

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's fifth Passion according to St. John, H 801 (BR-CPEB D 7.4) has more original music than any of his other Passions, except for the 1769 St. Matthew Passion (see CPEB: CW, IV/4.1). There is no obvious explanation for this, except to say that as Bach grew older, he was borrowing less music and writing more original music for his Passions. The 1788 Passion is listed in Bach's estate catalogue (NV 1790, p. 61): "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Johannes. H. 1787. und 1788. Mit Flöten, Hoboen und 1 Fagott." The autograph score is dated 25 November 1787. All of Bach's settings of the John Passion incorporate biblical narrative and chorales from Georg Philipp Telemann's 1745 St. John Passion (TVWV 5:30); the 1776 Passion, however, is based primarily on Gottfried August Homilius's St. John Passion (HoWV I.4). See table 1 for a summary of the derivation of movements in the 1788 Passion and table 3 for a comparison of the five St. John Passions by Bach.

Sources and Musical Elements

The original performing material survives in D-B, SA 35 (source B 2), a set of eighteen parts. The Evangelist part (T I) is missing, and therefore the edition relies on this part in the 1784 St. John Passion in D-B, SA 31 (source B 1; see CPEB: CW, IV/7.4). The biblical narrative and four chorales derive from the 1772 St. John Passion (source Q 1; see CPEB: CW, IV/7.1). All the arias and choruses, one accompanied recitative, and two chorales—nos. 5, 9, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, and 25—survive in an autograph score (see source A; a facsimile is included in the appendix). Since Bach was reusing the biblical narrative and most of the chorales from Telemann's 1745 Passion (as he had done in 1772, 1780, and 1784), he only needed to provide the new movements. At the beginning of each number in the autograph score, Bach included a reference to where each piece was to be inserted into the biblical narrative, and he indicated the voice part as well as (in a few cases) the names of the singers to whom he had assigned the accompanied recitative and the arias.

In the 1788 Passion, Bach left most of the biblical narrative intact 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 in chapter 19 with the burial of Jesus. Bach's division of the biblical narrative in the 1788 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 folgete Jesu nach	18:15–38a
10.	Und da er das gesaget	18:38b–40
12.	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum	19:1–3a
14.	Und gaben ihm Backenstreich	19:3b–5
16.	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen	19:6–30
18.	Die Juden aber	19:31–37
20.	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	19:38–40
23.	Es war aber an der Stätte	19:41–42

Four of the chorales are borrowed from Telemann's St. John Passion of 1745 and were used in Bach's 1772 and 1784 Passions, but with different verses. (See table 2 for the textual and melodic sources of the chorales.) The two new chorales, nos. 19 and 25, are based on Wq 203/5 and 203/1, respectively, which had appeared in Bach's recently published collection of chorales written for the new Hamburg hymnal (NHG 1787; see CPEB: CW, V/6.2).¹ These were published with melody and bass only, and Bach chose not to write four-part harmonizations for the 1788 Passion, but rather had the four voice parts double the melody in octaves, with the oboes and violins also doubling the melody and the viola doubling the basso at the octave. In the autograph score for no. 19, Bach wrote independent lines

1. The melody for no. 19 (based on Wq 203/5) is "Seelenbräutigam" by Adam Drese, originally published in *Geistreiches Gesangbuch* (Darmstadt, 1698), no. 17; see BR-CPEB, 2:1043. Johann Sebastian Bach wrote two harmonizations of this melody: BWV 409, which was published as no. 141 (pt. 2, p. 81) in *Johann Sebastian Bachs vierstimmige Choralgesänge*, edited by C.P.E. Bach (Leipzig, 1785); and BWV 496, published in Georg Christian Schemelli's *Musicalisches Gesangbuch* (Leipzig, 1736).

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1788 ST. JOHN PASSION

1788 No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
1. Choral	So gehst du, Jesu, willig hin	TVWV 5:30, no. 1	H 797, no. 1, with different text
2. Recitativ	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	TVWV 5:30, nos. 5–7, 10, 12–14	H 797, no. 2
3. Choral	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	TVWV 5:30, no. 16	H 797, no. 3
4. Recitativ	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann	TVWV 5:30, no. 17 (mm. 1–8)	H 797, no. 4
5. Arie	Deine Menschen zu befreien	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 2r–4r
6. Recitativ	Es war aber Kaiphäs	TVWV 5:30, no. 17 (mm. 9–13)	H 797, no. 6
7. Choral	Gott, der du deinen Sohn für uns gegeben	TVWV 5:30, no. 18	H 797, no. 7, with different text
8. Recitativ	Simon Petrus aber folgete Jesu nach	TVWV 5:30, nos. 20, 22–24, 26–30 (mm. 1–34)	H 797, no. 8
9. Arie	Erhabner König, deine Ehre	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 4r–6r
10. Recitativ	Und da er das gesaget	TVWV 5:30, nos. 32–34 (mm. 1–2a)	H 797, no. 10
11. Arie	Man fleht für des Verbrechers Leben	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 6r–8r
12. Recitativ	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum	TVWV 5:30, nos. 34 (mm. 2b–8)–35	H 797, no. 13
13. Choral	Wie viel hast du erduldet	TVWV 5:30, no. 36	H 797, no. 14, with different text
14. Recitativ	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	TVWV 5:30, no. 37 (mm. 1–11)	H 797, no. 15
15. Chor	Seht, welch ein Mensch!	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 8v–10v
16. Recitativ	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen	TVWV 5:30, nos. 39–49 (mm. 1–14), 51–55 (mm. 1–19)	H 797, no. 18
17. Arie	Entseelt hängt er hier an dem Kreuze	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 11r–12r
18. Recitativ	Die Juden aber	TVWV 5:30, no. 57	H 797, no. 20
19. Choral	Wer ist wohl wie du	Wq 203/5	autograph in SA 35, fol. 12v; transposed from B-flat major to G major
20. Recitativ	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	TVWV 5:30, no. 59 (mm. 1–18)	H 797, no. 22
21. Accompagnement	Hier liegen sie, die heiligen Gebeine	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 13r–13v
22. Arie	Wenn ich, o Mittler, Liebe	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 13v–15r
23. Recitativ	Es war aber an der Stätte	TVWV 5:30, no. 59 (mm. 19–26)	H 797, no. 24
24. Chor	Singt Lieder	newly composed for the 1788 Passion	autograph in SA 35, fols. 15v–20r
25. Choral	O Gott, lass deine Güt und Liebe	Wq 203/1	autograph in SA 35, fol. 20r; transposed from B-flat major to G major

Key: H 797 = CPEB 1784 St. John Passion; TVWV 5:30 = Telemann 1745 St. John Passion

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	NHG 1787 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. So gehst du, Jesu, willig hin	88, 1	Johann Adolf Schlegel	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)
3. Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	247, 1	Samuel Rodigast	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan (Z 5629)
7. Gott, der du deinen Sohn für uns gegeben	85, 1	Ehrenfried Liebich	Wend ab deinen Zorn (Z 967)
13. Wie viel hast du erduldet	97, 2	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
19. Wer ist wohl wie du	189, 1 and 14	Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen	Seelenbräutigam (Z 3255a/b); cf. Wq 203/5
25. O Gott, lass deine Güt und Liebe	23, 6	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Wie groß ist des Allmächt'gen Güte! (Z 6025); cf. Wq 203/1

for the violin II and viola, but for whatever reason, these were not copied into the parts. The full harmonization for chorale no. 19 is included in the appendix.

Bach wrote eight new pieces for the 1788 Passion: two choruses (nos. 15 and 24), five arias (nos. 5, 9, 11, 17, and 22), and one accompanied recitative (no. 21). None are based on Bach's own songs or works by other composers, as far as we know. This is remarkable, considering that in the previous four St. John Passions, Bach had written only four new pieces: one accompanied recitative (no. 12) in 1780; two accompanied recitatives (nos. 11 and 16) and one aria (no. 23) in 1784; plus a couple of choruses based on his songs (nos. 9 and 19) in 1784. Otherwise, the music was borrowed from other composers, though the vocal lines were often revised to fit a new parody text.² But in his fifth cycle of Passions, Bach wrote much more original music than in the previous three cycles: between 1777 and 1784, Bach wrote a total of fifteen new movements, mostly accompanied recitatives; between 1785 and 1788, he wrote twenty new movements (three accompanied recitatives, one arioso, twelve arias, three choruses, and one combination aria—accompanied recitative—chorus).

As usual, the poetic texts for the arias and choruses have not been identified. Bach's daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina, claimed that her father relied on local Hamburg writers to supply the aria texts for the most part.

2. For a summary of Bach's parody and revision in his Passions, including self-borrowings, see Moira Leanne Hill, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion Settings: Context, Content, and Impact" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2015); see also Hill, "Repaying Debt with Interest: The Revision of Borrowed Movements in C.P.E. Bach's Passions," in *Bach Reworked*, Bach Perspectives 13, ed. Laura Buch (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2020), 36–73, esp. 41–45 (table 2.1). Most of the borrowings in Bach's vocal music are identified in BR-CPEB, part 2.

Johann Heinrich Rödinger said his poetry was used in Bach's Passions and *Einführungsmusiken*.³ The opening line of the accompanied recitative no. 21, "Hier liegen sie, die heiligen Gebeine," is identical to that of Anna Louisa Karsch's poem "Dem Andenken des Herrn Hofrath Stahl bei seinem Grabe" (1772).⁴

The aria no. 5 (for alto) includes a bassoon obbligato, written by Bach in a separate part. This happens to be one of several such cases in Bach's late years, and there are also arias with bassoon obbligato in the following works (an asterisk identifies the bn parts in Bach's hand):

Die Israeliten in der Wüste, Wq 238 (aria no. 15 for bass [Moses])

Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu, Wq 240 (aria no. 15 for bass)

St. Matthew Passion (1777), H 790 (aria no. 8 for bass)*

Anbetung dem Erbarmer (1784), Wq 243 (aria no. 3 for bass)

Dank-Hymne der Freundschaft (1785), H 824e (aria no. 9 for tenor)*

Einführungsmusik Schäffer (1785), H 821m (aria no. 13 for tenor)

Einführungsmusik Gasie (1785), H 821l (aria no. 7 for tenor)

St. Mark Passion (1786), H 799 (aria no. 9 for soprano)*

Musik am Dankfeste (1786), H 823 (aria no. 5 for soprano)

St. Luke Passion (1787), H 800 (aria no. 4 for soprano)

3. See preface ("Einleitung an die Leser") to Rödinger's collection of *Gedichte* (Hamburg, 1789), xviii: "Ausser diesen hat er verschiedene, von Bach componirte Texte zu Passions Musiken, und zu Einführungen der Prediger gedichtet. . ." (Among these [poems] he wrote various texts to Passion music and installations for pastors, composed by Bach. . .); quoted in Clark, 39.

4. Hill, "Passion Settings," 312.

Apparently, Bach had limited access to a good bassoonist during these years, and took advantage of him whenever possible. The only known bassoonist during Bach's tenure was Johann Gottlieb Schwencke (1744–1823), the father of Bach's successor, Christian Friedrich Gottlieb (1767–1822). Since J.G. Schwencke served as a town musician from 1776 to c. 1811, it is possible that he occasionally filled in for church performances and played these bassoon solos.

Issues of Performance Practice

Part books for six singers survive for the 1788 St. John Passion. Unusually, there is only one soprano part; the remaining parts include two for alto, one for tenor, and two for bass. The tenor Evangelist part (T I) is missing, but it can be easily reconstructed using the performing material from the 1784 Passion and the auxiliary tenor line in the continuo parts.⁵ Although none of the singers are named in the parts themselves, one tenor (Kirchner) and the two basses (Friedrich Martin Illert and Johann Andreas Hoffmann) are named in the autograph score. Kirchner was relatively new to Bach's ensemble, and he performed the roles of Petrus and Pilatus (T II) as well as aria no. 17. Hoffmann sang two minor roles, Ein Diener and Ein Knecht (B II), and aria no. 22. Illert sang the role of Jesus (B I) plus aria no. 9 and accompanied recitative no. 21.⁶ The other singers are not known.⁷ A boy soprano was assigned the role of Magd and aria no. 11, and an alto was assigned aria no. 5. Presumably there would have been at least one other soprano part (now lost).

The 1788 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, "Basso" (probably a violone), and oboe I and II parts (doubling on flute I and II in nos. 5 and 22), plus a bassoon obbligato for no. 5 (written by Bach).⁸ Oboes double the soprano and alto voices in the chorales and turba choruses,

and are used in the choruses (nos. 15 and 24) but not in the arias. Three copies of the organ part have survived: one in *Kammerton* (org), one transposed down a whole step (org+), and one transposed down a minor third (org++), to match the tunings of the main Hamburg churches (see preface, p. x). Charles Burney visited C.P.E. Bach in Hamburg in October 1772 and left a fairly detailed description of two of the organs in Hamburg: the organ at St. Michaelis served as *Kammerton* for the ensemble, and the older organ at St. Petri was tuned approximately a minor third higher.⁹

Performance History

In 1788 Easter Sunday was 23 March. The customary performance dates for the annual Passion (Invocavit through Palm Sunday) were published in the Hamburg *Schreib-Calender* for 1788.¹⁰ But it went unnoticed that the feast of the Annunciation (25 March) would fall on Easter Tuesday that year and, in accordance with Hamburg custom, would be celebrated on Palm Sunday, and therefore the Passion performances would begin one week earlier, that is, on Estomihi instead of Invocavit. Due to this oversight, there is a notice in the libretto for the 1788 Passion reminding congregants that the normal schedule would be adjusted:

Nachricht.

Da in diesem Jahre der höchst seltene Fall ist, daß Mariä Verkündigung in die Osterwoche fällt, und nach der Verordnung auf Palmarum gefeyert wird: so gehen die Passionen in den Hauptkirchen 8 Tage früher an, als im Calender steht; folglich ist die erste Passion zu St. Petri am Sonntage Quinquagesimä, den 3ten Februar, u.s.w. Die Passionen in den Nebenkirchen bleiben, wie sie im Calender stehen.

Die Passion wird in den Hauptkirchen aufgeführt:

Am Sonntage Quinquagesimä in St. Petri.
Am Sonntage Quadragesimä in St. Nicolai.
Am Sonntage Reminiscere in St. Catharinen.
Am Sonntage Lätare in St. Jacobi.
Am Sonntage Judica in St. Michaelis.

5. This would have been sung by the tenor Johann Heinrich Michel, who also copied the parts. On Michel's career, see Paul Corneilson, "C.P.E. Bach's Evangelist: Johann Heinrich Michel," in *Er ist der Vater*, 95–118.

6. See Paul Corneilson, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's 'Principal Singer' Friedrich Martin Illert," in *Leipzig 2014*, 135–63.

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

8. See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of instrumentalists who performed with Bach.

9. Burney 1775, 2:273–78. Unfortunately, all the organs from Bach's time were destroyed by fires in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

10. *Hamburgischer Taschen-Calender aufs 1788. Jahr . . . Hamburg, verlegt von C. W. Meyn, E. Hochedlen und Hochw. Rath's Buchdrucker.* Exemplar in D-Hs, Scrin A/541:1788. See BR-CPEB, 2:314.

Notice.

Because in this year, which seldom happens, the feast of the Annunciation falls during Easter week, and accordingly will be celebrated on Palm Sunday: thus, the Passion performances in the main churches will begin eight days earlier than listed in the calendar: the first Passion will be at St. Petri on Quinquagesima Sunday [Sunday before Lent or Estomihi], 3 February, etc. The Passions in the secondary churches remain as stated in the calendar.

The Passion will be performed in the main churches:

Quinquagesima Sunday [Estomihi, 3 February] at St. Petri.
Quadragesima Sunday [Invocavit, 10 February] at St. Nicolai.
Reminiscere Sunday [17 February] St. Catharinen.
Laetare Sunday [2 March] St. Jacobi.
Judica Sunday [9 March] at St. Michaelis.

Oculi (24 February) was reserved for installation services at St. Michaelis, and the feast of the Annunciation was to be observed on Palm Sunday (16 March) at St. Catharinen. Passion music was also performed at the smaller parish churches in Hamburg as follows: Kleine Michaeliskirche (13 March), St. Johannis (15 March), St. Gertrud (18 March), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge on Maundy Thursday (20 March), and Heilige Dreieinigkeitskirche St. Georg on Good Friday (21 March). Bach's *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, was given at the Waisenhauskirche (13 February), and Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* was performed at the following churches: Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche (27 February), Heilig Geist (14 March), St. Maria Magdalena (17 March), and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (19 March).¹¹

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (especially the director, Martina Rebmann) and the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin 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 proofreading the music at various stages. I also want to thank Peter Lea-Cox for his comments and questions about certain passages while he was preparing a performance of the 1788 Passion. Kevin Leong has been invaluable for his work on this volume and many others in the edition.

As we are nearing the end of this project, I want to take this opportunity to thank David W. Packard for his vision; the members of the Editorial Board (especially the general editors Darrell M. Berg, Ulrich Leisinger, and Peter Wollny) for their advice and guidance; and Christoph Wolff for his leadership from the beginning. It has been a privilege to work with my colleagues at the editorial office—Laura Buch, Lisa DeSiro, Jason B. Grant, Mark W. Knoll, and Ruth B. Libbey—as well as our designer Dean Bornstein and head music compositor Rolf Wulfsberg. Finally, I want to thank my family for putting up with my work on the edition for more than twenty years. My spouse Beth Frasso and my children Joshua, Katherine, and Nicholas have had to endure days and weeks of my being away, traveling to conferences and libraries, and many weekends when I was preoccupied with an eighteenth-century composer. It has not always been easy, but I trust that we will all carry some fond memories of our adventure with us for the rest of our lives.

Paul Corneilson

APPENDIX

Table 3 shows how C.P.E. Bach subdivided the biblical narrative in different ways in his five settings of the St. John Passion, and indicates the models for the borrowed movements, including his own arrangements of songs and chorales. The shaded rows that span all five columns of the table represent the material common to all five settings, namely the Passion story from the conclusion of the Last Supper through the burial of Jesus as related in St. John, beginning at chapter 18, verse 1 and ending at chapter 19, verse 30. All of this material was borrowed from the Telemann St. John Passion (1745), TVWV 5:30, in four of Bach's five Passions (1772, 1780, 1784, and 1788), and (mostly) from the Homilius St. John Passion, HoWV I.4 in the other one (1776). For the sake of comparison, the four Passions based on Telemann are listed first, followed by the Homilius-based 1776 Passion. Apart from minor adjustments to harmony and declamation to allow for varying interpolations, the music and text of the borrowed passages are unchanged from the respective models. Cells with bold text show the movements interpolated by Bach into the Telemann and Homilius models. Detailed information on the derivations of movements is found in the introductions of CPEB: CW, IV/7.1–7.5.

While the shaded rows show the commonality of the biblical narrative across all five settings, the unshaded rows

11. Wiermann, 431–32.

indicate how the narrative was divided differently among the settings to include different poetic interpolations. Even in 1776, two movements (nos. 14 and 16) are based on TVWV 5:30, and thus these are the only ones shaded to show a common relationship with the other four settings. Otherwise, the division of the biblical narrative and musical setting in 1776 is entirely different from the other four settings. By reading each column from top to bottom one can see the continuity of the respective settings with the help of continuity arrows. These indicate that while at least one other setting has an interpolation at this spot, the current one does not, and one should follow the arrows to find the next event in the current setting. For instance, while the 1780 setting includes a chorus after the opening chorale, none of the other settings do, and the continuity arrows for those settings show this by leading the eye from the chorale no. 1 to the recitative no. 2.

Horizontal lines above the movement headings indicate the beginning of each movement. Reading down the column from the heading, the next horizontal line indicates the end of the movement. Bach occasionally combined multiple movements from the Telemann model into a single movement for that particular setting. Thus the recitative no. 16 from 1772 (used again as no. 18 in 1784 and no. 16 in 1788) consists of a combination of TVWV 5:30, nos. 39–49 and 51–55, but the 1780 setting divides this text in the middle of TVWV 5:30, no. 55 and interpolates a chorale, resulting in three movements: recitative no. 18, chorale no. 19, and recitative no. 20.

By comparing C.P.E. Bach's five St. John Passions, we can easily see how little overlap among the poetic numbers there is. What is immediately striking is how much older music there is in the first St. John Passion (1772) compared to the last one (1788). Although Bach did not use any of the arias from Telemann's 1745 St. John Passion, in the 1772 Passion he borrowed two arias, one duet, and one chorus from Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel's Passion oratorio (dating from the 1740s), plus a chorus from J.S. Bach's St. John Passion (from 1724), as well as two arias by his close contemporary Homilius. But overall, the impression is of old-fashioned music. In 1776, all the numbers were taken from Homilius's St. John Passion, basically in the same order and with the same texts. But even in 1776, the sequence of movements is similar to the other settings: 1. Choral, 2. Recitativ, 3. Choral, 4. Recitativ, 5. Arie, etc. The 1780 and 1784 Passions are real pasticcios, incorporating music by Georg Benda, Johann Gottlieb Graun, and Homilius, as well as some new music by C.P.E. Bach. An asterisk in table 3 indicates where Bach used a parody text

and often revised the melodic line from his model. (One exception is chorus no. 25 in 1780, which has a different text but is a strophic chorale, based on "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme.") The 1784 Passion in particular reflects two trends in the later Passions: Bach's use of his songs as the basis for choruses and arias, and his increased interest in accompanied recitative, often for his principal bass Illert.¹² As already stated, the 1788 St. John Passion contains all new, original music in Bach's latest style.¹³

The following abbreviations have been used in table 3:

- BWV 245 = J.S. Bach St. John Passion
 Graun WV A:III:4 = J.G. Graun cantata *Tirsi, povero Tirsi*
 Graun WV Av:IX:3 = J.G. Graun cantata *Herr, leite mich*
 H 785; BR-CPEB D 7.1 = CPEB 1772 St. John Passion
 H 789; BR-CPEB D 9 = CPEB 1776 St. John Passion
 H 793; BR-CPEB D 7.2 = CPEB 1780 St. John Passion
 H 797; BR-CPEB D 7.3 = CPEB 1784 St. John Passion
 H 801; BR-CPEB D 7.4 = CPEB 1788 St. John Passion
 HoWV I.4 = Homilius St. John Passion
 HoWV I.10 = Homilius St. Mark Passion
 L 516 = Benda cantata *Welch ein jammervolles Klagen*
 L 518 = Benda cantata *Ihr brausenden Wogen, bestürmet die Lüfte*
 L 527 = Benda cantata *Dein Wort ist da*
 L 564 = Benda cantata *Der Engel Gottes heilige Menge*
 Stölzel = *Sechs Geistliche Betrachtungen des leidenden und sterbenden Jesu*
 TVWV 5:30 = Telemann 1745 St. John Passion
 (movement numbering based on edition in Georg Philipp Telemann. *Musikalische Werke*, vol. 29, *Johannespassion 1745*, ed. Wolfgang Hirschmann)
 Wq 194/14 = CPEB, "Passionslied"
 Wq 198/23 = CPEB, "Lobgesang auf den Tod Jesu"
 Wq 202/E/6 = CPEB, "Des Herrn Wort ist wahrhaftig"
 Wq 203/1 = CPEB, "Wie groß ist des Allmächt'gen Güte!"
 Wq 203/5 = CPEB, "Wer ist wohl wie du"
 "CPEB" by itself indicates a movement newly composed for that setting.

12. See Moira Leanne Hill, "Die Liedästhetik in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs späten Passionen," in *Leipzig 2014*, 79–94, and Corneilson, "Illert," 151–52, and table 2, 155–63.

13. For further discussion, see Paul Corneilson, "The Evolution of C.P.E. Bach's St. John Passions," *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 52 (2021): 46–61.

TABLE 3. SUMMARY OF C.P.E. BACH'S ST. JOHN PASSIONS

1772 (H 785; BR-CPEB D 7.1)	1780 (H 793; BR-CPEB D 7.2)	1784 (H 797; BR-CPEB D 7.3)	1788 (H 801; BR-CPEB D 7.4)	1776 (H 789; BR-CPEB D 9)
1. CHORAL Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz TVWV 5:30, no. 1	1. CHORAL Mein Jesus hat gelöscht GraunWV Av:IX:3, no. 8	1. CHORAL Rat, Kraft und Friedefürst und Held! TVWV 5:30, no. 1	1. CHORAL So gehst du, Jesu, willig hin TVWV 5:30, no. 1	1. CHORAL Ein Lämmlein geht TVWV 5:30, no. 1
↓	2. CHOR Dass du für mich gestorben bist Wq 194/14	↓	↓	↓
2. RECITATIV	3. RECITATIV	2. RECITATIV	2. RECITATIV	2. RECITATIV
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte (18:1–11) TVWV 5:30, nos. 5–7, 10, 12–14	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte (18:1–3) HoWV I.4, no. 2
3. CHORAL	4. CHORAL	3. CHORAL	3. CHORAL	3. CHORAL
Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan TVWV 5:30, no. 16	Mitten wir im Leben sind HoWV I.4, no. 3
4. RECITATIV	5. RECITATIV	4. RECITATIV	4. RECITATIV	4. RECITATIV
Liebste Hand, ich küsse dich Stölzel, II. Betrachtung, no. 3	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann (18:12–13) TVWV 5:30, no. 17 (mm. 1–8)	Der Gottmensch geht in Streit* L 527, no. 5	Deine Menschen zu befreien CPEB	Als nun Jesus wusste alles (18:4–6) HoWV I.4, no. 4
5. ARIE	6. ARIE	5. ARIE	5. ARIE	5. ARIE–ACCOMP.–ARIE
Liebste Hand, ich küsse dich Stölzel, II. Betrachtung, no. 3	Dein Wandel, Herr, und deine Lehre* L 516, no. 3	Der Gottmensch geht in Streit* L 527, no. 5	Deine Menschen zu befreien CPEB	Nun kömmt die Stunde HoWV I.4, no. 5
6. RECITATIV	7. RECITATIV	6. RECITATIV	6. RECITATIV	6. RECITATIV
Wie wunderbarlich TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Es war aber Kaiphas (18:14) TVWV 5:30, no. 17 (mm. 9–13)	Da du dich selbst für mich TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Gott, der du deinen Sohn TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Da fragte er sie abermal (18:7–9) HoWV I.4, no. 6
7. CHORAL	8. CHORAL	7. CHORAL	7. CHORAL	7. CHORAL
Wie wunderbarlich TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Herzliebster Jesu TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Da du dich selbst für mich TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Gott, der du deinen Sohn TVWV 5:30, no. 18	Ach großer König TVWV 5:30, no. 18
8. RECITATIV	9. RECITATIV	8. RECITATIV	8. RECITATIV	8. RECITATIV
Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach (18:15–38a) TVWV 5:30, nos. 20, 22–24, 26–30 (mm. 1–34)	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach (18:15–38a) TVWV 5:30, nos. 20, 22–24, 26–30 (mm. 1–34)	Der du selbst die Wahrheit bist Wq 202/E/6	Erhabner König, deine Ehre CPEB	Da hatte Simon Petrus ein Schwert (18:10–14) HoWV I.4, no. 8
9. ARIE	10. ARIE	9. CHOR	9. ARIE	9. ARIE
Verkennt ihn nicht HoWV I.10, no. 25	So steht ein Fels im Meere* L 516, no. 5	Der du selbst die Wahrheit bist Wq 202/E/6	Erhabner König, deine Ehre CPEB	Wer kann den Rat der Liebe fassen? HoWV I.4, no. 9

TABLE 3. (CONTINUED)

1772 (H 785; BR-CPEB D 7.1)	1780 (H 793; BR-CPEB D 7.2)	1784 (H 797; BR-CPEB D 7.3)	1788 (H 801; BR-CPEB D 7.4)
10. RECITATIV	11. RECITATIV	10. RECITATIV	10. RECITATIV
↓	Und da er das gesagt (18:38b-40) TVVVV 5:30, nos. 32-34 (mm. 1-2a)		
11. RECITATIV	12. ACCOMP.	11. ACCOMP.	↓
↓	Des Vaters Sohn war er CPEB	Christ, sei Gefühl! CPEB	
12. RECITATIV	13. ARIE	12. ARIE	11. ARIE
Unbeflecktes Gottselamm! Stöfel, IV, Betrachtung, no. 5	Wie unaussprechlich war er erhaben* Graun WV A:III:4, no. 2	Die Unschuld wird verfolgt* L 518, no. 5	Man fleht für des Verbrechers Leben CPEB
12. RECITATIV	14. RECITATIV	13. RECITATIV	12. RECITATIV
	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum (19:1-3a) TVVVV 5:30, nos. 34 (mm. 2b-8)-35		
13. CHORAL	15. CHORAL	14. CHORAL	13. CHORAL
O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden TVVVV 5:30, no. 36	Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet TVVVV 5:30, no. 36	Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet TVVVV 5:30, no. 36	Wie viel hast du erduldet TVVVV 5:30, no. 36
14. RECITATIV	16. RECITATIV	15. RECITATIV	14. RECITATIV
	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche (19:3b-5) TVVVV 5:30, no. 37 (mm. 1-11)		
↓	↓	16. ACCOMP.	↓
		Schon steigt in die Himmel CPEB	
15. ARIE	17. ARIE	17. CHOR	15. CHOR
So freiwillig, ohne Klage* Ho WV I.10, no. 3	Um in Schwachheit mich zu stärken* Ho WV I.10, no. 3	Erniedrigt bis zur Knechtsgestalt Wq 194/14	Seht, welch ein Mensch! CPEB
16. RECITATIV	18. RECITATIV	18. RECITATIV	16. RECITATIV
	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen (19:6-27a) TVVVV 5:30, nos. 39-49 (mm. 1-14), 51-55 (mm. 1-19)		
↓	Ach treues Herz, so sorgest du unknown	↓	↓
1776 (H 789; BR-CPEB D 9)			
10. RECITATIV			
Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach (18:15-21) Ho WV I.4, no. 10			
↓			
11. ARIE			
Dein Wort ist Geist Ho WV I.4, no. 11			
12. RECITATIV			
Als er aber solches redete (18:22-27) Ho WV I.4, nos. 12, 14			
13. CHORAL			
Sei nicht vermessene! unknown			
14. RECITATIV			
Da führen sie Jesum (18:28-19:3a) TVVVV 5:30, nos. 26-30, 32-35			
↓			
15. CHORAL			
O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden TVVVV 5:30, no. 36			
16. RECITATIV			
Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche (19:3b-7) TVVVV 5:30, nos. 37, 39-40			
17. CHORAL			
Du trägst der Missetäter Lohn TVVVV 5:30, no. 1			

1772 (H 785; BR-CPEB D 7.1)	1780 (H 793; BR-CPEB D 7.2)	1784 (H 797; BR-CPEB D 7.3)	1788 (H 801; BR-CPEB D 7.4)
20. RECITATIV			
Und von Stund an nahm sie der Jünger (19:27b-30) TVVV 5:30, no. 55 (mm. 20-34)			
17. CHOR O, ein großer Todesfall! Stölzel, VI. Betrachtung, no. 3	21. ARIE Anbetend schall hinauf zum Throne* L 564, no. 3	19. CHOR Halleluja! Auf Golgatha Wq 198/23	17. ARIE Entseelt hängt er hier an dem Kreuze CPEB
18. RECITATIV	22. RECITATIV Die Juden aber (19:31-37) TVVV 5:30, no. 57	20. RECITATIV	18. RECITATIV
19. CHORAL Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein TVVV 5:30, no. 58	23. CHORAL Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein TVVV 5:30, no. 58	21. CHORAL Ich nah, Herr Jesu, mich zu dir TVVV 5:30, no. 58	19. CHORAL Wer ist wohl wie du Wq 203/5
20. RECITATIV	24. RECITATIV Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia (19:38-40) TVVV 5:30, no. 59 (mm. 1-18)	22. RECITATIV	20. RECITATIV
↓	↓	↓	21. ACCOMP. Hier liegen sie, die heiligen Gebeine CPEB
21. DUETT Gottversöhner! sanft im Schlummer* Stölzel, VI. Betrachtung, no. 5	↓	23. ARIE Wenn ich keinen Trost mehr habe CPEB	22. ARIE Wenn ich, o Mittler, Liebe CPEB
22. RECITATIV	24. RECITATIV Es war aber an der Stätte (19:41-42) TVVV 5:30, no. 59 (mm. 19-26)		23. RECITATIV
23. CHOR Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine* BWV 245, no. 39	25. CHOR Held, vor dem die Hölle bebet* Ho WV I.4, no. 18	↓	24. CHOR Singt Lieder CPEB
24. CHORAL Darum wolln wir loben TVVV 5:30, no. 63	26. CHORAL Ich danke die von Herzen Grau WV Av:IX:3, no. 8	25. CHORAL So nicht wär gekommen TVVV 5:30, no. 63	25. CHORAL O Gott, lass deine Güt und Liebe Wq 203/1
1776 (H 789; BR-CPEB D 9)	18. RECITATIV Da Pilatus das Wort hörte (19:8-11a) Ho WV I.4, no. 26c		18. RECITATIV Da Pilatus das Wort hörte (19:8-11a) Ho WV I.4, no. 26c
19. ARIE Ich bin der Allmächtige Ho WV I.4, no. 27	19. ARIE Ich bin der Allmächtige Ho WV I.4, no. 27		19. ARIE Ich bin der Allmächtige Ho WV I.4, no. 27
20. RECITATIV Darum der mich dir überantwortet hat (19:11b-16a) Ho WV I.4, no. 28	20. RECITATIV Darum der mich dir überantwortet hat (19:11b-16a) Ho WV I.4, no. 28		20. RECITATIV Darum der mich dir überantwortet hat (19:11b-16a) Ho WV I.4, no. 28
21. ARIE Der Sohn soll sterben, ich soll leben Ho WV I.4, no. 29	21. ARIE Der Sohn soll sterben, ich soll leben Ho WV I.4, no. 29		21. ARIE Der Sohn soll sterben, ich soll leben Ho WV I.4, no. 29
22. RECITATIV Sie nahmen aber Jesum (19:16b-27) Ho WV I.4, no. 30	22. RECITATIV Sie nahmen aber Jesum (19:16b-27) Ho WV I.4, no. 30		22. RECITATIV Sie nahmen aber Jesum (19:16b-27) Ho WV I.4, no. 30
↓	↓		↓
23. CHORAL Selig sind, die aus Erbarmen Ho WV I.4, no. 31	23. CHORAL Selig sind, die aus Erbarmen Ho WV I.4, no. 31		23. CHORAL Selig sind, die aus Erbarmen Ho WV I.4, no. 31
24. RECITATIV Darnach, als Jesus wusste (19:28-30) Ho WV I.4, no. 32	24. RECITATIV Darnach, als Jesus wusste (19:28-30) Ho WV I.4, no. 32		24. RECITATIV Darnach, als Jesus wusste (19:28-30) Ho WV I.4, no. 32
25. DUETT Wir weinen dir und deiner Tugend Ho WV I.4, no. 33	25. DUETT Wir weinen dir und deiner Tugend Ho WV I.4, no. 33		25. DUETT Wir weinen dir und deiner Tugend Ho WV I.4, no. 33
26. CHORAL Mein Lebetage will ich dich TVVV 5:30, no. 1	26. CHORAL Mein Lebetage will ich dich TVVV 5:30, no. 1		26. CHORAL Mein Lebetage will ich dich TVVV 5:30, no. 1

* CPEB set a parody text.