

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion according to St. John, H 797 (BR-CPEB D 7.3), performed during Lent 1784, was his sixteenth Passion and his fourth setting of John's Passion narrative. The second performance of the work took place at St. Nicolai on 7 March 1784 (Reminiscere Sunday), the day before Bach's seventieth birthday. As was his custom with his annual Passions, he had begun the work in 1783 and finished it in early 1784, as his estate catalogue (NV 1790, p. 60) indicates: "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Johannes. H. 1783 und 1784. Mit Hoboen." Like his first St. John Passion in 1772 (H 785), all of the biblical narrative and chorales are based on Georg Philipp Telemann's 1745 St. John Passion (TVWV 5:30). The 1780 St. John Passion (H 793) also used the same biblical narrative and most of the same chorales.

One chorus in the 1784 Passion (no. 17) had been used three times already: in the 1777 St. Matthew Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/4.3, no. 2), the 1778 St. Mark Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/5.3, no. 24), and the 1780 St. John Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/7.3, no. 2), each with a different text; this chorus is an original piece by Bach, based on one of his Gellert songs, Wq 194/14 (see CPEB: CW, VI/1). Two arias (nos. 5 and 12) were borrowed from cantatas by Georg Benda, but Bach adapted the vocal lines for parody texts. (Benda's original vocal lines are included in appendix B.) In addition, Bach composed two new choruses (nos. 9 and 19) based on two different songs of his, Wq 202/E/6 (see CPEB: CW, VI/3) and Wq 198/23 (see CPEB: CW, VI/2), plus two new accompanied recitatives (nos. 11 and 16) and one new aria (no. 23). The Passions written during the last years of Bach's life contain more original music than those from the first dozen or so years of his Hamburg tenure. (See table 1 for a summary of the derivation of movements.)

Sources and Musical Elements

The original performing material for the 1784 Passion survives in D-B, SA 31 (source B), a set of eighteen parts. The biblical narrative and the chorales were copied from the 1772 and 1780 St. John Passions (respectively, sources Q 5 and Q 4). Chorus no. 17, originally written for the 1777

Passion, H 790, survives in an autograph score (source Q 3); Bach's copyist may also have consulted the parts for the 1780 Passion, H 793 (source Q 4). Both of the borrowed Benda arias (nos. 5 and 12) are in manuscript scores formerly in Bach's library (sources Q 1–Q 2).¹ Several movements survive in Bach's hand, including nos. 9, 11, 16, 19, and 23, as well as the vocal lines for arias nos. 5 and 12 (see sources A 1–A 4, all now located in D-B, Mus. ms. Bach P 340). Furthermore, autograph sketches of nos. 11 and 12 survive; the latter shows how Bach adapted the aria (no. 12) borrowed from Benda (source A 5; see appendix A for a facsimile and transcription).²

In the 1784 Passion, Bach left intact most of the biblical narrative from his 1772 Passion. The action begins in chapter 18 of John's gospel, with Jesus going to the Garden of Gethsemane with his disciples, and ends with the burial of Jesus at the end of chapter 19. Bach's division of the biblical narrative in the 1784 Passion is summarized below:

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
13.	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum	19:1–3a
15.	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	19:3b–5
18.	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen	19:6–30
20.	Die Juden aber	19:31–37
22.	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	19:38–40
24.	Es war aber an der Stätte	19:41–42

1. See Wolf 2006.

2. See Jason B. Grant, "A Borrowing Identified in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's 1784 St. John Passion and a Sketch Explained," in *The Sons of Bach: Essays for Elias N. Kulukundis*, ed. Peter Wollny and Stephen Roe (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2016), 47–55.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1784 ST. JOHN PASSION

1784 No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
1. Choral	Rat, Kraft und Friedefürst und Held!	TVWV 5:30, no. 1	H 785, no. 1, with different text
2. Recitativ	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	TVWV 5:30, nos. 5–7, 10, 12–14	H 785, no. 2
3. Choral	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	TVWV 5:30, no. 16	H 785, no. 3, with different text
4. Recitativ	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann	TVWV 5:30, no. 17	H 785, no. 4
5. Arie	Der Gottmensch geht in Streit als Held	L 527, no. 5	with different text; autograph in P 340, p. 101 (voice only)
6. Recitativ	Es war aber Kaiphas	TVWV 5:30, no. 17 (cont.)	H 785, no. 6
7. Choral	Da du dich selbst für mich dahingegeben	TVWV 5:30, no. 18	H 785, no. 7, with different text
8. Recitativ	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach	TVWV 5:30, nos. 20, 22–24, 26–30	H 785, no. 8
9. Chor	Der du selbst die Wahrheit bist	newly composed for the 1784 Passion (arr. Wq 202/E/6)	autograph in P 340, pp. 49–52; Bach used vv. 1 and 8 of song text
10. Recitativ	Und da er das gesaget	TVWV 5:30, nos. 32–34	H 785, no. 10
11. Accompagnement	Christ, sei Gefühl!	newly composed for the 1784 Passion	autograph in P 340, pp. 105–7
12. Arie	Die Unschuld wird verfolgt	L 518, no. 5	with different text; transposed; B section omitted; autograph in P 340, p. 107 (voice only)
13. Recitativ	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum	TVWV 5:30, nos. 34 (cont.)–35	H 785, no. 12
14. Choral	Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	TVWV 5:30, no. 36	H 785, no. 13, with different text; see also H 793, no. 15, with same text
15. Recitativ	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	TVWV 5:30, no. 37	H 785, no. 14
16. Accompagnement	Schon steigt in die Himmel	newly composed for the 1784 Passion	autograph in P 340, pp. 103–4
17. Chor	Erniedrigt bis zur Knechtsgestalt	H 790, no. 2 (arr. Wq 194/14)	Bach used v. 5 of song text; see also H 791, no. 24 and H 793, no. 2, both with different texts
18. Recitativ	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen	TVWV 5:30, nos. 39–49, 51–55	H 785, no. 16
19. Chor	Halleluja! Auf Golgatha stirbt	newly composed for the 1784 Passion (arr. Wq 198/23)	autograph in P 340, pp. 55–57; Bach used vv. 1, 4, and 5 of song text
20. Recitativ	Die Juden aber	TVWV 5:30, no. 57	H 785, no. 18
21. Choral	Ich nah, Herr Jesu, mich zu dir	TVWV 5:30, no. 58	H 785, no. 19, with different text
22. Recitativ	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	TVWV 5:30, no. 59	H 785, no. 20
23. Arie	Wenn ich keinen Trost mehr habe	newly composed for the 1784 Passion	autograph in P 340, pp. 113–17; text from Münster 1769, no. XXII, <i>Die Jünger auf dem Wege nach Emaus</i> , no. 5
24. Recitativ	Es war aber an der Stätte	TVWV 5:30, no. 59 (cont.)	H 785, no. 22
25. Choral	So nicht wär gekommen	TVWV 5:30, no. 63	H 785, no. 24, with different text

Key: H 785 = CPEB 1772 St. John Passion; H 790 = CPEB 1777 St. Matthew Passion; H 791 = CPEB 1778 St. Mark Passion; H 793 = CPEB 1780 St. John Passion; L 518 = Benda cantata *Ihr brausenden Wogen, bestürmet die Lüfte*; L 527 = Benda cantata *Dein Wort ist da*; TVWV 5:30 = Telemann 1745 St. John Passion

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Rat, Kraft und Friedefürst und Held!	<i>deest</i> *	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)
3. Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	400, 5	Samuel Rodigast	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan (Z 5629)
7. Da du dich selbst für mich dahingegeben	<i>deest</i> †	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Wend ab deinen Zorn (Z 967)
14. Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	129, 4	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
21. Ich nah, Herr Jesu, mich zu dir	126, 2	Paul Gerhardt	Christ! unser Herr zum Jordan kam (Z 7246)
25. So nicht wär gekommen	110, 3	Hermann Bonnus	Ach wir armen Sünder (Z 8187h)

*See “Passionslied” (Wq 194/14), v. 2.

†See “Passionslied” (Wq 194/23), v. 11.

The chorales all come from Telemann’s St. John Passion of 1745 and were used earlier in Bach’s 1772 Passion, but with different verses—four from the local hymnal (HG 1766) and two based on poetry by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert but with melodies from traditional hymns, not Bach’s songs. (See table 2 for the textual and melodic sources of the chorales.) Unlike the 1780 Passion, Bach used the biblical narrative and the chorales in the same basic order and location as in the 1772 Passion. All he had to do was substitute other numbers for the poetic movements:

No. in 1772 Passion	No. in 1784 Passion
5. Arie, “Liebste Hand, ich küsse dich”	5. Arie, “Der Gottmensch geht in Streit als Held”
9. Arie, “Verkennt ihn nicht”	9. Chor, “Der du selbst die Wahrheit bist”
11. Arie, “Unbeflecktes Gotteslamm!”	11. Accomp., “Christ, sei Gefühl!”
	12. Arie, “Die Unschuld wird verfolgt”
15. Arie, “So freiwillig, ohne Klage”	16. Accomp., “Schon steigt in die Himmel”
	17. Chor, “Erniedrigt bis zur Knechtsgestalt”
17. Chor, “O, ein großer Todesfall!”	19. Chor, “Halleluja! Auf Golgatha stirbt”
21. Duett, “Gottversöhner! sanft im Schlummer”	23. Arie, “Wenn ich keinen Trost mehr habe”
23. Chor, “Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine”	

The major differences between the two Passions are readily apparent. In the 1784 Passion, Bach wrote two accompanied recitatives to precede an aria (no. 12) and a

chorus (no. 17). In the 1772 Passion, there is an additional chorus (no. 23, “Ruht wohl”), borrowed from Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion (BWV 245). But the difference in musical style between the 1772 and 1784 Passions is quite remarkable. While in the 1772 Passion Bach had borrowed music from an older generation (Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel and J.S. Bach) as well as his contemporary Gottfried August Homilius, the poetic music in the 1784 Passion is by C.P.E. Bach, aside from the two Benda arias (nos. 5 and 12).³ Only chorus no. 17 had been used in earlier Passions (in 1777, 1778, and 1780), and it is the only piece Bach used in four different Passions. The chorus is based on one of his Gellert songs; in his later years Bach drew on his songs more and more frequently for both choruses and arias.⁴ The other two choruses (nos. 9 and 19) are also based on songs, and the new aria, no. 23, is similar in affect to “Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze” (no. 18 in the 1769 St. Matthew Passion and subsequently no. 7 in the *Passions-Cantate*; see CPEB: CW, IV/4.1 and IV/3, respectively).

Issues of Performance Practice

Part books for seven singers survive for the 1784 St. John Passion. Four of the singers who performed with Bach during Lent 1784 are named in the parts (source B; see table 1 in the critical report).⁵ Although the Evangelist is

3. See Wolfram Enßlin, “‘Bendas Geist aus Bachs Händen’: Zur Bedeutung Georg Anton Bendas für das geistliche Vokalschaffen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs,” in *Leipzig 2014*, 95–134.

4. See Moira Leanne Hill, “Die Liedästhetik in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs späten Passionen,” in *Leipzig 2014*, 79–94.

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

not named in the sources, it is almost certain that Johann Heinrich Michel sang the role (T I part), as he did in all of the Passions except the three St. Luke settings (1771, 1779, 1787) in which the Evangelist is assigned variously to other voices.⁶ The tenor Hartmann, named in the T II part, sang the roles of Petrus and Pilatus, as well as aria no. 12. Friedrich Martin Illert was assigned the role of Jesus (B I part), and he also sang aria no. 5 and the accompanied recitative no. 11.⁷ Johann Andreas Hoffmann is named in the B II part, which included the roles “Ein Knecht” and “Ein Diener” as well as aria no. 23.⁸ “Mr: Nehrlich,” one of the boy sopranos, sang the role of the “Magd” in no. 8a, and the accompanied recitative no. 16 (S I part). The S II and A parts do not have names listed and do not contain any solo material.

The 1784 St. John Passion requires a minimum of fourteen instrumentalists, and 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 and violin II parts, and one copy each of the viola, violoncello, violone, and oboe I and II parts. Two of the instrumentalists can be tentatively identified. One of the copies of the violin part has the initial “B” in pencil, which might indicate Johann Adolph Buckhoffer, the senior of the town musicians from 1757 to 1788. The other copy of the violin I part has the initials “JH” in pencil, which might indicate Johann Hartmann (Hartmann junior).⁹ Only two of the three copies of the organ part have survived: the one in *Kammerton* (org) and the one transposed down a whole step (org+) to match the tunings of the main Hamburg churches (see preface, p. x). Oboes double the soprano and alto voices in the chorales and turba choruses, and are used in the choruses (nos. 9, 17, and 19) but not in the arias.

Performance History

In 1784 Easter Sunday fell on 11 April. Thus, according to the tradition, the Passion was performed in the five principal Hamburg churches as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	29 February	St. Petri
Reminiscere	7 March	St. Nicolai
Laetare	21 March	St. Catharinen
Judica	28 March	St. Jacobi
Palmarum	4 April	St. Michaelis

Oculi (14 March) was reserved for installation services at St. Michaelis. The Hamburg calendars and other documents reveal that Passion music was also performed on fixed dates in the secondary churches in Hamburg, although little is known about the repertory performed there. According to newspaper announcements, Bach’s *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, was given at the Spinnhauskirche (18 March), and Telemann’s *Seliges Erwägen* was performed—though not necessarily always under Bach’s direction—at the following churches: Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche (10 March), Heilig-Geist-Kirche (2 April), and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (7 April).¹⁰ The 1784 Passion was also likely performed in the following churches: Kleine Michaelis-Kirche (1 April), St. Johannis (3 April), St. Gertrud (6 April), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge (Maundy Thursday, 8 April), and Heilige Dreieinigkei St. Georg (Good Friday, 9 April).

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv (especially the director, Martina Rebmann), the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, and the Bach-Archiv Leipzig for their efficient and friendly service, and for providing facsimile plates. As usual I am indebted to Ulrich Leisinger and Jason B. Grant for their careful work on the edition, and to Evan Cortens and Matthew Hall, who helped with the proofreading at various stages.

I also want to thank some of the choir directors I have sung with over the years, especially Michael Matsinko, Dexter Weikel, Peter Lea-Cox, Bruce Bengtson, Kira Winter, and Jameson Marvin. They have instilled in me (and others) a love of singing choral music, which has provided encouragement to prepare such editions as this one.

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6. On Michel’s career, see Paul Corneilson, “C.P.E. Bach’s Evangelist: Johann Heinrich Michel,” in *Er ist der Vater*, 95–118.

7. See Paul Corneilson, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s ‘Principal Singer’ Friedrich Martin Illert,” in *Leipzig 2014*, 135–63.

8. On Hoffmann, see Neubacher, 429.

9. See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of musicians who performed with Bach; see also Neubacher, 415–16 and 424.

10. Wiermann, 412, 429.