

# 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. Bach did not arrive in Hamburg until early March 1768. Since the performances of the annual Passion had already started on Sunday, 21 February 1768 with the service held on *Invo-cavit* 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. Bach's first 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.

According to his estate catalogue (NV 1790, 59) Bach's first Passion was composed in Hamburg in 1768 and 1769: "Paßionsmusik nach dem Evangelisten Matthäus. H. 1768. und 1769. Mit gedämpften Pauken, Flöten, Hoboen, Hörnern und Bassons." Bach chose to use major portions of the biblical narrative, particularly the turba choruses, from his father's St. Matthew Passion, the autograph score of which was in his possession. The chorales, including the concluding chorale fantasia, were likewise borrowed from Johann Sebastian Bach. 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 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 poetic paraphrase which he set to music afresh and made "various other changes" to the music.

## Sources and Musical Elements

The principal sources for the 1769 Passion are an autograph partial score (see sources A 1 and A 2 in this facsimile) and the almost complete set of parts used for the performances in 1769 (D-B, SA 18, source B). The autograph score originally had 81 folios. Since the first two movements of the manuscript have not been preserved, we do not know whether the score had a separate title page or simply began with the first page of music. 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 Wq 233. 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, at least initially.

After the removal of those portions that could be reused in the working manuscript of Wq 233 the manuscript consisted of 24 folios (source A1) and a separate manuscript for the concluding chorale of 6 folios (source A2), the last three pages of which remained unused. The manuscript contains several paginations. For the 1769 Passion, C.P.E. Bach paginated up to p. 159; fol. 80v was unnumbered at the end of the score (which later was folded over to make a title page for source A2). Bach added page numbers from "1" to "48" to A1, but left A2 without pagination. This observation suggests that Bach added the page numbers later when, in 1772–73, he used A1 when compiling the 1773 Passion.

When Bach's estate was dissolved in 1805, both parts of the autograph manuscript (as well as the original set of parts for the entire Passion) were acquired by Georg Poelchau, who soon afterward moved to Berlin. The entries in AK 1805 are, however, so vague that an identification is no longer possible (see particularly the entries 41 [*recte*: 42] to 61, 62, and 123 to 128). After Poelchau's death in 1836, his heirs sold the unique collection to the Royal Library in

Berlin in 1841. As a result of restoration work undertaken at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin in 1999, the manuscript is now unbound and kept in a custom-made box.

In 1769 the biblical narrative in the Gospel of St. Matthew 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
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 chorus, 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. 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 three 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 by the Birnstiel firm in Berlin in 1765. The readings make

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
	O, Jesu, hilf zur selben Zeit	583,5	Barthold Ringwald	Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit (Z 4429a)	248/59

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 from the Christmas Oratorio, BWV 248, not published by 1769.

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. It is no longer in the autograph score since it was subsequently incorporated into Wq 233. The closing chorale “*Christe, du Lamm Gottes*” (no. 36), 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.

### Autograph Score and Revisions

The layout of the autograph score, as far as it has been preserved, is given in table 2. In the present facsimile, running heads are provided at the top of each page for the convenience of the reader. (See the source descriptions for A 1 and A 2 in CPEB: CW, IV/4.1, 203.)

Most changes are ad hoc corrections that were undertaken in 1769. Quite often barlines had to be erased and redrawn if Bach did not notice that the previous system did

not end with a full measure. A few significant corrections and special features, especially later changes by C. P. E. Bach, are worth noting here.

In no. 3, the changes in the Evangelist’s part (often clarified by pitch names) relate to the 1773 Passion.

In no. 5, mm. 28b, the indication “*Judas*” was added afterward, possibly in 1773.

The accompanied recitative no. 6 after m. 30a of no. 5 was an afterthought (and has not been preserved in the MS); the new beginning of no. 7 was added on an empty space between nos. 7 and 8. In no. 7, the part for Judas was rewritten in bass clef in 1773 (while the part remained in alto clef in no. 5).

In no. 9 a portion of text from Matthew 26:51 (“*und zog sein Schwert aus*”) was omitted and added afterward. This change stems from 1769 since the missing section was also entered in the set of parts that year.

The accompanied recitative no. 10 was an afterthought and notated (with the concluding measure of no. 9) without proper identification after no. 12. The text change in red ink for mm. 12–13 relates to Wq 233 (no. 6, mm. 12–13).

No. 13 (lacking the rest in the bc part in m. 7) was probably written anew, when the score of the 1769 Passion was disassembled.

In no. 14, the heavy corrections relate to Wq 233 (early version of no. 8).

TABLE 2. LAYOUT OF THE INCOMPLETE AUTOGRAPH SCORE (SOURCES A 1 AND A 2)

Original Pagination <sup>a</sup>	Later Pagination	No. in Edition	Caption Headings	Remarks
13–14	1–2	3	“Evang.”	Source A 1 (pp. 1–140, with pages missing)
14	2	4	“Choral No. 395,1”	The score order here and in the other four-part chorales is SATB (including figuration); lacks text underlay
15–16	3–4	5, 7	“Ev.”	CPEB originally set the biblical narrative continuously from no. 5, m. 30a–end of no. 7. Accompagnement no. 6 was inserted at this point (on a now lost sheet) where CPEB crossed out a measure.
16	4	8 (mm. 1–21 only)	“Aria Tenore Mr. Wreden. No. 3”	The score order and instrument designations are as follows: “V. 1   V. 2   Viola   Cont.” (extra staff for T only from m. 12 on); mm. 8b–9a added on two extra staves on bottom of p. 16
21	5	8 (mm. 81–104 only)		One extra staff added to fit mm. 103–4 of bc
21–23	5–7	7, 9	“Evang.”	CPEB originally set the biblical narrative continuously from no. 7, m. 22 to the end of no. 9. Arioso no. 8 was inserted at this point where CPEB crossed out a measure (see pp. 23–24 below).
23	7	12	“Choral. No. 129, 6.”	Lacks text underlay
23	7	9		Final measure (m. 22), bc only, immediately preceding no. 10
23–24	7–8	10	“Arioso. No. 4”	Follows no. 12, without obvious cue where this movement belongs (on p. 22). The score order and instrument designations are as follows: “beÿde Violinen” [first system on one staff; second system: “Viol. 1   Viol. 2”]   va [second system: “Viola”]   “Mr. Holland”   bc
24	8	13	“Evang.”	
25–26	9–10	14	“Presto. No. 5”	The score order and instrument designations are as follows: “Viol. 1   Viol. 2   Viola   Mr. Wreden   Cont.” (“Mr. Wreden” written over another inscription that cannot be deciphered)
26–29	10–13	15	“Evang.”	p. 27, no. 15b: “Mr. Holland” replaced by “Zink”   “Mr. Wreden” p. 27, no. 15c: <u>Evang.</u> p. 29, no. 15d: “Coro   poco   allegro   con   Stromenti”; the score order is SATB, bc p. 29, no. 15e: <u>Evang.</u> p. 29, no. 15f: “Coro   mit   Instrumenten”; the score order is SATB with the bc notated on the same staff as B
30	14	16	“Choral. No. 122,3.”	Lacks text underlay
30–32	15–16	17	“Evang.”	p. 30, no. 17a: [1.] “ <u>Magd</u> Mr. Hartmann”; [2.] “ <u>Magd</u> Mr. Lüders” p. 31, no. 17b: “Coro allegro mà non troppo.”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “beÿde Flöten   erste Violin   Zweÿte Viol.   Brätsche”   S   A   T   B   bc
32	16	18 (mm. 1–9 only)	“Aria adagio. No. 6”	The score order and instrument designations are as follows: “Viol. 1   Viol. 2   Viola   Cont.”; extra staff for T (“Mr. Wreden”) only from m. 5 on
37–38	17–18	19	“ <u>Evang.</u> ”	p. 38, no. 13b: “Coro allegro”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows (notated on one staff line with indication): “erste u zweite Violin,   u. F [sic] beÿde Flöten” [on one staff line]   “Bratsche”   S   A   T   B   bc; at end of p. 38 cue: “Aria” [no. 20]
43–44	19–20	20 (mm. 54–67 only)		The score order is: vn I   vn II   va   T   bc
44	20	21	“Choral No. 422,8.”	Lacks text underlay
44–46	20–22	22		p. 44, no. 22b: “Mr. Wreden” (written over earlier inscription that cannot be deciphered); “Mr. Hert” replaced by “Hoffmann” (not before 1773) p. 45, no. 22c: “Evang.”
46, 73–74	22, 23–24	23 (mm. 1–10 and 267–286 only)	“Aria allegro No 8”	The score order and instrument designations areas follows: “Corno. 1   Corno 2   Oboe 1   Oboe 2   Viol. 1   Viol. 2   Viola   Basso. [no singer’s name is indicated]   Cont.” with indication: “Die Orgel hat aushaltende Noten.”

TABLE 2. (CONTINUED)

Original Pagination <sup>a</sup>	Later Pagination	No. in Edition	Caption Headings	Remarks
74–78	24–28	24	“Evang.”	p. 76, no. 24b: “Coro   mit   Instrumenten”; the score order is: SATB with bc notated on the same staff as B p. 76, no. 24c: “Evang.” p. 77, no. 24d: “Coro, allegro moderato”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “1 Oboe   2 Oboe   1 Viol.   2 Viol.   Viola   Canto   Alto   Tenore   Basso   Cont.” p. 78, no. 24e: “Evang.”
78	28	25	“Choral No. 114,3”	Lacks text underlay
78–82	28–32	26	“Evang.”	p. 79, no. 26b: “Chor, allegro moderato”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “1 Oboe   2 Hob.   1 V.   2 V.   Br.   Cant   Alt   Tenor   Baß   Cont.” (two extra staves added to fit mm. 17b–18 at bottom of p. 79) p. 79, no. 26c: “Evang.” p. 80, no. 26d: “Chor, allegro moderato”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “1 Flöte   2 Fl.   1 V.   2 V.   Br.   Cant   Alt   Evang. [then “Chor”]   Baß   Cont.” p. 82, no. 26e: “Evang.”
109	33	28 (mm. 217–23 and D.S. only)		The score order is: fl I   fl 2   vn I   vn II   va   fg I   fg II   S I   S II   bc
110–111	34–35	29	“Evang.”	p. 110, no. 29b: “Coro andantino con Stromenti”; the score order is: SATB, bc p. 111, no. 29c: “Evang.”
111	35	30	“Choral No. 129,1.”	Lacks text underlay
111–120	35–44	31a–31e	“Evang.”	p. 113: [no. 31b] “Coro, allegro moderato”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “beÿde   Flöten” [on one staff]   “erste   Violin”   “Zweÿte   Violin”   “Brätsche”   “Dis-   cant”   “Alt.   Tenor   Baß   Cont” (one extra staff added at bottom of p. 113) p. 115, no. 31c: “Evang.” p. 116: [no. 31d] “Coro, allegro moderato”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “beÿde   Flöten” [on one staff]   “erste   Violin”   “Zweÿte   Violin”   “Brätsche”   “Dis-   cant”   “Alt   Tenor   Baß   Cont.” (two extra staves added without a rastrum to fit mm. 89–92 at bottom of p. 120, possibly only after accompagnement no. 32 had been removed) p. 120, no. 31e: “Evang.”
137	45	33c (mm. 181–91 only)		The score order is: vn I, vn II, va, fg I, fg II, B, bc
137	45		“Choral   No.   583,5”	Lacks text underlay; with indication “bleibt weg.” and struck through (one staff added to fit mm. 12–14 of B and bc at bottom of p. 137)
138–140	46–48	34	“Evang.”	p. 138, no. 34b: “Allegro”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “Ob. 1   Ob. 2   Viol. 1   Viol. 2   Viola   Canto   Alto   Tenore   Basso   Cont.” p. 139, no. 34c: “Evang.” p. 139, no. 34d: “Allegro.”; the score order and instrument designations are as follows: “Oboe 1   Oboe 2   Viol. 1   Viol. 2   Viola   Canto   Alto   Tenore   Basso   Continuo” p. 139, no. 34f: “largo”; same score order as no. 34d, except “Fl. 1   Fl. 2” indicated on top staves instead of oboes The bottom five lines of p. 140 were later used for changes in the T, bn I–II, and vn I–II parts for Wq 233.
151–160		36	“Choral. Largo” (p. 151) “Fine” (p. 159, bottom)	Source A 2 (pp. 151–60 plus two pages preceding p. 151, which lack folios; these pages contain staff lines but no music); CPEB’s inscription on the wrapper (not before c. 1775): “Chor, von J.S. Bach.” The score order and instrument designations are as follows: “Oboe 1   Oboe 2   Violino 1   Violino 2   Viola   Canto   Alto   Tenore   Basso   Continuo”

## NOTE

a. The following pages in source A 1 are missing: pp. 1–12 (nos. 1–2); pp. 17–20 (no. 8, mm. 22–80); pp. 33–36 (no. 18, mm. 10–end); pp. 39–42 (no. 20); pp. 47–72 (no. 23, mm. 11–266); pp. 83–108 (no. 27–28, mm. 1–216); pp. 121–36 (nos. 32–33, mm. 1–180); pp. 141–150 (no. 35).

In no. 22, the changes in mm. 41–44 (probably made in 1773) were not observed then nor in any later St. Matthew Passion.

In no. 26, the changes in mm. 39–40 relate to the 1773 Passion.

In no. 31, the changes in mm. 6–9 relate to the 1773 Passion; mm. 86–90 were probably written anew (on a hand-drawn staff line) when the score of the 1769 Passion was disassembled.

After no. 33, a chorale (fully notated, but with only a reference to HG 1766 = BWV 248/59) was crossed out before the original parts of the 1769 Passion were written; the chorale was left out also in the later St. Matthew Passions.

In no. 34, the changes relate to Wq 233.

### Historical Significance

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.

C. P. E. Bach himself was 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*, 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, and on 10 October 1772 Charles Burney heard a performance of selections of the music.\* 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.

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

Nevertheless the tradition of performances of the *Passions-Cantate* at the Hamburg Waisenhauskirche could not be established 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. The torso of the autograph score presented here remains a fascinating document for Bach's working habits.

### Acknowledgments

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Ulrich Leisinger