

INTRODUCTION

In 1774 Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed his second St. Mark Passion in Hamburg. As with the first St. Mark Passion from 1770, it consists almost entirely of movements by Gottfried August Homilius (1714–85), the cantor of the Church of the Holy Cross (Kreuzkantor) in Dresden. In 1770 Bach had performed an abbreviated version of Homilius's St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10, with only two chorale movements derived from another source. The 1774 Passion, on the other hand, represents a true pasticcio. While the recitatives, *turbæ* choruses, and chorales again are drawn from HoWV I.10, the accompanied recitatives, arias, and two choruses are drawn from three other works by Homilius: the St. John Passion, HoWV I.4, the St. Luke Passion, HoWV I.5, and the Passion oratorio *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lider*, HoWV I.9. Bach had come into contact with Homilius's Passions already during his Berlin period—both the St. Mark Passion and the Passion oratorio were performed in Berlin in the 1760s,¹ and there is an extant source for the St. John Passion with a Berlin provenance (see critical report). Table 1 lists the origins of each movement in Bach's 1774 St. Mark Passion.

A copy of the score to Homilius's St. Mark Passion, significantly revised by Bach and used by him as the basis for all of his St. Mark Passion performances, has survived. A score to Homilius's St. Luke Passion also survives, heavily marked up by Bach (see critical report). Similar working scores for Homilius's St. John Passion and Passion oratorio can be assumed to have once existed in Bach's library.² Bach used movements from all four works in other pasticcio Passions as well.

As with Bach's 1770 St. Mark Passion, the Passion narrative is shortened in comparison with Homilius's setting; it begins with the Last Supper and ends immediately fol-

lowing Jesus' death (Mark 14:26–15:37).³ The gospel narrative is divided in Bach's 1774 Passion as follows:

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
3.	Und da sie den Lobgesang	14:26–34
5.	Und ging ein wenig fürbass	14:35–38
7.	Und ging wieder hin	14:39–45
9.	Die aber legten ihre Hände	14:46–53
11.	Petrus aber folgte ihm nach	14:54–65
13.	Und Petrus war danieden	14:66–72
16.	Und bald am Morgen	15:1–15
20.	Die Kriegsknechte aber	15:16–18
22.	Und schlugen ihm das Haupt	15:19–23
24.	Und da sie ihn gekreuziget hatten	15:24–32
26.	Und nach der sechsten Stunde	15:33–34
28.	Und etliche, die dabei stunden	15:35–37

The setting of the biblical text mostly corresponds with that of Bach's 1770 Passion. For the 1770 Passion, Bach had entered numerous changes to the gospel narrative into his score of Homilius's Passion, which he then used for all of his later St. Mark Passions. Bach made further minor changes for his 1774 Passion in just a few places, mainly changes in the declamation, and occasionally slight alterations to recitatives due to the differing keys of new arias (see critical report).

The chorale settings, on the other hand, correspond exactly with those of the 1770 Passion, meaning that they, too, mostly derive from Homilius's St. Mark Passion. Nearly all of the chorale texts, however, are different from the 1770 Passion; usually different verses from the same chorale are substituted. Table 2 lists the chorales used in Bach's 1774 Passion.

The movements based on new poetic texts—that is, the choruses nos. 2 and 29, the arias, and the accompanied recitatives—are drawn from various Passions by Homilius. These were incorporated without significant alterations beyond occasionally changing the soloist (soprano to tenor

1. *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 1 (Berlin and Stettin, 1765), 303ff; *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, 2, no. 36 (Leipzig, 1768), 261–80.

2. AK 1805 lists under lot no. 131: "Passionsmusiken, von Homilius, Musikdirektor in Dresden. Mscrpt." This most likely includes the St. John Passion and the Passion oratorio. The manuscripts for the Homilius St. Mark and St. Luke Passions were apparently included fairly early and anonymously with the materials for the 1770 and 1775 Passions in Bach's library.

3. Homilius's St. Mark Passion begins with the plot to kill Jesus (Mark 14:1) and ends with Jesus' burial (Mark 15:47).

TABLE I. DERIVATIONS OF THE INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1774 ST. MARK PASSION

1774 No. Type	Incipit	HoWV	Remarks
1. Chorale	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden		H 783, no. 15 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 129, 1
2. Chorus	Die Könige im Lande lehnen sich auf	I.9, no. 8	text = Psalm 2:2 (see plate 6)
3. Recitative	Und da sie den Lobgesang	I.10, nos. 10 and 12	H 783, nos. 2 and 4
4. Chorale	Wache, dass dich Satans List	I.10, no. 13	H 783, no. 5 with different verse; chorale not in HG 1766
5. Recitative	Und ging ein wenig fürbass	I.10, no. 14 (mm. 1–22, rev.)	H 783, no. 6 (mm. 1–22, rev.)
6. Aria	Jesu, deine heil'ge Lehren	I.9, no. 10	
7. Recitative	Und ging wieder hin und betete	I.10, nos. 14 (mm. 23–39) and 16	H 783, nos. 6 (mm. 23–39) and 8
8. Chorale	Ich umfange, herz und küsse	I.10, no. 17	H 783, no. 9 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 123, 2
9. Recitative	Die aber legten ihre Hände an ihn	I.10, no. 18 (mm. 1–32)	H 783, no. 10
10. Chorale	O, du wunderbarer Rat		H 783, no. 11 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 116, 4
11. Recitative	Petrus aber folgte ihm nach	I.10, nos. 18 (mm. 33–36), 20, 22, and 24 (mm. 1–10, rev.)	H 783, nos. 12 and 14 (mm. 1–10, rev.)
12. Chorale	Meine wilde Schandbegier		same music as no. 10 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 116, 5
13. Recitative	Und Petrus war danieden im Palast	I.10, nos. 24 (mm. 10–78, rev.) and 26	H 783, no. 14 (mm. 10–78)
14. Accomp.	Dich zu bekennen, Herr	I.4, no. 15	soloist changed by Bach to tenor instead of soprano
15. Aria	Vor dir, dem Vater	I.4, no. 16	soloist changed by Bach to tenor instead of soprano
16. Recitative	Und bald am Morgen	I.10, nos. 29 (rev.), 31, and 33 (mm. 1–6, rev.)	H 783, nos. 16 (rev.), 18, and 20 (mm. 1–6, rev.)
17. Accomp.	Den Mörder Barrabam	I.4, no. 20	soloist changed by Bach to soprano instead of tenor
18. Aria	Herr, mach dich auf	I.4, no. 21	soloist changed by Bach to soprano instead of tenor
19. Chorale	Herzliebster Jesu	I.10, no. 32	H 783, no. 19
20. Recitative	Die Kriegsknechte aber führten ihn	I.10, nos. 33 (mm. 6–35)	H 783, no. 20 (mm. 6–35, rev.)
21. Aria	Ich zage, Herr, vor ihrer Stimme	I.4, no. 25	da capo shortened by Bach
22. Recitative	Und schlugen ihm das Haupt	I.10, nos. 33 (mm. 36–51) and 35	H 783, nos. 20 (mm. 36–51) and 22
23. Chorale	Dein Durst und Gallenrank mich lab	I.10, no. 36	H 783, no. 23
24. Recitative	Und da sie ihn gekreuziget hatten	I.10, no. 37	H 783, no. 24
25. Aria	Wenn, Heiland, die dich schmähn	I.4, no. 37	soloist changed by Bach to soprano instead of tenor and da capo eliminated
26. Recitative	Und nach der sechsten Stunde	I.10, no. 39	H 783, no. 26
27. Chorale	Ich will hier bei dir stehen		H 783, nos. 15 and 30 transposed up a whole step and with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 129, 6

TABLE 1. (CONTINUED)

1774 No. Type	Incipit	HoWV	Remarks
28. Recitative	Und etliche, die dabei stunden	I.10, no. 41	H 783, no. 28
29. Chorus	Nun dürfen wir den Tod nicht schmecken	I.5, no. 44	
30. Chorale	Erscheine mir zum Schilde		H 783, no. 15 transposed up a whole step and with a different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 129, 10

Key: HoWV I.4 = Homilius St. John Passion; HoWV I.5 = Homilius St. Luke Passion; HoWV I.9 = Homilius Passion oratorio *Nun, ihr, meiner Augen Lider*; HoWV I.10 = Homilius St. Mark Passion; H 783 = CPEB 1770 St. Mark Passion

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	129, 1	Paul Gerhard	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
4. Wache, dass dich Satans List	n/a	Johann B. Freystein	Straf mich nicht in deinem Zorn (Zahn 6274a)
8. Ich umfange, herz und küsse	123, 2	Paul Gerhard	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)
10. Oh, du wunderbarer Rat	116, 4	Heinrich Held	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6283b)
12. Meine wilde Schandbegier	116, 5	Heinrich Held	see no. 10
19. Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	114, 1	Johann Herrmann	(Z 983)
23. Dein Durst und Gallentrank	560, 7	Martin Böhme	Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht (Z 533a)
27. Ich will hier bei dir stehen	129, 6	see no. 1	see no. 1
30. Erscheine mir zum Schilde	129, 10	see no. 1	see no. 1

or vice versa), or shortening (no. 21) or eliminating (no. 25) the da capo. All such changes are listed in table 1 as well as in the critical report.

Bach's 1774 St. Mark Passion was performed by the small vocal ensemble typical for Hamburg. Seven part books for the vocal parts have survived (two for each voice type except alto), four of which contain the names of the singers: Hartmann and [Julius Theodor] Rauschelbach (sopranos), [Carl Rudolph] Wreden (tenor), and [Johann Andreas] Hoffmann (bass). Each of the singers, except for the second bass, is given an aria (the critical report and footnotes in the musical text provide more information about the assignment of parts to specific singers and partitioning of the roles and arias within the parts).

The size of Bach's orchestra cannot be precisely determined. Two parts each for violin I, violin II, and cello survive; the number of paid musicians available to Bach—fourteen—could have allowed for three first and three second violinists.

According to the Hamburg *Schreibkalender* from 1774,⁴ the Passion performances for that year in the five principal Hamburg churches took place as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	February 20	St. Petri
Reminiscere	February 27	St. Nikolai
Laetare	March 13	St. Katharinen
Judica	March 20	St. Jacobi
Palm Sunday	March 27	St. Michaelis

4. *Hamburgischer verbesserter Schreib-Calender aufs 1774. Jahr, worinnen die Gerichtstage, Verlassungen, Predigten, Musiken in allen 5 Haupt- und Neben-Kirchen u.s.f. wie auch die Zeiten der Fluth und Ebbe, die Jahrmärkte, die Posten, und die Eröffnung und Schließung der Thöre, etc. angezeigt werden. Mit Fleiß beschrieben von Matthias Rohlf's. Hamburg, verlegt von Heinr. Christ. Grund. (Hamburg, [1774]).* Copy in US-CAh, Ger 3460.25*.

As in every year, the sequence of Passion performances was interrupted on Oculi (March 6 in 1774) for the installation of the new *Kirchengeschworenen* at St. Michaelis. The *Schreibkalender* also notes performances of Passions in the following secondary churches:

Date	Church
March 18	Heiligen-Geist-Kirche
March 24	Klein-Michaelis
March 26	St. Johannis
March 28	Marien-Magdalen-Kirche
March 29	St. Gertrud
March 30	Pesthof (also known as the Neue Lazarettkirche)
March 31	St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge
April 1	Heilige Dreieinigkeitskirche St. Georg

From newspaper accounts we know that in the Heiligen-Geist, Marien-Magdalenen, and Pesthof churches Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen*, TVVV 5:2, was performed.⁵ In the other churches it is possible that Bach's 1774 St. Mark Passion was given.⁶ After these performances Bach did not, as far as we know, perform the 1774 St. Mark Passion again.

The performance in St. Michaelis on March 27 was mentioned in an anonymous article in the *Altonaer Adress-Comtoirs Nachrichten* from April 2:

I conclude this observation with the same lines that the famous music director Bach in Hamburg used last Sunday morning in the new St. Michaelis Church for the final chorus of his masterfully composed Passion music, lines which deeply moved the entire congregation. The most vivid passages of the text, taken from Mark's Gospel, were set to music such that one immediately experienced the entire Passion story in tones, or at least one drew the most moving impressions from them. Here are the lines:

Nun dürfen wir den Tod nicht schmecken,
 Gott nahm ihm alle seine Schrecken;
 Der Mittler starb, uns zu befreyn.
 Nun haben wir das Leben funden,
 Nun kommt ihr letzten Todes-Stunden!
 Ihr müßt dem Christen heilig seyn.⁷

5. See Wiermann, 423.

6. See Wiermann, 365 and Sanders, 25–26. The notice in the *Schreibkalender* for the Kirche am Berge in St. Pauli ("Pass. Sp. Pr."), however, might indicate that a different Passion was performed there, since the entry for the annual Passion is otherwise always "Passio."

7. See Wiermann, 388–89. "Ich schliesse diese Betrachtung noch mit eben denselben Zeilen, die der weitberühmte Herr Musik-Director

Another report, from the sixth letter in Johann Friedrich Reichardt's *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, may also refer to a performance of Bach's 1774 Passion, this time in St. Petri on February 20:⁸

Today I got to know this great man from a new perspective, and am filled with new admiration for him. One of his Passions was performed in the St. Petri Church, the character of which encompassed originality, an appropriately powerful and new expression, sustained strength, and intense fire. One recognizes Bach's genius in all of his works, even the smallest. They all carry the stamp of originality, immediately recognizable among a hundred others, although each is new and inventive. Nowhere, however, has his inexhaustible spirit so blossomed as here. In every recitative, in every aria, in every chorus can be found innovation and invention, in the harmony as well as the melody. And nothing crude anywhere. Everything—except for one fast aria, whose playful wit is not really appropriate for the church—everything is noble, large, and in the most solemn sacred style; and everything unique to him.⁹

Bach in Hamburg am letztverwichenen Sontage des Vormittags daselbst in der neuen St. Michaelis-Kirche sehr rührend für eine ganze Kirchen-Gemeinde in seiner ganz unvergleichlich-componirten Paßions-Musik zum Schluß-Chor aufgeführt; als in welcher Musik überhaupt die lebhaftesten Züge des aus dem Evangelisten Marcus genommenen Textes, den Worten nach, solchergestalt ausgedrückt wurden, daß man gleichsam die ganze Paßions-Geschichte in der Thon-Kunst kannte, oder zum wenigsten doch, die rührendsten Eindrücke davon empfinden mußte. Hier folgen diese Zeilen. . . ."

8. Reichardt's report has also been linked to a possible performance of the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 in the Berlin St. Petri Church; see Annette Nagel, *Studien zur Passionskantate von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 40–41. No record of such a performance of the *Passions-Cantate* in St. Petri exists, however, and one is unlikely to have taken place (Wiermann, 365). Suchalla's suggestion that by "Paßion" Reichardt was referring to Bach's *Die Israeliten in der Wüste* is also highly unlikely. See *CPEB-Briefe*, I:472.

9. Reichardt, *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1774), 111–12. See also *CPEB-Briefe*, 465–74. "Ich habe diesen grossen Mann heute von einer neuen Seite kennen gelernt, und bin mit neuer Hochachtung für ihn erfüllt worden. Man führte nemlich in der Petri Kirche eine Paßion von ihm auf, deren Charakter Originalität, passender starker und neuer Ausdruck, anhaltende Stärke und heftiges Feuer war. Man erkennt Bachs Original-Geist an allen seinen Werken, auch an den kleinsten Stücken; alle tragen den Stempel der Originalität; und alle sind unter hundert andern Stücken kenntlich, wiewohl in jedem Erfindung und Neuheit ist. Nirgend aber hat sich sein unerschöpflicher Geist so sehr ausgebreitet, als hier. In jedem Recitativ, in jeder Arie, in jedem Chor ist Erfindung und Neuheit, sowohl in der Harmonie als im Gesange. Und nichts unedles in allem. Es ist alles—bis auf eine geschwinde Arie, deren spielender Witz sich wohl nicht recht zur Kirche schicken möchte—ist alles edel, groß, und im erhabensten Kirchenstile; und alles ihm eigen."

The “fast aria” that Reichardt criticized would probably be no. 18, Allegro di molto, whose instrumental accompaniment can very well be described as having a “playful wit.” It is striking that Reichardt (as well as the anonymous contributor to the *Altonaer Adress-Comtoirs Nachrichten*) believed himself to be hearing an original composition by C.P.E. Bach, and did not realize that almost the entire Passion was by Homilius, who once was Reichardt’s teacher in Dresden, and whose music Reichardt held in similar esteem. Reichardt likely came to his conclusion simply by the fact that the Passion was performed under Bach’s direction, and not because Bach misrepresented the work as his own. The libretto only states that the Passion was to be performed by Bach. As we know from a report by Johann Heinrich Voß concerning a pasticcio cantata performed by Bach at Michaelmas 1776, Bach was perfectly willing to acknowledge the origins of the individual movements of that pasticcio; Voß could at least name the composers (C.P.E. Bach, as well as J.S. Bach and Georg Benda).¹⁰

A complete set of parts (source B) has survived for Bach’s 1774 St. Mark Passion, as well as several copies of the printed libretto (source OT). Scores for two of Homilius’s Passions used by Bach (St. Mark and St. Luke) and containing Bach’s changes and additions have also survived (sources A 1 and A 2). Three eighteenth-century scores for the other two Homilius Passions from which Bach borrowed movements have been labeled “sources of related works” (Q 1–Q 3), as these are not known ever to have been in Bach’s possession. Bach’s own copies of these works must be considered lost, as must the *Vorlage* for the two chorale harmonizations that did not originate with Homilius’s Passion and that Bach had already used in his 1770 Passion. Bach had to change the beginnings or endings of several recitatives from Homilius’s original to accommodate the differing keys of inserted chorales and arias (nos. 11, 13, 16, and 20). Since Bach entered only one such change into his copy of the Homilius score (see plate 1), there must also once have been a “continuity draft,” as exists for the 1777 St. Matthew Passion,¹¹ wherein Bach’s instructions for these changes were communicated to the copyist of the parts.

Acknowledgments

The editor wishes particularly to thank the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. Both institutions, as well as their staffs, generously allowed access to the sources and granted permission for the publication of the edition and the reproduction of facsimile plates. The editorial office—particularly Mark W. Knoll and Paul Corneilson—was always supportive and helpful in dealing with questions and problems, as was Ulrich Leisinger. Additionally, my Leipzig colleagues Christine Blanken, Wolfram Enßlin, Clemens Harasim (now in Cologne), and Peter Wollny provided constant assistance and served as a sounding board during the day-to-day work on the edition.

Uwe Wolf

10. See Ulrich Leisinger, “‘Es erhob sich ein Streit’ (BWV 19). Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Aufführungen im Kontext der Hamburgische Michaelismusiken,” *BJ* 85 (1999), 105–26, esp. 111ff.

11. D-B, SA 25. A facsimile of a page from this manuscript is given in Enßlin, 555.