

INTRODUCTION

The Passion according to St. Luke performed by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in 1779 (H 792; BR-CPEB D 6.2) is based on his 1771 St. Luke Passion (H 784; see CPEB:CW, IV/6.1), which in turn was based on Georg Philipp Telemann's 1760 St. Luke Passion (TVWV 5:45).¹ Telemann's 1760 setting also served as the model for Bach's 1787 St. Luke Passion (H 800; see CPEB:CW, IV/6.5). Bach's two other St. Luke Passions, performed in 1775 and 1783 (respectively, H 788 and H 796; see CPEB:CW, IV/6.2 and IV/6.4), draw instead on a setting by Gottfried August Homilius (HoWV I.5).

Like the 1771 Passion, the 1779 St. Luke Passion is a *pasticcio* crafted by Bach mostly from pre-existing works by other composers. It uses recitatives originally by Telemann to convey the biblical narrative and weaves in expressive movements (arias, accompanied recitatives, and choruses), borrowed and adapted by Bach to fit the context of the gospel narrative. The 1779 Passion was prepared for multiple Lenten performances in Hamburg and was scored to include the full complement of strings (including two concertante violins), two oboes (switching to flutes as needed), two horns, two bassoons, and basso continuo.² Bach's divi-

sion of the gospel narrative—identical to that of the 1771 setting—is summarized below:

No.	Text Incipit	Chapter: Verses
3.	Und er ging hinaus nach seiner Gewohnheit	22:39–46
5.	Da er aber noch redete	22:47–62
8.	Die Männer aber, die Jesum hielten	22:63–65
10.	Und als es Tag ward	22:66–69
12.	Da sprachen sie alle	22:70–23:9
14.	Die Hohenpriester aber	23:10–25
16.	Und als sie ihn hinführten	23:26
18.	Es folgte ihm aber nach ein großer Haufe Volks	23:27–34a
20.	Und sie teilten seine Kleider	23:34b–43
23.	Und es war um die sechste Stunde	23:44–46

The differences between Bach's 1771 and 1779 Passions are few in terms of structure and scope. They might best be discussed instead as a series of substitutions. Since Bach had already extracted the narrative portions of Telemann's 1760 Passion as the basis of the 1771 Passion, what remained for him in 1779 was to select a new opening chorus, arias, and two accompanied recitatives, all of which he then thoughtfully adapted for placement within the existing musical scaffolding (see table 1). Bach reused all of the chorales from the 1771 Passion (all but two of which came from Telemann's 1760 setting) in the 1779 Passion. The chorale texts were different with a single exception (see table 2).

Bach borrowed the non-recitative movements in the 1779 Passion from three of his regular sources: sacred works by Homilius (HoWV I.4 and II.72), Georg Benda (L 515, 542, and 548), and Georg Heinrich Stölzel (Passion oratorio *Sechs Geistliche Betrachtungen des leidenden und sterbenden Jesu*). A few of the movements that Bach adapted for the 1779 Passion were actually twice-borrowed, which is to say that he had already used them in other contexts, then re-appropriated (and re-texted) them for use in this Passion.

Bach seems generally to have had access to compositions by Benda, the music director at the court of Saxe-Gotha

1. For a comparison of Telemann's 1760 St. Luke Passion and Bach's 1771 St. Luke Passion, see CPEB:CW, IV/6.1, xii–xiii (table 1). Until recently, the exact derivation of Bach's 1771 Passion had been in question. Heinrich Miesner, for example, wrote that the recitatives and turba choruses in the 1779 Passion went back to Telemann's 1764 Passion: "Mit welcher Bequemlichkeit E. Bach zu Werke ging, zeigt sich darin, daß er die Volkschöre der Passion von 1771 der Telemannischen Lukaspassion von 1764 entnahm; ebenso verfuhr er 1779 und 1787. In diesem letztgenannten Jahre benutzte er auch die Rezitative von 1764" (Miesner, 55). In 2011, Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch discovered a different line of transmission for Telemann's 1760 Passion and was able to demonstrate definitively that it, and not the 1764 setting, was Bach's source (pace Uwe Wolf, "Der Anteil Telemanns an den Hamburger Passionen Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs," in *Telemann, der musikalische Maler. Telemann-Kompositionen im Notenarchiv der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin. Bericht über die internationale wissenschaftliche Konferenz Magdeburg, 10. bis 12. März 2004, anlässlich der 17. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage*, ed. Carsten Lange and Brit Reipsch [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010], 412–22); see R.-J. Reipsch, "Eine unbekannte Quelle zu Telemanns Lukaspassion 1760 TVWV 5:45," *Mitteilungsblatt der Telemann-Gesellschaft* 25 (2011): 24–31.

2. The entry for the 1779 Passion in NV 1790 (p. 60) reads: "Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Lucas. H. 1778 und 1779. Mit Hörnern, Flöten, Hoboen und Fagotts."

TABLE I. DERIVATIONS OF THE INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1779 ST. LUKE PASSION

1779 No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
1. Chor	O Gottes Lamm, das unsre Sünde träget	HoWV I.4, no. 39	Bach eliminated B section, changed obbligato flutes to concertante violins, and added horns
2. Choral	O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig	unknown; similar to TVWV 10:1, no. 37	H 784, no. 3 with different verses (HG 1766, no. 118, vv. 1–3 instead of just v. 1)
3. Recitativ	Und er ging hinaus nach seiner Gewohnheit	TVWV 5:45, nos. 3, 5, 7, and 10 (mm. 1–7)	H 784, no. 4
4. Arie	Ach, dass wir Erbarmung fünden	Stölzel, <i>Sechs Betrachtungen</i> , II. Betrachtung, no. 3	H 785, no. 5 with different text; Bach eliminated B section
5. Recitativ	Da er aber noch redete	TVWV 5:45, nos. 10 (mm. 8–16), 12–14, 16, and 18	H 784, no. 6
6. Accompagnement	Wo ist der Held	probably newly composed by Bach	
7. Arie	Fließet, sanfte Tränen	L 548, no. 4	H 821g, no. 7 with different text; soloist changed by Bach from tenor to soprano
8. Recitativ	Die Männer aber, die Jesum hielten	TVWV 5:45, nos. 20–22	H 784, no. 8
9. Choral	Wer hat dich so geschlagen	unknown	H 784, no. 9 with different verses; new verses: HG 1766, no. 122, vv. 3–4
10. Recitativ	Und als es Tag ward	TVWV 5:45, nos. 24–26 (mm. 1–7)	H 784, no. 10
11. Arie	Du hast vom Anfang die Erde gegründet	HoWV II.72, no. 5	H 821g, no. 5 with different text
12. Recitativ	Da sprachen sie alle	TVWV 5:45, nos. 26 (m. 8)–34	H 784, no. 12
13. Choral	Du, ach, du hast ausgestanden	TVWV 5:45, no. 36	H 784, no. 13 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 117, v. 2
14. Recitativ	Die Hohenpriester aber	TVWV 5:45, nos. 37–41	H 784, no. 14
15. Choral	Der Fromme stirbt, der recht und richtig wandelt	TVWV 5:45, no. 43	H 784, no. 15 with same verse (HG 1766, no. 114, v. 5)
16. Recitativ	Und als sie ihn hinführeten	TVWV 5:45, no. 44	H 784, no. 16
17. Choral	O große Lieb, o Lieb ohn alle Maße	TVWV 5:45, no. 45	H 784, no. 17 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 114, v. 7
18. Recitativ	Es folgte ihm aber nach ein großer Haufe Volks	TVWV 5:45, nos. 46, 49, and 51 (mm. 1–3a)	H 784, no. 18
19. Arie	Sein Blut, am Kreuz herabgeflossen	L 542, no. 3	H 821h, no. 5 with different text; soloist changed by Bach from alto to bass
20. Recitativ	Und sie teilten seine Kleider	TVWV 5:45, nos. 51 (mm. 3b–5) and 53–57	H 784, no. 20
21. Accompagnement	O du, die Liebe selbst	probably newly composed by Bach	
22. Arie	Für seinen Feind zum Himmel flehn	H 821c, no. 3, possibly by Bach	Bach eliminated B section; no other currently known antecedent
23. Recitativ	Und es war um die sechste Stunde	TVWV 5:45, no. 59	H 784, no. 22

TABLE 1. (CONTINUED)

1779 No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
24. Arie	Das Opfer stand auf Golgatha	L 515, no. 3	Bach eliminated B section
25. Choral	Solche große Gnade	TVWV 5:45, no. 61	H 784, no. 24 with different verse; new verse: HG 1766, no. 110, v. 4

Key: HoWV I.4 = Homilius St. John Passion; HoWV II.72 = Homilius cantata *Musste nicht Christus solches leiden*; L 515 = Benda cantata *Das Jahr stürzt hin*; L 542 = Benda cantata *Bewaffnet mit Schrecken*; L 548 = Benda cantata *Der Herr lebet, und gelobet sei mein Hort*; TVWV 5:45 = Telemann 1760 St. Luke Passion; TVWV 10:1 = Telemann *Fast allgemeines Evangelisch-Musicalisches Lieder-Buch* (Hamburg, 1730); H 784 = CPEB 1771 St. Luke Passion; H 785 = CPEB 1772 St. John Passion; H 821c = CPEB *Einführungsmusik Schuchmacher*; H 821g = CPEB *Einführungsmusik Friderici*; H 821h = CPEB *Einführungsmusik Gerling*

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
2. O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig	118, 1–3	Nikolaus Decius	O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig (Z 4361)
9. Wer hat dich so geschlagen	122, 3–4	Paul Gerhardt	O Welt, ich muss dich lassen (Z 2293b)
13. Du, ach, du hast ausgestanden	117, 2	Ernst Christoph Homburg	Jesu, der du meine Seele (Z 6804)
15. Der Fromme stirbt, der recht und richtig wandelt	114, 5	Johannes Heermann	Wend ab deinen Zorn (Z 967)
17. O große Lieb, o Lieb ohn alle Maße	114, 7	Johannes Heermann	see no. 15 above
25. Solche große Gnade	110, 4	Hermann Bonnus	Ach wir armen Sünder (Z 8187h)

(as well as to those by Stölzel, Benda's predecessor) over a span of many years. Bach's relationship with Benda went back nearly four decades, from the time both musicians were employed by King Frederick II in Berlin. Benda had recently resigned his position and had been living in Hamburg from April through October of 1778.³ Although the time frame of Benda's stay aligns roughly with the likely period of preparation for the 1779 Passion (starting in late 1778, according to NV 1790), Bach had already acquired many of Benda's cantatas early in his Hamburg tenure. We cannot say for certain that Benda's presence in Hamburg

3. *NG^H*, s.v. "Benda: (4) Georg (Anton) Benda," by John D. Drake, Thomas Bauman/Zdeňka Pilková. This is corroborated by primary source evidence cited in Franz Lorenz, *Georg Anton Benda*, vol. 2 of *Die Musikerfamilie Benda* (New York: De Gruyter, 1971), 86–90. Benda published a letter in the *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* (18 Nov. 1778), 5–6 (reproduced in *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:701–2 and Wiermann, 223–24), in which he reported having been to the "Bachische Michaelis-Musik" for Vespers during his trip, where he heard Bach's double-choir Heilig, Wq 217.

influenced Bach's use of borrowed cantata movements in the 1779 Passion because it is by no means the earliest in this respect.⁴

Bach's relationship with the Dresden music director Homilius might have extended back even farther than the one with Benda, to Leipzig in the 1730s. Though their careers took separate paths, Bach and Homilius seem, like Bach and Benda, to have remained in contact over many years. Many of Homilius's works were in broad circulation, but others seem to have been transmitted to Bach privately, quite possibly by Homilius himself.⁵

4. Bach began incorporating cantata movements by Benda into his vocal works in general as early as 1769 (e.g., in *Einführungsmusik Palm*, H 821a; see CPEB: CW, V/3.1) and into his Passions in particular beginning with the 1771 St. Luke Passion (see CPEB: CW, IV/6.1).

5. See Ulrich Leisinger, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Gottfried August Homilius—Eine Neubewertung," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs geistliche Musik. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium (Teil 1) vom 12. bis 16. März 1998 in Frankfurt (Oder), Żagań und Zielona Góra*,

Sources and Musical Elements

The 1779 Passion comes down to us as a fully intact set of vocal and instrumental parts (D-B, SA 21, source B) that was prepared for use in performances under Bach's direct supervision. These materials are therefore the principal source for this edition. Three copies of the original printed libretto (OT), which would have been available for purchase by Bach's audience, are also extant. The parts for the 1779 St. Luke Passion almost certainly derive exclusively from the parts originally prepared for the 1771 St. Luke Passion (D-B, SA 23, source Q 4) when the movements are identical (that is, those containing the biblical narrative and the chorales). The abbreviated score for the 1771 Passion seems also to have informed the copying process. But since all of the non-biblical poetic movements (arias, accompanied recitatives, and opening chorus) are different in the 1779 Passion, simple re-use of the 1771 parts would have been impossible.

Of the nine movements with poetic texts, seven are known to be borrowings. Of these seven, two were newly borrowed for the 1779 Passion: the opening chorus and aria no. 24 came, respectively, from the St. John Passion (HoWV I.4) by Homilius and the cantata *Das Jahr stürzt hin ins Meer der Ewigkeiten* (L 515) by Benda. Four movements, all arias, were twice-borrowed: nos. 4, 7, 11, and 19 had their origin in works by Benda, Homilius, and Stölzel. Bach had previously incorporated these arias in several of his own works, including a Passion setting and three different *Einführungsmusiken*. The remaining known borrowing, aria no. 22, can be traced to Bach's *Einführungsmusik Schuchmacher* (H 821c), but no outside source has yet been identified. It is likely by Bach himself, although given the high percentage of borrowed arias in his Passion corpus, it is equally likely that we simply have not yet identified the original composer. The accompanied recitatives nos. 6 and 21 are of unknown origin; they were probably Bach's own compositions. The details of the derivation of each movement of the 1779 Passion are listed in table 1 as well as in the critical report; one of the twice-borrowed movements is considered closely in what follows.

When Bach re-appropriated a movement he had already used elsewhere, it was to his own revision of it that he usually turned for copying. For example, aria no. 7 in the 1779 Passion, "Fließet, sanfte Tränen," was originally an aria by Benda that Bach had incorporated into his 1775

Einführungsmusik H 821g.⁶ While Bach was preparing the Passion music, he had in his possession the manuscript containing Benda's cantata (D-B, Mus. ms. 18704) as well as (presumably) his own now-lost performing materials for H 821g. It seems to be the rule that when Bach borrowed an aria from another composer, he frequently left the instrumentation and vocal assignment the same, but he always carefully adapted the vocal melody to suit not only the content but also the character of a new text. The reading of aria no. 7 in the 1779 Passion thus conforms more closely to the adjustments Bach had already made to Benda's aria as it appeared in H 821g, than to Benda's original setting. On the basis of this evidence, which is demonstrably consistent with Bach's borrowing practice, we can conclude that when he used an aria more than once, he generally relied on his own revision as the source of new copying rather than on the original source, which is the same process he observed when appropriating the biblical recitatives and the turba choruses. Reuse of musical material for arias might well have served many practical purposes: Bach did not need to compose music anew at a busy time of year, and his musicians, when they remained the same over a long period of time, did not need to learn as much new music. Bach's habit of assembling Passions rather than creating new compositions might at first seem economical to the point of indifference, but the reality is more nuanced.⁷

As noted in the "Passions" preface (p. x), Bach did not have to take even the trouble that he did over the annual Passion music: he could have chosen simply to repeat from among a sequence of only four Passions every year. Instead, he fashioned new works for each season from existing materials, even though it was not strictly necessary for him to do so. He took evident care in matching music to new texts, and even this was going beyond the bare minimum: the music he selected for use with a new text had to have enough musical elements in common with what was already there to make sense in context. A comparison of Bach's contrafacted settings with their original musical sources (frequently the works of Benda, Stölzel, and Homilius) immediately reveals fundamental similarities of affect and expression. Bach could have used exactly what was in front of him in his Passions, since the texts

ed. Ulrich Leisinger and Hans-Günter Ottenberg (Frankfurt/Oder: Konzerthalle "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," 2001), 240–60.

6. The date and assignment of H 821g to Pastor Friderici's installation are discussed in Helm (p. 212) as well as in CPEB: CW, V/3.3.

7. Moira Leanne Hill, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion Settings: Context, Content, and Impact" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2015), explores this topic in detail, especially in chapter 6.

were new poetry rather than biblical, but he did not. Arias borrowed from Stölzel might have suffered from old-style texts, which simply required updating, but this would not have been the case for pieces by Bach's own contemporaries Benda and Homilius. Bach chose new texts when he borrowed the music from their arias almost certainly because he wanted to highlight and comment on particular elements of the Passion story as it was told by that year's evangelist.

Performance History

In 1779 Easter Sunday fell on 4 April. The 1779 Passion was performed in each of Hamburg's five principal churches, following the usual rotational scheme:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	21 February	St. Petri
Reminiscere	28 February	St. Nicolai
Laetare	14 March	St. Catharinen
Judica	21 March	St. Jacobi
Palmarum	28 March	St. Michaelis

As in every year, the sequence of Passion performances was interrupted on Oculi (7 March in 1779) for the installation of the new *Juraten* at St. Michaelis. At this time Bach was also involved in the performance of other Passion music in Hamburg's secondary churches, as is documented by newspaper accounts and payment records.⁸ Bach directed performances of Carl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* (1755) at the Waisenhauskirche, Heilig-Geist-Kirche, and St. Maria Magdalena.⁹ Bach performed two other Passion works on an annual basis: his own *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 (given annually since 1774) at the Spinnhauskirche (4 March); and Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* (a standing annual tradition before, during, and after Bach's Hamburg years), which was performed at least four times: Werk- und Armenhauskirche (10 March), Heilig-Geist-Kirche (26 March), St. Maria Magdalena (29 March), and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (31 March). Thus, the 1779

8. See Wiermann, 419–32, for newspaper accounts of the performances of Passion music in Hamburg's secondary churches from 1768 through 1789; for the 1779 performances see p. 426. Clark (p. 27) reports that the newer-style Passions (Passion oratorios [new] as opposed to oratorio Passions [old]) without evangelists were performed only in Hamburg's secondary churches, never the five main churches.

9. See Bach's invoice in *CPEB-Briefe*, I:737–38; Bach gave no specific dates for the performances. Wiermann, 426, corroborates only the performance at the Waisenhauskirche (on 17 March).

Passion is likely to have been performed an additional five times in the following churches: Kleine Michaelis-Kirche (25 March), St. Johannis (27 March), St. Gertrud (30 March), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge (Maundy Thursday, 1 April), and Kirche zur Heiligen Dreieinigkei St. Georg (Good Friday, 2 April).

In short, the Lenten season in Hamburg was rich in musical performances, but mostly of music that was no longer new. Bach's Passions, though they were composed of pre-existing material, actually contained some of the most recent offerings, but in a stylistic mixture commensurate with what was current in the city.

Bach's other concerns leading up to the busy Lenten season of 1779 included the death of his youngest son, Johann Sebastian, just a few months prior (September 1778). He was also at pains to ensure that his double-choir Heilig (Wq 217; see CPEB: CW, V/6.1) and the first "Kenner und Liebhaber" collection (Wq 55; see CPEB: CW, I/4.1) would be available through the music publisher Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (with the correct titles and in the right clefs) in time for the Leipzig Ostermesse.¹⁰ If Bach chose to simplify his life in the preceding months by assembling his Passion music ahead of time (as had by now become his standard operating practice), he had especially good reason this time around to be as efficient about it as possible.

Issues of Performance Practice

Bach's instrumental forces for the 1779 Passion likely consisted of fifteen players, a total consistent with the number of performers documented as available to him.¹¹ There are two copies each of the first and second violin parts (plus one copy each of the first and second concertante violin parts for the first movement), and one of the viola part (all evidently intended for one player each, though the number of paid musicians available to Bach could have allowed, at least in some movements, for three first and three second violinists); two oboe parts (instructing players to switch to transverse flute for no. 4); two horn parts (for nos. 1 and 11); two violoncello parts; and two bassoon parts (for no. 1 only), which probably functioned as inserts in the violoncello parts. What the bassoon and horn players did for the rest of the Passion is not known. Perhaps the bassoons joined the continuo, as they may have done in the 1771

10. *CPEB-Briefe*, I:729–37, esp. 735.

11. See Sanders, 88.

Passion,¹² though it seems somewhat unlikely that Bach would have needed two bassoons in addition to organ and violoncello in the continuo section of his modest ensemble. Perhaps the horn players and at least one of the bassoon players doubled as string players except when needed in an obbligato capacity. At present, we cannot draw any firm conclusions. The same pair of players performed the flute and oboe parts but not all changes of instrumentation are clearly indicated in those parts. It appears, however, that the oboe was regarded as the standard instrument; thus the indication “Traverse” was entered at no. 4, the only movement assigned to flutes. There are no explicit cues to return to oboe thereafter, but the range of the rest of the music, while playable by either instrument, is more likely intended for oboe.

Only one of the instrumentalists can be identified, albeit tentatively. One of the copies of the violin I part has the compound initials “JH”—or possibly just the single initial “H”—in pencil at the bottom of the first page. A similar situation is found in the parts for the 1773 St. Matthew Passion (see CPEB:CW, IV/4.2, xvi). The compound initials “JH” may indicate Johann Hartmann (Hartmann junior) or Johann Samuel Hartmann; the single initial “H” might indicate Paul Hartmann (Hartmann senior). The other violin I part might have been intended for Johann Adolph Buckhoffer, the senior of the town musicians from 1757 to 1788; he might have played one of the concertante violin parts in the opening chorus provided on an extra sheet of paper. The names of the remaining instrumentalists cannot be derived from the sources of the Passion.¹³

Bach probably performed the 1779 Passion with an ensemble of eight singers, using two voices in each range. Three singers are named on the surviving part books evidently intended for them: “Herr [Johann Heinrich] Michel” (labeled T I), “H. Hartmañ” (labeled T II), and “H. Hoffmann” (labeled B II); additionally, the name “Mr. [Peter Nicolaus Friederich] Delver” (an alto) appears in the A II part at the beginning of aria no. 4. The tenor Hartmann was possibly the same as the soprano Hartmann who had sung for Bach in the late 1760s and early 1770s.

All of Bach’s singers participated in the choral numbers (both poetic and gospel) and in the chorales, forming

12. See CPEB:CW, IV/6.1, xvi, n. 7 regarding indications of this among Bach’s other Passion parts: “These indications, though scattered, suggest that bassoon and violone players regularly read from the continuo parts labeled ‘Violoncello’ and may well have done so in 1771.”

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

the chorus; each of the vocal parts includes the ensemble vocal music in its range along with the solo material. Bach divided the solo tenor material between Michel (nos. 1 [tenor solo] and 22 as well as the words of Petrus and the Zweiter Übeltäter) and Hartmann (no. 21 as well as the words of the Erster Knecht and Pilatus). One bass, most likely Friedrich Martin Illert, sang nos. 6 and 11 along with the words of Jesus;¹⁴ a second bass, Hoffmann, sang nos. 1 (bass solo) and 19, the Evangelist in nos. 3 and 5, and the words of the Erster Übeltäter.

The division of the upper-range parts is less certain, though somewhat clearer than in the 1771 Passion. The S I and S II parts are identical copies, including both arias (nos. 7 and 24) and the words of the Magd, which might suggest that there was not a worthy soloist to be had in this voice range in 1779. As for the altos, it is possible that Bach wanted Delver to use the unspecified A I part—and thus sing the words of the Evangelist from no. 8 to the end—but found it necessary to direct him to take over aria no. 4 in the A II part as well. Curiously, the words of the Zweiter Knecht are copied in both the A I and A II parts. It is possible that Delver and the other alto alternated singing those words during the Passion performances, as the sopranos might have done with their solo material. Alternatively, the words of the Zweiter Knecht might have been copied erroneously into the A II part; this scenario is suggested by analogy with the 1787 setting, in which those words were copied only into that work’s A I part. If such a copying error occurred in 1779, and if Delver sang aria no. 4 throughout the run of performances, then the singer using the A II part would have been the only member of Bach’s vocal ensemble to have sung in a purely ripieno capacity in the 1779 Passion, participating only in the opening chorus, turba choruses, and chorales.

The opening chorus contains, in mm. 39–63, atypical “solo” and “tutti” indications in the first bassoon, tenor, and bass parts. Apparently Bach expected a reduction of

14. Illert is named as the singer of the words of Jesus in ten of the twenty surviving sets of parts for Bach’s Passions (the parts for the 1775 Passion do not survive, but Illert is named in the score for that work); no name is given for those words in the remaining ten sets of parts. In a catalogue entry for a now-lost, possibly autograph score fragment for the accompanied recitative no. 6, Illert is named as the singer (see discussion of “Lost or Missing Sources” in the critical report), so it is reasonable to conclude that he sang the entirety of the B I part in the 1779 Passion. For more on Illert, see Paul Corneilson, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s ‘Principal Singer’ Friedrich Martin Illert,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch*, ed. Christine Blanken and Wolfram Enßlin, *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* 12 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2016), 135–63.

the vocal forces and of the bassoons in accordance with Homilius's original setting (a similar situation is found in chorus no. 4 of the 1777 St. Matthew Passion; see CPEB:CW, IV/4.3).

It is not completely clear how many verses of chorale no. 2 were performed in 1779 (only one verse was performed in 1771). In source **B**, all of the instrumental parts once carried the instruction "3 Verse," but in each part this instruction has been either scraped away or struck through with pencil (see plate 5). The vocal parts also contain multiple verses—indicated by repeat signs (though sometimes too few or too many; see list of variant readings in the commentary) and the modified closing line of text in the final repetition ("Gib uns dein'n Frieden, o Jesu!" instead of "Erbarm dich unser, o Jesu!")—but show no corrections or strike-throughs (see plate 1). The threefold repetition, in light of the text, would render this chorale equivalent to a German Agnus Dei. The repetition may not have been Bach's original plan, since he did not add an annotation like "3 Verse" to the abbreviated score in **Q 4** (though he did add "2 Verse" in that source for another chorale; see plate 4). In any event, the repetition was copied into the parts, presumably at Bach's behest, but he evidently changed his mind about it, perhaps in rehearsal or in the course of performances. The final line of the repeated text ("Gib uns dein'n Frieden, o Jesu!") does not appear in the printed libretto (**OT**). If the congregation were expected to sing

along with the chorales (as seems to have been the case in Hamburg), we might speculate that the lack of text repetition in their librettos caused confusion, although they would undoubtedly have been familiar enough with the German Agnus Dei that printing the additional text might have been superfluous. The conflicting source evidence renders Bach's intentions something of a mystery. For the sake of completeness, the chorale is published with all three verses in the present edition.

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