

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion according to St. Matthew, H 802 (BR-CPEB D 4.6), was his twenty-first Passion and sixth setting of Matthew's Passion narrative.¹ Bach's estate catalogue (NV 1790) gives the following entry for the work (p. 61): "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Matthäus. H. 1788. Mit Flöten, Hoboen und 1 Fagott. Die letzte Arbeit des Verfassers." Bach must have completed this Passion—his last work—in November or early December. He had written to Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal on 25 November 1788: "Dearest friend, I have been very sick with gout and other ailments since the 18th of September. Things are now beginning to get better."² This respite allowed him to finish the 1789 Passion, but he must have taken a turn for the worse, and he died on 14 December 1788 at the age of 74.

The performances of the St. Matthew Passion in Lent 1789 marked the end of the grand tradition of oratorio Passions in Hamburg, a tradition dating back nearly 150 years. In their recommendations for the reorganization of church music following the composer's death, Johann Jacob Rambach and Georg Heinrich Berkhan, the head pastors at St. Michaelis and St. Catharinen, respectively, proposed a radical reform of Passion music at the five main churches:

We especially think that a . . . change in the performances of Passion music is highly necessary. . . . They must not continue on their present footing, since by currently established canons of good taste, persons worthy of veneration, especially our Savior, may not be introduced as if they were actors. What is needed is music in the style of the famous compositions of Graun, Homilius, Wolf, among others.³

1. Wotquenne assigned a number (Wq 234) to "Passions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Matthäus (1787)" with the incipit "Mein Erlöser, Gottes Sohn" corresponding to chorus no. 2 of the 1787 St. Luke Passion (H 800), and another number (Wq 235) to "Passions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Lucas (1788)" with the incipit "O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn" corresponding to chorus no. 2 of the 1789 St. Matthew Passion. Thus, neither the Gospels nor the dates are identified correctly. This must have been based on the material in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 339; see source A in CPEB: CW, IV/6.5 and source A in the present edition.

2. CPEB-Letters, 284; CPEB-Briefe, 2:1283: "Liebster Freund, Seit den 18 Sept bin ich am Podagra u. andren Zufällen sehr krank gewesen. Nun fängt sich an zu beßern."

3. "Vorzüglich dünkt uns bey den Paßionsmusiken eine . . . Verände-

In fact oratorio Passions (with integrated biblical text) were abandoned entirely in 1790 in favor of Passion oratorios (like Georg Philipp Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* and Bach's *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233), based exclusively on poetic texts, as had already been the custom in several secondary churches in Hamburg for quite some time. The extant librettos from the tenure of Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke (1767–1822), who was elected Bach's successor as music director in Hamburg in 1789, are all Passion oratorios. The replacement of oratorio Passions by Passion oratorios would hardly have been thinkable during the lifetime of Johannes Melchior Goeze (1717–86), Berkhan's predecessor and a pugnacious opponent of the Enlightenment.

Like the majority of Bach's other Passions, the biblical narrative, chorales, and a few of the choruses and arias in the 1789 Passion were borrowed from other works (see table 1). As far as we know, the 1789 Passion is the only one of Bach's Passions ever to have been disseminated outside Hamburg in the eighteenth century. Gottfried van Swieten in Vienna ordered a copy of Bach's Passion which eventually passed on to A-Wgm.⁴ The libretto of a Passion oratorio by Schwencke, performed at least in 1806 and 1811, contains several movements that derive from Bach's Passions for 1788 and 1789. The texts for Schwencke's nos. 5, 7, and 8 stem from the 1789 Passion (nos. 6, 8, and 9, respectively), while Schwencke's nos. 12 and 15 are from the 1788 Passion (nos. 15 and 17, respectively). The music for Schwencke's Passion has not been preserved. Since Schwencke's libretto

rung sehr nöthig zu seyn . . . Sie müssen nicht auf dem bisherigen Fuß bleiben, weil nach den jetzt festgesetzten Regeln des guten Geschmacks, ehrwürdige Personen besonders unser Erlöser dabey nicht redend eingeführt werden dürfen. Es müssen Musiken nach Art der berühmten Compositionen von Graun, Homilius, Wolf u. a. seyn." Report of Rambach and Berkhan concerning the reorganization of Hamburg church music (20 February 1789), cited by Joachim Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat im 18. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen am Beispiel Hamburgs* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 398–403, esp. 400.

4. Surprisingly, this score (source D) has handwritten entries in blue crayon, which suggests the work was performed in Vienna on the basis of this score, although probably after 1879, when the manuscript came into the possession of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. See Hartmut Krones, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Urteil von Raphael Georg Kiesewetter," in *Frankfurt/Oder 1998a*, 286–94, esp. 289–90.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1789 ST. MATTHEW PASSION

No. Type	Incipit	Vorlage	Remarks
1. Choral	Jesu, meiner Seelen Licht	H 782, no. 1	with different verse; cf. BWV 245/15
2. Chor	O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn	Wq 204/1–2	arr. of Wq 204/1, mm. 476–513, and Wq 204/2, mm. 559–66, with newly composed twelve-measure introduction
3. Recitativ	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	H 794, no. 3	
4. Choral	Was mein Gott will, gescheh allzeit	H 794, no. 4	
5. Recitativ	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	H 794, no. 5	
6. Arie	Die Bosheit gibt mit falschen Küssen	H 789, no. 5	with different text; cf. HoWV I.4, no. 5
7. Recitativ	Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu und sprach	H 794, no. 7	
8. Accompagnement	Die Frechen dürfen sich erkühnen		newly composed for the 1789 Passion
9. Arie	Du trägst die Fesseln deiner Feinde	H 789, no. 9	with different text; cf. HoWV I.4, no. 9
10. Choral	Entblößt von allem Reize	H 794, no. 10	with different verse; cf. BWV 153/5
11. Recitativ	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	H 794, no. 11	
12. Choral	Ach, ich und meine Sünden	H 794, no. 12	with different verse; cf. BWV 244/37
13. Recitativ	Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast	H 794, nos. 13 and 15 (mm. 1–9)	
14. Arie	Im Staub gebückt wein ich vor dir	H 787, no. 15	with different text; cf. HoWV I.4, no. 16
15. Recitativ	Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohenpriester	H 794, no. 15 (mm. 10–37)	
16. Choral	Gib bei allem, was mich kränket	H 794, no. 16	with different verse; cf. BWV 39/7
17. Recitativ	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	H 794, no. 17	
18. Accompagnement	Die Feinde rüsten sich	H 786, no. 7	cf. HoWV I.9, no. 6
19. Arie	Erfrecht euch nur, die Unschuld zu verklagen	H 783, no. 13	with different text; cf. HoWV I.10, no. 23
20. Recitativ	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	H 794, no. 21	
21. Choral	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	H 794, no. 22	with different verse; cf. BWV 244/3
22. Recitativ	Sie schrien aber noch mehr	H 794, no. 23	
23. Choral	Wie viel hast du erduldet	H 794, no. 24	with different verse; cf. BWV 244/54
24. Recitativ	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	H 794, no. 25	
25. Arie	Verachtete, verdammte Sünder	H 786, no. 8	cf. HoWV I.9, no. 7
26. Recitativ	Und indem sie hinausgingen	H 794, no. 27	
27. Chor	O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn		see no. 2 above
28. Choral	Ich danke dir von Herzen	H 794, no. 28	cf. BWV 244/54

Key: BWV 244 = JSB St. Matthew Passion; BWV 245 = JSB St. John Passion; H 782 = CPEB 1769 St. Matthew Passion; H 783 = CPEB 1770 St. Mark Passion; H 786 = CPEB 1773 St. Matthew Passion; H 787 = CPEB 1774 St. Mark Passion; H 789 = CPEB 1776 St. John Passion; H 794 = CPEB 1781 St. Matthew Passion; HoWV I.4 = Homilius St. John Passion; HoWV I.9 = Homilius cantata, *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lider*

deviates from the 1788 Passion, specifying no. 12 as an aria and no. 15 as a chorus, it seems possible that Schwencke borrowed the texts only, not Bach's music.⁵

Texts and Musical Elements

Bach's six Passions according to St. Matthew are based on Matthew 26:36–27:50, the verses of which were set without changes, omissions, or additions. With the exception of insignificant variants, the text follows that of the Bible printed by Endter in Nuremberg, which by and large served as the standard in Lutheran Germany in the eighteenth century. The musical setting of the biblical narrative assembled for 1769 was for the most part taken over into the later St. Matthew Passions of 1773, 1777, 1781, 1785, and 1789, sometimes with slight changes in declamation; Bach also occasionally found himself compelled to alter the harmonic progressions in the transitions between biblical narrative and the inserted movements based on poetic texts. In the 1789 Passion Bach divided the gospel narrative 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
7.	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	26:69–75
15.	Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohenpriester	27:1–5
17.	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	27:6–14
20.	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	27:15–23a
22.	Sie schrien aber noch mehr	27:23b–30
24.	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	27:31
26.	Und indem sie hinausgingen	27:32–50

Bach had composed the simple recitatives for the 1769 Passion (source Q 6), but he had borrowed most of the

5. The libretto survives in D-B, Tb 93 (24): "Text | zur | Passionsmusik, | in den Hamburgischen Kirchen | 1806 | aufgeführt von | Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwenke, | des Hamburgischen Musikchors Director, Hamburg; Schniebes, [1806]." This is discussed in Ulrich Leisinger, review of *Musikpflege in Hamburg um 1800. Der Wandel des Konzertwesens und der Kirchenmusik zwischen dem Tode Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs und dem Tode Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwenkes*, by Robert von Zahn, *BJ* (1993): 248–49. See also Moira Leanne Hill, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion Settings: Context, Content, and Impact" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2015), 368–69, and table 4.

turba choruses as well as the duets of the Hohepriester (High Priests) and Falsche Zeugen (False Witnesses) from Johann Sebastian Bach's St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244. As in all previous St. Matthew Passions, four turba choruses in the 1789 Passion (nos. 11b, 11d, 15b, and 22f) were not taken over from J.S. Bach.

C.P.E. Bach continued to use the chorale settings of his 1769 Passion, which derived without exception from J.S. Bach (see table 2). They were reused in the settings of 1773 and 1781, partly also in 1777 and 1785, though often with different texts. In 1769, Bach had borrowed the settings, apparently from the autograph score of his father's St. Matthew Passion (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 25) and part I of the *Choralgesänge* published by Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel in 1765 (RISM B 448). The texts of the chorale stanzas are taken from the *Neues Hamburgisches Gesangbuch* of 1787, whose publication represented a clear departure from the Lutheran orthodoxy of the old hymnal that had been introduced in 1700 and reissued until 1780. NHG 1787 contained a number of recent sacred poems; some of the traditional hymn texts were drastically rewritten by the hymnal commission.⁶

The 1789 Passion is the only one of Bach's Passions to depart from the principle of interpolating new movements based on non-biblical texts. With the exception of the chorus no. 2 (repeated as no. 27) and an accompanied recitative (no. 8), all other poetic numbers were taken from works by Gottfried August Homilius and had already been performed in the 1770s as part of pasticcio Passions in Hamburg. Only the accompanied recitative "Die Feinde rüsten sich" (no. 18) and the aria following the death of Jesus (no. 25) were taken over unchanged from Homilius's originals. The other borrowings were more heavily reworked, and therefore Bach had to write them out himself, providing them with new texts and sometimes considerably shortening them and making any necessary compositional alterations.⁷ The author of the new texts is unknown; most

6. The completely revised *Hamburgisches Gesangbuch für den öffentlichen Gottesdienst und die häusliche Andacht* (Hamburg, 1843), which contains an annotated index, was also consulted. Additional information on some of the poets is provided in August Jakob Rambach, *Kurzgefaßte Nachricht von den Verfassern der Lieder im Hamburgischen Gesangbuche* (Hamburg, 1843).

7. See Stephen L. Clark, "C.P.E. Bach and the Tradition of Passion Music in Hamburg," *Early Music* 16 (1988): 533–41; Don O. Franklin, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's 1789 *Matthew Passion* as Pasticcio and Parody," in *Passion, Affekt und Leidenschaft in der frühen Neuzeit*, 2 vols., ed. Johann Anselm Steiger (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz in Kommission, 2005), 2:655–72; and Moira Leanne Hill, "Repaying Debt with Interest: The Revision of Borrowed Movements in C.P.E. Bach's Passions,"

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	NHG 1787 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Jesu, meiner Seelen Licht	87, 1	Heinrich Held; cf. HG 1766, no. 116	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6283b)
4. Was mein Gott will, gescheh allzeit	237, 1	Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg; cf. HG 1766, no. 395	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit (Z 7568)
10. Entblößt von allem Reize	97, 3	Paul Gerhardt; cf. HG 1766, no. 129	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
12. Ach, ich und meine Sünden	94, 4	Gerhardt; cf. HG 1766, no. 122	Nun ruhen alle Wälder (Z 2293b)
16. Gib bei allem, was mich kränket	103, 4	Johann Herrmann; cf. HG 1766, no. 115	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)
21. Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	93, 4	Herrmann; HG 1766, no. 114	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)
23. Wie viel hast du erduldet	97, 2	Gerhardt; cf. HG 1766, no. 129	see no. 10 above
28. Ich danke dir von Herzen	97, 8	Gerhardt; cf. HG 1766, no. 129	see no. 10 above

likely it was someone from Bach's immediate circle.⁸ One possible reason for the apparent lack of new musical material in his last Passion could have been Bach's poor state of health in the autumn of 1788.

Structure of the Work

The overall layout of the work follows a clear plan. Almost all of Bach's Passions were framed by a pair of chorales, performed at the beginning and the end of the work; the 1789 Passion is also embedded within the larger framework of two choral movements that serve as *exordium* and *conclusio*. For this purpose Bach arranged the concluding section of the *Alte Litanei*, Wq 204/1, to which he added an instrumental introduction, and closed with the expansive cadential "Amen" from the *Neue Litanei*, Wq 204/2 (see CPEB: CW, V/6.2.) The repetition of the introductory chorus after the words "und er verschied" proves particularly effective musically. The choral movement occupies the position where, in the Passions according to St. Matthew, Bach normally included a bass aria. In this respect, Bach's last Passion is similar to his first: in 1769, in addition to an

aria, he had inserted there the chorale "Christe, du Lamm Gottes" (BWV 245/39II), borrowed from the performing parts of his father's St. John Passion.

Peter's aria "In Staub gebückt wein ich vor dir" (no. 14), which derives from a movement of the St. John Passion by Homilius, is a concentrated plea by the sinner for God's forgiveness and stands at the midpoint of the Passion. The restrained, almost elegiac quality of the Passion is interrupted only once, by the agitated bass aria no. 25 "Verachtete, verdammte Sünder" before the final recitative, dramatically intensifying the contrast with the concluding chorus, which directly follows. While G minor is clearly established as the basic key of the work, Bach exploits a wide spectrum of keys, from E major/E minor to B-flat major in the arias and from A major and B minor to F minor in the turba choruses. Bach made an effort in his Passions to modify the fundamentally dramatic recitative of his father. Though it is a pasticcio, Bach's last Passion comes across as coherent and consistent. In addition to the skillful choice of movements, its unity may be explained by the fact that Bach used only movements by his father and Homilius, in addition to his own compositions.

in *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 13, *Bach Reworked*, ed. Laura Buch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020), 36–73.

8. The uncommon turn of phrase "mit Himmel in dem Blick" in no. 9 suggests that the poet may be the author of the libretto for the *Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft*, H 824e of 1785, in which the same phrase occurs. (See CPEB: CW, V/5.1; a facsimile of the libretto is published in CPEB: CW, VIII/3.3.) The language used in the *Dank-Hymne* is very similar to that used in the *Musik am Dankfeste wegen des fertigen Michaelsturms*, H 823 of 1786 (see CPEB: CW, V/5.2), for which Johann Ludwig Gericke (1752–1824) wrote the text. It is not clear whether or not these similarities are coincidental.

Sources

The source situation for the Passion of 1789 is unusually favorable. The Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin preserves a score in Bach's hand (D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 339; source A) that contains all movements based on poetic texts, except those that were adopted without change from the 1773 Passion. The score is definitely in the latest stage of Bach's handwriting; the movements were therefore prepared for this

occasion. If we take the entry in NV 1790 literally, these must have been the last notes written by Bach; a dramatic deterioration in the handwriting is in fact evident in the soprano aria no. 19, “Erfrecht euch nur, die Unschuld zu verklagen.” In addition, this source contains important directives to his copyists regarding how the movements from various models were to be brought together into a unified work.

The music collection of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin contains the original set of performing parts for the 1789 Passion (D-B, SA 36; source B), all in the hand of Johann Heinrich Michel and partly checked by Bach himself. These parts were used for the performances of 1789 in the principal churches of Hamburg; this set of parts is the most complete and reliable source of the work and thus the basis of the present edition. The copy in Vienna (source D) came into being only after 1790 and contains serious errors: for instance, it uses obsolete versions of many recitatives, and it gives an inadequate picture of certain aspects of the work, such as the instrumentation and the distribution of the solo movements to the vocalists. The printed libretto of 1789 (source OT) differs only in minor details from the text found in the original performing parts.

Because of the use of the recitatives from the 1781 Passion and the turba choruses and chorales from the 1769 Passion, the original sources of these works furnish important material for comparison. Since the movements based on poetic texts stem from various older works, the edition draws on these sources as well. The original performing parts of the St. Matthew Passion of 1773 in fact contain a melodic sketch for aria no. 19 in the latest stage of Bach’s handwriting (see critical report, figure 1).

Performance History

Bach had only a small choir of eight singers available, used together in the chorales and turba choruses. While the names of specific singers are not marked on the parts, the allocation of arias can be deduced with a high degree of probability from the *Ratsakten*, which exist in connection with the reorganization of the church music in 1789. An overview prepared by Friedrich Martin Illert shortly after Easter 1789 mentions the following singers: Illert and Johann Andreas Hoffmann, basses; Michel and Leopold August Elias Steinegger, tenors; Peter Nicolaus Friedrich Delver and Johann Matthias Seidel, altos; and Schumacher (possibly Johann Georg) and Nerich, sopranos.⁹ In the au-

9. See Sanders, 104.

tograph score (see table 1 in the appendix) the following singers are named as soloists: Delver (no. 6), Illert (nos. 8 and 9), Hoffmann (nos. 18 and 25), and Kirchner (no. 14).¹⁰ From these references and from the content of the parts we can deduce that Michel sang the role of the Evangelist and Illert the role of Jesus, as they did in earlier years.¹¹ The part books for the sopranos are virtually identical and do not distinguish between the solo and ripieno parts; it remains unclear whether the soprano aria was sung by one boy only or by both sopranos in unison.

Bach did not live to witness performances of this work, even though most of the material was prepared under his supervision. His widow, Johanna Maria, was responsible for the church music in Hamburg during the vacancy in the music director’s position, and she was even asked to remain in the position beyond the usual half-year grace period, because the restructuring of the cantorate continued into the autumn of 1789.¹² She did not direct the performances herself; rather the Collegium Scholarchale entrusted this work to a professional musician, the “first singer” Illert.¹³ As was the custom, the printed librettos mention only the year but not the exact locations and dates of performances. In 1789 Easter Sunday fell on 12 April. According to the established order of Passions in Hamburg the performances in the five principal Hamburg churches must have taken place as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	1 March	St. Petri
Reminiscere	8 March	St. Nicolai
Laetare	22 March	St. Catharinen
Judica	29 March	St. Jacobi
Palm Sunday	5 April	St. Michaelis

Telemann’s *Seliges Erwägen* was performed at the Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhaus-Kirche (11 March), Heilig-Geist-Kirche (3 April), St. Maria Magdalena (6 April), and Neue

10. Although Bach conceived aria no. 14 for the auxiliary singer Kirchner in 1788, Steinegger apparently performed it in 1789.

11. On Michel’s career, see Paul Corneilson, “C. P. E. Bach’s Evangelist: Johann Heinrich Michel,” in *Er ist der Vater*, 95–118; on Illert’s career, see Paul Corneilson, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s ‘Principal Singer’ Friedrich Martin Illert,” in *Leipzig 2014*, 135–63.

12. See Robert von Zahn, “Johanna Maria Bach und das Hamburger Stadtkantorat,” *Musikforschung* 43 (1990): 146–50.

13. I am grateful to Jürgen Neubacher for a reference to a document of D-Ha, Bestand 311-1 I (Kämmerei I), 16 (Protocollum Praesidii Camerae), vol. 21 (1788–1789), fol. 208 (18 May 1789), showing that Illert served as the interim director. The document is mentioned in Zahn, “Johanna Maria Bach,” 121, though he did not recognize its significance.

Lazarettkirche (8 April); Bach's *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 was given at the Waisenhauskirche (18 March). This leaves us with Passion performances in the following churches where the 1789 Passion is likely to have been performed: Kleine Michaelis-Kirche (2 April), St. Johannis (4 April), St. Gertrud (7 April), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge (Maundy Thursday, 9 April), and Kirche zur Heiligen Dreieinigkeits St. Georg (Good Friday, 10 April).¹⁴

Contrary to Johann Mattheson's report from 1755, the performance of the 1789 Passion in at least one of the Hamburg churches was divided into two parts, before and after the sermon. The original set of parts includes several entries in a foreign hand in connection with the performances in early 1789. Among these is an entry "Nach der Predigt" (after the sermon) in the Evangelist's part (see plate 2); the same writer also occasionally corrected the text underlay (for instance: no. 11, m. 69, in both vocal bass parts). Unfortunately, no documents in Illert's hand are currently known to prove that the entries were written by him; at present, it seems more likely that they are in the hand of Michel. The division occurred after the chorale no. 12, "Ach, ich und meine Sünden." Similar annotations are found in the performance materials of the 1783 Passion.¹⁵ It remains unclear whether these divisions were an exception or whether the annual Passion was more often, if not regularly performed in two parts, before and after the sermon.

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This volume was ready to be printed in the fall of 2004, but it was decided to publish the Passions roughly in chronological order, making it necessary to postpone its publication and re-edit the music twenty years later as one of the last volumes in series IV. This made it possible to include the appendix to the introduction, compiled by Paul Corneilson, with an overview of the six St. Matthew Passions that Bach performed during his Hamburg years, as well as the appendix with a facsimile of the autograph material relating to this Passion. I owe thanks to the editorial office, in particular to Paul Corneilson, Jason B. Grant, and Lisa DeSiro, for all their efforts to bring out the 1789 Passion.

Ulrich Leisinger

APPENDIX

Table 3 shows how C.P.E. Bach subdivided the biblical narrative in different ways in his six settings of the St. Matthew Passion, and indicates the models for the borrowed movements, including his own arrangements of songs and chorales. The shaded rows that span all five columns of the table represent the material common to all five settings, namely the Passion story from the conclusion of the Last Supper through the burial of Jesus as related in St. Matthew, beginning at chapter 26, verse 36 and ending at chapter 27, verse 50. All of this material was originally written for the 1769 Passion, and partly modeled on the turba choruses of J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, then adapted for the later settings (1773, 1777, 1781, 1785, and 1789) by making minor adjustments to harmony and declamation to allow for new arias and choruses. Cells with bold text show the movements interpolated by Bach into the biblical narrative. Detailed information on the derivation of movements is found in the introductions of CPEB: CW, IV/4.1–4.6.

While the shaded rows show the commonality of the biblical narrative across all six settings, the unshaded rows indicate how the narrative was divided differently among the settings to include different poetic interpolations. By reading each column from top to bottom one can see the continuity of the respective settings with the help of continuity arrows. These indicate that while at least one other setting has an interpolation at this spot, the current one

14. See Wiermann, 432. Sanders, 25–26, discusses the schedule of Passion performances in the smaller churches in Hamburg.

15. See Reginald L. Sanders, "Die Hamburger Kirchenmusikreform von 1789 zwischen Tradition und Aufklärung," *BJ* (2014): 75–95. See CPEB: CW, IV/6.4, xiv.

does not, and one should follow the arrows to find the next event in the current setting. Horizontal lines above the movement headings indicate the beginning of each movement. Reading down the column from the heading, the next horizontal line indicates the end of the movement.¹⁶

The following abbreviations have been used in table 3:

BWV 39 = J.S. Bach cantata *Brich dem Hungrigen dein Brot*
 BWV 153 = J.S. Bach cantata *Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind*
 BWV 244 = J.S. Bach St. Matthew Passion
 BWV 245 = J.S. Bach St. John Passion
 GraunWV B:III:29 = J.G. Graun cantata *Disperata Porcia*
 H 782; BR-CPEB D 4.1 = CPEB 1769 St. Matthew Passion
 H 783; BR-CPEB D 5.1 = CPEB 1770 St. Mark Passion
 H 786; BR-CPEB D 4.2 = CPEB 1773 St. Matthew Passion
 H 787; BR-CPEB D 5.2 = CPEB 1774 St. Mark Passion
 H 789; BR-CPEB D 9 = CPEB 1776 St. John Passion
 H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3 = CPEB 1777 St. Matthew Passion

16. Clark, 79–88 and appendix B, attempted to compare the settings of the Matthew Passions and other Gospels, but he had access to very little of the music sources and none of the material from SA. Using the librettos, he could make some assumptions about what chorales were reused based on indications to the Hamburg hymnals, but he could not know for sure whether they had the same or different harmonizations.

H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4 = CPEB 1781 St. Matthew Passion
 H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5 = CPEB 1785 St. Matthew Passion
 H 802; BR-CPEB D 4.6 = CPEB 1789 St. Matthew Passion
 H 821a; BR-CPEB F 42 = CPEB *Einführungsmusik Palm*
 H 821i; BR-CPEB F 55 = CPEB *Einführungsmusik Sturm*
 HoWV I.9 = Homilius oratorio *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lider*
 HoWV I.10 = Homilius St. Mark Passion
 HoWV II.49 = Homilius cantata *Legt eure Harfen hin*
 HoWV II.72 = Homilius cantata *Musste nicht Christus solches leiden*
 L 523 = Benda cantata *Du wagst es, du Lästere, Gott zu versuchen*
 L 528 = Benda cantata *Erwache von dem Sündenschlafe*
 L 565 = Benda cantata *Der Glaube kann Gott, den Allmächtigen, zwingen*
 Wq 194/23 = CPEB, “Passionslied”
 Wq 196/9 = CPEB, “Der 25. Psalm”
 Wq 196/13 = CPEB, “Der 38. Psalm”
 Wq 197/6 = CPEB, “Passionslied”
 Wq 197/21 = CPEB, “Die Fortdauer der Lehre Jesu”
 Wq 198/4 = CPEB, “Die Bestimmung des Christen”
 Wq 204 = CPEB *Zwei Litaneien*
 Wq 215 = CPEB Magnificat
 “CPEB” by itself indicates a movement newly composed for that setting.

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF C.P.E. BACH'S ST. MATTHEW PASSIONS

1769 (H 782; BR-CPEB D 4.1)	1773 (H 786; BR-CPEB D 4.2)	1777 (H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3)	1781 (H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4)	1785 (H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5)	1789 (H 802; BR-CPEB D 4.6)
1. CHORAL Christus, der uns selig macht BWV 245/15	1. CHORAL O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn BWV 245/15	1. CHORAL O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig unknown	1. CHORAL Jesu, meiner Seelen Licht BWV 245/15	1. CHORAL O Lamm Gottes, im Staube unknown	1. CHORAL Jesu, meiner Seelen Licht BWV 245/15
2. CHOR MIT CHORAL Fürwahr, er trug unsre Krankheit* Wq 215, no. 4 (Berlin version)	2. CHOR Legt eure Harfen hin HoWV II.49, no. 1	2. CHOR Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz Wq 194/14	2. CHOR Musste nicht Christus HoWV II.72, no. 1	2. CHOR Sohn, zum Erlöser mir gesandt Wq 198/4	2. CHOR O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn Wq 204
↓	3. ACCOMP. Nun wird Gott bald HoWV II.49, no. 2	↓	↓	↓	↓
3. RECITATIV	4. RECITATIV	3. RECITATIV	3. RECITATIV	3. RECITATIV	3. RECITATIV
Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe (26:36)					
↓	↓	↓	↓	4. ACCOMP. Mensch, lerne Gott CPEB	↓
↓	↓	4. CHOR Erwache von dem Sündenschlafe L. 528, no. 1	↓	5. ARIE Mag sich der Mensch erheben CPEB	↓
5. RECITATIV					
Zum andern Mal ging er aber hin (26:42)					
4. CHORAL Was mein Gott will BWV 244/25	5. CHORAL Gott ist mein Trost BWV 244/25	6. CHORAL Was mein Gott will BWV 244/25	4. CHORAL Was mein Gott will BWV 244/25	7. CHORAL Gott ist mein Trost BWV 244/25	4. CHORAL Was mein Gott will BWV 244/25
5. RECITATIV	6. RECITATIV	7. RECITATIV	5. RECITATIV	8. RECITATIV	5. RECITATIV
Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend (26:43)					
6. ACCOMP. Den Menschenfreund CPEB	7. ACCOMP. Die Feinde rüsten sich HoWV I.9, no. 6	↓	6. ACCOMP. Von allen Himmeln CPEB	↓	↓
↓	8. ARIE Verachrete, verdammte Sünder HoWV I.9, no. 7	↓	7. ARIE Nun sterb ich Sünder nicht* L. 565, no. 3	↓	6. ARIE Die Bosheit gibt* H 789, no. 5

1769 (H 782; BR-CPEB D 4.1)	1773 (H 786; BR-CPEB D 4.2)	1777 (H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3)	1781 (H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4)	1785 (H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5)	1789 (H 802; BR-CPEB D 4.6)
7. RECITATIV	9. RECITATIV	8. RECITATIV	8. RECITATIV	7. RECITATIV	7. RECITATIV
Und alsobald trat er zu Jesu (26:49)					
8. ARIE Wie ruhig bleibt dein Angesicht CPEB	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
9. RECITATIV					
Da traten sie hinzu (26:50b)					
10. ARIOSO Du, dem sich Engel neigen CPEB	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
II. RECITATIV					
Zu der Stunde sprach Jesus (26:55)					
↓	↓	8. ARIE O sel'ge Augen, die ihn sahen H 821a, no. 3	↓	9. ARIE Ob Erd und Himmel CPEB	↓
9. RECITATIV					
Da verließen ihn alle Jünger (26:56b)					
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	8. ACCOMP. Die Frechen dürfen sich CPEB
↓	10. ARIE Sie mögen dich, mein Heiland HoWV I.9, no. 13	↓	9. ARIE Im Leben will ich dich bekennen L 565, no. 5	↓	9. ARIE Du trägst die Fesseln* H 789, no. 9
12. CHORAL Ich will hier bei dir stehen BWV 153/5	II. CHORAL Ich will hier bei dir stehen BWV 153/5	10. CHORAL Ich will hier bei dir stehen BWV 153/5	10. CHORAL Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden BWV 153/5	II. CHORAL Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden BWV 153/5	10. CHORAL Entblößt von allem Reize unknown
13. RECITATIV					
Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten (26:57)					
II. RECITATIV			II. RECITATIV		

TABLE 3. (CONTINUED)

1769 (H 782; BR-CPEB D 4.1)	1773 (H 786; BR-CPEB D 4.2)	1777 (H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3)	1781 (H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4)	1785 (H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5)	1789 (H 802; BR-CPEB D 4.6)
14. ARIOSO O Petrus, folge nicht! CPEB	↓	12. CHOR Du wagst es, du Lächerer L 523, no. 1	↓	13. CHOR Umsonst empört die Hölle sich Wq 197/21	↓
15. RECITATIV Petrus folgte ihm nach von ferne (26:58b)					
13. RECITATIV Sie antworteten und sprachen (26:66b)					
16. CHORAL Wer hat dich so geschlagen BWV 244/37	13. CHORAL Ich, ich und meine Sünden BWV 244/37	14. CHORAL Herzliebster Jesu unknown	12. CHORAL Ich bins, ich sollte büßen BWV 244/37	15. CHORAL Wie wunderbarlich ist doch unknown	12. CHORAL Ach, ich und meine Sünden BWV 244/37
15. RECITATIV Da speieten sie aus in sein Angesicht (26:67)					
17. RECITATIV Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast (26:69)					
↓	15. ARIE Verlasst ihn nicht HoWV I.9, no. 17	↓	14. CHOR Keiner wird sich schämen dürfen Wq 196/9	↓	↓
16. RECITATIV Und alsobald krähete der Hahn (26:74b)					
18. ARIE Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze CPEB	↓	16. ARIENMÄßIG—ARIE Beschämt flieht Petrus* Graun WV B:III:29 (aria only)	↓	17. CHOR Lass mich nicht deinen Zorn Wq 196/13	14. ARIE Im Staub gebückt wein ich H 787, no. 15
19. RECITATIV Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohenpriester (27:1)					
17. RECITATIV					
18. RECITATIV					
15. RECITATIV					
20. ARIE Verstrockte Sünder! solche Werke CPEB	↓	↓	16. CHOR Ich bin gebeugt Wq 196/13	↓	↓

1769 (H 782; BR-CPEB D 4.1)	1773 (H 786; BR-CPEB D 4.2)	1777 (H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3)	1781 (H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4)	1785 (H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5)	1789 (H 802; BR-CPEB D 4.6)
21. CHORAL Gott, groß über alle Götter BWV 39/7	17. CHORAL Reiche deinem schwachen Kinde BWV 39/7	18. CHORAL Ach fliehe doch des Teufels Strick unknown	17. CHORAL Gott, groß über alle Götter BWV 39/7	19. CHORAL Ach fliehe doch des Teufels Strick unknown	16. CHORAL Gib bei allem, was mich kränket BWV 39/7
22. RECITATIV	18. RECITATIV	19. RECITATIV	18. RECITATIV	20. RECITATIV	17. RECITATIV
Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge (27:6)					
↓	19. ACCOMP. Verschonet des Gerechten Blut HoWV I,9, no. 20	↓	19. ACCOMP. Dein Beispiel wird mir Kraft CPEB	21. ARIOSO Da er gestraft und gemartert CPEB	18. ACCOMP. Die Feinde rüsten sich H 786, no. 7
23. ARIE Donnre nur ein Wort der Macht CPEB	20. ARIE Mein Heiland, bald wirst HoWV I,9, no. 21	20. ARIE O schweige nur* H 821a, no. 5	20. CHOR Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden Wq 194/23	↓	19. ARIE Erfreht euch nur* H 783, no. 13
24. RECITATIV	21. RECITATIV	21. RECITATIV	21. RECITATIV	22. RECITATIV	20. RECITATIV
Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit (27:15)					
25. CHORAL Was ist doch wohl die Ursach BWV 244/3	22. CHORAL Wie wunderbarlich ist doch BWV 244/3	22. CHORAL Wie wunderbarlich ist doch BWV 244/3	22. CHORAL Unendlich Glück! BWV 244/3	23. CHORAL Herzliebster Jesu unknown	21. CHORAL Wie wunderbarlich ist doch BWV 244/3
26. RECITATIV	23. RECITATIV	23. RECITATIV	23. RECITATIV	24. RECITATIV	22. RECITATIV
Sie schrien aber noch mehr (27:23b)					
27. ACCOMP.—ARIOSO Wie tobt das wilde Volk! CPEB	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
28. DUETT Muster der Geduld und Liebe CPEB	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
29. RECITATIV					
Da nahmen die Kriegsknechte des Landpflegers (27:27)					
30. CHORAL O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden BWV 244/54	24. CHORAL Du edles Angesicht BWV 244/54	↓	24. CHORAL Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet BWV 244/54	↓	23. CHORAL Wie viel hast du erduldet BWV 244/54

TABLE 3. (CONTINUED)

1769 (H 782; BR-CPEB D 4.1)	1773 (H 786; BR-CPEB D 4.2)	1777 (H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3)	1781 (H 794; BR-CPEB D 4.4)	1785 (H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5)	1789 (H 802; BR-CPEB D 4.6)
31. RECITATIV	25. RECITATIV	25. RECITATIV	25. RECITATIV	25. RECITATIV	24. RECITATIV
Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten (27:31)					
↓	26. ARIE Jetzt gehr auf ungebahnten Wegen HoWV I.9, no. 24	24. ARIE Ich zittre, Gott, vor dir und zage HoWV II.49, no. 3	26. ARIE Versammelt euch* H 82ii, no. 6	25. ARIE O großes Bild CPEB	25. ARIE Verachtete, verdammte Sünder H 786, no. 8
	27. RECITATIV	25. RECITATIV	27. RECITATIV	26. RECITATIV	26. RECITATIV
	Und indem sie hinausgingen (27:32)				
↓	↓	26. CHORAL O große Lieb unknown	↓	↓	↓
		27. RECITATIV			
		Und von der sechsten Stunde an (27:45)			
32. ACCOMP. Von Gott verlassen klagst du dich? CPEB	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
33. ARIE—CHOR—ARIE Der Menschen Missetat verbirget CPEB	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
34. RECITATIV					
Erliebe aber, die da stunden (27:47–50)					
35. ACCOMP.—ARIOSO Die Allmacht feiert den Tod CPEB	↓	28. ACCOMP. Du Hoherpriester, Jesu Christ CPEB	↓	↓	↓
↓	28. ARIE Mein Heiland schließt HoWV I.9, no. 30	29. ARIE Ach, ruft mich einst* H 82ia, no. 13	28. CHOR Erlöser meiner Seele Wq 197/6	27. CHOR Am Kreuz erblasst* Wq 215, no. 4 (Hamburg version)	27. CHOR O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn (see no. 2)
36. CHORAL Christe, du Lamm Gottes BWV 245/40	29. CHORAL Ich danke dir von Herzen BWV 244/54	30. CHORAL Ich danke dir von Herzen BWV 244/54	29. CHORAL Erscheine mir zum Schilde BWV 244/54	28. CHORAL Num, was du, Herr, erduldet BWV 244/54	28. CHORAL Ich danke dir von Herzen BWV 244/54

* CPEB set a parody text.