

INTRODUCTION

The Passion according to St. Matthew for 1781 (H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4) is the first work in the fourth cycle of Passions that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed in Hamburg. He followed the long-established rotational scheme, by which the Gospels were used year after year in the sequence Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John without repeating an earlier setting. A reduction of the amount of preparatory work was made possible for the St. Matthew Passions by reusing the musical skeleton of the previous works, namely, the biblical narrative and some of the chorales. Even for aesthetic reasons the reuse of the setting of the biblical narrative could easily be defended: if an adequate setting of a text had once been found, there was no need to offer any alternate realization.¹ There was also no requirement to provide new chorales for every single Passion, though Bach at least preferred a certain variety of the chorale stanzas. On the other hand, the choruses, arias, and, occasionally, accompanied recitatives were newly conceived for every single Passion, so that Bach was probably able to evoke the impression of an entirely new work for most of his listeners each year. To what extent the Hamburg audience was aware of Bach's wide-reaching pasticcio practice remains unknown; the handful of documents relating to specific performances of Hamburg Passions under Bach's direction do not address this matter at all.

Starting with the 1781 Passion, Bach significantly reduced the borrowing from other composers' works: this Passion contains only one chorus by Gottfried August Homilius (no. 2) and two arias by Georg Benda (nos. 7 and 9), one of them with a new text; while we find three self-borrowings (nos. 14, 16, and 26), two new choral arrangements of sacred songs originally composed by Bach for voice with keyboard accompaniment (nos. 20 and 28), and two apparently newly composed accompanied recitatives (nos. 6 and 19). Bach also considerably reduced the amount of work related to the borrowings from other composers; he adapted the texts for use in Passion music, but left the instrumentation unchanged except for the typical reinforcement of soprano and alto by adding oboes

1. Bach used, however, more than one setting of the Gospel in the Hamburg Passions according to St. Luke and St. John.

in the opening chorus. One aria (no. 9) was assigned to a different singer (soprano instead of tenor). The reason may simply have been that the borrowed movements stem from Homilius and Benda, whose style of church music matched Bach's intention particularly well.²

With respect to aesthetics, the 1781 Passion may also be regarded as a turning point in Bach's understanding of the Passion story. While the early settings show a broad spectrum of affections displayed in the choruses and arias, the later Passions are more introverted and refrain from strong affections like rage, wrath, or revenge. Except for some of the turba choruses, the tempo rarely exceeds *Andante*. Many of the arias in the earlier Passions appeared as utterances by *personae* of the biblical narrative (e.g., Peter or even Jesus), but the later arias usually have a more distant, almost impersonal tone. At the same time the role of the chorus markedly increases; many of the choruses originated as arrangements of sacred songs.³ In spite of the fact that the biblical narrative is mainly interrupted in the same places as in Bach's 1773 St. Matthew Passion, we can see a shift from a dramatic interpretation of the Passion story towards a lyric one within the epic framework of the oratorio Passion.

In 1781, Johann Heinrich Michel served as the main copyist for a Passion for the first time, while the ailing Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein,⁴ whose handwriting had considerably deteriorated during the previous years, was employed only for the task of providing the transposed organ parts. The readings suggest that Michel was working from the set of parts of the 1773 Passion (source Q 4) rather than copying everything from scratch from the incomplete score of the 1769 Passion (source Q 5).

2. For the relationship between Bach and Homilius, and Bach's typical approach toward Homilius's works, see Leisinger 1998a, especially 247–49. On Bach and Benda see Wolf 2006.

3. On Bach's arrangements of songs for four-part chorus see Leisinger 2006; table 1 in CPEB: CW, VI/1, xiii; and table 1 in CPEB: CW, VI/2, xviii.

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

The Compositional Process

The source situation for the 1781 Passion is straightforward, because the original set of parts (representing the musical text as presented in Hamburg in 1781) has survived intact, along with most of the material that Michel had when preparing the parts from a large number of *Vorlagen*. These included the remnants of the autograph score of the 1769 Passion, which comprised the biblical portions and several chorales, and apparently the set of parts for the 1773 Passion as a rough guideline for the overall disposition of the work. (See table 1 for the derivation of movements in the 1781 Passion.) Further, scores of the musical settings on poetic texts were needed—namely, annotated scores from Bach’s musical library (for no. 2), the set of parts for one installation cantata of his own composition (for no. 26), and several movements in autograph manuscripts (nos. 14, 16, 20, and 28). For nos. 7 and 9 a set of parts for Benda’s cantata *Der Glaube kann Gott, den Allmächtigen, zwingen* (L 565) from Bach’s library was used by Michel when preparing the parts. This source, however, has not survived. A full autograph score of the 1781 Passion never existed.

To facilitate the process of copying out the parts Bach provided assembling instructions showing details of the disposition of the work. Their existence was discussed as early as 1868 by Carl Hermann Bitter,⁵ and later served as a central piece of information for Stephen L. Clark’s discussion of Bach’s Hamburg Passions,⁶ which was written before the original performing materials from the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin were discovered in Kiev, Ukraine, in 1999. These instructions must be considered in conjunction with the “skeleton” of the St. Matthew Passions represented by the partial score of the 1769 Passion and the set of parts for the 1773 Passion. The main reference source was the set of parts for the 1773 Passion, since the partial score of the 1769 Passion lacks the opening chorale.⁷ The

5. Bitter, 1:278–81. Bitter knew only the first part, already held in SBB, but he did not have access to the SA material. See also Miesner, 65, who did have access to SA material.

6. For a discussion of the assembling instructions for nos. 1–26 preserved in A 1, see Clark, 85–87, who refers to them as “assemblage instructions”; the whereabouts of the continuation in A 3 were still unknown at the time. In BR-CPEB, 2:165, the term “autographe Verlaufs-partitur” is used. Similar assembling instructions have been preserved only for the 1777 Passion; see CPEB:CW, IV/4.3, appendix A.

7. From the pagination of the beginning of the biblical narrative as “1” in Bach’s hand in Q 5 it is evident that the opening chorale was not accidentally lost in a later stage of the transmission, but was never among the pages kept with the 1769 Passion for later use. The 1777 Passion can

assembling instructions specify the position and nature of the non-biblical movements in the 1781 Passion. This highly instructive material is presented in facsimile in appendix A to the present volume and described in more detail in an accompanying table. Possibly one extra sheet was lost: the recitatives of the 1781 Passion deviate in a few measures from all previous Passions without evident signs of corrections.⁸ In order to help Michel keep track of the various sources, the insertion movements were apparently numbered from “No. 1” to “No. 5” and placed in wrappers as needed.

Sources and Musical Elements

In accordance with Hamburg traditions the text of the 1781 Passion was compiled from various sources. The biblical narrative is taken literally from the Bible, as is the *dictum* “Musste nicht Christus solches leiden” (Luke 24:26) used by Homilius for the chorus that Bach borrowed as the *exordium* after the opening chorale.⁹

In the 1781 Passion the Gospel of St. Matthew Passion narrative is divided as follows:

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
8.	Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu und sprach	26:49–56
11.	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	26:57–68
13.	Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast	26:69–74a
15.	Und alsobald krähete der Hahn	26:74b–27:5
18.	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	27:6–14
21.	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	27:15–23a
23.	Sie schrien aber noch mehr	27:23b–30
25.	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	27:31
27.	Und indem sie hinausgingen	27:32–50

be ruled out as a model, since it uses a different set of chorales with little overlap compared to the 1769 and 1773 Passions.

8. See no. 3, m. 13 (probably copying error); no. 18, m. 22; no. 23, m. 48; and no. 27, m. 1.

9. The biblical origin of the text remained unnoticed in BR-CPEB, 2:164.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1781 ST. MATTHEW PASSION

No. Type	Incipit	Vorlage	Remarks
1. Choral	Jesu, meiner Seelen Licht	H 786, no. 1	cf. BWV 245/15
2. Chor	Musste nicht Christus solches leiden	HoWV II.72, no. 1	CPEB added ob I–II doubling the S and A parts and completed the figuration
3. Recitativ	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	H 786, no. 4	
4. Choral	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit	H 786, no. 5	cf. BWV 244/25
5. Recitativ	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	H 786, no. 6	
6. Accomp.	Von allen Himmeln und von allen Erden		newly composed for the 1781 Passion
7. Arie	Nun sterb ich Sünder nicht	L 565, no. 3	with different text; see appendix B for original vocal line and text underlay
8. Recitativ	Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu	H 786, no. 9	
9. Arie	Im Leben will ich dich bekennen	L 565, no. 5	adapted from tenor to soprano
10. Choral	Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden	H 786, no. 11	cf. BWV 153/5
11. Recitativ	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	H 786, no. 12	
12. Choral	Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen	H 786, no. 13	cf. BWV 244/37
13. Recitativ	Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast	H 786, no. 14	
14. Chor	Keiner wird sich schämen dürfen		Wq 223; reuse of arrangement of song Wq 196/9, now with stanza 2
15. Recitativ	Und alsobald krähete der Hahn	H 786, no. 16	
16. Chor	Ich bin gebeugt, ich bin zerschlagen		Wq 224; reuse of arrangement of song Wq 196/13, now with stanza 4
17. Choral	Gott, groß über alle Götter	H 786, no. 17	cf. BWV 39/7
18. Recitativ	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	H 786, no. 18	
19. Accomp.	Dein Beispiel wird mir Kraft verleihn		newly composed for the 1781 Passion
20. Chor	Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden zu bedenken		new arrangement of song Wq 194/23, stanzas 1 and 14
21. Recitativ	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	H 786, no. 21	
22. Choral	Unendlich Glück! Du littest uns zugute	H 786, no. 22	cf. BWV 244/3
23. Recitativ	Sie schrien aber noch mehr	H 786, no. 23	
24. Choral	Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	H 786, no. 24	cf. BWV 244/54
25. Recitativ	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	H 786, no. 25	
26. Arie	Versammet euch, der Erde gefallene Kinder	H 821i, no. 6	with different text
27. Recitativ	Und indem sie hinausgingen	H 786, no. 27	
28. Chor	Erlöser meiner Seele		new arrangement of song Wq 197/6, stanza 4
29. Choral	Erscheine mir zum Schilde	H 786, no. 29	cf. no. 24

Key: BWV 244 = JSB St. Matthew Passion; BWV 245 = JSB St. John Passion; H 786 = CPEB 1773 St. Matthew Passion; H 821i = CPEB *Einführungsmusik Sturm*; L 565 = Benda cantata *Der Glaube kann Gott, den Allmächtigen, zwingen*

Besides a handful of adaptations resulting from new key relationships between the recitatives and the insertion arias, Bach occasionally changed the vocal melody to improve the scansion of the texts. The turba choruses as well as the duets of the Hohepriester (High Priests) and the Falsche Zeugen (False Witnesses) of the 1781 Passion are identical to those of the earlier St. Matthew Passions of 1769, 1773, and 1777. For unknown reasons Bach once again redistributed the vocal parts of the second false witness and the Hohepriester to other parts than in the previous Passions. He did, however, not make any changes to the musical substance. These movements—with few exceptions—stem from J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244.¹⁰

The chorale settings were not reused from the 1777 Passion; rather Bach went back to the 1773 Passion (see table 2).¹¹ The chorale stanzas were taken (with one exception) from HG 1766, originally introduced in 1700; no. 22 stems from Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's *Passionslied* (1757, as a parody of "Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen"), which, in 1787, was finally accepted into NHG 1787 (no. 84), although stanzas 9–22 were omitted and two stanzas by an unknown author were added at the end.

The movements based on poetic texts—that is, the chorus no. 2, the arias nos. 7, 9, and 26, and the accompanied recitatives nos. 6 and 19—were drawn from various sources. The chorus no. 2, "Musste nicht Christus solches leiden," was borrowed from a cantata by Homilius (HoWV II.72, no. 1), originally intended for Estomihi. Bach had considered using this movement already four years earlier as can

10. Four turbae do not derive from J.S. Bach's Passion and they do not reveal his distinctive style either. Only for the chorus "Weissage uns" a model can be named: C.P.E. Bach adopted the respective movement from Homilius's St Mark Passion (HoWV I.10). It cannot be entirely ruled out that C.P.E. Bach composed the remaining turbae himself, but—as has been discussed in the introduction to CPEB: CW IV/4.1, xiii—it seems more likely that he borrowed them from an unknown source (cf. particularly the commentary to no. 23f, m. 52).

11. An eight-year instead of a four-year cycle can also be observed in the Passions according to St. Luke and St. John. That Bach used the 1773 Passion as his model and not the 1769 Passion where the same movements are found can be derived from a mistake in the opening chorale, m. 2, T (cf. va). It is unlikely that the same transposition error would have been made by two different copyists at different times. Also, the 1773 Passion, like the 1781 Passion, uses the same setting of the chorale "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" as the penultimate and the final chorales, respectively, whereas Bach, for the 1769 Passion, had borrowed the longer chorale arrangement "Christe, du Lamm Gottes" from J.S. Bach's St. John Passion, BWV 245/40¹¹, as the concluding chorale.

be seen from the temporary inclusion of the text incipit in the assembling instructions for the 1777 Passion.¹²

The text of the accompanied recitative no. 19, "Dein Beispiel wird mir Kraft verleihn," is based on a recitative from Balthasar Münter's cantata *Der Feinde schäumende Menge* for Trinity XIX, 1761, which Bach knew from a setting by Benda (L 530).¹³ Münter's text, however, was significantly adapted by an unknown author for Bach's use in the Passion. Unlike similar instances in earlier Passions, Bach's composition is entirely independent of Benda's setting with respect to the music.

While text and music for aria no. 9 were literally taken over from the cantata *Der Glaube kann Gott, den Allmächtigen, zwingen* (L 565) by Benda (except for the vocal part being assigned to a soprano instead of a tenor), the original aria text "Entzünde du die Flammen" from the same cantata was replaced in the 1781 Passion as no. 7 (without further changes) by an aria text from Ernst August Buschmann's *Passions-Cantate*, set to music by Homilius (HoWV I.2, no. 9).¹⁴

The choruses using sacred songs are based on Bach's settings of texts by Johann Andreas Cramer (no. 14 after Wq 196/9; no. 16 after Wq 196/13), Gellert (no. 20 after Wq 194/23), and Christoph Christian Sturm (no. 28 after Wq 197/6).

The principal musical sources for the 1781 Passion include the complete set of parts used for the performances in 1781 (D-B, SA 28; source B) and the partial score remaining from the autograph originally written for the 1769 Passion (D-B, SA 5155; source Q 5),¹⁵ together with the assembling instructions (now split between D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 340 and SA 29; sources A 1 and A 3). Almost all the sources from Bach's library used in preparing the 1781 Passion survive; an exception is (as already mentioned) the score of Benda's cantata L 565. Since Michel, Bach's main copyist for the 1781 Passion, worked very reliably, the

12. See CPEB: CW, IV/4.3, esp. 117 and 119 (fig. 1). Clark, 80, noticed this entry, too, but—not knowing about the origins of the movement—drew wrong conclusions regarding authorship and Bach's working procedures.

13. The score of this cantata from Bach's library is housed in D-B, Mus. ms. 1334, fasc. XIV.

14. Homilius had sent Bach a complimentary copy of the printed score (RISM A/I, H 6433) immediately after publication; see Leisinger 1998a.

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

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Jesu, meiner Seelen Licht	116, 1	Heinrich Held	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6383b)
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)
10. Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden	129, 9	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
12. Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen	122, 5	Paul Gerhardt	Nun ruhen alle Wälder (Z 2293b)
17. Gott, groß über alle Götter	422, 8	Johann Herrmann	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)
22. Unendlich Glück! Du littest uns zugute		Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)
24. Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	129, 4	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 10
29. Erscheine mir zum Schilde	129, 10	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 10

*OT erroneously identifies the chorale as 395, 2.

musical text of the 1781 Passion poses almost no editorial problems. Bach made a pass for corrections, but these are mainly restricted to improvements in the figuration of the organ part. Unlike other Passions, the 1781 Passion contains a significant number of refinements in a foreign hand, mainly: the addition of missing dynamics in arias nos. 7 and 9; aids for the execution of the crowd choruses, such as the addition of rests and cues; and occasional corrections of copyist's errors. Further, the role of Judas was reassigned to alto instead of bass on three snippets of music paper, now as fol. 11a, in another hand.¹⁶ Neither unknown scribe has hitherto been identified. Finally, performers made occasional marks (e.g., corrections and additions in pencil in the transposed organ parts).

Performance History

In 1781 Easter Sunday fell on 15 April. According to the *Hamburgischer verbesserter Schreib-Calendar aufs . . . Jahr 1781*,¹⁷ the performances took place in the five principal Hamburg churches as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Estomihi	25 February	St. Petri
Invocavit	4 March	St. Nicolai
Reminiscere	11 March	St. Catharinen
Judica	1 April	St. Jacobi
Palmarum	8 April	St. Michaelis

Oculi (18 March) was reserved for installation services at St. Michaelis, and Laetare (25 March) was superseded by the Feast of the Annunciation, celebrated with music at St. Catharinen. The Hamburg calendars and other documents reveal that Passion music was also provided at fixed dates in the Hamburg secondary churches, although little is known about the repertoire performed there. According to newspaper announcements Passion oratorios were presented—though not necessarily always under Bach's direction—at least six times between 22 March and 11 April 1781: the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 was performed on 22 February (Spinnhauskirche); Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* was performed on 23 March (Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche), 6 April (Heilig-Geist-Kirche), 9 April (St. Maria Magdalena), and 11 April (Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof); and Carl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* was performed on 28 March (Waisenhauskirche).¹⁸ This leaves us with Passion per-

16. The unknown scribe wrote the text and the clefs, while the music was written by Michel. The existence of this reassignment went unnoticed in BR-CPEB, 2:165.

17. In Sanders, 115, n. 28, and BR-CPEB, 2:163–64, a copy is mentioned in private possession.

18. Wiermann, 427.

performances in the following churches where the 1781 Passion is likely to have been performed: 29 March (Kleine Michaelis-Kirche), 31 March (St. Johannis), 3 April (St. Gertrud), Maundy Thursday, 12 April (St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge), and Good Friday, 13 April (Kirche zur Heiligen Dreieinigkei St. Georg).

Like his other Passions, the piece was not revived as a liturgical Passion during Bach's lifetime. The original material of the 1781 Passion was acquired in 1805 by Georg Poelchau at the auction of the estate of Bach's daughter Anna Carolina Philippina. Without an apparent system, Poelchau kept some of the autograph portions in source A 1, but left a few pages with the original set of performance parts (source B; now in A 3) to Abraham Mendelssohn, who in turn donated them to the Berlin Sing-Akademie (in all likelihood in 1811).

Issues of Performance Practice

C.P.E. Bach had only a small number of singers at his disposal. For the 1781 Passion seven vocal part books were prepared. From the names found in individual parts and from annotations in the autograph materials it becomes evident that the following singers participated in the performances of the 1781 Passion:

Soprano I	Johann Christian Lau
Soprano II	Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke
Tenor II	Hartmann (Christian names unknown) ¹⁹
Bass I	Friedrich Martin Illert ²⁰
Bass II	Johann Andreas Hoffmann

It is safe to assume that Michel assumed the role of Evangelist (T I).²¹ The alto singer may have been Johann Matthias Seidel rather than Schieferlein, who, in 1781, was 77 years old.²²

19. Sanders, 150–51, distinguishes between “Hartmann (III)” and “Hartmann (IV)” as two singers both active around 1780, one a tenor, one a bass singer. For the likelihood that the two Hartmanns are identical, namely, one singer with a versatile compass (as is suggested by the inclusion of movements both in the tenor and bass clefs in the T II part), see CPEB:CW, IV/4.3, xvi, n. 11.

20. On Illert see Paul Corneilson, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s principal singer Friedrich Martin Illert,” in *Leipzig 2014*, 135–63.

21. On Michel see Paul Corneilson, “C.P.E. Bach’s Evangelist, Johann Heinrich Michel,” in *Er ist der Vater*, 95–118.

22. On Seidel see Sanders, 157.

Only a small number of the instrumentalists can be identified. The initial “B” on one of the copies of the violin I part is likely to denote Johann Andreas Buckhofer, the senior of the town musicians. The other violin I part bears the initial “H.,” probably pointing to Paul Hartmann. As usual, the same pair of players performed the flute and obbligato oboe parts. The use of the bassoon in all movements except nos. 14 and 16 can be derived from the explicit *tacet* indications for these movements, although no individual part was written out.²³

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23. The bassoon player, most likely Johann Gottlieb Schwencke (see Sanders, 157) may have shared a music stand with one of the cellists, since both violoncello parts contain the *tacet* indication “ohne Fagott.” Although the entry is found in both violoncello parts, it seems unlikely that more than one bassoon player was employed.