

# INTRODUCTION

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The Passion according to St. Luke performed by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in 1775 (H 788) was drawn entirely from a setting attributed to Gottfried August Homilius (*Du starker Keltertreter*, HoWV I.5) that was also the model for the Passion Bach presented in 1783 (H 796). His three other St. Luke Passions—from 1771, 1779, and 1787 (H 784, 792, and 800, respectively)—are each modeled on Georg Philipp Telemann’s 1760 setting (TVWV 5:45).

## Sources and Musical Elements

Unlike Bach’s other twenty Passion settings, no original performing parts survive for the 1775 St. Luke Passion; the work is transmitted only in a score of the model by Homilius that Bach marked up (D-B, SA 50, source A) and from which his copyists presumably prepared performing material.<sup>1</sup> The present edition in effect reproduces the steps taken by Bach’s copyists according to his instructions, reconstructing the musical text that was probably heard in 1775. We can be sure of several elements, such as the order of movements, keys, vocal texts (including texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert found in the printed libretto that were used in several chorales), and many aspects of vocal and instrumental scoring. But even with suggestive evidence from Bach’s 1783 St. Luke Passion (D-B, SA 30, source Q), which is based on the same model, some details, such as the assignment of vocal duties, remain uncertain.

In 1775 Bach used the gospel narrative and commentary movements from Homilius’s work (see table 1).<sup>2</sup> He eliminated fourteen numbers at the beginning and two at the

end (HoWV I.5, nos. 1–14 and 41–42), beginning the narrative later and ending it earlier than in the model to yield a shorter work as required by the Hamburg liturgy. Three poetic movements eliminated from the discarded opening section would later find use in Bach’s 1778 St. Mark Passion, H 791; and one movement jettisoned from the end had already appeared in the 1774 St. Mark Passion, H 787.

Bach’s division of the gospel narrative is essentially the same as Homilius’s, with a few interpolated chorales omitted or moved:

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
2.	Und er ging hinaus	22:39–44
4.	Und er stund auf	22:45–53
6.	Sie griffen ihn aber	22:54–62
8.	Die Männer aber, die Jesum	22:63–67a
10.	Er aber sprach zu ihnen	22:67b–69
12.	Da sprachen sie alle	22:70–23:4
14.	Sie aber hielten an und sprachen	23:5–21
16.	Er aber sprach zum dritten Mal	23:22–25
18.	Und als sie ihn hinführeten	23:26–31
20.	Es wurden aber auch hingeführet	23:32–34a
22.	Und sie teilten seine Kleider	23:34b–43
24.	Und es war um die sechste Stunde	23:44–46

To open the setting Bach duplicated a chorale from the model, transposing HoWV I.5, no. 35 (= H 788, no. 21) and supplying a new text. The model was originally divided into two parts; Bach eliminated the chorale that originally ended part I (HoWV I.5, no. 21) and moved the chorale that had originally begun part II (HoWV I.5, no. 22) to a position a few verses later in the narrative (H 788, no. 9). Bach omitted the chorale that originally followed his no. 14 (HoWV I.5, no. 28) and inserted a chorale as no. 15, duplicating the setting (HoWV I.5, no. 37) that also appears as no. 23, with a new text. He ended the work with the same chorale with which it opened, once more duplicating HoWV I.5, no. 35 with new words. Bach recomposed the melody of the chorale no. 13, evidently to conform to local practice, and adjusted its harmonization accordingly.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Source A (from Bach’s library), the only known surviving copy of HoWV I.5, provides no attribution. The assignment to Homilius relies principally on the appearance of chorale settings found in other Passion settings by him and in collections of his chorales (e.g., in D-LEm, II.1.2° 24). See Wolf, 60–61. For the 1770 St. Mark Passion, also based on a work by Homilius (HoWV I.10), an annotated score of Bach’s model as well as a set of parts survive; see CPEB:CW, IV/5.1. The entry for Bach’s 1775 St. Luke Passion in NV 1790 (p. 59) does not suggest that the parts are missing, but such an omission is noted in AK 1805 (p. 30): “41–61 Passionsmusiken mit allen Stimmen, vom Jahr 1769 bis 1789, als die letzte Arbeit des Verfassers, (das Jahr 1775 fehlt) 3 starke StröÙe.”

2. When he reused the gospel narrative in 1783, Bach replaced the poetic numbers and provided new texts for most of the chorales.

3. Still other chorales, such as no. 1 (repeated as nos. 21 and 27), deviate from the melodies found in Bach’s other Passions.

TABLE I. COMPARISON OF HOMILIUS'S ST. LUKE PASSION AND BACH'S 1775 ST. LUKE PASSION

Homilius No. Type	Incipit	Bach No. Type	Incipit; Remarks
1. Chorale	Du starker Keltertreter		omitted by Bach in 1775 (hereafter "omitted")
2. Recitative	Es war aber nahe das Fest		omitted
3. Accomp.	O Mensch, willst du noch Gnade finden		omitted
4. Recitative	Es kam nun der Tag der süßen Brot		omitted
5. Chorale	Das Lämmlein ist der große Freund		omitted
6. Recitative	Und da die Stunde kam		omitted
7. Accomp.	Wie zärtlich ladet uns das Wort		omitted
8. Aria	Herr, erforsche mich		omitted; used as no. 9 in 1778 St. Mark Passion
9. Recitative	Doch siehe, die Hand meines Verräters		omitted
10. Chorale	Selig sind, die Demut haben		omitted
11. Recitative	Ihr aber seid's, die ihr beharret habet		omitted
12. Duet	Seid stolz, ihr Monarchen		omitted; used as no. 17 in 1778 St. Mark Passion
13. Recitative	Der Herr aber sprach		omitted
14. Aria	Ich habe, Vater, dich auf Erden hier verklärt		omitted; used as no. 5 in 1778 St. Mark Passion
		1. Chorale	Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden zu bedenken = Homilius no. 35 (transposed, with different text; cf. Wq 193/23, v. 1)
15. Recitative	Und er ging hinaus, nach seiner Gewohnheit	2. Recitative	= Homilius no. 15
16. Chorale	Stärk mich, Herr, durch das Leiden dein	3. Chorale	= Homilius no. 16
17. Recitative	Und er stund auf von dem Gebet	4. Recitative	= Homilius no. 17
18. Aria	Die Hölle rüstet sich zum Kriege	5. Aria	= Homilius no. 18; abbreviated, assigned to soprano instead of tenor
19. Recitative	Sie griffen ihn aber und führeten ihn	6. Recitative	= Homilius no. 19
20a. Aria	Ich erhebe meine Blicke	7a. Aria	= Homilius no. 20a
20b. Accomp.	Ich, ich verleugnete dich oft	7b. Accomp.	= Homilius no. 20b
20c. Aria	Du sollst Trost und Gnade finden	7c. Aria	= Homilius no. 20c
21. Chorale	Kein Hirt kann so fleißig gehen		end of Homilius part I; omitted (see appendix)
22. Chorale	Es wird in der Sünder Hände		beginning of Homilius part II; moved to Bach no. 9
23. Recitative	Die Männer aber, die Jesum hielten	8. Recitative	= Homilius no. 23, mm. 1–24
		9. Chorale	Es wird in der Sünder Hände = Homilius no. 22
		10. Recitative	Er aber sprach zu ihnen = Homilius no. 23, mm. 25–33
24. Aria	Nun, Jünger, geh ich hin	11. Aria	= Homilius no. 24
25. Recitative	Da sprachen sie alle	12. Recitative	= Homilius no. 25
26. Chorale	Nein, fürwahr, wahrhaftig nein!	13. Chorale	= Homilius no. 26; melody rewritten and reharmonized
27. Recitative	Sie aber hielten an und sprachen	14. Recitative (mm. 1–61)	= Homilius no. 27
28. Chorale	Satan Welt und ihren Rotten		omitted
29. Recitative	Auf den Tag wurden Pilatus	14. (mm. 62–128)	= Homilius no. 29
		15. Chorale	Du trägst der Missetäter Lohn = Homilius no. 37 (with different text; cf. Wq 193/14, v. 4)
30. Recitative	Er aber sprach zum dritten Mal zu ihnen	16. Recitative	= Homilius no. 30
31. Aria	Umgeben von der Frevler Rotte	17. Aria	= Homilius no. 31 (abbreviated)
32. Recitative	Und als sie ihn hinführeten, ergriffen sie einen	18. Recitative	= Homilius no. 32

TABLE I. (CONTINUED)

Homilius No. Type	Incipit	Bach No. Type	Incipit; Remarks
33. Trio	In stillen Tränen	19. Trio	= Homilius no. 33
34. Recitative	Es wurden aber auch hingeführet	20. Recitative	= Homilius no. 34
35. Chorale	Vergib auch mir, o Vater, alle Sünde	21. Chorale	= Homilius no. 35
36. Recitative	Und sie teilten seine Kleider	22. Recitative	= Homilius no. 36
37. Chorale	Wenn endlich ich soll treten ein	23. Chorale	= Homilius no. 37
38. Recitative	Und es war um die sechste Stunde	24. Recitative	= Homilius no. 38
39a. Accomp.	Der Heilige verschied	25a. Accomp.	= Homilius no. 39a; assigned to bass instead of tenor, vocal line revised
39b. Chorus	Wir gingen wie verirrte Schafe	25b. Chorus	= Homilius no. 39b
39c. Accomp.	Ich sündigte wie alle meine Väter	25c. Accomp.	= Homilius no. 39c
40. Chorus	Erbarme dich, du Mann der Schmerzen!	26. Chorus	= Homilius no. 40
		27. Chorale	O Herr, mein Heil, an dessen Blut ich glaube = Homilius no. 35 (with different text; cf. Wq 193/23, v. 6)
41. Recitative	Da aber der Hauptmann sahe		omitted
42. Chorus	Nun dürfen wir den Tod nicht schmecken		omitted; used as no. 29 in 1774 St. Mark Passion

It remains unclear why the chorale “Kein Hirt kann so fleißig gehen” (Homilius no. 21) originally included between nos. 7 and 8, was omitted. In the 1775 score, Bach marked up this chorale for his copyist—he added figures, corrections, an indication of the melody “Freu dich sehr,” and the direction to transpose it from the original B-flat major to C major—but then marked it “weg gelaßen”; the music (transposed, per Bach’s direction) is included in the appendix.

For the texts of the three added chorales Bach turned to poems by Gellert he had set to music some years earlier in the *Geistliche Oden und Lieder mit Melodien*, Wq 194 (see table 2). For the chorales nos. 1 and 27 (the framing numbers), which use the melody “Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen” (the same melody used in no. 21), Bach specified the first and sixth stanzas of Gellert’s *Passionslied* “Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden zu bedenken,” which he had set as Wq 194/23. For the chorale no. 15, which uses the melody “Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld” (the same melody used in no. 23), Bach supplied the fourth stanza of another Gellert *Passionslied*, “Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz,” set earlier as Wq 194/14.<sup>4</sup>

4. Bach used stanzas from each of these songs in various Passions from 1772 to 1784, sometimes with the same two chorale melodies (“Herzliebster Jesu” and “Ein Lämmlein geht”) and sometimes set to a four-voice arrangement of his own original solo settings from Wq 194.

Bach retained all of the poetic numbers in the portion of Homilius’s setting he used. He reassigned the aria no. 5 from tenor to soprano and transposed it up a whole step. He also reassigned the accompanied recitative no. 25a from tenor to bass and lowered the highest notes of its vocal line. The arias nos. 5 and 17 were each abbreviated by shortening the *dal segno* returns of their opening sections.

#### Performance History and Performance Issues

The 1775 St. Luke Passion was performed nine times according to Hamburg’s usual rotation among the principal and lesser churches during Lent: *Invocavit* (5 March) at St. Petri; *Reminiscere* (12 March) at St. Nicolai; *Laetare* (26 March) at St. Catharinen; *Judica* (2 April) at St. Jacobi; Saturday before Palm Sunday (8 April) at St. Johannis; Palm Sunday (9 April) at St. Michaelis; Tuesday after Palm Sunday (11 April) at St. Gertruden; Maundy Thursday (13 April) at St. Pauli; and Good Friday (14 April) at St. Georg.<sup>5</sup>

The loss of performing material makes it impossible to say with absolute certainty how Bach performed the 1775 Passion, but his practices over twenty years (documented in original performing material) make the outlines amply

5. See Sanders, 196–97.

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	Text	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Herr, stärke mich, dein Leiden zu bedenken	Wq 193/23, v. 1	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)
3. Stärk mich, Herr, durch das Leiden dein	HG 1766, no. 560, 4 (with variants; not cited in OT)	Martin Böhme	Herr Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht (Z 533a)
9. Es wird in der Sünder Hände	Fließt ihr Augen, fließt von Tränen, v. 3; cf. BWV 246, no. 30	Laurentius Laurenti	Werde munter, mein Gemüte (Z 6551)
13. Nein, fürwahr, wahrhaftig nein!	HG 1766, no. 131, 7 (not cited in OT)	Paul Gerhard	Christus, der uns selig macht (Z 6283b)
15. Du trägst der Missetäter Lohn	Wq 193/14, v. 4	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	An Wasserflüssen Babylon (Z 7663)
21. Vergib auch mir, o Vater, alle Sünde	Mein Jesus kommt, mein Sterben ist vorhanden, v. 5	Michael Hunold	same harmonization as no. 1
23. Wenn endlich ich soll treten ein	HG 1766, no. 113, 10	Paul Gerhard	same harmonization as no. 15
27. O Herr, mein Heil, an dessen Blut ich glaube	Wq 193/23, v. 6	Christian Fürchtegott Gellert	same harmonization as no. 1 (transposed)
App. Kein Hirt kann so fleißig gehen	HG 1766, no. 364, 5	Paul Gerhard	Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele (Z 6543)

clear. He probably performed the 1775 Passion with an ensemble of seven singers, using two voices in each range except alto. All of Bach's singers typically participated in the choral numbers (both poetic and gospel) and in the chorales, forming the chorus.

The exact assignment of solo vocal duties is unknown but can be partly reconstructed from singers' names mentioned in the source and from Bach's practices, including his division of labor in his reuse of Homilius's narrative in 1783. The vocal forces appear to have been typical: two sopranos, one alto (Hartnack Otto Conrad Zinck), possibly two tenors (Johann Heinrich Michel and perhaps one other) and two basses (Friedrich Martin Illert and Johann Andreas Hoffmann). Bach often prepared two identical copies of the soprano part; all the music in this range, including the arias, may have been sung by two performers (boy sopranos). In the mid-1770s Bach typically used only one alto; Zinck is named in the annotated score for the 1775 Passion. Bach usually employed two tenors; this was particularly important when the Evangelist's music was in the tenor range, requiring a second singer to present interlocutors' lines in that range. Michel is named in the 1775 score as the tenor in no. 19 and appears to have been the favored tenor in Bach's ensemble; the identity of a possible

second tenor is unknown.<sup>6</sup> Two bass singers are named in the score: Illert for no. 11 and Hoffmann for nos. 7c and 25a.

The distribution of interlocutors' roles in the 1775 Passion is also largely reconstructable. One, if not both, of the sopranos almost certainly sang the words of the Magd; the alto probably sang those of the Erster Knecht and Anderer Knecht, and possibly also of the Anderer Übeltäter (at least to judge from the 1783 setting; this music was originally for tenor in the Homilius model). Michel presumably sang the words of the Evangelist, and a second tenor presumably assumed the role of the Erster Übeltäter. Dramatic considerations and comparisons with Bach's other Passions suggest that the bass Illert (who sang the aria no. 11, with a text cast as a first-person speech of Jesus) may have sung all the words of Jesus, and the bass Hoffmann (who performed no. 7c) those of Peter and Pilate; Bach lowered the tessitura of Peter's music, suggesting that it was sung by a bass in 1775 as it was in 1783.

6. The elimination of music for tenor (the transposition of no. 5 for soprano and reassignment of no. 25a to bass) could indicate that Bach had only one strong tenor at his disposal in 1775. This might be connected with the departure of his singer Wreden around this time. See Sanders, 105–7, and Neubacher 2009, 462–63.

Throughout, Bach indicated instrumentation in the score, though not always in detail. The Homilius model calls for two flutes, two oboes, two bassoons, and two horns, in addition to strings and basso continuo, which corresponds to the instrumentation for the 1775 Passion mentioned in NV 1790. Bach eliminated flutes in two numbers (nos. 7a and 26); the latter originally called for both flutes and oboes. (These instruments were typically played by the same musicians in Bach's ensemble, requiring a choice between them.) Bach's explicit instruction "ohne Hoboen" in several numbers suggests that he otherwise expected his copyist to add those instruments in ensemble numbers, presumably doubling the violins. Many gospel choruses indicate "Stromenti coll Voci" without being more specific; presumably in these numbers and in four-part chorale settings, strings and oboes doubled the voices. Bach calls for muted violins in three numbers (nos. 2b, 7a, and 26), making this a characteristic sound of the setting.

Overall, the forces required match those used in Bach's other Passion performances, and he presumably performed the work with his usual complement, a total of ap-

proximately fifteen instrumentalists: two oboes (doubling on flutes), two bassoons (mainly playing the continuo line but also obbligati), two horns, strings (two on first violin, two on second violin, and viola), and continuo (probably two cellos, violone, and organ).

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