

INTRODUCTION

During Lent 1772, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed his first setting of the Passion according to St. John. Had he continued the rotation from Georg Philipp Telemann's time, Bach's first Passion would have been a setting based on St. John's Gospel. In Lent 1768, before Bach arrived in Hamburg, Georg Michael Telemann presented his grandfather's St. Luke Passion of 1736. It is not clear why Bach decided to present a St. Matthew Passion in 1769, skipping St. John in the sequence.¹ The entries in Bach's estate catalogue indicate that he began assembling his Passions in the year preceding the season of Lent, so that the St. John Passion is dated 1771–72.² While the title page of the libretto to Telemann's St. John Passion of 1765 states "eingerichtet von G.P. Telemann" (arranged/adapted by Telemann), the title page to most of Bach's Passion librettos states "aufzuführen von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach" (to be performed by Bach).³ All of Bach's Passions are pasticcios to a greater or lesser extent, and the first Passion according to St. John borrows the simple recitative for the biblical narrative from Telemann's setting of 1745, the one Passion that Telemann published.⁴ Other borrowed movements include the final chorus "Ruht wohl" from Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion, BWV 245; two arias, a duet, and a chorus from Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel's 1749 Passion; and two arias, one with a parodied text, from Gottfried August Homilius's St. Mark Passion.⁵

1. For further background, see Stephen L. Clark, "C.P.E. Bach and the Tradition of Passion Music in Hamburg," *Early Music* (1988): 533–41, and Leisinger 2002, 107–19.

2. NV 1790, p. 59: "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Johannes. H. 1771 und 1772. Mit Flöten, Hoboen und Bassons."

3. One exception is the first St. Matthew Passion of 1769, which reads "nach Bachischer-Musik abgesungen." Of course this work borrows material from J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, along with CPEB's own arias and duets. The other exception is the 1789 St. Matthew Passion, which reads "in den Hamburgischen Kirchen 1789 aufzuführen. Verfertiget von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach". Bach had completed this Passion, but died before he could perform it. See CPEB:CW, IV/4.1 and IV/4.6, respectively, for further details.

4. This has been noted by Miesner, 66–67, and Hans Hörner, *G. Ph. Telemanns Passionsmusiken* (Leipzig: Noske, 1933), 135.

5. Bach adapted Homilius's undated St. Mark Passion for his 1770 Passion; see CPEB:CW, IV/5.1.

It is difficult to explain why Bach chose to borrow other composers' music rather than always write his own. After performing his first Passion in 1769, a work based in part and almost on the scale of his father's St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244, C.P.E. Bach must have become discouraged or disillusioned with the Hamburg church authorities. Perhaps one of the pastors told him this work was too long and elaborate for the services. In December 1769, Bach wrote a letter in which he said: "Hamburg is no place for a fine musician to stay. . . . There is no taste here. Mostly queer stuff and no pleasure in the noble simplicity."⁶ As early as 31 January 1771 Bach mentioned that a pair of the church elders "said politely but pointedly (it was their right) that they now hoped I might present my own pieces and texts and in the future no longer conduct my office by commission."⁷ Indeed, Bach had borrowed music from G.M. Telemann, which he was returning on 11 April 1771, including "3 Telemann Jahrgänge [of cantatas] and one of the same by Fasch, a number of Passions, *Sanctus* and *Veni* along with all the textbooks."⁸ Apparently, Bach had all (or at least some) of this music copied, rather than using funds for copying his own music. Despite the warning, Bach continued to assemble his Passions and most of his cantatas from borrowed material, occasionally inserting his own original choruses, arias, or recitatives.⁹

6. "Hamburg ist kein Ort für einen braven Musicum, um hier zu bleiben. . . . Es ist kein Geschmack hier, Buntes, wunderliches Zeug, und keine noble Simplicität gefällt hier." CPEB-Briefe, 188; translation in CPEB-Letters, 19.

7. "[E]in Paar H. Oberalten sagten mir kürzlich in Gesellschaft höflich aber dreuste: (sie hatten das Recht dazu) daß sie nun hoffeten, daß ich künftig mit Stücken und Texten selbst erscheinen würde und daß ich künftig mein Amt nicht in Comission führen mögte." CPEB-Briefe, 209; translation adapted from CPEB-Letters, 22.

8. "3 Telemannische Jahrgänge und einen dergleichen Faschischen, ein Paar Pasionen, *Sanctus* und *Veni* nebst allen Textbüchern." CPEB-Briefe, 223; translation in CPEB-Letters, 23. Copies of this music are listed under the heading "Von verschiedenen Meistern," in NV 1790, pp. 85–88.

9. Apparently, few people who heard the works were aware that the music was only partly by Bach. For instance, Johann Friedrich Reichardt, in *Briefe eines aufmerksamen Reisenden die Musik betreffend*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1774–76), 1:III–12, lavishly praises Bach for the music he heard in a Passion at St. Petri in Hamburg.

In October 1772, Bach confessed to Charles Burney that he felt under-appreciated in Hamburg: "M. Bach received me very kindly, but said that he was ashamed to think how small my reward would be, for the trouble I had taken to visit Hamburg. 'You are come here,' said he [Bach], fifty years too late.' . . . He offered to accompany me to every church in Hamburg, where a good organ was to be found; said he would look out for me some old and curious things; and told me at my departure, that there would be some poor music of his, performed in St. Catharine's church, the next day, which he advised me not to hear." Nevertheless, Burney returned the following day:

M. Bach accompanied me to St. Catherine's church, where I heard some very good music, of his composition, very ill performed, and to a congregation wholly inattentive. This man was certainly born to write for great performers, and for a refined audience; but he now seems to be out of his element. There is a fluctuation in the arts of every city and country where they are cultivated, and this is not a bright period for music at Hamburg.

At church, and in the way home, we had a conversation, which was extremely interesting to me: he told me, that if he was in a place, where his compositions could be well executed, and well heard, he should certainly kill himself, by exertions to please. 'But adieu music!' now, he said, these are good people for society, and I enjoy more tranquility and independence here, than at a court; after I was fifty, I gave the thing up, and said let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die! and I am now reconciled to my situation; except indeed, when I meet with men of taste and discernment, who deserve better music than we can give them here.¹⁰

Bach's frustration certainly began during his service to Frederick II in Potsdam and Berlin.¹¹ Perhaps Bach thought working conditions would improve in Hamburg, only to discover that his new position was far from ideal.

Sources and Musical Elements

C.P.E. Bach left five complete Passions according to St. John, as well as six according to St. Matthew, five according to St. Mark, and five according to St. Luke. The

10. Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., corrected (London: T. Becket, 1775), 2:246–47, 251–52.

11. According to Burney, 2:268, "Though M. Bach continued near thirty years at Berlin, it cannot be supposed that he was perfectly contented with his situation. A style of music prevailed, totally different from that which he wished to establish; his salary was inconsiderable, and he ranked below several that were greatly inferior to him in merit."

principal source for the 1772 St. John Passion is D-B, SA 4657, which consists of a short score with the biblical narrative (labeled source A 4 in the present edition) and the original performing parts (source B). Bach had his copyist (Anon. 304, tentatively identified as the alto, Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein)¹² assemble the biblical narrative and chorales from Telemann's 1745 St. John Passion (source Q).¹³ In this short score, Bach indicated where the arias, duet, and choruses were to be inserted in the biblical narrative. After the music for the arias, duet, and choruses had been selected, Schieferlein prepared a set of performing parts, which Bach proofread and corrected before the first Sunday in Lent. For his next St. John Passion in 1776, Bach used the St. John Passion by Homilius as his model (see CPEB:CW, IV/7.2), but he returned to the Telemann setting in his later years (1780, 1784, and 1788).¹⁴

The main difference between Telemann's setting of 1745 and Bach's of 1772 is the overall length. While he retains most of Telemann's biblical narrative, Bach has only four arias (to Telemann's eleven) plus one duet (no. 21, borrowed from Stölzel's Passion). Table 1 is a comparison between Bach's setting and his immediate model; even with a different numbering convention,¹⁵ it is immediately clear how much material there is in common between the two settings. Telemann occasionally introduces recitatives or ariosos that amplify the biblical texts (e.g., nos. 2–3, 30, 37, and 49), all of which are omitted by Bach. We do not know who wrote the texts of the arias, but it is likely that Bach himself chose a different stanza for the opening chorale, and made adjustments to the texts of aria no. 15 (a parody of an aria in the St. Mark Passion of Homilius) and to the chorus "Ruhet wohl" (no. 23).

12. On the possible identity of Anon. 304 and Schieferlein see Peter Wollny, review of Georg Philipp Telemann. *Autographen und Abschriften*, ed. Joachim Jaenecke, BJ 81 (1995): 218.

13. Of the 46 Passions by Telemann, this was the only one published during his lifetime. Although it is not explicitly identified in Bach's estate catalogue, the print would have been accessible to him in Hamburg.

14. See Uwe Wolf, "Der Anteil Telemanns an den Hamburger Passions von Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," in *Telemann, der musikalische Maler. Telemann-Kompositionen im Notenarchiv der Singakademie zu Berlin. Bericht über die Internationale Musikwissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich der 17. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage, 10. bis 12. März 2004*, ed. Carsten Lange and Brit Reipsch, forthcoming. Although we assume that the *Vorlage* for the biblical narrative was the print, Wolf suggests that G.M. Telemann might have sent an exemplar of the print with his grandfather's corrections to Bach.

15. The numbering follows that of Georg Philipp Telemann. *Johannespassion 1745: "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld," TWV 5:30*, Georg Philipp Telemann: *Musikalische Werke* 29, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996).

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF TELEMANNS 1745 ST. JOHN PASSION AND BACH'S 1772 ST. JOHN PASSION

Telemann No.	Type	Incipit	Bach No.	Remarks
1.	Chorale	Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld	= 1.	replacement text "Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz" by C.F. Gellert (not in HG 1766)
2.	Arioso	Mein Vater! Hier sind nun die Stunden		omitted
3.	Recitative	Bis hieher ist dein Werk vollbracht		omitted
4.	Aria	Erhöre, Vater, dies Verlangen		omitted
5.	Recitative	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	= 2a.	
6.	Turba chorus	Jesum von Nazareth	= 2b.	
7.	Recitative	Jesus spricht zu ihnen	= 2c.	
8.	Recitative	Wie gerne lässt sich mein treuer Jesus finden!		omitted
9.	Aria	Holdes Wort aus Jesu Munde		omitted
10.	Recitative	Judas aber, der ihn verriet	= 2c cont.	
11.	Aria	Ein Wandrer, der in finstrer Nacht		omitted
12.	Recitative	Da fragte er sie abermal	= 2c cont.	
13.	Turba chorus	Jesum von Nazareth	= 2d.	
14.	Recitative	Jesus antwortete	= 2e.	
15.	Aria	Soll mir's zu bitter dünken		omitted
16.	Chorale	Was Gott tut, das ist wohl getan	= 3.	HG 1766, no. 400, 3 and 5
17.	Recitative	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann	= 4.	CPEB moved John 18:24 to no. 8; see commentary, pp. 118–19
	Aria	Liebste Hand, ich küsse dich	= 5.	borrowed from Stölzel's 1749 Passion with parody text in second stanza; not in Telemann
			= 6.	continuation of Telemann no. 17
18.	Chorale	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe!	= 7.	HG 1766, no. 114, 4
19.	Aria	Stirb dann ohne dein Verschulden		omitted
20.	Recitative	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach	= 8a.	
21.	Aria	Verdorrst du nicht, du frevelhafte Hand?		omitted
22.	Recitative	Jesus antwortete	= 8a cont.	
23.	Turba chorus	Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer?	= 8b.	
24.	Recitative	Er verleugnete aber und sprach	= 8c.	
25.	Aria	O wie tief bist du gefallen		omitted
26.	Recitative	Da führten sie Jesum	= 8c cont.	
27.	Turba chorus	Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	= 8d.	
28.	Recitative	Da sprach Pilatus zu ihnen	= 8e.	
29.	Turba chorus	Wir dürfen niemand töten	= 8f.	
30.	Recitative	Auf dass erfüllt würde ... Scheint diese niedrige Gestalt	= 8g.	CPEB omitted non-biblical recitative "Scheint diese niedrige Gestalt"
31.	Aria	Meer und Erde magst du fragen		omitted
	Aria	Verkennt ihn nicht, den Gott der Götter!	= 9.	borrowed from Homilius's St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10/25; not in Telemann
32.	Recitative	Und da er das gesaget	= 10a.	
33.	Turba chorus	Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam!	= 10b.	
34.	Recitative	Barrabas aber war ein Mörder	= 10c.	
	Aria	Unbeflecktes Gotteslamm!	= 11.	borrowed from Stölzel's 1749 Passion; not in Telemann
			= 12a.	continuation of Telemann no. 34

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

Telemann No.	Type	Incipit	Bach No.	Remarks
35.	Turba chorus	Sei gegrüßet, lieber Judenkönig!	= 12b.	
36.	Chorale	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	= 13.	HG 1766, no. 129, 1
37.	Recitative	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche . . . O welch ein Mensch!	= 14.	CPEB omitted non-biblical recitative “O welch ein Mensch!”
38.	Aria	O wie brichst du mir das Herz		omitted
	Aria	So freiwillig, ohne Klage	= 15.	borrowed from Homilius's St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10/3 with parody text; not in Telemann
39.	Recitative	Da ihn die Hohenpriester	= 16a.	
40.	Turba chorus	Kreuzige!	= 16b.	
41.	Recitative	Pilatus spricht zu ihnen	= 16c.	
42.	Turba chorus	Wir haben ein Gesetz	= 16d.	
43.	Recitative	Da Pilatus das Wort hörete	= 16e.	
44.	Turba chorus	Lässtest du diesen los	= 16f.	
45.	Recitative	Da Pilatus das Wort hörete	= 16g.	
46.	Turba chorus	Weg mit dem	= 16h.	
47.	Recitative	Spricht Pilatus zu ihnen	= 16i.	
48.	Turba chorus	Wir haben keinen König	= 16j.	
49.	Recitative	Da überantwortete er ihn . . . Nach so viel Pein und Schmach	= 16k.	CPEB omitted non-biblical recitative “Nach so viel Pein und Schmach”
50.	Aria	Erhebet, ihr Sünder, die sterbenden Augen		omitted
51.	Recitative	Pilatus aber schrieb eine Überschrift	= 16k cont.	
52.	Turba chorus	Schreib nicht: Der Juden König	= 16l.	
53.	Recitative	Pilatus antwortete	= 16m.	
54.	Turba chorus	Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen	= 16n.	
55.	Recitative	Auf dass erfüllt würde die Schrift	= 16o.	
56.	Chorus	Glück zu, o Erlöser, du hast es vollbracht		omitted
	Chorus	O, ein großer Todesfall!	= 17.	borrowed from Stölzel's 1749 Passion; not in Telemann
57.	Recitative	Die Juden aber	= 18.	
58.	Chorale	Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein	= 19.	HG 1766, no. 126, 5
59.	Recitative	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	= 20.	
60.	Aria	Verscharre dann, o Heiland meiner Seele		omitted
	Duet	Gottversöhner! sanft im Schlummer	= 21.	borrowed from Stölzel's 1749 Passion; not in Telemann
			= 22.	continuation of Telemann no. 59
61.	Recitative	Ja, ja, du wirst es tun		omitted
62.	Chorus	Weisheit und Stärke samt Reichtum und Ehre		omitted
	Chorus	Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine	= 23.	borrowed from JSB's St. John Passion, BWV 245/39 with parody text; not in Telemann
63.	Chorale	Darum woll'n wir loben und danken allezeit	= 24.	HG 1766, no. 110, 6; transposed from G mixolydian to A mixolydian

Aside from choosing to insert arias in different places, there is very little difference between Bach's biblical narrative and Telemann's. Both settings begin with chapter 18 of St. John's Gospel: after Jesus has finished his prayers, he and his disciples cross the Kidron brook to the garden, where Judas betrays Jesus. Both settings conclude with the death and burial of Jesus at the end of chapter 19. The Gospel narrative is divided in Bach's 1772 Passion as follows:

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
2.	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	18:1–11
4.	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann	18:12–13
6.	Es war aber Kaiphas	18:14
8.	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach	18:15–38a
10.	Und da er das gesaget	18:38b–40
12.	Da nahm Pilatus	19:1–3a
14.	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	19:3b–5
16.	Da ihn die Hohenpriester	19:6–30
18.	Die Juden aber	19:31–37
20.	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	19:38–40
22.	Es war aber an der Stätte	19:41–42

These movements roughly follow the main divisions of the Passion narrative in the Gospel of John: Jesus' arrest in the garden (18:1–11); Jesus before the high priests and Peter's denial (18:12–27); Jesus before Pilate (18:28–19:5); the trial and conviction of Jesus (19:6–16); the crucifixion and death of Jesus (19:17–37); and the burial of Jesus (19:38–42). Following the introductory chorale (Bach no. 1), Bach plunges directly into the biblical narrative (Bach no. 2) without in-

terruption until the next chorale (no. 3). Telemann, on the other hand, begins with a chorale (Telemann no. 1) and a prologue for Jesus (nos. 2–4), then breaks up the narrative with a recitative and aria for soprano (nos. 8–9), an aria for alto (no. 11), and another for soprano (no. 15). Similarly, following the chorale "Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe!" (Bach no. 7), Bach omits the aria for alto (Telemann no. 19) as well as the arias for soprano and alto (Telemann nos. 21 and 25) that interrupt the biblical narrative in Telemann's setting. Twice Bach breaks the continuity of the biblical narrative and inserts arias where Telemann has none: an aria for alto (Bach no. 5) after the text "um anzuzeigen, welchen Todes er sterben würde" (Telemann no. 17), and an aria for tenor or soprano (Bach no. 11) after the text "Barabbas aber war ein Mörder" (Telemann no. 34).

Because of these and other differences Bach had to rewrite some of the recitative, either adding cadences or changing the beginning harmony. For example, no. 16 of Bach's setting ends with the lines "Es ist vollbracht! Und neigte das Haupt und verschied" (cf. Telemann no. 55). Telemann has a cadence on D minor, followed by a chorus in D major (Telemann no. 56, "Glück zu, o Erlöser"). Bach wanted to introduce a chorus in E minor following this recitative (Bach no. 17, "O ein großer Todesfall!") and thus had to rewrite the final two measures to close on E minor, instead of D (see commentary).

The chorales and harmonizations are taken directly from Telemann's 1745 Passion, and none of the chorales are omitted (see table 2). Like Telemann, Bach employs chorales at the beginning and end of the work to frame the action. Bach made only two minor changes: he used a dif-

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No.	Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1.	Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz ^a	n/a	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)
3.	Was Gott tut, das ist wohl getan	400, 3, 5	Samuel Rodigast	Was Gott tut, das ist wohl getan (Z 5629)
7.	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe!	114, 4	Johann Hermann	Wend ab deinen Zorn (Z 967)
13.	O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden	129, 1	Paul Gerhard	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
19.	Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein	126, 5	Paul Gerhard	Christ! unser Herr zum Jordan kam (Z 7246)
24.	Darum woll'n wir loben und danken allezeit	110, 6	Herrmann Bonnus	Ach wir armen Sünder

NOTE

a. Verse 1 of *Passionslied*, Wq 194/14, first published in *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* (Leipzig, 1758).

ferent stanza in the first chorale (no. 1), and he transposed the last chorale (no. 24) from A mixolydian to G mixolydian. (The penultimate “Schluss-Chor” in Telemann’s setting ends in D major, while Bach’s ends in C dorian; in order to preserve the tonal relationship, Bach had to transpose the final chorale down a step.) The Good Friday chorale “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden” occurs only once (Bach no. 13), near the middle of the Passion. The printed libretto includes the numbers and stanzas in the local hymnal (HG 1766), which suggests that the congregation was meant to join in on the familiar chorales.

Bach did not use any of Telemann’s arias, but rather borrowed arias from Passions by Stölzel and Homilius. The first aria in Bach’s 1772 St. John Passion, “Liebste Hand, ich küss dich” (no. 5), comes from the 1749 Passion by Stölzel; Bach owned a copy in his library (source A 1). Stölzel’s aria is in F major but in $\frac{3}{8}$ instead of $\frac{3}{4}$ time. It is scored for alto, “grand oboi” in F (probably the oboe da caccia or perhaps a forerunner of the English horn), two violins, and basso; Bach substituted flutes, sounding an octave higher than the “grand oboi”. The violins, mostly in unison, provide syncopated accompaniment for the chromatic solo voice and flutes. The *dal segno* sign in Stölzel’s setting is in measure 12, immediately before the entrance of the alto; but Bach rewrote the end of the second stanza, with a cadence in D minor followed by a short transition that modulates back to F and segues to the opening ritornello (mm. 78–80). Bach revised and expanded Stölzel’s aria in several places (mm. 19–22, 38–42, 46–47, and 54–55) to give the alto more extensive passage-work. He also substituted a different text in the second stanza. Although no autograph sketches or copies have survived, it is quite likely that Bach wrote out his revisions for the copyist; otherwise, there would probably be more mistakes in rhythm and pitch.

Another aria taken from Stölzel’s Passion, “Unbeflecktes Gotteslamm!” (no. 11), was originally scored for two oboes, violins in unison, tenor, and basso. Bach rescored it for violin I and II concertato, violin ripieno in unison, tenor (“Herr [Johann Heinrich] Michel”), and basso. The only other substantive change to this aria was the last two measures of the B section (mm. 75–76, the final cadence and retransition to the repeat of the opening stanza). The duet (no. 21) was even more heavily revised: Bach substituted a new parody text for Stölzel’s (the original is crossed out and not entirely legible). Stölzel’s duet is scored for “grand oboi,” violins in unison, alto, and tenor, with continuo; Bach substituted flutes for oboes (sounding an octave higher), transposed the alto line down an octave to bass (for “Mr. [Johann Andreas] Hoffmann”) and the tenor line

up an octave to alto (for “Mr. Hartmann”), and had violas double the basso an octave higher. Again, if Bach did not write out a separate score for his copyist, it is remarkable that the latter was able to decipher and copy the music with so few mistakes.

Bach also borrowed two arias from Homilius’s St. Mark Passion (source A 3) that had been omitted from Bach’s 1770 St. Mark Passion: “Verkennt ihn nicht, den Gott der Götter!” (no. 9) and “So freiwillig, ohne Klage” (no. 15). The former—a classic rage aria in D minor—is scored for alto, two oboes, bassoons, timpani, and strings in Homilius’s Passion; Bach transposed the vocal line down an octave for bass and expanded the viola part to replace the timpani. The latter aria was originally written for soprano and strings in C minor (see appendix); Bach transposed the piece to B minor and gave the vocal line to a tenor. In his copy of the Homilius St. Mark Passion, Bach apparently used the manuscript score and empty staves to make frequent adjustments to the vocal line, additional figuration, and occasional changes in the viola part (see commentary for more details). It should further be noted that Bach switched the order of these particular arias: no. 15 occurs on fol. 18v, well before no. 9 (on fol. 56r in Homilius’s score).

Most of the choral singing in Bach’s Passion consists of biblical narrative (tuba choruses) and chorales. He does occasionally introduce choruses in the Passions, often as reflective commentary near the end of the work, or sometimes near the beginning after the first chorale. In his 1772 St. John Passion Bach borrowed a chorus from Stölzel’s Passion, “O, ein großer Todesfall” (no. 17), and a chorus from his father’s St. John Passion, “Ruht wohl” (no. 23). It has long been noted that Bach added a new text (perhaps he wrote it himself or asked one of the local pastors to supply it) to “Ruht wohl,” and for a long time it was assumed that this belonged to the final version of the St. John Passion performed in J.S. Bach’s lifetime. C.P.E. Bach owned the performing material to his father’s work (source A 2), and it is now absolutely clear that he added the new text for his own first St. John Passion.¹⁶ The two texts are given below.

16. Arthur Mendel discusses the revised text and includes it in an appendix to his edition of BWV 245; see NBA II/4, and Kritischer Bericht, 44–47, 57–60, 171–72, 283, and 290–91. Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Zur Aufführungsgeschichte von Bachs Johannes-Passion,” *BJ* 69 (1983):118–19, first made the connection between the revised text and the 1772 Passion. See also Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion: Genesis, Transmission and Meaning*, trans. Alfred Clayton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); originally published as *Die Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach. Entstehung, Überlieferung, Werkeinführung* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988).

JSB's version of "Ruht wohl" (BWV 245; NBA II/4, no. 39)

Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine,
die ich nun weiter nicht beweine,
ruht wohl und bringt auch mich zur Ruh!
Das Grab, so euch bestimmet ist
und ferner keine Not umschließt,
macht mir den Himmel auf und schließt die Hölle zu.¹⁷

CPEB's version of "Ruht wohl" (H 785, no. 23)

Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine,
um die ich nicht mehr trostlos weine.
Ich weiß, einst gibt der Tod mir Ruh.
Nicht stets umschließet mich die Gruft;
einst, wenn mich Gott, mein Erlöser, ruft,
dann eil auch ich verklärt dem Himmel Gottes zu.¹⁸

The most striking difference between the two texts is the change in the point of view toward the "grave," which in the first version is the goal that "opens up heaven and closes the gate of hell." In the later version, the emphasis is on "my Savior," who calls the believer to heaven. Aside from the new text, and a few adjustments to the declamation, Bach kept his father's chorus intact.

First Performances

Bach had seven or eight singers available to him for performances of his Passions and cantatas in the Hamburg churches.¹⁹ Seven separate part books survive for the 1772 St. John Passion, a few containing the names of singers: "M. Hartmann" on the S I part; "Herr Michel" on the T I part; and "H. [Friedrich Martin] Illert" on the B I part. As usual, the "Canto Ripieno" (S II) and "Alto" (A I) parts do not have names; it is possible that the ripieno soprano part was assigned to various boy sopranos who shared singing duties in the five churches. Though Hartmann's name is crossed out on the S I part, he continued to sing soprano at least until 1774. [J.P.A.?] Lüders sang one of the two

17. "Sleep well, ye holy relics, / Which I no longer now bewail, / Sleep well and also bring me sleep! / The grave, which is your destined place / And now no sorrow knows, / Doth open heaven up for me and shuts the gate of hell." Translated in Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 169, 171.

18. "Sleep well, ye holy relics, / For which disconsolate I weep no more, / I know that death will give me sleep. / Not always shall the grave surround me, / And once, when God, my Saviour, calls, / Then to God's heaven shall I speed transfigured." Translated in *ibid.*, 177.

19. See Sanders, 95–107, for a summary of the singers in Bach's vocal ensemble.

soprano parts in the Passions from 1769–71, and [Johann Friedrich] Rauschelbach from 1773–74; so one of them might have sung in 1772 as well. If the copyist Schieferlein sang the alto part in this and other Passions, it would not have been necessary to include his name on the part.²⁰ The alto, whoever it was, has one aria, "Liebste Hand, ich küsse dich" (no. 5). The second tenor (T II) sang the roles of Petrus and Pilatus, as well as the aria "So freiwillig, ohne Klage" (no. 15). The tenor Wreden, who is named on the part books for most of the Passions between 1769 and 1774, is likely to have sung second tenor in 1772. The second bass (B II) was Hoffmann, who sang with Bach's ensemble between 1769 and 1789, and in 1772 sang the minor roles of "Ein Knecht [und] ein Diener" and the duet "Gottversöhner! Sanft im Schlummer" (no. 21). Michel sang the role of the Evangelist (T I) and the aria "Unbeflecktes Gotteslamm!" (no. 11), and Illert sang the role of Jesus (B I) and the aria "Verkennt ihn nicht" (no. 9). In the S I part, in Michel's early hand, a separate leaf was added with the aria "Unbeflecktes Gotteslamm!" (no. 11). This aria is also in the T I part (Michel's), so it appears that at some point during the Lenten performances, one of the boy sopranos was given the aria to sing, perhaps to relieve Michel, who was singing the Evangelist role.

The 1772 St. John Passion requires a minimum of twelve to fourteen instrumentalists, assuming the oboe and flute parts are played by the same players. This is roughly the number Bach had available to him during his time at Hamburg. The surviving parts include two copies each of the violin I, violin II, and cello, and one copy each of the oboe/flute I and II, bassoon I and II, and viola parts. Some of the parts contain initials in their headings that may refer to specific instrumentalists: "B." (Johann Adolph Buckhoffer?) on the vn I part; "H." (Johann Hartmann "junior"?") on the vn I* part; "L." (Hartwig Christian Lüders?) on the vn II part; and "T C." (Johann Heinrich Tancke and Johann Hinrich Rudolph Cario?) on the vc part.²¹ There are three copies of the organ part in three different keys to match the tunings of the main Hamburg churches (see preface, p. x). Flutes are used in one aria (no. 5) and the duet (no. 21), and Bach added obbligato bassoons in one

20. While the 1772 St. John Passion survives with only one alto part, it is possible that an alto ripieno part once existed. This is suggested by the survival of duplicate alto parts in the Passions of 1778 and 1780, and two independent alto parts in the Passions of 1779, 1782, and 1787–89. When Michel took over the copying of Passions in 1781, his name rarely appeared on the Evangelist (T I) part.

21. See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of musicians who performed with Bach.

aria (no. 9). Otherwise, oboes are used in the chorales and turba choruses, as well as the aria (no. 9) and chorus (no. 23). In the tenor aria (no. 11), the violin I and violin II parts each include a separate leaf for “Violino concertato.” Ideally, two soloists would play these parts, and at least two players would double the “ripieno” parts. In his later Passions Bach explicitly calls for violone and/or bassoon to double the cellos, so it is possible that another bass instrument doubled the cello part.

In accordance with the Hamburg tradition, the 1772 St. John Passion was performed in succession on the Sundays in Lent at the five main churches: Invocavit (8 March) at St. Petri; Reminiscere (15 March) at St. Nicolai; Laetare (29 March) at St. Catharinen; Judica (5 April) at St. Jacobi; and Palm Sunday (12 April) at St. Michaelis. Oculi (22 March) was reserved for the installation of pastors at St. Michaelis. The Passion also would have been performed at secondary churches during Holy Week. Its modern premiere and first recording were by the Sing-

Akademie zu Berlin, under Joshard Daus, at the Berlin Philharmonie, Kammermusiksaal in September 2003.

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I would like to dedicate this edition to my grandparents, Adele Bergin and Clarence E. Stone, and Esther Jacobsen and Edward M. Corneilson, Jr.

Paul Corneilson