

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 (H 776; BR-CPEB D 2), sets a poetic retelling of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ, with interpolated movements based largely on poetic texts plus additional biblical texts and a chorale. Bach fashioned Wq 233 in the early years of his Hamburg tenure from his first St. Matthew Passion (H 782; CPEB: CW, IV/4.1), a setting presented in that city's five main churches during Lent of 1769.

The oratorio that Bach crafted from this first of his twenty-one liturgical passions retained a majority of its model's musical material but nevertheless introduced significant changes. Chief among these was the substitution of the biblical narrative with a poetic paraphrase of the Passion story complete with new musical setting, this being essential to transform the work from an oratorio Passion to a Passion oratorio (see table 1).¹ Although Hamburg tradition stipulated that only works of the former genre be presented to the congregations of Hamburg's main churches during the Lenten season, contemporary taste deemed the latter genre decidedly more fashionable. Other major changes Bach introduced involved adding a bipartite chorus (no. 15) after the soprano duet (no. 13), replacing all eight of the original chorales with a single new one positioned toward the end of the work (no. 19), and exchanging the final movement—the chorale fantasy “Christe, du Lamm Gottes,” borrowed from the 1725 version of his father's St. John Passion, BWV 245—with a newly composed chorus (no. 22).

In the process of reworking his 1769 Passion into the *Passions-Cantate*, Bach emended his composing score of the former work. Ultimately, most portions transmitting interpolations were excised in such a way to preserve the musical setting of the biblical narrative for use in future liturgical Passions. The resulting fragmentary manuscript (D-B, SA 5155; source Q 2) thus represents the earliest source transmitting readings specific to Wq 233.

1. The entry for the 1769 Passion in NV 1790 (p. 59) mentions this alteration specifically while only alluding to the others: “The *Passions-Cantate* originated from this Passion after the omission of the evangelist and various other changes were carried out.” (Aus dieser Paßion ist, nach Weglassung des Evangelisten und verschiedenen gemachten Veränderungen, die Paßions-Cantate entstanden.)

Text Sources

Excluding its passages of biblical origin, the poetic portion of the *Passions-Cantate*'s libretto derives from the work of multiple authors, the identification of whom mainly proceeds from insight provided by contemporary sources (see also the discussion of text sources for the 1769 Passion in CPEB: CW, IV/4.1, xii). One of these—a remark in ink by Georg Poelchau on the title page of a libretto (D-B, Mus. T 1924) formerly appended to Bach's house copy of Wq 233 (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 337; source A)—both relays the identities of three poets and narrows down the contribution of one of them, noting that “the text is by Madame Karsch and Professor Ebeling, one aria by Eschenburg.” (Der Text ist von Mad Karschin u Prof. Ebeling[,] eine Arie von Eschenburg.)² The “one aria” mentioned is known to be the text for the tenor aria no. 7, “Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze,” by scholar and literary critic Johann Joachim Eschenburg; this text had originally been used by Bach's predecessor Georg Philipp Telemann in his 1764 St. Luke Passion.³ Prussian poet Anna Louisa Karsch was a personal acquaintance of Bach's with humble beginnings, who rose in prominence to become much beloved by Princess Anna Amalia of Prussia and other members of the Prussian aristocracy for her patriotic odes and improvisational talent.⁴ The theologian, historian, and music critic Christoph Daniel Ebeling had resettled from Leipzig to Hamburg in 1769 to teach at that city's Handlungs-Akademie and, later, its Johanneum. The nature of his contributions to Bach's *Passions-Cantate* is found in an announcement published in two Hamburg newspapers in February

2. A facsimile of this libretto is published in CPEB: CW, VIII/3.3, but it is unlikely to have been a Hamburg libretto or to have had any connection to Bach. See critical report for more details.

3. Miesner, 71. The autograph score of the 1764 Passion is in D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. G.P. Telemann 19; a copy of the printed libretto is in D-B, T 2409 (3).

4. Herbert Lölkes, Ramlers “Der Tod Jesu” in *Vertonungen von Graun und Telemann: Kontext, Werkgestalt, Rezeption* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 40. On Karsch and her connections to Bach, see Darrell M. Berg, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Anna Louisa Karsch,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 2001*, 41–68, esp. 50–54.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S *PASSIONS-CANTATE*, WQ 233

No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
1a. <i>Einleitung</i> — 1b. Accompagnement	Du Göttlicher! warum bist du	newly composed	
2. Chor	Fürwahr, er trug unsre Krankheit	H 782, no. 2	Text underlay and minor musical revision in mm. 7–13; text underlay revised in mm. 59–60 and mm. 87–91
3a. Recitativ— 3b. Accompagnement— 3c. Recitativ	Seht ihn! Gebeugt liegt er und fleht	newly composed	
4. Arie	Wie ruhig bleibt dein Angesicht	H 782, no. 8	
5. Recitativ	„Nehmt mich; ich bin's.“	newly composed	
6a. Arioso	Du, dem sich Engel neigen	H 782, no. 10	Text changed in mm. 11–13; changes visible in Q 2
6b. Recitativ	Mit wildem Ungestüm	newly composed	
6c. Arioso (old version)	O Petrus, folge nicht!	H 782, no. 14	Vocal and instrumental lines recomposed in mm. 1–4; vocal line and text underlay changed in mm. 11–14 and mm. 28–30; changes visible in Q 2
6c. Accompagnement (new version)	O Petrus, folge nicht!	newly composed	
6d. Recitativ	Nun stehen Zeugen auf	newly composed	
7. Arie	Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze	H 782, no. 18	
8. Recitativ	Der Jünger, der den Heiligen verriet	newly composed	
9. Arie	Verstockte Sünder! solche Werke	H 782, no. 20	
10. Recitativ	Gefesselt steht nun Jesus im Gerichte	newly composed	
11. Arie	Donnre nur ein Wort der Macht	H 782, no. 23	
12a. Recitativ	Noch wachet in Pilatus' Brust	newly composed	
12b. Accompagnement— 12c. Arioso	Nun sahe Gott der Mordsucht Flammen	H 782, nos. 27a–b	Eighteen newly composed mm. added before borrowed portions; text altered at beginning of borrowed portion
13. Duett	Muster der Geduld und Liebe	H 782, no. 28	
14. Recitativ	Die ihr durch des Messias Glauben	newly composed	
15a. Chor—15b. Chor	Lasset uns aufsehen auf Jesum Christum	newly composed	
16a. Accompagnement	O du, der Gott mit uns versöhnt	newly composed	
16b. Accompagnement	Von Gott verlassen klagst du dich?	H 782, no. 32	
17a. Arie—17b. Chor— 17c. Arie	Der Menschen Missetat verbirget	H 782, no. 33a–c	
18. Recitativ	Nun sammlet sich die grauenvolle Macht	newly composed	
19. Choral	Heiliger Schöpfer, Gott!	newly composed	
20a. Accompagnement	Er ruft: „Es ist vollbracht!“	H 782, no. 34f	Two newly composed mm. added before borrowed portion; text altered from earlier version; changes visible in Q 2
20b. Arioso	Mein tiefgebeugtes Herz wirft sich	H 782, no. 35b	

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
21. Accompaniment	Die Allmacht feiert den Tod	H 782, no. 35a	Transposed from E-flat to F major; two oboes added; significant alterations and recomposition of instrumental lines in mm. 1–5 and 8–13; vocal line altered in mm. 18, 22, 25–28, and 32
22a. Chor—22b. Solo— 22c. Duett—22d. Solo	Preiset ihn, erlöste Sünder!	newly composed	

1773, which mentions that a “deserving local scholar” (ein verdienter hiesiger Gelehrter) fashioned the recitatives for the work—that is, the poetic paraphrase of the Passion story that replaced the biblical narrative traditionally set as recitative.⁵ Of the three poets mentioned by Poelchau, this undoubtedly refers to Ebeling.

This information leads to the conclusion that the poetic texts in the *Passions-Cantate* for the movements inherited from H 782 likely stem from Karsch’s hand, with the exception of Eschenburg’s single contribution. Indeed, many of the texts exhibit a similar theological emphasis representative of an Enlightenment theology known as Neology, concentrating on Jesus’ humanity over his divinity, portraying him as a friend to mankind (“Menschenfreund”), and imploring the listener to emulate Jesus’ exemplary actions.⁶ The narrative portions of Wq 233 thought to trace back to Ebeling, on the other hand, orient themselves toward an older, more orthodox tradition than the Karsch texts, instead dwelling more prominently on Jesus’ role as a divine savior offering salvation to the sinner.⁷

That Karsch’s poetic texts in Wq 233 derive from a Passion cantata libretto she is known to have penned in 1761 seems likely based on several factors. First, the origins of Karsch’s Passion cantata are inextricably linked to Karl Wilhelm Ramler’s own libretto for the Passion oratorio *Der Tod Jesu*, itself a prime example of integrating Neology into an oratorio text and a work whose duet “Feinde, die ihr mich betrübt” bears a striking resemblance to the

duet “Muster der Geduld und Liebe” (no. 13) in Wq 233.⁸ Furthermore, two accompanied recitatives in Wq 233 (nos. 12b and 21) display features typical of poetic gospel paraphrases found in the narratives of such oratorios.⁹ The printed libretto for H 782 even includes oratorio-like designations of allegorical figures in two movements thought to originate with Karsch.¹⁰ Anna Amalia, who commissioned and subsequently set an undetermined amount of Karsch’s Passion cantata, revisited that libretto in 1766 (the year before she bestowed the title of *Capellmeister* upon Bach at his departure from the Prussian court), as documented in a letter sent by Karsch to the Halberstadt poet Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim.¹¹ Indeed, Karsch’s libretto from 1761, which as such is not known to survive, remains the only Passion poetry to receive any mention in her abundant correspondence with Gleim up through Bach’s 1768 departure from Berlin for Hamburg.

It cannot necessarily be concluded that Ebeling penned every poetic text beyond the biblical paraphrases in Wq 233 that are absent from the 1769 Passion. The single chorale stanza, for instance, originated with Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock as his altered version of the chorale “Mitten wir im Leben sind” by Martin Luther, an intercession for the

5. *Hamburgische Adreß-Comtoir Nachrichten* (25 February 1773), 124 and *HUC* (26 February 1773), 3–4; quoted in Wiermann, 382–83.

6. Moira Leanne Hill, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s Passion Settings: Context, Content, and Impact” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2015), 131–32.

7. *Ibid.*, 160–61.

8. See Lölkes, *Der Tod Jesu*, 64–65, 67, and Hill, “Passion Settings,” 132–34 and 138–39.

9. Karsch herself specified arias, chorales, and recitatives as components in her Passion cantata libretto. See “*Mein Bruder in Apoll*”: *Briefwechsel zwischen Anna Louisa Karsch und Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim*, vol. 1, ed. Regina Nörtemann (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1996), 56. Bach’s repurposing of a Passion oratorio narrative into an interpolation for an oratorio Passion, as may have happened with Karsch’s Passion cantata from 1761 and Bach’s 1769 Passion, is documented to have occurred in two of his later liturgical Passions. See Hill, “Passion Settings,” 136–38 and 223.

10. Hill, “Passion Settings,” 136.

11. See letter dated 30 January 1766 in *Mein Bruder in Apoll*, 266. See also Berg, “Karsch,” 53.

dying (“Fürbitte für Sterbende”) first printed in 1757.¹² The identity of the poet for the final movement remains unsettled. The more traditional disposition of its theological content argues in favor of Ebeling, while its form—perhaps modeled on the penultimate movement of *Der Tod Jesu*—leaves open the possibility that the text originated with Karsch.¹³

Date of Composition and Compilation

At what point Bach began composing material that would eventually be subsumed into Wq 233 remains unclear. Even though a central portion of its poetry originated in Berlin, no evidence survives to suggest he began setting it while still in residence there.¹⁴ As to the question of when Bach compiled his *Passions-Cantate*, the available evidence points to either 1769 or 1770. The earlier date appears prominently in the autograph inscription on the title page of the composer’s house copy of the work: “Passions-Cantate, von mir, C.P.E. Bach, Anno 1769 in Hamburg in Musik gesetzt.” This same year is provided in AK 1805 (p. 30, no. 63), but the compiler of that catalogue likely had no special knowledge about the work and was instead repeating the date given in the house copy. A date of 1770 given in NV 1790 (p. 56: “Paßions-Cantate. H. 1770.”), information likely supplied by Bach’s widow, Johanna Maria, is corroborated by a piece in a Hamburg periodical from October of that same year examining the composer’s contributions to sacred vocal music, in which the author refers to the work as “a Passion from 1770” (eine Paßion 1770).¹⁵

The discrepancy between the two dates may stem from contrasting ways of understanding Wq 233, either as a reworked version of a preexisting liturgical piece or as a

distinct work unto itself.¹⁶ For example, the author of a public inquiry published in the Hamburg press in 1773, requesting the establishment of regular *Passions-Cantate* performances, calls it “the excellent Passion that Capellmeister Bach composed for the Hamburg churches in the year 1769” (der vortreflichen Paßions-Musick, die unser Herr Capelmeister Bach im J. 1769 für die Hamburgischen Kirchen componirte); this wording suggests that the oratorio is being considered as a version of Bach’s first St. Matthew Passion.¹⁷ Although the ambiguity surrounding the compilation date for Wq 233 cannot be resolved on the basis of the available sources, the *terminus ante quem* for its existence as a discrete work can be set at October 1770 with a reasonable amount of certainty, but it must at least predate 19 March 1772, given the announcement of the work’s premiere in a Berlin periodical on that date (see “Performance History” below).

Dissemination

The *Passions-Cantate*’s dissemination for the purposes of study and performance allowed the oratorio to achieve its desired effect of securing renown for Bach as a composer of large-scale sacred works outside of Hamburg. He distributed copies of his work in manuscript form to maximize its potential impact while minimizing the risk to himself financially. This choice differs from how he treated his other two oratorios, both of which Bach distributed in print. Still, it is worth noting that neither *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* (Wq 238) nor *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (Wq 240) was published immediately following its composition or premiere. The former, heard by Hamburg audiences in late 1769, would first appear in print in 1775; the latter, written around 1774, saw publication only late in Bach’s life, in 1787. There is some indication that Bach planned to publish his *Passions-Cantate*, albeit in arranged form. According to a review in the Hamburg press of a reduced version for voices and keyboard arranged and published by Bergedorf organist Albert Jacob Steinfeld in 1789, “the late B[ach] himself had planned such a reduction, but unfortunately died before its realization.” (Der sel[ige] B[ach] hatte selbst so einen Auszug vor, starb aber leider vor der Ausführung.)¹⁸

12. Klopstock, *Geistliche Lieder*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1758), 1–3. In Wq 233, no. 19, the antepenultimate and penultimate lines deviate from Klopstock’s version and hew more closely to Luther’s version. The connection to Luther’s chorale, though not the link to Klopstock, is noted in BR-CPEB, 2:80.

13. Norbert Bolin, “In rechter Ordnung lerne Jesu Passion: C. Ph. E. Bachs ‘Spinnhaus-Passion’ (H 776) Hamburg 1768?” *Augsburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* (1988): 61–81, esp. 77. On the possibility of unused Karsch texts appearing in Wq 233, see Nagel, 30.

14. As Ulrich Leisinger has noted in CPEB: CW, IV/4.1, xii, the fragmentary autograph score of the St. Matthew Passion of 1769 (SA 5155) dates to Bach’s Hamburg tenure.

15. On dating the work to 1770, see Bolin, “Spinnhaus-Passion,” 78. The periodical reference is in *Unterhaltungen* (October 1770), 319; Wiermann, 492.

16. According to Nagel, 31, the ambiguity of the date given in source A stems from uncertainty as to whether Bach was referring to the “Kernstück” adopted from the 1769 Passion or to the finished oratorio.

17. Wiermann, 382.

18. *HNZ* (18 November 1789), 3; Wiermann, 345.

Despite never having circulated in print during Bach's lifetime, Wq 233 achieved a remarkably extensive dissemination in manuscript form. Around three dozen scores survive, as well as nine sets of performing parts and at least fourteen extant copies of Steinfeld's posthumously published reduction, numbers which speak to the oratorio's popularity.

The *Passions-Cantate* propagated in three main ways. One involved Bach having the work copied in Hamburg and sent to its destination. Another entailed the composer lending out one of his manuscripts to an interested party to copy or have copied. A third method, in which scores were prepared from sources that had already been disseminated, excluded Bach's authorization or even knowledge.

The first two methods are recounted in contemporary correspondence. In a letter dated 4 September 1772, Niels Schiørring communicated from Hamburg to the poet Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg in Copenhagen that Bach "sends his greetings and asks you to forgive his laxity in writing you, but he thinks all the more frequently about you and apparently for your sake I am receiving his Passion, which he is having copied and will look over himself."¹⁹ Bach himself refers to this same method of dissemination, as well as another, in a letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel from 20 April 1774:

My Passion Cantata is available. My copy is now lent out, not to mention somewhat unclear and very tattered from much circulation. If you command, I will have my copyist make a clean copy. The score will cost about 5 Reichsthaler . . . My copyist needs work right now. I have given him a correct copy of my Passion to reproduce, since I tentatively have a buyer besides yourself. You are not under any obligation. I will either give you this copy or lend you my original to be copied when it is here again.²⁰

19. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:277–78: "Er läßt Sie sehr grüßen und er bittet Sie, seine Nachlässigkeit im Schreiben zu entschuldigen, aber er denkt desto öfter an Sie und Ihretwegen bekomme ich wohl seine Passions-Musik mit mir, die er abschreiben läßt und selbst durchsehen will."

20. *CPEB-Letters*, 54 (slightly modified); *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:392–93 (see also Nagel, 47–48): "Meine Paßions-Cantate steht zu Diensten. Mein Exemplar ist jetzt verliehen, außerdem etwas undeutlich u. durch das viele Herumschicken sehr zerlumpt. Weñ Sie befehlen, so will [ich] es Ihnen, durch meinen Copisten sauber copiren laßen, es wird die Partitur ohngefehr 5 Rt. kosten . . . Gleich jetzo verlangt mein Notenschreiber Arbeit. Ich habe ihm eine richtige Copie meiner Paßion zum Abschreiben gegeben, weil ich halb u. halb einen Abnehmer, außer Ihnen, dazu habe. Sie sind gar nicht gebunden. Ich will Ihnen entweder diese Copie geben, oder mein Original, weñ es wieder zu Hause ist, zum Copiren leihen."

Bach writes nothing of a fee charged for loaning out his manuscript, only one for having it copied in Hamburg. A copyist fee of five Reichsthaler was a bargain for a manuscript the size of Bach's house copy (source A), so the composer probably earned little to no money from this arrangement.²¹

As for the third method of dissemination, involving the creation of sources by third parties from previously distributed scores or their descendant materials independent of Bach's involvement, the composer himself must have expected this to happen. In a letter to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf dated 24 February 1775, concerning the publication of *Die Israeliten*, Bach dismissed the idea of a larger print run in words that could just as easily apply to his *Passions-Cantate*: "The piece is in German, the amateurs are few, the connoisseurs still fewer and most of those who could make use of it will copy from one another."²²

Sources representing two of these three outlined distribution methods certainly survive. A notable subset of extant scores originated in Hamburg and can be assumed to have been produced under Bach's supervision. Among these, some bear autograph marks indicating that the composer himself checked his scribe's work. Sources proofread entirely by Bach include the score sent to Anna Amalia (D-B, Am.B. 85/I; source B 2), a score in Copenhagen (DK-Kk, Weyses Samling mu 6309.1235; source B 3), and the score sent to Vienna that had been copied by Johann Heinrich Michel, a tenor in Bach's ensemble and the composer's prolific scribe, particularly starting in 1781 (A-Wgm, III 35444; source B 1). Another score (DK-Kk, mu 6309.1631; source B 4) bears autograph corrections exclusively on its first page. Some scores copied in Hamburg would have been prepared on demand for specific buyers, whereas Bach had others copied in advance of any definite sale, as described in the composer's 1774 letter to Forkel quoted above. Advance preparation is hinted at by the existence of six scores bearing the hand of a single Hamburg scribe—called "cc" after a distinguishing mark added to the bottom of each page—as well as another score copied in

21. According to *CPEB-Westphal*, 61, the Leipzig music dealer Thomas offered Wq 233 in 1779 at a "Schreibepreiß 8 Thlr und communications-Preiß 5 Thlr. in Summa 13 Thlr."; likewise (*ibid.*, 62), the Hamburg music dealer Johann Christoph Westphal, beginning in his 1777 catalogue, sold copies at 25 Marks. At a conversion rate of three Hamburg Marks to one Reichsthaler, this also amounts to copying costs of eight (vs. Bach's five) Reichsthaler.

22. *CPEB-Letters*, 78; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:491: "Das Stück ist deutsch, der Liebhaber sind wenig, der Kenner noch weniger u. die meisten, welche es brauchen können, schreiben sichs von einander ab."

Hamburg from one of these “cc” manuscripts (see sources B 3, B 4, D 3, D 14, D 29, D 33, and the related score D 2 in the critical report).²³

On the question of which scores were copied outside Hamburg directly from a score belonging to Bach as described so clearly in the Forkel letter quoted above, specific instances cannot be cited with certainty. But based on its variants, the score copied by Carl Friedrich Christian Fasch, Bach’s colleague in Berlin (D-B, SA 20; source D 9), comes under strong suspicion.

More is known about which sources derive from previously disseminated materials. All extant sets of performing parts fall into this category.²⁴ So, too, do the numerous scores and performing parts shown by Nagel as having derived from the score gifted to Anna Amalia (source B 2).²⁵ Some sources stem from the group of “cc” manuscripts or materials related to these (e.g., D 4, D 17, D 19, D 26, and D 29). Yet another family of sources (D 1, D 24, and D 35) originated in Vienna, copied directly or indirectly from the score in Michel’s hand (source B 1).²⁶

Another significant aspect of the *Passions-Cantate*’s dissemination beyond the aforementioned methods concerns the specific manuscript or manuscripts in Bach’s possession used for making copies in or outside of Hamburg. Nagel has identified a collection of variants in the sources of Wq 233 treated without apparent preference by Bach, which are wholly unconnected to any recognizable chronology suggestive of revision phases and for which no evidence exists of corrections in Bach’s house copy. Based on her finding that the sources reliably transmitted either one or the other set of these variant readings, she hypothesized the existence of two distinct scores in Bach’s possession that had served as models. One was the house copy (source A); the other has not survived, as it cannot be identified among the extant sources (Nagel’s source α). Nagel supposed this source to have been the score used for the annual Hamburg performances of Wq 233.²⁷

23. See also Nagel, 62 and 71–73.

24. The original Hamburg performing parts were lost, although two fragments for Bach’s arrangement for soprano and tenor of duet no. 13 do survive (see “Music Sources” below and the appendix). On the extant performing materials, see D 7 (made from B 2 or lost performing parts copied from that score), D 8, D 14, D 18, D 19, D 22, D 23 (second movement only), and D 29 in the critical report.

25. See filiation and stemmata in Nagel, 70–71 and the accompanying source descriptions. The extant sources in question are D 5–D 8, D 21–D 23, D 25, and D 27.

26. D 1 was copied from B 1, not A (pace Nagel, 123).

27. See Nagel, 65–69.

Nagel’s two-manuscript hypothesis is supported by Bach’s 1774 letter to Forkel quoted above, in which the composer writes of his ability to have the *Passions-Cantate* duplicated despite the absence of his personal copy, a feat requiring access to two updated scores of the work. Thus, the evidence suggests Bach devised a two-manuscript system that enabled him to efficiently disseminate his *Passions-Cantate*: one copy could be loaned out, whereas the other remained in Hamburg for making further copies.

Bach likely provided a printed libretto to parties who bought or borrowed a manuscript score of his *Passions-Cantate*. The evidence for this lies in the remarkable similarities between extant librettos with regard to content and layout, an agreement unachievable by merely extracting the text from a musical source.²⁸ That printed librettos appear to have circulated alongside manuscript scores of Wq 233 accords with how Bach distributed copies of *Die Israeliten* when that work was printed in 1775. For that oratorio, Bach informed his publisher that “textbooks will be printed with each copy and given for free” and had these produced in Hamburg (see CPEB: CW, IV/1, xv). Such a distributed libretto in the case of the *Passions-Cantate* likely would have resembled the booklet previously appended to P 337 (now D-B, Mus. T 1924). The wording on its title page, “Paßions-Cantate in Musik gesetzt von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach,” turns up in similar or identical form in several other extant librettos (both printed and handwritten) and in some musical sources.²⁹

Compositional Revisions

Abundant autograph entries plainly visible in Bach’s extant house copy of his *Passions-Cantate* (source A) attest to the continued attention that the composer gave to this work, even if most introduced changes are comparatively minor in nature. Some involve the addition of dynamic markings and performance indications or the correction of errors. Others affect the speech rhythm in the recitatives and ariosos—genres that lend themselves to alteration without necessitating larger structural changes. There are also compositional changes in the broader sense.³⁰

The most substantial change was the replacement of the original no. 6c, an arioso on “O Petrus, folge nicht!” with a

28. See Hill, “Passion Settings,” 195–96.

29. See BR-CPEB, 2:90–91, librettos nos. 2, 13–15, 17, 20, and 21. Musical sources include the score written by Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal (D 4) and parts in Johann Christoph Kühnau’s hand (D 7).

30. See Nagel, 45–47.

more compelling accompanied recitative on the same text. Bach's dissatisfaction with the original arioso is perhaps foreshadowed in his heavy revision of its opening measures when fashioning the *Passions-Cantate* from his 1769 Passion (D-B, SA 5155, p. 9 [see plate 7]; source Q 2). An autograph copy of this new movement was pinned to the appropriate page of his house copy, such that copies made thereafter integrated this revision.³¹ At least one individual who received a score from Bach with the older, arioso version of "O Petrus" received an update by mail in the form of an autograph sheet with the new accompanied recitative.³² The fact that the replacement movement is appended to scores predating this change implies that Bach circulated such sheets to others as well.³³

Bach carried out his revisions to Wq 233 in multiple stages. One of the earliest sets of compositional changes, if not the earliest, is evident in an autograph correction page containing a dozen changes that was appended to source B 2 (see critical report). The inscription (possibly in the hand of C.F.C. Fasch) on the back of this sheet reads "Changes to the Passion Oratorio, which E. Bach requests be made in all copies of the work." (*Änderungen, in dem Paßions Oratorio, welche der E. Bach in allen Abschriften des Werkes zu machen bittet.*) Source B 2 had these corrections entered into it, as did most other early scores.³⁴ In the absence of further examples of such sheets, the degree to which these early refinements were disseminated by Bach remains unknown.

Apart from the changes specified in the correction page described above, Nagel estimates that Wq 233 underwent three to six revision phases, based on her groupings of select variants.³⁵ A significant set of comparatively early corrections affected simple recitatives for the most part. Other alterations largely impacted movements clustered toward the end of the work. A final phase introduced a small number of changes lacking any clear categorization and which appear exclusively in source A. Though Nagel pro-

poses further differentiation of her correction phases, she acknowledges the difficulty of establishing these based on the small number of changes contained in some sources, as well as the challenge of source contamination. Some of the sources unavailable to or unidentified by Nagel can be categorized according to her schema, lending further weight to her conclusions (see source descriptions in BR-CPEB, 2:80–90).

Dating the revision phases of Wq 233 continues to prove challenging, even if some variants can be placed in a relative chronology with reasonable certainty. Bach must have produced the autograph correction page appended to source B 2 before July 1773, as its revisions are included in performing parts bearing this date. The replacement movement on "O Petrus" apparently postdates the distribution of the correction page from B 2 as well as the first batch of revisions in the three major phases outlined above. Nagel concluded, on the basis of her analysis of Bach's hand, that his *Passions-Cantate* revisions predate the late period (1780s) when his writing exhibits a characteristic shakiness.³⁶

Bach's continued modification and refinement of Wq 233 is consistent with his *modus operandi* for repeatedly revising his compositions, even over extended periods.³⁷ As to the impetus for Bach to make changes, the annual performances in Hamburg provided several opportunities.³⁸ Beyond this, it is possible that Bach's careful proofreading of outgoing copies prompted some revisions, based on correspondences between certain autograph corrections in sources B 1 and B 3 to those in source A.

Another revision—perhaps more an accommodation—involved the virtuosic soprano duet "Muster der Geduld und Liebe" (no. 13). Steinfeld's reduction of Wq 233 for keyboard and voices, published after Bach's death (source E), includes a new composition on these words, said by one reviewer to have been by Bach (Wiermann, 344). This optional substitute, still a duet for two sopranos, is assumed from its shorter length and simpler execution to have been a concession to the less-than-ideal performance conditions in Hamburg (see appendix).³⁹ This same movement, attributed to Bach though lacking any reference to

31. Nagel, 65, notes that the new movement is integrated into rather than appended to scores copied after a certain unspecified point. The new movement must also have been added to source α .

32. The loose sheet DK-Kk, mu 6310.0232, which contains the new no. 6c along with changes to the vocal line of the bass aria "Donnre nur" (no. 11), had formerly been appended to the score B 3. The second copy of no. 6c appended to source A likely represents an additional copy prepared by Bach for dissemination.

33. Nagel, 65. C.F.C. Fasch added the new movement at the end of his score (source D 9).

34. Nagel, 64. Fasch's score (D 9) is another such case.

35. Nagel, 46–47, 63–64.

36. Nagel, 46–48 and 65. The few instances of Bach's late hand in P 337 relate to singers' names, as on pp. 6 ("H. Delver"), 87 ("Kirchner"), and 241 ("H. Delver").

37. For more on this practice, see Rachel W. Wade, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, the Restless Composer," in *Hamburg 1988*, 175–88.

38. Nagel, 45.

39. See Clark, 74–75 and Nagel, 129.

the *Passions-Cantate*, appears scored for string ensemble and two flutes (but no bassoons) in a collection otherwise transmitting Bach's chamber works (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 367). The composer's authorship is corroborated by Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal's note to the entry for his copy of Wq 233 in his thematic catalogue of Bach's works, which indicates that he also owned a now-lost copy of the alternative duet: "Yet another composition on the duet found therein comprising 4 sheets in score is appended. The late Bach wrote this second composition in a very simple manner."⁴⁰

Music Sources

The present edition of the *Passions-Cantate* is based on Bach's house copy (source A). Though this manuscript was primarily copied in the hands of three other scribes, it includes two autograph pages and extensive autograph corrections, as well as two appended sheets in Bach's hand, each with the new version of "O Petrus, folge nicht!" (no. 6c). Furthermore, this source alone transmits the latest version of the work, except for the potentially late alternative version of no. 13. Bach's remark on its title page explicitly addresses the unusual nature of the score and essentially designates it the authorized source for this work: "NB While this score is not in the author's hand (for no original exists of this cantata in this arrangement, since the author subsequently changed many things) it is however as correct as possible and most certainly more correct than all other copies, because the owner, namely the author, has looked through it very often." (NB diese Partitur ist zwar nicht von der Handschrift des Autors, (denn von dieser Cantate in dieser Einrichtung existirt kein Original, weil der Autor hernach vieles geändert hat) sie ist aber so korrekt wie möglich und ganz gewiß korrekter, als alle übrigen Exemplare, weil sie der Besitzer, nemlich der Autor sehr oft durchgesehen hat.)

Precisely what material served as the basis from which A in its earliest inception was copied cannot be determined using the surviving sources. In all likelihood, this first version of A shared a close relationship to the second copy of Wq 233 that Bach can be presumed to have owned—the now-lost source α or its predecessor—for the single reason

that scores copied from the missing source agree intimately with the early layers of A in their content and layout. That this lost manuscript served as the model for A or vice versa are both plausible, as is the possibility that both were copied from another, even earlier lost single source or set of materials.

In order to create a single, complete score of the *Passions-Cantate*, Bach would have needed to transfer the relevant musical material from his score of H 782. Presumably this could have occurred either through the movements in question being copied from it or through physical transfer of the relevant pages. Source Q 2 represents the remnants of Bach's score of H 782 after the removal of most pages containing interpolations. Based on the original pagination of this fragmentary source, the actual physical pages detached from it could not have been integrated either into A in its earliest form or into Bach's other copy of the oratorio in its original form (i.e., the predecessor of source α , Nagel's "Manuscript B").⁴¹ Conceivably they could have formed the basis for a single score of Wq 233 had Bach supplemented these with new portions in his hand. However, the existence of such an autograph score would seem to contradict Bach's assertion on the title page of A that "no original exists of this cantata in this arrangement" in his attempt to explain why the source is not autograph but still transmits the most correct version.

Indeed, the creation of source Q 2 through Bach's disassembly of his score of H 782 may well have postdated its use in creating a full *Passions-Cantate* score. Perhaps evidence for this possibility lies in the fact that the excised portions noticeably omit the opening and closing passages of a number of movements subsumed into Wq 233.⁴² Furthermore, Bach is known to have compiled numerous liturgical Passions using assembly instructions in tandem with scores of works from which the borrowed movements derive.⁴³ In any event, the likely *terminus ante quem* for the disassembly of Q 2 coincides with Bach's work on his 1773 St. Matthew Passion.

The present edition includes Bach's replacement setting of no. 6c in its main musical text, in keeping with the composer's clear intention by its physical incorporation into source A and its dissemination to parties in possession of

40. Cat. J.J.H. Westphal (fol. 54r): "Noch ist eine andere Composition des darinnen befindlichen Duetts beygelegt, welche in Part. 4 Bogen beträgt. Der seel. Bach hat diese 2te Composition ganz leicht abgefaßt." See also Leisinger/Wollny, 70. My sincere gratitude to Ulrich Leisinger for sharing this information.

41. See Hill, "Passion Settings," 194, n. 109.

42. Ibid. Bach's markings in the opening measure of arioso no. 14 ("O Petrus, folge nicht!") in source Q 2, specifically crossing out the first measure and placing a sign at the top of the next, may be evidence for this possibility.

43. Hill, "Passion Settings," 86.

the earlier version. In contrast, the alternative version of duet no. 13, attributed posthumously to Bach, received no such treatment by the composer and is published in the appendix.

Four scores that Bach himself examined, as evinced by autograph entries in their musical texts, have been used as sources for comparison (sources **B 1**–**B 4**). Moreover, these sources typify different revision stages of the *Passions-Cantate*: source **B 2** communicates the earliest version and was thus used in the present edition to document this version; sources **B 3** and **B 4**, respectively, offer two subsequent revision stages; and source **B 1** conveys the oratorio's penultimate form (Nagel, 61). The four **B** sources are also representative copies of Bach's house copy (source **A**) and of source α .⁴⁴

None of the original performing parts for Wq 233 used in Hamburg have survived, with one exception: a Hamburg manuscript, now in Kraków (Poland), in the hand of Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein (Anon. 304), Bach's main copyist active until around 1781, transmits fragments of an arrangement for soprano and tenor of duet no. 13, including corrections and alterations in Bach's hand (PL-Kj, Mus. ms. Bach P 756; see appendix).

Performance History

Despite the completion of the *Passions-Cantate* already in 1769 or 1770, the oratorio's initial public and private performances can be traced only to 1772. The first such event was a pair of concerts that year at Berlin's Dreifaltigkeitskirche in which the first half of the work was presented on 29 March and the second half on 12 April (see table 2 for documented performances in Bach's lifetime; the annual performances in Hamburg's Spinnhaus and Waisenhaus churches are listed separately below). A newspaper announcement published ten days before the first concert billed it as "an entirely new Passion oratorio" (ein ganz neues Passions-oratorium).⁴⁵ This particular wording, along with the lack of printed librettos prior to 1772, points to that year's performance being the first in Berlin. Other notable early

44. See discussion of "layers" (Schichten) in Nagel, 65–69. Source **A** served as the model for source **B 1**, whereas sources **B 3** and **B 4** were copied from Nagel's source α or its earlier form, "Manuscript B." The relationship between **A** and **B 2** is unclear; Nagel, 67 and 76, suggests the latter may have served as the model for the former.

45. *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung* (19 March 1772); Christoph Henzel, "Das Konzertleben der preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–1786 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 1)," *JbSIM* (2004): 216–91, esp. 281. Easter Sunday fell on 19 April that year.

public performances include another in that same Berlin church as well as in Copenhagen, Cologne, and Potsdam, all in 1773. The Potsdam performance, a charity concert in the afternoon of 6 April at the Hof- und Garnisonskirche, stands out for having featured the virtuosi of the royal court and a sizable number of participating musicians—sixty instrumentalists and eighteen singers.⁴⁶

Apparently there had been plans to perform the oratorio in Hamburg in 1773 at the church of the newly constructed Spinnhaus, a charitable correctional institution.⁴⁷ However, these plans fell through because of "shortness of time and other insurmountable obstacles" (wegen kürzter Zeit und andern Nicht ab zu ändern gewesenen Hindernissen), according to a statement made the following year by the director of the Spinnhaus.⁴⁸ The timing of identical newspaper pieces appearing on the cusp of the Lenten season of 1773 requesting the establishment of annual performances of Bach's *Passions-Cantate* seems to imply their author's desire for a performance already that year.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it was only on 17 March 1774 that the work finally premiered to the Hamburg public in the Spinnhauskirche.⁵⁰

This initial public performance in Hamburg was preceded by private concerts, as documented in two contemporary sources. One is Charles Burney's travel diary, in which he describes having heard excerpts from the work during a concert on 10 October 1772 organized for him by Ebeling and led by the composer himself.⁵¹ The second source is a newspaper piece from 25 February 1773 that mentions Bach's *Passions-Cantate* having been "repeated various times in private concerts, always to the same acclamation" (zu verschiedenen malen in Privat-Concerten immer mit gleichem Beyfall wiederhohlt ward).⁵²

46. Announcements and reports of the Potsdam concert in the Hamburg press appeared first in *HUC* (2 April 1773), 3; Wiermann, 444–45.

47. Bolin, "Spinnhaus-Passion," 68–71. The building was dedicated on 17 December 1772.

48. Quoted in Ludwig Finscher, "Bemerkungen zu den Oratorien Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," in *Hamburg 1988*, 314.

49. Wiermann, 382–83; Easter Sunday fell on 11 April in 1773.

50. Announcements and reports of the performance in the Hamburg press appeared first in *HUC* (4 February 1774), 4; Wiermann, 386–88. See also the invoice transcribed below and in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:371–72. This first performance followed what Clark calls "a more formal request to perform the cantata in the Spinnhaus church" in a document dated 26 January 1774 (D-Ha, Senatarchiv CI VII, Lit Hc, No 13, fasc. 2); see Clark, 46–47 and 340.

51. Burney 1775, 254–55.

52. Wiermann, 382.

TABLE 2. DOCUMENTED PERFORMANCES OF WQ 233 IN BACH'S LIFETIME

Date	Place	Remarks
29 March 1772 (part I); 12 April 1772 (part II)	Berlin	Performance at Dreifaltigkeitskirche (Henzel, "Das Konzertleben (Teil 1)," 281); libretto: possibly BR-CPEB, 2:90, no. 3; associated source possibly D 8 (Nagel, 86)
10 October 1772	Hamburg	Excerpts performed at private concert for Charles Burney, organized by Ebeling and led by Bach (Burney 1775, 254–55)
Before 25 February 1773	Hamburg	Excerpts or entire work presented at multiple private concerts (Wiermann, 382–83)
14 March 1773 (part I); 28 March 1773 (part II)	Berlin	Likely performed at Dreifaltigkeitskirche (Henzel, "Das Konzertleben (Teil 1)," 283); libretto: possibly BR-CPEB, 2:90, no. 4; associated source possibly D 8 (Nagel, 86)
4 March 1773	Cologne	Performance for private concert series "in der musikalischen Akademie" (Nagel, 42); libretto: BR-CPEB, 2:91, no. 14
6 April 1773	Potsdam	Charity performance at the Hof- und Garnisons-Kirche (Wiermann, 444–46); associated source possibly D 9
13 March 1773 et al.	Copenhagen	Performance on 13 March in Braueramthaus (<i>Reichs Post-Reuter</i> , 17 March 1773); seven performances in the same year directed by Schiørring, according to draft of letter to Bach by Gerstenberg (<i>CPEB-Briefe</i> , 1:321); relationship between these groups of performances is unknown
30 March 1774	Berlin	Performance at St. Petri by members of the "Concert der Music-Liebhaber" (Henzel, "Das Konzertleben (Teil 1)," 286); libretto: BR-CPEB, 2:90, no. 5; J.F. Reichardt, <i>Briefe</i> , 111–24; associated source possibly D 7 or its suspected lost predecessor (Nagel, 82–83), or D 8 (Nagel, 41 and 86); location sometimes erroneously given as St. Petri in Hamburg (see Hill, "Passion Settings," 179, n. 63)
4 April 1774	Riga	Charity performance (<i>Rigaische Anzeigen</i> , 1774, 15. Stück)
1774	Halberstadt	Libretto: BR-CPEB, 2:91, no. 12
1775	Potsdam	Likely performed at St. Nicolai; associated source: D 27 (Nagel, 88–91)
1776 or before	Ludwigslust (Schwerin)	Performance in Hofkapelle; associated source: D 29 (Nagel, 42, 97–100)
21 March 1776	Cologne	Performance directed by Capellmeister Schmittbaur, possibly for concert series "in der Musikalischen Akademie" (Nagel, 42)
1 April 1776	Danzig	Performed by "einigen Liebhabern der Tonkunst"; libretto: BR-CPEB, 2:91, no. 15 (Nagel, 43)
26 March 1777	Hamburg	Concert at Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp (Wiermann, 451)
25 March 1778	Berlin	Performance at Dreifaltigkeitskirche (Henzel, "Das Konzertleben (Teil 2)," 150); associated source evidently D 7 (Nagel, 80–83)
1779	Ludwigslust (Schwerin)	Performance in Hofkapelle; libretto: BR-CPEB, 2:91, no. 15; associated source: D 29 (Nagel, 42, 97–100)
29 March 1781	Berlin	Performance in the Dreifaltigkeitskirche under Kühnau (Henzel, "Das Konzertleben (Teil 2)," 165); associated source evidently D 7 (Nagel, 80–83)
1781; 1787	Potsdam	Performances at St. Nicolai; associated source: D 27 (Nagel, 88–91)
21 March 1788	Königsberg	Performance likely (Nagel, 44)

Hamburg unsurprisingly lays claim to the richest performance history for the *Passions-Cantate* of any location, notwithstanding the delay of its initial public performance. After the oratorio's successful premiere there in 1774, yearly performances—with a second one in 1777 due to a concert in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp—continued through the year following Bach's death, with the apparent exception of 1786. The performances at the Spinnhauskirche took place on 17 March 1774 (with a rehearsal on 16 March), 23 March 1775, 14 March 1776, 6 March 1777, 12 March 1778, 4 March

1779, 2 March 1780, 22 March 1781, 14 March 1782, 3 April 1783, 18 March 1784, and 10 March 1785. After the hiatus in 1786, the locale for the performances of 14 March 1787, 13 February 1788, and 18 March 1789 was switched to the Waisenhauskirche (the chapel of Hamburg's orphanage).⁵³

The *Passions-Cantate's* performance history in Hamburg materialized within a rich and longstanding tradition of public concerts at secondary churches and concert halls

53. Wiermann, 423–32.

in that city. The establishment of regular performances in Hamburg had been contingent upon finding a new and dedicated venue. Local custom still forbade the performance of Passion oratorios in the five main churches even as similar restrictions in other cities had been lifted in keeping with contemporary thought and taste.⁵⁴ Thus the construction of a new secondary church in the early 1770s, a rebuilt and expanded chapel for the Spinnhaus, came at an opportune time for Hamburg admirers of Bach's *Passions-Cantate*. References to a longstanding tradition of performing Telemann's most beloved Passion oratorio in other secondary churches figured prominently in a request, published in the Hamburg press in 1773, that the director of the Spinnhaus consider establishing a parallel tradition with Bach's Passion oratorio:

Since the friends of the [oratorio] *Seliges Erwägen* by the late Capellmeister Mr. Telemann, who is seen in Hamburg as being most deserving, do not lack the repeated opportunity to hear [this work] annually in various churches, this lifts from us the fear that our request will not be fulfilled for this reason and even gives our hope greater basis that a positive reaction will be guaranteed on the part of the directors of the Spinnhaus.⁵⁵

Bach, in turn, came to associate Wq 233 with its initial Hamburg venue, referring to it as his "Spinnhaus Passion" in the invoice for the performance on 23 March 1775.⁵⁶ Why performances at the Spinnhaus ceased after 1785 and the venue shifted to the Waisenhaus in 1787 remains unknown. The performances at both churches took place in the framework of religious services, featuring a sermon partway through (possibly after no. 11, "Donnre nur ein Wort der Macht"), and for these a purchased libretto served as the admission ticket.⁵⁷

54. See Nagel, 37 and 53, and Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 3, *The Oratorio in the Classical Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 347–55.

55. HUC (26 February 1773), 3–4: "Da den Freunden des seligen Erwägens des verstorbenen um Hamburg so verdienten Herrn Capellmeister Telemanns die Gelegenheit es zu wiederholtenmalen in verschiedenen Kirchen jährlich zu hören nicht fehlt; so hebt dies die Furcht unser Bitten dieserwegen nicht erfüllt zu sehen, und giebt unsrer Hofnung desto stärkere Gründe, uns eine gütige Aufnahme derselben von Seiten der Herren Vorsteher des Spinnhauses zu versprechen." Wiermann, 383.

56. Bolin, "Spinnhaus-Passion," 71, n. 23. The invoice is transcribed below and in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:494.

57. Nagel, 36; Hill, "Passion Settings," 185–86. No break between parts I and II is indicated in OT, but the Berlin librettos from 1773 and 1774 (BR-CPEB, 2:90, nos. 4 and 5) give no. 11 at the end of part I and beginning of part II.

The *Passions-Cantate's* nearly uninterrupted fifteen-year history of performances in Hamburg remains unparalleled elsewhere, but documented performances beyond Hamburg still span an impressive chronological range (1772 through 1814) and geographic spread, reaching from northern and central Germany as far north as Copenhagen and as far east as Königsberg. Outside Hamburg, the work was most frequently heard in Berlin and Potsdam, with no fewer than nine performances occurring there between 1772 and 1787.⁵⁸ Carl Friedrich Zelter's revival of the work for his Berlin Sing-Akademie in 1814 represents the final documented performance of the work from this era.⁵⁹

The oratorio saw scattered performances elsewhere, including Cologne (1773 and 1776), Copenhagen (1773), Halberstadt (1774), Riga (1774),⁶⁰ Danzig (1776, 1792, and 1806), Ludwigslust near Schwerin (1776 and 1779), Colditz (after 1785),⁶¹ Göttingen (1789 and perhaps also 1780),⁶² Königsberg (1788), Braunschweig (1792),⁶³ and Herrnhut (date or dates unknown).⁶⁴ Other sources point to partial or whole performances of unknown date and location beyond those otherwise attested.⁶⁵ Thus, judged by the

58. Nagel, 40–45, 88, and 91; Henzel, "Das Konzertleben (Teil 1)," 281–86; and Henzel, "Das Konzertleben der preußischen Hauptstadt 1740–1786 im Spiegel der Berliner Presse (Teil 2)," *JbSIM* (2005): 139–242, esp. 150 and 165. Beyond the performances noted in table 2, one can be traced to Potsdam's St. Nicolai church in 1797 (Nagel, 88–91). The total number of performances in the area of Berlin and Potsdam increases if certain sources (D 7, specifically the batch of parts dating to 1773; D 8; D 9; or librettos nos. 3 and 4 listed in BR-CPEB, 2:90) are not associated with any Berlin concert described in table 2, or if they served for more performances than the ones described there. D 8 specifically shows signs of multiple uses (see description in Nagel, 85 and the critical report).

59. Zelter's concert is attested by the performing parts in D 10; see Nagel, 41–42.

60. According to the *Rigaische Anzeigen* (1774, 15. Stück), 98, the performance took place on 4 April 1774 for the benefit of the poor. See Zane Gailite, "Johann Gottfried Mützel, die Bach-Familie und die 'Wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen' in Riga," in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998b*, 480–89, esp. 485.

61. BR-CPEB, 2:91, libretto no. 10 (p. 91); Nagel, 43 and 112.

62. The libretto for the 1789 performance is BR-CPEB, 2:91, no. 11. Nagel, 232, erroneously dates this libretto to 1780; the performance date of 1778 on p. 43 is unsubstantiated. A Göttingen performance in 1780 in connection with Forkel's establishment the previous year of an "akademisches Winter-Concert" appears likely given the express mention of Bach's *Passions-Cantate* in that announcement; Nagel, 43 and 109. The associated score and performing parts for one or both concerts would be D 19 from Forkel's collection.

63. BR-CPEB, 2:91, libretto no. 6; see Nagel, 43 for a likely connection to Eschenburg, who had lived in Braunschweig since 1767.

64. Sources D 22 and D 23; Nagel, 43 and 95–97.

65. See libretto no. 16 in BR-CPEB, 2:91, currently housed in

measures of performance frequency and geographic distribution, Wq 233 achieved a considerable measure of success consistent with the title given to it by Bach's widow, Johanna Maria, in a letter to Sara Levy dated 5 September 1789, "the well-known Passion Cantata" (Die bekannte Passions Cantate).⁶⁶

Aspects of Performance Practice

As no Hamburg performing parts for the *Passions-Cantate* have survived save for two fragmentary exceptions discussed below, an examination of the forces that took part in performances there relies on alternate sources, namely three invoices corresponding to public performances of the work in Hamburg. For the performance on 17 March 1774, Bach submitted a summary receipt of his costs dated 23 March 1774.⁶⁷

Sr. HochEdelgeb. der Herr Stoppel, Provisor am Spinnhause, zahlten für die zweymalige Aufführung der verlangten Passions-Cantate in der Probe, d. 16ten März, u. bey dem Gottesdienste, d. 17ten ejusdem a.c.
150 Mark 8 Schillinge

Ueber den richtigen Empfang dieses Geldes quittiert gebührend
C.P.E. Bach,
Hamburg, d. 23ten März Director.
1774.

Ward bezahlt, jeder Sänger bekam 4 Mk, Rathsmusices u. Expectant auch 4 Mk, Rollbruder 3 Mk, der Calc. 2 Mk, Knoph 1 Mk, Chorkn. 1 Mk, Copialien 10 Mk, Director 12 Mk, H. Lüders pro studio et labore a part 6 Mk, H. Wreden a part 5 Mk. Ich versprach dabey künftig die Aufführung mit 25 R. zu bestreiten, weil keine Probe mehr nöthig seÿ.

Bach's list of costs associated with the performance of 1774 does not enumerate how many of each type of performer took part, but rather records a lump sum associated with the performance along with the total payment

given to each category of participating musician, including singers, town musicians and *Expectanten* (next in line to become town musicians), *Rollbrüder* (a brotherhood of musicians who were next in the hierarchy), and choirboys, as well as money given to select individuals including the choir's director, a calcant to assist the organist, and others whose work supported the performance.

Bach submitted a somewhat more detailed invoice for the performance on 23 March 1775:⁶⁸

Als 1775 die Spinnhauß Passion gemacht wurde, so hielt ich einige Tage vorher bey mir eine Probe mit beÿnahe allen Musicis u. gab ihnen nachher Butterbrod etc. und Wein und Kuchen.

An Gelde kriegten	
8 Sänger	16 Mk
8 R. Mus.	16 —
H. Lüders	8 — pro studio et labore
— Wanscher	2 — u. den Flügel.
3 Waldhörner	
u. Pauken	6
2 Hoboisten	3
Neumann, Hoppe	
Martens, Böhme	6
1 Fagott	1 — 8
Christian	1
H. Holland	2
— Knoph.	1
H. Königslöwe	1 — 8
	64 Mk. 8ß

The performing forces for 1775 consisted of eight singers, eight town musicians, three horn players, a timpanist, two oboists, a bassoonist, six additional musicians listed by name but not by instrument, and the choirboys' director. A harpsichord and instrument mover are again listed, but an organ is not specified. The size of the 1775 ensemble was far exceeded by that of the 1773 Potsdam performance noted above, the periodical announcements for which boasted a total of sixty instrumentalists and eighteen vocalists.

The most detailed list of Bach's performance forces for the *Passions-Cantate* is given in the following undated invoice:⁶⁹

Nuremberg, as well as sources D 14, D 28, D 30, D 36, and D 37; the exact use(s) of sources D 17 and D 18 remain unknown, but these may have served for performances in Colditz and Halberstadt.

66. *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1311.

67. D-Ha, 462 (*Rechnungsbuch der Kirchenmusiken*), p.153; transcribed in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:371–72.

68. *Rechnungsbuch*, p. 159; transcribed in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:494.

69. *Rechnungsbuch*, p. 152; transcribed (partly incorrectly) in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:361–62. The likely date of the invoice is not 1774 (as given in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:362) but c. 1780; see Sanders, 148. See also Sanders, 105–7 and the individual biographies in Sanders, 148–59, and Neubacher, 411–64.

Oratorium, in der Spinhaußkirche
von H. Cap. Bach

Mr. Holland	2 Mk
— Illert	2 Mk
Hofman	2 Mk
Michel	2 —
Hartman	2 —
Schierferlein	2 —
Delver u. Seidel	2 —
Lau	2 —
Zwencke	2 —
— Buckhofer	2 —
6. Violin Hartman Sen	2 —
Hartman jun	2 —
Lüders - für Spielen, Besorgung und den Flügel	6 —
Königslow	2 —
— Ramcke	1 Mk 8
2 Bratschen — Hoppe	2 Mk
— Schröder	1 — 8
Violon Tanck	2 —
2. Violonc. — Cario	2 —
— Hartman	1 — 8
2 Flöten — Menges	2 —
— N N.	1 — 8
2. Oboen Bolandt u Bolandt jun.	3 —
2. Bassons — Zwencke	2 —
— N. N	1 — 8
3. Hörner 4 — 8	
Paucken N. N.	1 — 8
Voigt zu stimmen	1 —
Vorsänger	1 —
Calcant	1 —
NB Steincke	1 —
	61 Mk [8]
11 Rollbrüder sind dabey nöthig	Summa 56 Mk 8 [ß.]
	Für die Direct. 13 Mk 8 ß.
	75 Mk
u. 62 Mk. empfangen	
NB Blos diese Rechnung, ohne Specification, wird in einer Qvittung an den Herrn Provisor geschickt.	

According to this invoice, there were twenty-one instrumentalists: ten town musicians and *Expectanten*, and eleven *Rollbrüder*. Possibly the continuo player was not included in this number. In contrast to most of Bach's Hamburg church music, flutes and oboes were played by two pairs of players instead of one.

The instrumentalists and singers are listed by name in the invoice. The order of the singers is likely, as in other cases, according to voice part, beginning with the basses.

The invoice also mentions payments to choirboys and to Bach himself as director. Payments for a "Calcant" and for a "Flügel" indicate that both an organ and a harpsichord were used in this performance.

Singers' names added by Bach in A (see critical report, table 1) include longtime members of his vocal ensemble like Friedrich Martin Illert, Johann Andreas Hoffmann, Michel, and Peter Nicolaus Friedrich Delver, alongside figures active for a shorter period of Bach's Hamburg tenure, including Hardenack Otto Conrad Zinck, Carl Rudolph Wreden, Kirchner, Hartmann, Rauschelbach, and Ebeling. This list is complemented by names appearing only in the undated invoice: Holland, Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein, Johann Matthias Seidel, Johann Christian Lau, and Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke.

Given the documented weaknesses in this group of singers, particularly among the higher voices, it seems possible if not probable that the arrangement of the virtuosic duet no. 13 for soprano and tenor transmitted in the fragmentary performing parts (P 756) relates to this deficit.⁷⁰ Having apparently outlived their usefulness, these parts were later pruned for use of the blank staves on their versos and are thus missing part of their original content. This loss notwithstanding, the surviving portions suffice to reveal a version of the duet that achieved a significant reduction in the vocal ranges of both solo parts, as well as a simplification of what becomes the tenor part through voice exchange.⁷¹ As noted above, deficiencies in Bach's vocal ensemble may have similarly motivated his later composition of a decidedly simplified aria for two sopranos on this same text (see appendix).

Whereas in Hamburg Bach took steps toward lessening the burden on the singers responsible for this duet, one Berlin source (D 7) provided the opportunity for these vocalists to display their talent in the form of cadenzas appearing in the performing parts for solo voices.⁷² These parts, written out by Kühnau and dated 1773, appear to be associated with an early performance of Wq 233 in Berlin. Though not directly connected to Bach, they seem to have been copied from source B 2 or from a set of parts derived from it (see entry for 30 March 1774 in table 2 and corresponding citations in Nagel).

70. On the weaknesses of Bach's vocal ensemble and his efforts to handle this issue, see Hill, "Passion Settings," 106–13.

71. Nagel, 128.

72. See the source description in Nagel, 80–83. The cadenzas are transcribed in Nagel, 246 (Anhang IV). Source D 26 also transmits cadenzas for both voices in duet no. 13.

Reception

Acclaim for Wq 233 was plentiful and varied. The first documented praise comes from Burney, who described the success of Bach's compositional techniques and compared the *Passions-Cantate* to Handel's most famous oratorio, after hearing the former performed privately in Hamburg on 10 October 1772:

In the evening, M. Ebeling was so kind as to collect together all the Hamburg performers and lovers of music, he could muster, in order to treat me with a concert; and M. Bach was there to preside. . . . M. Bach has set to music, a *Passione*, in the German language, and several parts of this admirable composition were performed this evening. I was particularly delighted with a chorus in it, which for modulation, contrivance, and effects, was at least equal to any one of the best chorusses in Handel's immortal *Messiah*. A pathetic air, upon the subject of St. Peter's weeping, when he heard the cock crow, was so truly pathetic as to make almost every hearer accompany the saint in his tears.⁷³

The musical preferences of Berlin audiences in general and those of the Prussian nobility in particular were regarded throughout the German-speaking region as exemplary. Consequently their reception of the *Passions-Cantate* played an especially significant role in helping establish Bach's reputation as a composer of oratorios. Several prose sources attest to the importance of the initial performances in Berlin and Potsdam. A series of reviews appearing in the Hamburg press in 1774, concerning the Potsdam charity concert a year prior, make particular mention that Frederick II accepted a libretto for the *Passions-Cantate* offered to him—a gesture that was a high honor, considering the agnostic king's apathy towards music with religious themes.⁷⁴ In a draft of a letter by Gerstenberg to Bach dating to September 1773, the poet, in his discussion of the work's success in Copenhagen, opines that Berlin musicians could not have done better, even with thirty rehearsals.⁷⁵ A similar description appears in a 1789 review

73. Burney 1775, 254–55. The “pathetic air” is no. 7, “Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze,” while the unnamed chorus is specified in a footnote to the German edition of Burney's travel diary as being no. 2, “Fürwahr, er trug unsre Krankheit.” See *Carl Burney's der Musik Doctors Tagebuch seiner musikalischen Reisen*, vol. 3, *Durch Böhmen, Sachsen, Brandenburg, Hamburg und Holland* (Hamburg, 1773), 312.

74. For the original reviews, see Wiermann, 444–45. On Frederick II's attitude toward sacred music, see Lölkes, *Der Tod Jesu*, 54, and Ingeborg König, *Studien zum Libretto des Tod Jesu von Karl Wilhelm Ramler und Karl Heinrich Graun* (Munich: Musikverlag Katzbichler, 1972), 44.

75. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:321.

of Steinfeld's keyboard reduction, where the author urges: “But one must hear this music particularly as it once was presented in Berlin after ten rehearsals by a Mara and the best musicians.”⁷⁶ These last two sources, considered together, suggest that at least one Berlin or Potsdam performance was spectacular enough to have created a lasting impression on the public consciousness.

In 1774, Johann Friedrich Reichardt attended a performance of Bach's Passion oratorio at St. Petri in Berlin. He described the deep impression this experience left on him and lauded Bach as a composer in great length and detail:

In St. Peter's church . . . a Passion by him [Bach] was performed, whose character was one of originality, fittingly strong and novel expression, sustained strength, and passionate fire. One recognizes Bach's original spirit in all his works. . . . Nowhere, however, has his inexhaustible spirit unfolded itself as much as here. In every recitative, in every aria, in every chorus is novelty and invention, in the harmony as in the melody. And nothing ignoble anywhere. Everything—save for but one fast aria, whose playful wit does not really recommend itself to the church—is noble, great, and in the most sublime sacred style; and everything is his own. . . . The expression in this masterful Passion was most of the time so fitting and so strong, and at the same time novel, that this can be taken as special and unmistakable proof for the original genius of Bach. . . . I cannot describe to you in words the passionate fire that burns throughout this work; I was at times heated to a rage; and the expression of pain and mourning was just as passionate and strong . . . a richness of new, great and sublime characteristics, and you would find in it modulations that would perhaps be found in no other piece of music.⁷⁷

Only two written sources exist with details of the reception of Wq 233 outside of Berlin and Hamburg. One is Gerstenberg's description of a 1773 performance in Copenhagen, where portions of the oratorio enjoyed a

76. *HNZ* (18 November 1789), 3: “Doch man muß diese Musik hören, vornehmlich so, wie sie einst in Berlin nach zehn Proben von einer Mara und den besten Musikern vorgetragen wurde.”; Wiermann, 346. The year of this performance is not specified. The phrase “von einer Mara” refers to the famous virtuoso soprano Gertrud Elisabeth Mara. She fell out of Frederick II's favor in the late 1770s, ultimately fleeing Berlin in 1780. See Arnold Niggli, *Gertrud Elisabeth Mara: eine deutsche Künstlerin des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1881).

77. *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, part 1 (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774), 111–12, 121, and 124: “Man führte . . . in der Petri Kirche eine Paßion von ihm auf, deren Charakter Originalität, passender starker und neuer Ausdruck, anhaltende Stärke und heftiges Feuer war. Man erkennt Bachs Original-Geist an allen seinen Werken . . . Nirgend aber hat sich sein unerschöpflicher Geist so sehr ausgebreitet, als hier. In jedem Recitativ, in jeder Arie, in jedem Chor ist

“sevenfold repetition” (siebenmahligen Wiederholung).⁷⁸ Six years later, Forkel in Göttingen lauded the work as one of those that “has already received general acclamation and is famously well-known” (schon allgemeinen Beyfall erhalten haben und mit Ruhm bekannt sind).⁷⁹

Laud for the work in the Hamburg press begins with the aforementioned inquiry from 1773 requesting the establishment of an annual performance tradition in the Spinnhauskirche. Two newspaper pieces from the following year, announcing the *Passions-Cantate’s* Hamburg premiere, note the public’s anticipation (“the requested and splendid Passion Cantata composed by our Capellmeister Bach with particular fame”).⁸⁰ Each of the three reviews appearing in the wake of this 1774 performance reserves even more specific praise for the work, as in a piece published one day after the Hamburg public premiere, where the musicians of the royal court appear as arbiters of musical taste:

Today the . . . Passion Cantata of our Capellmeister Bach . . . was performed with the broad acclaim of a large group of listeners. . . . It must be pleasant to all admirers of the musical art to see this Passion continuously preserved for our city, in praise of which one cannot say anything better than that it was composed by a Bach, and which the famous virtuosi of the Royal Prussian Chapel—as decisive connoisseurs—chose above [other Passions] and performed in Potsdam during Holy Week of the previous year for the benefit of the poor.⁸¹

Erfindung und Neuheit, sowohl in der Harmonie als im Gesange. Und nichts unedles in allem. Es ist alles—bis auf eine geschwinde Arie, deren spielerischer Witz sich wohl nicht recht zur Kirche schicken möchte—ist alles edel, groß, und im erhabensten Kirchenstile; und alles ihm eigen. . . . Der Ausdruck in dieser meisterhaften Paßion war die mehreste Zeit so passend und so stark, und dabey neu, daß dieses als ein besonderer und untrüglicher Beweis für das Originalgenie des Herrn Bachs gelten kann. . . . Das heftige Feuer, so durch das Werk flammt, kann ich Ihnen gar nicht mit Worten beschreiben; Ich wurde zuweilen bis zur Wuth erhitzt; und der Ausdruck des Schmerzes und der Klage war eben so heftig und stark . . . einen Reichthum an neuen, grossen und erhabenen Zügen, und Modulationen würden Sie darinn finden, der vielleicht in keinem andern musikalischen Werke anzutreffen wäre.” Cited in Nagel, 40–41. The “one fast aria” he deemed unsuitable to a church performance is almost certainly no. 9, “Verstockte Sünder.” On the location of St. Petri, see Hill, “Passion Settings,” 179.

78. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:321 and Nagel, 44.

79. Wiermann, 382–83; Nagel, 109.

80. *HUC* (4 February 1774), 4: “die verlangte, vorzügliche, und von unserm Herrn Kapellmeister Bach mit besonderm Ruhm componirte Paßions-Cantate”; Wiermann, 387.

81. *HUC* (18 March 1774), 3: “Heute ward die . . . Paßions-Cantate unsers Herrn Kapellmeisters Bach . . . mit allgemeinem Beyfall einer

The *Passions-Cantate’s* second and final review published by the Hamburg press during Bach’s lifetime appeared in 1775:

This afternoon the well-known Passion Cantata set to music by our great Bach was performed with general acclaim in the local Spinnhaus church before a large gathering of people, and at the same time the wish of all true connoisseurs of music was renewed to have the frequent opportunity to hear such a masterpiece in which new beauty is discovered during each repeated performance.⁸²

Even the press announcements publicizing the oratorio’s annual Hamburg performances invariably refer to the audience’s positive reaction to the work or term it “the well-liked Passion Cantata” (die beliebte Paßions-Cantate).⁸³

That a favorable public reaction to Wq 233 in Hamburg continued through the 1780s is attested by the publication in 1789 of Steinfeld’s reduction for keyboard and voices. The two reviews of this arrangement appearing in the Hamburg press lavish praise both on the composer himself and his “Meisterstück.” Of Bach’s Passion oratorio, the first review’s author—likely Ebeling himself—remarked:

This music [belongs] to those works . . . which will persist and have esteem and acclamation when a large part of the current modern racket will long have been forgotten. Bach made himself immortal through this [work], just as through his Heilig [Wq 217], his Israeliten [Wq 238], his Easter and Ascension music [Wq 240], his compositions for keyboard, etc. etc.”⁸⁴

The second review brims equally with admiration of Bach and his oratorio. Yet unlike the first appraisal, it includes a negative critique of Bach’s text setting in certain movements, deeming it inelegantly fragmented:

großen Menge von Zuhörern aufgeführt. . . . Es muß allen Verehrern der Tonkunst angenehm seyn, diese Paßions-Musik unserer Stadt beständig erhalten zu sehen, zu deren Lobe man nichts bessers sagen kann, als daß sie von einem Bach componirt ist, und daß die berühmten Virtuosen der Königl. Preußischen Kapelle, als entscheidende Kenner, sie vor andern gewählt, und im vorigen Jahre in der Charwoche in Potsdam zum Besten der Hausarmen aufgeführt haben.” Wiermann, 387.

82. *HUC* (24 March 1775), 3: “Heute Vormittag wurde in der hiesigen Spinnhaus-Kirche bey einer zahlreichen Versammlung die von unserm großen Bach in Musik gesetzte bekannte Paßions-Cantate mit allgemeinem Beyfall aufgeführt, und zugleich bey allen wahren Kennern der Musik der Wunsch erneuert, daß sie Gelegenheit haben möchten, ein solches Meisterstück, in welchem bey jeder wiederholten Aufführung neue Schönheiten entdeckt werden, öfters zu hören.” Wiermann, 390.

83. See, for example, Wiermann, 402–3.

84. *HUC* (13 November 1789), 3–4: “diese Musik [gehört] zu denen Werken . . . , welche fort dauern und Achtung und Beyfall haben wer-

How gladly we would like to engage ourselves in the discussion of the beauties of this masterpiece. But wherever there is so much excellence, wherever sublime choruses alternate with grand arias that possess doleful, moving melodies in such great diversity, wherever there are without exception accompanied recitatives so rich in true declamation and expression of affect—wherever innovation, power, and appealing melody work together with all the strengths of the harmony, wherever inexhaustible genius and profound expertise that have become second nature (and with how few composers does that happen?) are combined with animated emotion in the greatest detail, one should write a book about it to analyze all the beauties. If our Bach had lived even longer, he would have given his work a single perfection still missing from it by abolishing the too cumbersome dissection and breaking up of the text of some arias into the components of its prose (a peculiarity distinct to this great man, which sometimes harms the expression all too much).⁸⁵

Public performances of the whole *Passions-Cantate* ceased in Hamburg after 1789, but the work's influence can be traced to the Passions composed and compiled by Bach's successor in that city, Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke. Much like Bach, Schwencke began with an impressive original contribution in 1790, after which he turned to arrangements and pasticcios to fulfill his yearly obligations in this genre.⁸⁶ His Passion oratorio from two years later melds five selections from Wq 233 with excerpts from another Passion, along with some newly composed

den, wenn ein großer Theil des jetzigen modernen Klingklangs längst vergessen seyn wird. Bach hat sich dadurch, so wie durch sein Heilig, seine Israeliten, seine Oster- und Himmelfahrts-Musik, seine Clavier-Compositionen, etc. etc. unsterblich gemacht." Wiermann, 344. On the question of the review's authorship, see Hill, "Passion Settings," 349.

85. HNZ (18 November 1789), 3: "Wie gerne mögten wir uns in die Auseinandersetzung der Schönheiten dieses Meisterwerks einlassen. Aber wo des Vortreflichen so viel ist, wo erhabne Chöre, prachtvolle Arien mit traurigen, rührendem Gesange in so großer Mannigfaltigkeit abwechseln, wo die durchgehends begleiteten Rezitative so reich an wahrer Deklamazion und Ausdruck des Affekts sind—wo Neuheit, Kraft und Reiz der Melodie mit aller Stärke der Harmonie vereinigt wirken, wo unerschöpfliches Genie und tiefe Kunstkenntniß, die zur Natur geworden war, (bei wie wenigen Komponisten wird sie das?) aufs genaueste mit lebhaftem Gefühl verbunden sind, da müßte man ein Buch schreiben, um alle Schönheiten zu zergliedern. Wenn unser Bach noch länger gelebt hätte, so würde er seinem Werke noch eine einzige ihm fehlende Vollkommenheit gegeben, und die zu mühsame Zergliederung und Auflösung des Textes einiger Arien in seine prosaischen Bestandtheile (eine dem großen Mann eine Besonderheit, welche zuweilen dem Ausdruck alzu sehr schadet) aufgehoben haben." Wiermann, 346.

86. Hill, "Passion Settings," 366–83.

narrative portions.⁸⁷ Even Schwencke's first Passion, *Die Nacht der Leiden Jesu / Der du in bangen Nächten*, includes a seeming nod to his predecessor's famous Passion oratorio in the form of a choral fugue with attached homophonic chorus—an inversion of the *Passions-Cantate's* chorus in unison with subsequent fugue, "Lasset uns aufsehen" (no. 15)—whose text was, like its model's, spliced together from two separate biblical verses.⁸⁸

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87. *Ibid.*, 373. The movements from Wq 233 are nos. 2, 9, 11, 17, and 22. See D-Hs, A/70000, no. 18. Schwencke himself is known to have owned a score of Bach's Passion oratorio as well as Steinfeld's published reduction. See Hill, "Passion Settings," 379 and Cat. Schwencke, 17, no. 280.

88. Hill, "Passion Settings," 367. The music survives in D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. C.F.G. Schwenke 2, and the libretto in D-Hs, A/70000, no. 16.