 Passion, and not to any of the oratorio Passions that were precisely adapted to the liturgical practice in Hamburg and thus of little use elsewhere. When preparing a score for the *Passions-Cantate* Bach apparently disassembled the autograph of the 1769 Passion by separating those sheets containing the biblical narrative, as well as any borrowed material, from those folios featuring his own settings of poetic texts. Bach's primary intention was to keep the biblical frame of the Passion intact. Thus the beginnings or endings of some other movements have been preserved together with the biblical narrative. The pages were kept for later reference and at some point renumbered. Bach and his copyists used this partial score when preparing the later St. Matthew Passions from 1773 on.

1. CPEB-Briefe, 1:277–78.

The revision of the 1769 Passion, H 782, as the *Passions-Cantate*, with its poetic paraphrases instead of Gospel narrative, must therefore be seen in close connection with the compilation of the 1773 Passion as an oratorio Passion according to St. Matthew. Possibly Bach intended also to present the *Passions-Cantate* in Hamburg in 1773—though not in the five main churches, but in secondary churches like the Waisenhauskirche, consecrated on 17 December 1772. Newspaper announcements in the *Adress Comtoir Nachrichten* (25 February 1773) and the *Hamburgische Unpartheyische Correspondent* (26 February 1773) seem to indicate that this plan was abandoned during the lenten season and had to be postponed until the following year, when the first Hamburg performance of the *Passions-Cantate* could finally be realized on 17 March 1774.²

With respect to his second St. Matthew Passion, H 786, it is unlikely that Bach ever considered setting the biblical narrative a second time. He must have been aware of the example of his predecessor Georg Philipp Telemann, who at least in his later Passions reused some if not all of the biblical narrative; it was unlikely that a significant fraction of Bach's audience would recognize a turba chorus, let alone a recitative, that they had heard once four years ago. For the chorales Bach typically chose different stanzas from the same hymns. Even for aesthetic reasons the reuse of the setting of the biblical narrative could easily be defended: if an adequate setting of a text had once been found, there was no need to offer any alternate realization. (See table 1.)

Bach's musical library, before his arrival in Hamburg, contained mainly Passion compositions from the first half of the eighteenth century. These could hardly be used any longer due to the pre-Enlightenment nature of their texts. Soon after he had assumed his tenure in Hamburg, Bach started to acquire liturgical music on a large scale to create a stock of material; he apparently also wanted to become independent of Georg Michael Telemann who administered the estate of his grandfather but refused to support Bach once the latter did not prolong his contract as a con-

2. See Wiermann, 382–83 and 386–88.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1773 ST. MATTHEW PASSION

No. Type	Incipit	Vorlage	Remarks
1. Chorale	O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	H 782, no. 1 with a different verse	cf. BWV 245/15
2. Chorus	Legt eure Harfen hin	HoWV II.49, no. 1	
3. Accomp.	Nun wird Gott bald den Hirten schlagen	HoWV II.49, no. 2	
4. Recitative	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	H 782, no. 3	
5. Chorale	Gott ist mein Trost, mein Zuversicht	H 782, no. 4 with a different verse	cf. BWV 244/25
6. Recitative	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	H 782, no. 5	
7. Accomp.	Die Feinde rüsten sich	HoWV I.9, no. 6	Vorlage was a simple recitative; see appendix
8. Aria	Verachtete, verdammte Sünder	HoWV I.9, no. 7	
9. Recitative	Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu	H 782, nos. 7, 9, 11 (mm. 40–42 revised to end with cadence on A; cf. H 782, no. 11, mm. 12–14, with cadence on G)	
10. Aria	Sie mögen dich, mein Heiland, immer hassen	HoWV I.9, no. 13	
11. Chorale	Ich will hier bei dir stehen	H 782, no. 12	cf. BWV 153/5
12. Recitative	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	H 782, nos. 13, 15	no. 12b, cf. BWV 244/33, mm. 5b–12; composer of no. 12d unknown; no. 12f, cf. HoWV I.10 (adapted by CPEB)
13. Chorale	Ich, ich und meine Sünden	H 782, no. 16 with a different verse	cf. BWV 244/37
14. Recitative	Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast	H 782, no. 17, mm. 1–26 (mm. 25–26 revised to end on D; cf. H 782, no. 17, mm. 25–26, with cadence on C#)	no. 14b, cf. BWV 244/38b
15. Aria	Verlasst ihn nicht, ihr vielgeliebten Freunde	HoWV I.9, no. 17	
16. Recitative	Und alsobald krähete der Hahn	H 782, no. 17, mm. 27–35; no. 19	composer of no. 16b unknown
17. Chorale	Reiche deinem schwachen Kinde	H 782, no. 21 with a different verse	cf. BWV 39/7
18. Recitative	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	H 782, no. 22	no. 18b, cf. BWV 244/41c, mm. 28b–35
19. Accomp.	Verschonet des Gerechten Blut	HoWV I.9, no. 20	see appendix
20. Aria	Mein Heiland, bald wirst du dein Blut vergießen	HoWV I.9, no. 21	
21. Recitative	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	H 782, no. 24	no. 21b, cf. BWV 244/45a, m. 30 (adapted by CPEB); no. 21d, cf. BWV 244/45b
22. Chorale	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	H 782, no. 25 with a different verse	cf. BWV 244/3
23. Recitative	Sie schrieten aber noch mehr und sprachen	H 782, nos. 26, 29	no. 23b, cf. BWV 244/50b; no. 23d, cf. BWV 244/50d; composer of no. 23f unknown
24. Chorale	Du edles Angesichte	H 782, no. 30 with a different verse	cf. BWV 244/54
25. Recitative	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	H 782, no. 31, mm. 1–6a	
26. Aria	Jetzt geht auf ungebahnten Wegen	HoWV I.9, no. 24	
27. Recitative	Und indem sie hinausgingen	H 782, no. 31, mm. 6b–90; no. 34, mm. 1–16a	no. 27b, cf. BWV 244/58b; no. 27d, cf. BWV 244/58d; no. 27f, cf. BWV 244/61b; no. 27h, cf. BWV 244/61d
28. Aria	Mein Heiland schließt die Augenlider	HoWV I.9, no. 30	
29. Chorale	Ich danke dir von Herzen	H 782, no. 30 with a different verse	cf. BWV 244/54

tinuo player in early 1771.³ Among Bach's acquisitions was a Passion oratorio by the late Gotha kapellmeister Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel⁴ that was probably sent by Bach's former colleague in the Prussian Court Orchestra, Georg Benda, who at the time served as Stölzel's successor at the Gotha court. Movements from Stölzel's musical reflections on Jesus' suffering had been borrowed by Bach in his 1771 and 1772 Passions.⁵ By 1776 Bach also possessed four Passions by Homilius. Of these only two—the St. Mark Passion *So gehst du nun, mein Jesu, hin*, HoWV I.10, and the Passion oratorio *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lider*, HoWV I.9—were well known, particularly in Berlin. Bach could either have brought them to Hamburg from Berlin himself, or he may easily have obtained them from one of his Berlin friends.⁶ The other two Passions by Homilius—one according to St. Luke, *Du starker Keltertreter*, HoWV I.5, and the other according to St. John, *Der Fromme stirbt*, HoWV I.4—did not circulate widely. Bach's library contained a copy of the former work (D-B, SA 50; see CPEB:CW, IV/6.2), and the whereabouts of the latter is unknown (possibly identical with D-B, SA 123; see CPEB:CW, IV/7.2), but it is not clear whether Homilius or someone else provided him with these copies.

Liturgical restraints in Hamburg kept Bach from performing Homilius's *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lider* as the annual Passion in 1773; the majority of the movements based on free poetic texts in Bach's 1773 Passion are taken, however, from Homilius's Passion oratorio, where they appear in the same order. Only as the *Exordium* did Bach use a chorus borrowed not from HoWV I.9 but from one of Homilius's cantatas, *Legt eure Harfen hin*, HoWV II.49, intended for Estomihi (source A 1).⁷ Bach apparently did not look for alternative settings to replace the free poetic texts in his 1769 Passion; rather he wanted to follow the

new model source as closely as possible. As a result the new arias and accompanied recitatives in the 1773 Passion do not fall in exactly the same positions as those in the 1769 Passion; rather the biblical narrative was interrupted in different places to put the new texts in the proper context they had in Homilius's Passion oratorio (there the biblical events were taken for granted and rather alluded to than paraphrased in the recitatives). These changes to the biblical narrative in the 1773 Passion were only partly entered into the fragmentary score of the 1769 Passion (source A 2); Bach must have notated the other changes on an extra sheet (now lost) together with additional instructions to his main copyist.⁸ Since all movements based on free poetic texts stem from the same composer, Bach's 1773 Passion appears to be quite homogenous, although, in reality, three different composers—C.P.E. Bach, J.S. Bach, and Homilius—contributed to the overall setting.

Sources and Musical Elements

In accordance with Hamburg traditions the text of the 1773 St. Matthew Passion was compiled from various sources. The biblical narrative is taken directly from the Bible, and all chorale stanzas are derived from the *Hamburgisches neu-vermehrtes Gesangbuch*, introduced already in 1700.⁹ The author of the texts originally set by Homilius has yet to be identified.

In the 1773 Passion the Passion story according to the Gospel of St. Matthew is divided as follows:

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
4.	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	26:36–42
6.	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	26:43–48
9.	Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu	26:49–56
12.	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	26:57–68
14.	Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast	26:69–74a
16.	Und alsobald krähete der Hahn	26:74b–27:5
18.	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	27:6–14
21.	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	27:15–23a

3. See Bach's letter to Georg Michael Telemann, 31 January 1771, CPEB-Briefe, 1:206–7. On Bach's endeavors to procure music see his letters to Breitkopf of 2 January and 9 April 1772, CPEB-Briefe, 1:250–51 and 256–57.

4. Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749), *Sechs geistliche Betrachtungen des leidenden und sterbenden Jesus aus der Leidensgeschichte der heiligen Evangelisten gezogen*. Stölzel's autograph is housed in D-B, Mus. ms. 21401.

5. Cf. Schulze, 341–42. See also CPEB:CW, IV/6.1 and IV/7.1.

6. That Bach was already familiar with Homilius's St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10, at the beginning of his tenure in Hamburg is evidenced by his use of a turba chorus ("Weissage uns") in a slightly revised form as movement no. 15f in the 1769 St. Matthew Passion.

7. *Exordium* and *conclusio* (the latter usually in the form of a chorale) were apparently not regarded as part of the Passion setting itself, but rather served as a frame to the Passion story.

8. Regarding the existence of "continuity drafts" for Bach's Passions according to St. Matthew, see D-B, SA 25 (1777 Passion; a page from this MS is given in facsimile in Enßlin, 555).

9. On the text sources see Anette Nagel, *Studien zur Passionskantate von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 27–34.

23. Sie schriehen aber noch mehr und sprachen 27:23b–30
 25. Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten 27:31
 27. Und indem sie hinausgingen 27:32–50

Along with a handful of adaptations resulting from new key relationships between the recitatives and the insertion arias, Bach also occasionally changed the vocal melody to improve the scansion of the texts; some of these changes were directly entered into the set of parts. The turba choruses, as well as the duets of the Hohepriester (High Priests) and the Falsche Zeugen (False Witnesses) of the 1773 Passion, are identical with those of the 1769 Passion. These movements with few exceptions stem from J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244. Four turbae in the 1773 Passion (nos. 12d, 12f, 16b, 23f) do not derive from BWV 244 nor do they reflect J.S. Bach's distinctive style. For the chorus "Weissage uns" (no. 12f) C.P.E. Bach adopted the corresponding movement from Homilius's St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10. C.P.E. Bach may have composed the remaining turbae himself, but it seems as likely that he borrowed them from an unknown source (see the introduction to CPEB: CW, IV/4.I, xiii; see also the commentary to no. 23f in the present edition).

The chorale settings were taken from the 1769 Passion (see table 2); Bach transposed the opening chorale up a whole step and replaced the chorale fantasia on "Christe, Du Lamm Gottes", BWV 245/39II, that had served as the conclusion of the 1769 Passion, with a new stanza of the chorale "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" (a chorale that had already been used with the same setting as no. 24 and with a different one from no. 11).

The movements based on "new" poetic texts—that is, the chorus no. 2, the arias, and the accompanied recitatives—are drawn from the aforementioned cantata *Legt eure Harfen hin*, HoWV II.49, and the Passion oratorio *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lieder*, HoWV I.9, by Homilius. These were incorporated without significant alterations: in no. 2 Bach had to replace a third flute part with a solo violin because he had only two flute players at his disposal; occasionally (nos. 8, 20, and 26) the *da capo* was shortened. Nos. 3, 17, and 18 were assigned to tenor instead of soprano; no. 10 to soprano instead of tenor; and no. 28 to bass instead of tenor. As a result of these changes three movements (nos. 17, 18, 28) were transposed down a whole step. The only movement that underwent thorough revision is the short accompanied recitative "Die Feinde rüsten sich" (no. 7). Homilius had conceived this movement as a simple

recitative; Bach turned it into an accompanied recitative, probably to set it off from the biblical narrative. All such changes are listed in table 1 as well as in the critical report. It may be noted that Bach did not include any of the numerous choruses from HoWV I.9 in the 1773 Passion, not even as a conclusion.

The principal musical sources for Bach's 1773 Passion are the complete set of parts used for the performances in 1773 (D-B, SA 5136; source B) and the partial score remaining from the autograph originally written for the 1769 Passion (D-B, SA 5155; source A 2).¹⁰ Since Bach's main copyist (Anon. 304, tentatively identified as Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein) worked very reliably, the musical text of the 1773 Passion poses very few editorial problems.

Performance History

In 1773 Easter Sunday fell on 11 April. According to the Hamburg *Schreib-Calender* for 1773,¹¹ the Passion performances in the five principal Hamburg churches took place as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	28 February	St. Petri
Reminiscere	7 March	St. Nicolai
Laetare	21 March	St. Catharinen
Judica	28 March	St. Jacobi
Palmarum	4 April	St. Michaelis

According to newspaper announcements Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* was performed—though not necessarily always under Bach's direction¹²—at least five times between 17 March and 7 April:

10. Because C.P.E. Bach continued to make minor changes to the music whenever a new St. Matthew Passion was prepared, the incomplete autograph score by itself is unsuited to reveal what exactly was played and sung in a specific year.

11. *Hamburgischer verbesserter Schreib-Calender aufs 1773. 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 Thore, etc. angezeigt werden. Mit Fleiß beschrieben von Matthias Rohlf. Hamburg: Heinrich Christian Grund. (Hamburg, [1772]).* The copy in D-Hs, Scrin A 541: 1773 was consulted; another copy is in the possession of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg.

12. The performances on 17 and 31 March are not listed in the *Schreib-Calender* and may not formally have required Bach's participation as the music director of Hamburg. From the plans to perform the *Passions-Cantate* in the Waisenhauskirche we can derive that Bach, in all likelihood, was involved in the performance of *Seliges Erwägen* that served as a substitute on 17 March. See also Wiermann, 422.

TABLE 2: THE CHORALES

No.	Incipit	HG 1766 (no., verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1.	O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	111, 8	Michael Weisse	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6383b)
5.	Gott ist mein Trost, mein Zuversicht	395, 2	Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit (Z 7568)
11.	Ich will hier bei dir stehen	129, 6	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
13.	Ich, ich und meine Sünden	122, 4	Paul Gerhardt	Nun ruhen alle Wälder (Z 2293b)
17.	Reiche deinem schwachen Kinde	422, 10	Johann Herrmann	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)
22.	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	114, 4	Johann Herrmann	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)
24.	Du edles Angesichte	129, 2	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 11
29.	Ich danke dir von Herzen	129, 8	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 24

Date	Church
Wednesday, 17 March	Werk-, Zucht- und Waisenhauskirche
Wednesday, 31 March	Waisenhauskirche
Friday, 2 April	Heilig-Geist-Kirche
Monday, 5 April	St. Maria Magdalena
Wednesday, 7 April	Neue Lazarettkirche/ Pesthof

Thus, the 1773 Passion is likely also to have been performed in the following churches:

Date	Church
Thursday, 1 April	Kleine Michaelis-Kirche
Saturday, 3 April	St. Johannis
Tuesday, 6 April	St. Gertrud
Maundy Thursday, 8 April	St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge
Good Friday, 9 April	Kirche zur Heiligen Dreieinigkei St. Georg

After 1773 the piece was not revived as a liturgical Passion during Bach's lifetime. Bach borrowed, however, two movements from the 1773 Passion—nos. 7 and 8, as nos. 18 and 25—when compiling his last Passion, the 1789 St. Matthew Passion. Annotations in the set of parts and instructions for the copyist make it clear that the performance parts of the 1773 Passion were used for this purpose, rather than the score of the Homilius Passion from Bach's library.¹³ The original material of the 1773 Passion

13. Fascicle III of D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 339 contains autograph material for the 1789 Passion. The instructions "Arie für den Cant, nach

was acquired in 1805 by Georg Poelchau at the auction of the estate of Bach's daughter Anna Carolina Philippina. Poelchau apparently left the manuscripts to Abraham Mendelssohn who in turn donated them to the Berlin Sing-Akademie (in all likelihood in 1811).

Issues of Performance Practice

C. P. E. Bach had only a small number of singers at his disposal; usually seven singers appear on the payroll, consequently the original performance materials contain seven vocal parts.¹⁴ The names on the individual parts (some of which were also added to the fragmentary score, source A) reveal that the following singers participated in the performances of the 1773 Passion:

Soprano	Hartmann [Christian name unknown]
Soprano	[Justus Heinrich?] Rauschelbach
Alto	Hartnack Otto Conrad Zinck
Tenor I	Johann Heinrich Michel
Tenor II	Carl Rudolph Wreden
Bass I	Friedrich Martin Illert
Bass II	Johann Andreas Hoffmann

den Worten: sehr verwunderte. ohne Hob. (NB. vorher | komt das Accomp. [inserted: für H. Hofmann] in den ausgeschriebenen Stimmen." on p. 111, and "Nach den Worten: ihn creuzigten komt die erste Arie für H. Hofmañ | die in den Stimmen steht." on p. 114 refer to the set of parts for the 1773 Passion.

14. See Sanders, 95–107, 148–59, for singers and instrumentalists who performed for Bach in Hamburg; see also Neubacher.

Only a small number of the instrumentalists can be identified. One of the violoncello parts bears the initial “T”, possibly referring to Johann Heinrich Tancke; the initial “JH” on one of the copies of the violin I part may indicate Johann Hartmann junior; an unclear monogram “JDM” may refer to Jacob Dietrich Martens. The other violin I part was apparently intended for Johann Adolph Buckhoffer, the senior of the town musicians from 1757 to 1788, who would have played the solo violin in chorus no. 2 provided on an extra sheet of paper. The names of the remaining instrumentalists cannot be derived from the sources of the Passion. Some aspects of the 1773 Passion performances cannot be clarified with certainty; for example, the same pair of players performed the flute and obbligato oboe parts but not all changes of instrumentation are clearly indicated in those parts. It appears, however, that the oboe was regarded as the standard instrument; thus the indication “Flöte” was entered for every single movement assigned to flutes, but the change back to the regular oboe is only occasionally explicitly indicated.

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