

INTRODUCTION

During the 1778 Lenten season Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed his third St. Mark Passion, H 791 (BR-CPEB D 5.3), in Hamburg. Like the previous St. Mark Passions from 1770 and 1774, that of 1778 is a pasticcio, with the biblical narrative based on the St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10, of Bach's contemporary Gottfried August Homilius (1714–85), cantor at the Church of the Holy Cross (Kreuzkirche) in Dresden. The entry for the 1778 Passion in NV 1790 (p. 60) reads: "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Marcus. H. 1777 und 1778. Mit Flöten, Hoboen und Bassons." Nearly all of the biblical Passion story and most of the chorales are based on the Homilius model.

In 1770 Bach's St. Mark Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/5.1) was based almost entirely on Homilius's, but with some abridgment in order to align the piece more closely to Hamburg norms. At the same time Bach added two chorale movements—as replacements for arias in the original—which thenceforth remained part of all of his remaining St. Mark Passions. Bach's sources for these two movements have only recently been identified: a chorale from Georg Philipp Telemann's *Fast allgemeines Evangelisch-Musicalisches Lieder-Buch* (Hamburg, 1730), and one from a cantata by Johann Gottlieb Graun.¹ The former (no. 11 in the present edition) largely agrees with the soprano and bass parts of the original (the chorales in the Telemann *Lieder-Buch* are in two parts only),² but considerable changes have been made to Graun's chorale (no. 15).³ These alterations to the musical settings, however, had already been undertaken for the 1770 Passion, and the two chorale movements were used unchanged—apart from transpositions and alternate texts—for Bach's remaining four St. Mark Passions. For the arias, accompa-

nied recitatives, and choruses that are not part of the biblical narrative, Bach turned for the most part to the same sources from which he had borrowed movements in the 1774 St. Mark Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/5.2): the Homilius St. Luke Passion, HoWV I.5, and a Passion oratorio, HoWV I.9, by the same composer. Seven of the nine free movements are taken from these two works. The remaining two movements are a chorus that Bach had arranged from one of his Gellert songs for his 1777 St. Matthew Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/4.3), and a chorus borrowed from a New Year's cantata by Georg Benda. Table 1 lists the origin of each movement in Bach's 1778 St. Mark Passion.

The biblical narrative begins—as with Bach's previous St. Mark Passions—with the Last Supper and ends immediately after the death of Jesus (Mark 14:26–15:37),⁴ but is divided somewhat differently than in the earlier Passions. In 1778 Bach subdivided the story as follows:

No.	Text Incipit	Chapter: Verses
2.	Und da sie den Lobgesang gesprochen hatten	14:26–30
4.	Desselben gleichen sagten sie alle	14:31–32
6.	Und nahm zu sich Petrum	14:33–34
8.	Und ging ein wenig fürbass	14:35–45
10.	Die aber legten ihre Hände an ihn	14:46
12.	Einer aber von denen, die dabei stunden	14:47–64
14.	Da fingen an etliche, ihn zu verspeien	14:65–72
16.	Und bald am Morgen hielten die Hohenpriester einen Rat	15:1–2
18.	Und die Hohenpriester beschuldigten ihn hart	15:3–14
20.	Pilatus aber gedachte, dem Volk gnug zu tun	15:15–17
22.	Und fingen an, ihn zu grüßen	15:18–21
25.	Und sie brachten ihn an die Stätte Golgatha	15:22–23

1. See Enßlin/Rimek 2010, esp. 159 and 164.

2. Bach notated the chorale in doubled note values, which could—considering the inconsistent notational practice within the Passion—indicate an intermediate source (a multi-movement work by Telemann?).

3. The most conspicuous changes are: the phrase endings have different rhythms (♩ ♩ instead of ♩ | ♩); the repeat of the *Stollen* is reharmonized by Graun; and the first line after the repeat and the last two measures of the chorale have been substantially reworked by Bach. Graun's original setting of the chorale is given in CPEB: CW, IV/5.5.

4. Bach's model, the St. Mark Passion by Homilius, covers more material (Mark 14:1–15:47). See Gottfried August Homilius, *Ausgewählte Werke 1/7*, Markuspassion HoWV I.10, ed. Uwe Wolf, (Stuttgart: Carus, 2011).

27. Und da sie ihn gekreuziget hatten	15:24–32
30. Und nach der sechsten Stunde	15:33–36
32. Aber Jesus schrie laut und verschied	15:37

The recitatives, turba choruses, and chorale movements of the 1778 Passion largely correspond to those of the earlier St. Mark Passions. For his first St. Mark Passion in 1770, Bach marked up the recitatives directly into his copy of the Homilius Passion (making mainly small changes to the text and declamation), and this version forms the basis of his remaining St. Mark Passions. For the 1774 Passion Bach again made changes to his model, chiefly where different parsing of the Passion story required alternate connecting passages. Many cadences that Bach had added to break up the Passion story in 1774 lose their justification in later Passions, when the biblical narrative was no longer broken in the same place. Some of these cadences, however, were retained by Bach in 1778 and appear to make little sense. Such cases have been restored to their original readings in the present edition and are described in more detail in the critical commentary.

For the 1778 Passion Bach made (almost) no further changes to his copy of Homilius's St. Mark Passion. Additional necessary changes were apparently entered into a different source, presumably a now-lost compositional planning score, such as exists for the 1777 St. Matthew Passion.⁵

The chorale harmonizations are the same in 1778 as they had been in 1770 and 1774, although the position and order of the chorales within the Passion were changed, and the chorale texts are all different. The large number of verses not taken from HG 1766 is striking. For these chorales, the text print (source OT) names the respective melody to be sung rather than giving the HG 1766 number as was the usual practice (except for no. 11, where no indication is given—presumably an oversight). It is currently not known from which *Gesangbuch* Bach drew the verses not found in HG 1766. Table 2 lists the chorales used in Bach's 1778 Passion.

A complete set of original parts for Bach's 1778 Passion (D-B, SA 26, source B) exists, as does the original libretto in multiple exemplars (source OT). For two of the Homilius Passions used by Bach, copies of scores from Bach's possession are extant: the St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10 and the St. Luke Passion, HoWV I.5, sources A 1 and A 2, respectively. These show numerous entries and changes by

Bach, although more substantive changes were undertaken only in the St. Luke Passion specifically for the St. Mark Passion of 1778. An autograph score for Bach's own choral movement (no. 24) is also extant, although only with the stanza of the text heard in the 1777 Passion (source Q 2; for purposes of comparison, the vocal parts from the 1777 Passion, source Q 4, have also been consulted). Clear entries in Bach's hand can also be seen in the score of the Benda cantata, L 515, copied by Bach's copyist Anon. 304 (source A 3), whose introductory chorus became no. 28 of the 1778 Passion. Since in the reworked version the original form of the movement is only partially recognizable, one of two known copies of L 515 was also consulted (source Q 7.)

Bach's copy of Homilius's Passion oratorio, HoWV I.9, is no longer extant. For the movements borrowed from it, two Berlin copies were consulted (sources Q 1 and Q 5.) For the chorales not originating with Homilius, Bach's copy of the Graun cantata (source Q 6, which does not, however, contain entries by Bach in the chorale), the print of the Telemann *Lieder-Buch* (source Q 8), and the set of vocal parts from Bach's 1770 St. Mark Passion (source Q 3) have been consulted.

Bach had revised the movements he borrowed from Homilius's St. Luke Passion (two arias, nos. 5 and 9, and a duet, no. 17) already in his personal score of that work. This may primarily have been due to errors and incompleteness in his copy. Bach not only corrected wrong notes, he also added many ties and dynamic gradations. Both arias were also shortened by moving the D.S. sign. On the other hand, most of the movements borrowed from Homilius's Passion oratorio were most likely adopted unchanged (no manuscript from Bach's possession is known, but the arias in the 1778 Passion resemble those of the comparison sources to a great degree). The only exception is in no. 23; a simple recitative in Homilius's original, which is expanded to an accompanied recitative in Bach's Passion, but with the identical vocal line. A similar change is found in the 1773 St. Matthew Passion (no. 7); presumably Bach wanted to preserve simple recitatives for the biblical narrative alone.

The chorus no. 24 is an arrangement by Bach of the *Passionslied* "Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz," Wq 194/14, from Bach's collection of Gellert songs. Bach had converted it from a solo song to a chorus for his 1777 St. Matthew Passion, using the first stanza of text. For his 1778 St. Mark Passion, Bach reused the choral arrangement of the song, but used the sixth verse instead of the first. Bach used the same movement again in his 1780 and 1784 St. John Passions, each time with a different text, thus making it the

5. The "assembling instructions" for the 1777 St. Matthew Passion are given in facsimile as appendix A in CPEB:CW, IV/4.3.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1778 ST. MARK PASSION

No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
1. Choral	Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden zu bedenken	HoWV I.10, no. 38	H 783, no. 25, with different verse
2. Recitativ	Und da sie den Lobgesang gesprochen hatten	HoWV I.10, no. 10	H 783, no. 2
3. Choral	Hilf, dass ich stets sorgfältig sei	HoWV I.10, no. 11	H 783, no. 3
4. Recitativ	Desselben gleichen sagten sie alle	HoWV I.10, no. 12	H 783, no. 4, to m. 7
5. Arie	Ich habe, Vater, dich auf Erden hier verklärt	HoWV I.5, no. 14	<i>dal segno</i> shortened
6. Recitativ	Und nahm zu sich Petrum	HoWV I.10, no. 12	H 783, no. 4, from m. 8
7. Choral	Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit	HoWV I.10, no. 13	H 783, no. 5, with different verse
8. Recitativ	Und ging ein wenig fürbass	HoWV I.10, no. 14	H 783, no. 6
9. Arie	Herr, Herr, erforsche mich, und siehe, wie ich's meine	HoWV I.5, no. 8	<i>dal segno</i> shortened
10. Recitativ	Die aber legten ihre Hände an ihn	HoWV I.10, no. 18	H 783, no. 10, to m. 3
11. Choral	Alle Jünger laufen weg	TVWV 10:1, no. 102 (alternate)	H 783, no. 11, with different verse
12. Recitativ	Einer aber von denen, die dabei stunden	HoWV I.10, nos. 18, 20	H 783, no. 10, from m. 3, and no. 12
13. Chor	Weil der Gottlose Übermut treibet	HoWV I.9, no. 19	text = Psalm 10:2
14. Recitativ	Da fingen an etliche, ihn zu verspeien	HoWV I.10, nos. 24, 26	H 783, no. 14
15. Choral	Hilf, dass ich ja nicht wanke	GraunWV Av:IX:3, no. 8	H 783, no. 15, with different verse
16. Recitativ	Und bald am Morgen hielten die Hohenpriester einen Rat	HoWV I.10, no. 29	H 783, no. 16
17. Duett	Seid stolz, ihr Monarchen auf irdischen Thronen	HoWV I.5, no. 12	
18. Recitativ	Und die Hohenpriester beschuldigten ihn hart	HoWV I.10, no. 31	H 783, no. 18
19. Choral	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	HoWV I.10, no. 32	H 783, no. 19, with different verse
20. Recitativ	Pilatus aber gedachte, dem Volk gnug zu tun	HoWV I.10, no. 33a	H 783, no. 20a
21. Arie	Entziehe dich der eitlen Freuden	HoWV I.9, no. 4	
22. Recitativ	Und fingen an, ihn zu grüßen	HoWV I.10, no. 33, from m. 13	H 783, no. 20, from m. 13
23. Accomp.	Nun wird, Jerusalem, aus deinen Mauern	HoWV I.9, no. 26	originally a simple recitative
24. Chor	Ein Opfer nach dem ew'gen Rat	H 790, no. 2	arrangement of Wq 194/14, using text of verse 6
25. Recitativ	Und sie brachten ihn an die Stätte Golgatha	HoWV I.10, no. 35	H 783, no. 22
26. Choral	Dein Kreuz lass sein mein Wanderstab	HoWV I.10, no. 36	H 783, no. 23, with different verse
27. Recitativ	Und da sie ihn gekreuziget hatten	HoWV I.10, no. 37	H 783, no. 24
28. Chor	Ihr Himmel, verdunkelt von strafenden Wettern	L 515, no. 1	with different text
29. Choral	O große Lieb, o Lieb ohn alle Maße	HoWV I.10, no. 38	H 783, no. 25, with different verse
30. Recitativ	Und nach der sechsten Stunde	HoWV I.10, nos. 39, 41	H 783, no. 28
31. Accomp.	Hier hängt das Lamm	HoWV I.9, no. 29	
32. Recitativ	Aber Jesus schrie laut und verschied	HoWV I.10, no. 41	H 783, no. 28
33. Choral	Erscheine mir zum Schilde	GraunWV Av:IX:3, no. 8	H 783, no. 15, with different verse

Key: GraunWV Av:IX:3 = J.G. Graun cantata *Herr, leite mich in deiner Wahrheit*; H 783 = CPEB 1770 St. Mark Passion; H 790 = CPEB 1777 St. Matthew 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; L 515 = Benda cantata *Das Jahr stürzt hin ins Meer der Ewigkeiten*; TVWV 10:1 = Telemann, *Fast allgemeines Evangelisch-Musicalisches Lieder-Buch*

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden zu bedenken	<i>deest</i>	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Herzliebster Jesu (Z 983)
3. Hilf, dass ich stets sorgfältig sei	<i>deest</i>	David Denicke	Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein (Z 4431)
7. Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit	<i>deest</i>	Johann Burckhard Freystein	Straf mich nicht in deinem Zorn (Z 6274a)
11. Alle Jünger laufen weg	<i>deest</i>	Paul Stockmann	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6283b)
15. Hilf, dass ich ja nicht wanke	559, 11	Christoph Knoll	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
19. Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	114, 4	Johannes Heermann	see no. 1
26. Dein Kreuz lass sein mein Wunderstab	560, 10	Martin Böhme	Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht (Z 533a)
29. O große Lieb, o Lieb ohn alle Maße	114, 7	Johannes Heermann	see no. 1; harmonization as no. 1
33. Erscheine mir zum Schilde	129, 10	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 15; harmonization as no. 15

most-used movement in all of his Passions outside of the biblical narrative and chorales.

The borrowing from Benda, chorus no. 28, comes from the cantata *Das Jahr stürzt hin ins Meer der Ewigkeiten*, L 515, from the so-called Münter-Jahrgang of 1760–61. Here Bach again used a new text of unknown origin.⁶ Benda's choral movement is extant in a score of the complete cantata, in the hand of Anon. 304, from Bach's library. In the A section of the chorus Bach made numerous alterations in his copy of the score, which were then adopted in the 1778 Passion. The new text and the omission of the B section and *da capo*, however, do not originate from this copy; here another source containing at least the vocal parts must be assumed (Benda's original version of the A section of the movement is included in the appendix.)

With the high proportion of compositions borrowed from Homilius, Bach's 1778 St. Mark Passion follows the pattern of his earlier St. Mark Passions from 1770 and 1774. Yet with the borrowings of one of Bach's own songs and a chorus by Benda, the start of important trends can be recognized, which continue in the later Bach Passions: on the one hand, the increased adoption of songlike movements (chiefly reworkings of his own songs into choruses) and, on the other, a general increase in choral movements beyond the Passion story and a decrease in the number of *da capo* arias.

Bach's Passion was performed in 1778 with the small vocal ensemble typical for Hamburg. The original set of parts

(source B) comprises eight vocal part books (two for each voice part). In contrast with most sets of Bach's Hamburg parts, the material for the 1778 Passion contains no mention of specific singers. The other sources that Bach used to compile the free movements contain only the name of one singer: in Bach's score of Homilius's St. Luke Passion (D-B, SA 50, source A 2), the aria no. 5 was assigned to Friedrich Martin Illert (bass). As this is an aria that sets words spoken by Jesus, Illert must have been the bass singing the role of Jesus in 1778. Johann Heinrich Michel would also have sung his accustomed role of the Evangelist in 1778, although this is not made explicit in the surviving sources.

The parts for soprano I–II and alto I–II, respectively, are nearly (soprano) or entirely (alto) identical in content. This suggests one of two performance-practice situations: either the short solo passages in the biblical narrative and the two soprano arias were sung together by both singers of the corresponding voice each time, or the two singers of each voice alternated singing various movements in different performances. Either of these possibilities would diverge from what we currently consider to be standard practice in the Hamburg Passion performances. Only in no. 14 do the two soprano parts differ: here two different *soliloquentes* are needed (Magd I and II).

Concerning the size of Bach's orchestra, the parts in source B indicate no departure from known Hamburg practice.⁷ For violin I, violin II, and cello, two part books each have survived. The two musicians who played oboe I

6. See Wolf 2006.

7. See Sanders.

and II in most of the movements also took over the flute parts in no. 5. Each of the two bassoon parts for no. 13 contains only that movement. The oboists could not have also doubled on bassoon, since the oboes are also playing in no. 13 (besides, otherwise the bassoon parts would probably—like the flute parts—have been noted in the corresponding part books). Perhaps the bassoon players doubled the continuo line by reading from the cello parts in the other movements.

In 1778 Easter Sunday fell on 19 April. According to long-standing Hamburg tradition we can assume performances for the following dates in the five Hamburg main churches during Lent 1778:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	8 March	St. Petri
Reminiscere	15 March	St. Nikolai
Laetare	29 March	St. Katherinen
Judica	4 April	St. Jacobi
Palm Sunday	12 April	St. Michaelis

As in every year, the sequence of Passion performances was interrupted on Oculi (22 March) for the installation of the newly inaugurated *Kirchengeschworenen* at St. Michael's.

Further performances in the smaller Hamburg churches can also be assumed. An “NB” in the viola part after no. 13 and a cross in the oboe II part at the beginning of no. 14 might be interpreted as indications of a performance split in two parts (nos. 1–13 and nos. 14–33).

Acknowledgments

I particularly wish to thank the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv. Both institutions, as well as their staff, generously allowed access to the sources and granted permission for the reproduction of facsimile plates. Also I thank the Landeskirchliches Archiv Stuttgart for making available copies of the Benda cantata from the Musikbibliothek der evangelischen Kirchengemeinde Schorndorf. The CPEB:CW editorial office—particularly Mark W. Knoll and Paul Corneilson—was always supportive and helpful in dealing with questions and problems, as was Ulrich Leisinger.

Uwe Wolf