

# INTRODUCTION

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Georg Philipp Telemann passed away on 25 June 1767 after having held the position of music director in Hamburg for 46 years. On 3 November his successor was elected and on 13 November Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach acknowledged receiving his appointment and accepted his new position pending his release from the Prussian court. Frederick the Great did not immediately respond to this request, but on 6 December Bach felt safe to announce his impending move to Hamburg and to ask Georg Michael Telemann, the grandson of the deceased and interim music director, for details about his new position.<sup>1</sup> From this letter it becomes obvious that Bach expected to take on his duties beginning in January 1768. We do not know, however, what—besides an extremely cold winter—hindered him from getting to Hamburg in time. Only on 17 February 1768 did the *Hamburgische unpartheyische Correspondent* confirm that Bach had received his dismissal and was about to leave Berlin; in any event, Bach did not arrive in Hamburg until early March 1768.<sup>2</sup> Since the performances of the annual Passion had already started on Sunday, 21 February 1768 with the service held on *Invocavit* at St. Petri, it must have become clear early on that Bach would make his debut as the new music director with music for Easter, not Passion music. Under these circumstances an old Passion—in this case Telemann's St. Luke Passion of 1736—had to be revived for the first time since Telemann's trip to Paris in 1738. Bach's first Passion, the Passion according to St. Matthew, H 782 thus marks the end, not the beginning, of his first year as music director. For this occasion the composer presented a work unprecedented in complexity and scale to the Hamburg congregations. By this time Bach must have known the capabilities of his musicians and the expectations of his audience sufficiently well.

In his youth C.P.E. Bach had participated in the premiere performances of his father's St. Matthew Passion in Leipzig (possibly as early as 1727 and definitely in 1729)

either as a singer or more likely as an instrumentalist. The work apparently left a deep impression on the young composer; the St. Matthew Passion is one of the few works that were explicitly mentioned in the summary of J.S. Bach's compositions in the obituary that C.P.E. Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola provided in 1750.<sup>3</sup> When the estate of J.S. Bach was divided among his heirs, C.P.E. Bach received the score and parts for the St. Matthew Passion.<sup>4</sup> He must have actively promoted the work; given that the St. Matthew Passion was unlikely to be performed as a whole outside of Leipzig after the death of the composer an astonishing number of copies from the second half of the eighteenth century survive, most of which are related to the original score then in C.P.E. Bach's possession.

According to NV 1790, the 1769 Passion was prepared in Hamburg in 1768 and 1769; this claim is corroborated by a letter from Matthias Claudius to Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg, who complained that Bach was not willing to see him before his new Passion was completed.<sup>5</sup> C.P.E. Bach chose to use major portions of the biblical narrative from his father's work as well as the chorales. The recitatives and—to the best of our knowledge—all music with interpolated poetic texts were newly composed for the occasion. Thus the 1769 Passion—although being a pasticcio drawing from various sources—contains more original music than any other Passion that C.P.E. Bach had performed during his Hamburg years. That Bach regarded the 1769 Passion as a work meriting attention beyond the walls of Hamburg can be seen from the fact that he chose to revise the work, turning the oratorio Passion into a Passion oratorio, the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233. In the early 1770s he had the biblical narrative replaced by a

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1. Among other things, Bach asked Telemann about the type of Passions given at Hamburg; see p. ix, note 2 above.

2. *Hamburgische unpartheyische Correspondent* (5 March 1768); both reports are cited in Wiermann, 66.

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3. "Fünf Passionen, darunter eine zweychörige." Cf. *Bach-Dokumente* III, 86; English translation in *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998), 304.

4. NV 1790, p. 71: "[Von Johann Sebastian Bach. . . Singstücke. . .] Zweychörige Paßion nach dem Matthäus. Mit Flöten, Hoboen und 1 Gambe. Eigenhändige Partitur, und auch in Stimmen."

5. From circumstantial evidence it is clear that this undated letter was written in early 1769. See *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:174–75.

poetic paraphrase which he set to music afresh and made “various other changes” to the music.<sup>6</sup>

### Text Sources

In accordance with Hamburg traditions the text of the 1769 Passion was compiled from various sources.<sup>7</sup> The biblical narrative is taken literally from the Bible; all chorale stanzas are derived from the *Hamburgisches neuvermehrtes Gesang-Buch* that dates back to 1700 and was not superseded by a new hymnal, which then included more up-to-date sacred poetry, until 1787. Manuscript sources for the *Passions-Cantate* reveal that the poetic texts for the 1769 Passion largely stem from the pen of Anna Louisa Karsch, the most celebrated female poet in Prussia, whom Bach had known personally since early 1761.<sup>8</sup> Bach’s house copy of the *Passions-Cantate* bears the inscription in Georg Poelchau’s hand: “The text is by Madame Karschin and Professor Ebeling, one aria by Eschenburg.”<sup>9</sup> From newspaper announcements in the *Adress Comtoir Nachrichten* (25 February 1773) and the *Hamburgische unpartheyische Correspondent* (26 February 1773) we can derive that it was a local scholar (“ein verdienter hiesiger Gelehrter”), thus Christoph Daniel Ebeling, who had provided the poetry for the new recitatives of the *Passions-Cantate*.<sup>10</sup> “Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze” (no. 18) has been identified as the one aria text by Johann Joachim Eschenburg.<sup>11</sup> This is the only aria text that can be traced to an earlier Hamburg Passion, namely, the 1764 Passion by G.P. Telemann. Around that time the young poet Eschenburg (1743–1820)

left for Leipzig and later on moved to Braunschweig. If we can take these sparse documents at face value it appears as if the remainder of the text is by Anna Louisa Karsch. In late 1761 and early 1762 Karsch wrote the text of a Passion cantata which was to be set to music by Anna Amalia of Prussia as an alternative to Ramler and Graun’s *Tod Jesu*. The composition was apparently never completed: in January 1766 Anna Amalia requested some changes to the text as she had done before in 1762; Karsch instead suggested rewriting all of the poetry. Since neither manuscript copies of Karsch’s text nor of Anna Amalia’s setting are known to survive, the exact relationship between Anna Louisa Karsch’s text and the libretto of the 1769 Passion cannot be established. Although it is tempting to speculate that C.P.E. Bach may have started to set the Passion text by Karsch to music while still in Berlin, the autograph score of the Passion (which has come down to us only as a fragment) was apparently written entirely in Hamburg.

### Sources and Musical Elements

The principal sources for the 1769 Passion are an autograph partial score (see sources A 1 and A 2) and the almost complete set of parts used for the performances in 1769 (D-B, SA 18, source B). Consecutive page numbers suggest that the score of the Passion was virtually complete in 1769 and was only later discarded when the *Passions-Cantate* was assembled. At this point the biblical narrative was separated from the music with poetic texts since only the latter were incorporated into the *Passions-Cantate*. Bach was very concerned about keeping the biblical frame of the Passion intact; thus the beginnings or endings of some other movements have been preserved together with the biblical narrative. Bach and his copyists drew on this partial score when preparing the later St. Matthew Passions from 1773 on. Since C.P.E. Bach made minor changes to the music whenever a new St. Matthew Passion was prepared, the partial score is not only incomplete, but also unsuited to reveal what exactly was played and sung in 1769. With the possible exception of an organ part transposed a minor third down, the set of parts has been transmitted complete. Since Bach’s main copyist (Anon. 304, tentatively identified as Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein) worked very reliably, the musical text of the 1769 Passion poses almost no editorial problems.

In the 1769 Passion the Passion story according to the Gospel of St. Matthew is divided as follows:

6. NV 1790, p. 59: “Aus dieser Paßion ist, nach Weglassung des Evangelisten und verschiedenen gemachten Veränderungen, die Paßions-Cantate entstanden.” NV 1790, p. 56, gives the date and place of composition as “H[amburg] 1770.” The house copy of the *Passions-Cantate* (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 337) has, however, the autograph inscription: “Paßions-Cantate, von mir, C.P.E. Bach, Anno 1769 in Hamburg in Musik gesetzt.” On the conflicting dates and genesis of the work, see CPEB: CW, IV/3.

7. On the text sources see Nagel, 27–34.

8. On this subject see Darrell M. Berg, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Anna Louisa Karsch,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach als Lehrer. Die Verbreitung der Musik Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in England und Skandinavien. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium vom 29. März bis 1. April 2001 in Stübice — Frankfurt (Oder) — Cottbus*, ed. Hans-Günther Ottenberg and Ulrich Leisinger (Frankfurt/Oder: Musikgesellschaft Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, 2005), 41–68, esp. 50–54.

9. D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 337: “Der Text ist von Mad. Karschin u. Prof. Ebeling, eine Arie von Eschenburg.”

10. Wiermann, 382–83.

11. Miesner, 71.

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
3.	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	26:36–42
5.	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	26:43–48
7.	Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu	26:49–50a
9.	Da traten sie hinzu	26:50b–54
11.	Zu der Stunde sprach Jesus	26:55–56
13.	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	26:57–58a
15.	Petrus folgte ihm nach von ferne	26:58–68
17.	Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast	26:69–75
19.	Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohepriester	27:1–5
22.	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	27:6–14
24.	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	27:15–23a
26.	Sie schrieen aber noch mehr	27:23b–26
29.	Da nahmen die Kriegsknechte des Landpflegers	27:27–30
31.	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	27:31–46
34.	Etliche aber, die da stunden	27:47–50

The majority of the turba choruses were taken from J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244, as well as the duets of the Hohepriester (High Priests) and the Falsche Zeugen (False Witnesses). C.P.E. Bach's models for the turbae are as follows:

No.	Text incipit	Vorlage
15b.	Er hat gesagt	BWV 244/33, mm. 5b–12
15d.	Er ist des Todes schuldig	unknown
15f.	Weissage uns	Homilius, St. Mark Passion (adapted by CPEB), cf. CPEB: CW, IV/5.1 (no. 14b)
17b.	Wahrlich, du bist auch einer von denen	BWV 244/38b
19b.	Was gehet uns das an	unknown
22b.	Es taugt nicht	BWV 244/41c, mm. 28b–35
24b.	Barrabam	BWV 244/45a, m. 30 (adapted by CPEB)
24d.	Lass ihn kreuzigen	BWV 244/45b
26b.	Lass ihn kreuzigen	BWV 244/50b
26d.	Sein Blut komme über uns	BWV 244/50d
29b.	Gegrüßet seist du	unknown

31b.	Der du den Tempel Gottes zerbrichst	BWV 244/58b
31d.	Andern hat er geholfen	BWV 244/58d
34b.	Er rufet den Elias	BWV 244/61b
34d.	Halt! lass sehen	BWV 244/61d

Since BWV 244 is scored for double orchestra, C.P.E. Bach had to reduce his father's setting to one single chorus. The readings strongly suggest that C.P.E. Bach was working from the autograph fair copy of his father's Passion and made the arrangement on the spot. The 1769 Passion thus does not contain traces of an early version of J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion conceived for one single chorus.<sup>12</sup> Four turbae do not derive from BWV 244, nor do they reflect its distinctive style. Only for the chorus "Weissage uns" can a model be identified: C.P.E. Bach adopted the respective movement from Homilius's St. Mark Passion. It is conceivable that C.P.E. Bach composed the remaining turbae himself, although it cannot be ruled out that he borrowed them from an unknown source.

The speeches of the Evangelist and other biblical roles are set as simple recitatives; the words of Jesus, particularly references to the Old Testament, are usually highlighted by an *arioso* setting where the continuo has long held notes. Although the setting is very plain and avoids the dramatic gesture of his father's recitative style, C.P.E. Bach occasionally uses repetitions and brief accompanied sections to give additional weight to phrases that he deems particularly important (e.g., no. 34f). Even though C.P.E. Bach does not borrow his father's recitatives exactly, references to them can be found throughout. This is especially prevalent toward the end of the Passion when the turbae follow each other quickly, thus leaving little space for a different harmonic scheme, which is strongly implied by the borrowed models.

All the chorale settings were taken from works by J.S. Bach (see table 1). Aside from the extended chorale fantasy "Christe, du Lamm Gottes" from the St. John Passion, BWV 245 (1725 version), C.P.E. Bach used mainly two sources. Several chorales were borrowed from the St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244; with a single exception all remaining chorales are found in J.S. Bach's *Vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, published with the consent of C.P.E. Bach

12. The source for "Eine Passion nach dem Matthäus, incomplet." mentioned in NV 1790, p. 81 was identified by Peter Wollny as the copy in the hand of Johann Friedrich Agricola (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 26, fascicle I), that was to contain the later version of the piece, but was never completed (private communication from Peter Wollny).

TABLE I: THE CHORALES

No.	Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)	BWV (Birnstiel 1765)
1.	Christus, der uns selig macht	111,1	Michael Weisse	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6383b)	245/15 (I:77)
2.	Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn	188,1	Luke 1:46b–47 (trans. Martin Luther)	tonus peregrinus (cf. Wq 215, no. 2)	
4.	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit!	395,1	Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit! (Z 7568)	244/25
12.	Ich will hier bei dir stehen	129,6	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)	153/5 (I:24)
16.	Wer hat dich so geschlagen	122,3	Paul Gerhardt	Nun ruhen alle Wälder (Z 2293b)	244/37
21.	Gott, groß über alle Götter!	422,8	Johann Herrmann	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)	39/7 (I:71)
25.	Was ist doch wohl die Ursach solcher Plagen?	114,3	Johann Herrmann	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)	244/3 (I:85)
30.	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	129,1	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 8	244/54 (I:79)
36.	Christe, du Lamm Gottes	119	Agnus Dei (Martin Luther, 1528)	Christe, du Lamm Gottes	245/40II
App.	O, Jesu, hilf zur selben Zeit	583,5	Barthold Ringwald	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit (Z 4429a)	248/59

by the Birnstiel firm in Berlin in 1765. The readings make it clear that Bach used the print as his model and did not draw upon manuscript sources from his personal library. The one exception is a chorale not published by 1769; Bach most likely took it from the autograph score of the Christmas Oratorio, BWV 248, rather than from a manuscript collection of chorales.

The two large-scale choral movements framing the Passion were borrowed as well. The opening chorus (no. 2) is an adaptation of the “Et misericordia” from C. P. E. Bach’s own Magnificat, Wq 215, the most substantial sacred work that he had composed before moving to Hamburg. Besides replacing the Latin text with that of Isaiah, 53:4–6, and giving the instrumental cantus firmus “Meine Seele erhebet den Herren” to a soprano, no substantial changes were required for the movement’s use in the Passion. It may be noted, however, that Bach refined the solo sections by writing out embellishments and reducing orchestral forces. Similarly, the closing chorale “Christe, du Lamm Gottes” (no. 2), which had served exactly the same function in his father’s St. John Passion of 1725, could be borrowed without difficulties; still C. P. E. Bach chose to revise the text underlay, apparently in order to gain a more lively declamation of the liturgical formula of the German Agnus Dei. All other movements of the Passion were newly composed, including the aria “Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze,”

whose text was taken from Telemann’s 1764 Passion. The autograph score of that work (D-B, Mus. ms. autogr. G.P. Telemann 19) shows that Telemann’s aria is in D minor and scored for tenor, obbligato oboe, strings, and basso continuo.<sup>13</sup>

### Performance History

In 1769 Easter Sunday fell on 26 March. Since the Marian Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) should not be celebrated during Holy Week, Annunciation was observed already on Palm Sunday (19 March). Consequently the performances of the annual Passion had to begin a week earlier than usual. Although the printed libretto for the 1769 Passion does not indicate this change, newspaper announcements in the *Adress Comtoir Nachrichten* reveal that the Passion was given at St. Petri on Estomihi (5 February), at St. Nicolai on Invocavit (12 February), and at St. Catharinen on Reminiscere (19 February).<sup>14</sup> Due to the annual *Juraten-*

13. *Worte von Leiden und Tode JESU, aus dem heiligen Evangelisten Lucas genommen, und nebst hinzugefügten poetischen Sätzen zu den Fastenmusiken in den Hamburgischen Kirche 1764, eingerichtet von Telemann.*, Hamburg: Piscator, [1764], 7 (copy at D-B, T 2409 (3)). Joachim Jaenecke, *Georg Philipp Telemann. Autographe und Abschriften* (Munich: G. Henle, 1993), 50, lists the piece incorrectly as a chorale.

14. Wiermann, 361–62. Cf. also Sanders, 166–67.

*Einführung* at St. Michaelis on Oculi (26 February), subsequent performances were given at St. Jacobi on Laetare (5 March) and at St. Michaelis on Judica (12 March). According to newspaper announcements, Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* was performed at Heilig Geist (17 March), at St. Maria Magdalena (20 March), at the Pesthof (22 March), and at the Heilige Dreieinigkeitskirche St. Georg on Good Friday (24 March), presumably under Bach's direction.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the Hamburg *Schreib-Calender* for 1769 indicates that Passion music, most likely Bach's new Passion, was also given at the Kleine Michaelis-kirche (16 March), at St. Johannis (March 18), at St. Gertrud (21 March), and at St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge on Maundy Thursday (23 March).<sup>16</sup> After 1769 the piece was not revived as a liturgical Passion during Bach's lifetime; the original material extant at the time of Bach's death was acquired in 1805 by Georg Poelchau at the auction of the estate of Bach's daughter Anna Carolina Philippina. Poelchau left the manuscripts to Abraham Mendelssohn, who in turn donated them to the Berlin Sing-Akademie in all likelihood in 1811. Although Carl Friedrich Zelter is known to have studied the music, no performance by the Berlin Sing-Akademie was ever intended.

#### Issues of Performance Practice

C.P.E. Bach had only a small number of singers at his disposal; although usually seven singers appear on the payment records, the surviving performance material for the 1769 Passion contains only six vocal parts. Besides two sopranos, two basses, and one alto, two tenors were also needed, and therefore the second tenor part was entered into the higher of the bass parts. The names written into the autograph score and parts reveal that the following singers participated in the performances of the 1769 Passion:

Soprano I	Lüders (Christian names unknown)
Soprano II	Hartnack Otto Conrad Zink
Alto	(Johann David?) Holland
Tenore	Johann Heinrich Michel
Basso I	Johann Martin Illert
Basso II	Wreden (Christian names unknown)

15. Wiermann, 361–62.

16. *Hamburgischer verbesserter Schreib-Calender aufs 1769. Jahr, worinnen die Gerichtstage, Verlassungen, Predigten, Musiken in allen 5 Haupt- und Neben-Kirchen u.s.f. . . . angezeigt werden* (Hamburg, [1768]).

Apparently Johann Andreas Hoffmann, who sang one of the bass parts in most of Bach's Passions from 1770 on, was not available.

Only a small number of the instrumentalists can safely be identified: Johann Adolph Buckhoffer was senior of the town musicians from 1757 to 1788; his monogram "JAB" is found on the duplicate copy of the violin I part; similarly the faint initials on the duplicate copy of the violin II part that can be read as "JDM" in all likelihood refer to Johann Daniel Martens. Initials are also found on one of the violoncello parts; if the first letter is read as a "J" the initials "JHT" might indicate Johann Heinrich Tancke. G.M. Telemann served as the continuo player until his departure for Kiel in 1770. The names of the woodwind players and the remaining string players cannot be derived from the extant sources of the Passion. In no other sacred work of his Hamburg period did C.P.E. Bach use two pairs of woodwind players; it is likely that the "ripieno" oboe players, who have independent parts only in the opening chorus and otherwise serve for reinforcement of the oboe parts in the chorales and some of the more robust choral movements and arias, switched to bassoons in the second half of the Passion, since bassoons and ripieno oboes were never called for in the same movement. This would mean, however, that the bassoons did not double the instrumental bass part for most of the Passion; as usual the bassoon parts contain only the obbligato movements. Toward the end of the piece C.P.E. Bach also used two horns and—as a special effect—timpani which were to be played with padded sticks as was the tradition in funeral music in Hamburg. The comparatively large size of the orchestra led to a particularly colorful instrumentation.

Some aspects of the performances in 1769 cannot be clarified with certainty. The same pair of players performed the flute and obbligato oboe parts; however, not all changes of instrumentation are clearly indicated in those parts. It appears that the oboe was regarded as the standard instrument, thus the indication "Flöte" is written for every single movement assigned to the flutes, whereas the change back to oboe is only occasionally explicitly indicated. In the autograph score the chorales have no instrument designations at all. The copyist was apparently told to copy the soprano line into the oboe/flute I part and the alto in the oboe/flute II part; Anon. 304 was not concerned about the range of the instruments and copied the vocal parts literally. Since d' was the lowest pitch on the eighteenth-century transverse flute and c' on the oboe, the lower pitches of the vocal parts often cannot be played on the prescribed instrument. We do not know how Bach's musicians coped with

this situation. It is conceivable that the players switched to a higher octave (or another suitable tone) whenever the pitches were too low; it is also possible that at least the flutes performed an entire chorale an octave higher. “Du, dem sich Engel neigen” (no. 10) was conceived for soprano, but C.P.E. Bach crossed out the singer’s name and gave the aria to Mr. Wreden, who sang bass and tenor. Anon. 304 copied the aria in soprano clef in his part; it remains unknown whether Mr. Wreden sang an octave lower in the tenor range or at pitch as a countertenor.

### Historical Significance

C.F. Zelter recognized early on that C.P.E. Bach’s 1769 Passion was not an entirely original work.<sup>17</sup> When Zelter recognized that C.P.E. Bach had borrowed the chorales and many of the turba choruses from his father’s St. Matthew Passion, he discredited C.P.E. Bach’s work for its lack of “originality,” one of the most important ideals of the early Romantic aesthetics. Zelter ignored the problem, however, that a performance of a Passion by J.S. Bach—even if C.P.E. Bach had intended it—would not have been possible in Hamburg. Not only the duration of the work, but also its theological implications, made a complete performance impossible. The Baroque perspective, where the listeners are constantly reminded of their sins in drastic words, had long since been superseded by a new and more positive way of thinking. The poetry of the 1769 Passion reflects the new sentimental spirit, which no longer stresses the godliness of Jesus, but instead emphasizes his closeness to mankind. Consequently, the text refers to Jesus as “Menschenfreund” (friend of man) and points out his “Menschenliebe” (love for mankind) and exemplary “Geduld und Liebe” (patience and love). At the same time the dramatic tone that J.S. Bach’s Passions convey, particularly in the setting of the biblical narrative, is clearly reduced. Even where C.P.E. Bach obviously refers to J.S. Bach as his model, he avoids the melodic and harmonic harshness as well as the extreme ambitus of the tenor part.

As is typical in the Passions by J.S. Bach and his contemporaries, arias in the 1769 Passion are placed at turning points of the biblical narrative and can be understood as commentaries on, sometimes even as an attempt to interfere with, the biblical events. Among these are the reactions to the betrayal of Judas (“Wie ruhig bleibt dein

Angesicht”) or his suicide (“Verstockte Sünder”), as well as the ubiquitous penitential aria of Peter (“Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze”). An obvious model for the extended duet, “Muster der Geduld und Liebe,” is the duet “Feinde, die ihr mich betrübt” from Graun’s influential *Der Tod Jesu*, in whose premiere performance C.P.E. Bach had participated as a continuo player in 1755. The 1769 Passion is framed by two large choral movements, forming the traditional *exordium* and *conclusio* of the Passion. That C.P.E. Bach chose the movement from his Magnificat with its new text referring to the “Gottesknecht” (God’s servant) again shows the influence of his father’s St. Matthew Passion, where a chorale is also artfully interwoven into the opening choral movement. The libretto explicitly states that the congregation was not to participate in the concluding movement; from this we may derive that the Hamburg citizens were accustomed to singing along with the chorales. This explains why C.P.E. Bach transposed them from the higher registers his father had used in his settings to the typical vocal range of the original chorale melodies.

Overall the 1769 Passion shows that C.P.E. Bach had high ambitions when presenting his first Passion in Hamburg; at the same time he apparently wanted to stay as close as possible to the tradition his father had established 40 years earlier in Leipzig. We do not know anything about the reactions of the Hamburg audiences. It appears, however, that C.P.E. Bach demanded more than his musicians were truly able to deliver. For the duet “Muster der Geduld und Liebe” (no. 28) two good soprano singers were required; given the problems C.P.E. Bach had throughout his Hamburg years in finding boy sopranos who were capable of singing solos the duet was a major risk. Bach also requested two solo flutes for this movement; although some of the town musicians knew how to play woodwinds, including transverse flutes, the parts were apparently too difficult. C.P.E. Bach had to alter the flute parts after the parts had already been copied, indicating that none of the town musicians was able to play well in the higher registers. The changes are certainly not meant to be an improvement (see commentary for the *ante correcturam* readings of the flute parts). It remains unclear why the four-part chorale “O Jesu! hilf zur selben Zeit,” originally included between nos. 26 and 27, was omitted (it is included in the score and copied in most of the parts but marked “bleibt weg”; the music is included in the appendix). By omitting the movement little time was saved, and it is hard to imagine that the text might have led to a controversy with any of the head pastors of the main churches.

17. See his comments on the 1769 Passion (D-B, SA 5153), transcribed in Miesner, 61–62.

Bach's 1769 Passion is the most extended Passion composition of his Hamburg period by far and must have exceeded the time typically reserved for the music by almost 45 minutes. The libretto of Telemann's 1762 Passion contains a note: "Since this presentation has turned out longer than the time reserved for its musical representation permits, the sections which will not be sung—if necessary—are indicated by quotation marks."<sup>18</sup> No similar caveat, let alone any indication about which movements may have been left out in performance, is known for the 1769 Passion.

We also wonder why C. P. E. Bach changed the sequence of Passions to be performed; after the 1768 revival of Telemann's Luke Passion of 1736, a St. John Passion would have been expected. Since Bach also had the St. John Passion of his father in his possession, he could as easily have used that piece as his model instead of the St. Matthew Passion, whose abundant scoring had to be reduced to one single chorus in the borrowed movements. Admittedly the text by Anna Louisa Karsch did not reflect the specific theology of the Gospel of St. John, but other textual models could have been chosen especially since Bach had sufficient time to prepare his first Hamburg Passion.

Whereas these oddities would be conceivable when starting his new job in Hamburg, Bach's gross disregard about what he was expected to deliver is quite astonishing at the end of his first year of tenure. Perhaps the 1769 Passion was meant to be a deliberate demonstration of what Bach could accomplish as music director if he were only allowed to overcome the constraints imposed by traditions, some of which dated back almost a century. We may assume that the reactions to the 1769 Passion—whether indifferent or openly hostile—led C. P. E. Bach to reduce the efforts he put into assembling the annual Passion. In the following years three foreign pieces with almost no original contribution were heard: in 1770 a St. Mark Passion, in 1775 a St. Luke Passion, and in 1776 a St. John Passion, all by Homilius. The 1771 and 1772 Passions were based on settings by Telemann, with the movements on poetic texts

taken from Passion oratorios by Stöelzel and Homilius, church cantatas by Benda, and oratorio Passions by Homilius and J. S. Bach.

C. P. E. Bach himself was apparently convinced that the 1769 Passion deserved more attention than its local use as the liturgical Passion for a specific year could secure. It was seemingly out of the question for the piece to be repeated every four years; unlike in Leipzig, the Passion in Hamburg did not serve as part of the performance repertoire; rather, a new work was expected every year. Bach almost immediately turned the 1769 Passion into the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, using newly set biblical paraphrases by Christoph Daniel Ebeling rather than requesting this work to be done by Anna Louisa Karsch. Performances of the *Passions-Cantate*, however, can only be traced from 1772 on: Niels Schiørring reported in September 1772 to a mutual friend that Bach had had his new *Passions-Cantate* copied for him,<sup>19</sup> and on 10 October 1772 Charles Burney heard a performance of selections of the music.<sup>20</sup> By this time C. P. E. Bach must have envisioned that the premier performance of the *Passions-Cantate* was to be held in Hamburg, probably at the Hamburg Waisenhaus, whose new church building was to be consecrated on 17 December 1772; otherwise he would hardly have agreed to give away copies for performances in Cologne (4 March 1773)<sup>21</sup> and Berlin (no later than 1774, perhaps as early as 1772).<sup>22</sup> An article signed by "Einige Freunde der Kirchen-Musick in Hamburg" reads as if it was written with the consent of the composer himself: "It would be a pity if the benefit of the excellent Passion music, composed and performed by our Kapellmeister Bach for the Hamburg churches in 1769 and which aroused universal admiration and which—after a merited local scholar provided recitatives for it—has been repeated several times with the ever-same applause in private concerts—should be restricted to this one year and could not serve continuously for devotion."<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless the tradition of performances of the *Passions-Cantate* at the Hamburg Waisenhauskirche could not be established

18. *Die Geschichte der Versöhnung der sündigen Menschen durch das Blut Jesu Christi, wie der heil. Evangelist Matthäus dieselbe erzehlet, mit hinzu gekommenen Arien, Betrachtungen und Chorälen, in den Gemeinen Gottes zu Hamburg im Jahre 1762 während der Fasten-Zeit musikalisch aufgeführt von Telemann* (Hamburg: Piscator [1762]), 2 (copy at D-B, T 2409 (3)): "Da gegenwärtige Abhandlung länger gerathen ist, als es die zu deren musikalischen Aufführung bestimmte Zeit verstattet; so hat man hier diejenigen Stellen, so, erforderlichen Falls, nicht mitgesungen werden, durch "angezeigt." One cavata, two accompanied recitatives, one aria, and the final chorus were to be omitted, while a total of thirteen movements on poetic texts were to be sung.

19. See Niels Schiørring to Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg, 4 September 1772; *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:277–79.

20. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, 2 vols. (London, 1773), 2:253; see also Carl Burney's *der Musik Doctors Tagebuch seiner musikalischen Reisen*, vol. 3, *Durch Böhmen, Sachsen, Brandenburg, Hamburg und Holland* (Hamburg, 1773), 193–94.

21. A copy of the libretto printed for this performance is located in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, 4.167-B.

22. See Nagel, 40.

23. Wiermann, 382–83.

until 17 March 1774. From this point on the 1769 Passion had fulfilled its duty and continued to reside unused on the shelves in the composer's library and later in the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. In 2002 the 1769 Passion was revived by Ton Koopman and the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra in concerts and a recording using an early version of the edition presented here.

### Acknowledgments

The editor wishes to express his gratitude to all who made this edition possible, particularly to the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. Both institutions, as well as their staff, generously allowed access to the sources—consulted by the editor for the first time in the fall of 1999 when they were still held at the Archive-Museum for Literature and Arts of the Ukraine in Kiev—and granted permission for the publication of the

edition and the reproduction of facsimile plates. The editorial office, in particular Paul Corneilson, and the music compositor, Rolf Wulfsberg, accompanied me in the long process from a performing edition to a critical edition with admirable patience and without losing impetus. Murray Somerville and Fritz Näf provided valuable comments on the music based on the performance materials prepared for the revival under Ton Koopman in the summer of 2002, as did Christoph Wolff, Robert D. Levin, and Christopher Hogwood. Among my former colleagues in Leipzig, Peter Wollny, Christine Blanken, and Wolfram Enßlin shared information on source material, and Clemens Harasim provided great support in the early stages of the edition. Special thanks are due to Uwe Wolf, who meticulously read the music against the sources and also made many suggestions to the introduction and commentary, from which this edition has profited considerably.

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