Chapter 1

Conventions of the oratorio Passion tradition in the 18th century: function, texts, structure and style

1.1 Introduction

J.S. Bach's three oratorio Passions composed for Leipzig - St John (BWV 245, 1724), and St Matthew (BWV 244, 1727) are recognised as the pinnacle of German Lutheran Passion composition. More importantly, as a result of our familiarity with these works, they are often considered to represent 'the norm' for 18th-century oratorio Passion composition - their structure and gravity have influenced our expectations when considering works of other composers. Yet, as far as we know, Bach composed only three examples and did not add to the genre after 1731.[1] What will emerge clearly in Chapter 1 is that this view of these unusually complex works, together with a lack of a rigorous study of the mid 18th-century oratorio Passion as a genre, has obscured the great variety of structures and complexity in the works of his contemporaries and has contributed to the situation that, until this present study, there has been no real point of comparison for the Passions of the Zerbst tradition. A survey of the oratorio Passions by Bach's contemporaries, particularly of the most prolific and

1 According to the *Nekrolog*, Bach set the Passion five times. For some time the St Matthew Passion, BWV 244, St John Passion BWV245, St Luke Passion BWV246, St Mark Passion BWV 247 and the 'Picander Passion' *Erbauliche Gedanken auf den Grünen Donnerstag und Charfreytag...* (1725) were considered to be these five works. No proof survives that Bach ever set the Picander text and it is currently accepted that BWV 246 was probably the work of a North German composer c1712-1720. When Bach came to know this work is unknown but it is a possibility that he performed it in Weimar c1712-1717. (See Schmieder (1990))

innovative exponent of the genre, G.P.Telemann, suggests that Bach's works by no means represent 'the norm' for liturgical placement, structure and style. Undoubtedly, no other composer besides Bach produced works of such scale and devotional intensity as BWV244, but some characteristics considered to be strengths of the Bach settings are almost totally absent from the works of other composers of the period, in particular, the opening lyrical chorus (the equivalent of the traditional *Introitus* - which in Bach is a large-scale polyphonic movement of some considerable drama),[2] and the quiet contemplative 'rest in the grave' *Schlußchor*. Also, few composers chose to match the dramatic use of the chorus in the body of the work. At times I have referred in the text below to what I have described as the 'Bach-type' though, in reality, one cannot describe such a defined entity since all three of Bach's Passion works are so different from each other. However, the most prominent characteristics with which they differ as a group from the majority of surviving 18th-century examples of liturgical Passion are: a bipartite structure, a large-scale opening chorus, gospel text sung by New Testament biblical characters with strict *secco* recitative for all the gospel text with the exception of the words of Jesus which are consistently set with the 'halo of strings' in BWV244, a dramatic use of *turba* chorus, intricate chorale settings placed at important moments, themselves commenting on the action, and a *Schlußchor* cast as a 'sleep-chorus'. In the St Matthew Passion there is also frequent interruption of the recitative with contemplative texts set as *arioso* recitative generally linked with arias. In reality there was such a great variety in the 18th-century oratorio Passions that a multi-volume work might be required to give an adequate coverage of the subject. A summary of the common characteristics of the majority of 18th-century oratorio Passions other than those by Bach would include: a unitary (Hamburg), bipartite or other structure with a smaller proportion (compared to the Bach-type) of contemplative interpolations (with resultant longer stretches of recitatives), which is framed and punctuated by chorales of the simple type (i.e. less contrapuntal and harmonically complex), and with very few lyrical passages set for chorus except, possibly, for a *Schlußchor*. The *turba* choruses are also brief and thus the role of the chorus is considerably less important than in the 'Bach-type'. As will be seen below, local custom played an important part in the shaping of the macro-structure of these works and the internal structure is very much more variable that this simple definition suggests. Indeed, the greatest variety of structure and approach can be perceived in the works of the most prolific

2 See section 1.4.4.1 below for a explanation of the terms *Introitus* and *Conclusio*.

composer in the genre; while on the one hand there are a handful works by Telemann that fall fairly neatly into the description of the 'Bach-type', others are almost indistinguishable from the Passion oratorio. There are fundamental differences between the two large-scale settings of the Passion story in the 18th century: the oratorio Passion (or 'liturgical Passion') as described above, and the Passion oratorio (or 'lyrical Passion'). In both the history of the Passion is narrated by an Evangelist in recitative which is then punctuated with commentary on the theological aspects of the story in the form of reflective arias, lyrical choruses and (in the case of the oratorio Passion, though to a much lesser extent in the lyrical work) by German hymns. The chief difference lies at the core of the work; the recitative in the oratorio Passion sets the relevant sections of the biblical text taken from one of the gospels (Matthew, 26-27; Mark, 14-15; Luke, 22-23 and John, 18-19) whereas the text of the Passion oratorio is entirely freely written poetry which may include references to any or all of the gospels in the course of a work.[3]

Literature on the Bach Passions is extensive and no attempt has been made to repeat information in this survey except to make comparisons with contemporary practice. Coverage of the Passion music of other composers is much less detailed in available literature which has presented its own problems, especially with regard to the question of stylistic characteristics of mid-century works. Whereas a clear picture of the performance practice of the liturgical Passion can be built up from various published articles, the less tangible aspect of style is not as systematically described as in the case of Bach's music, and on occasion creates as many questions as there are points made. An example of the confusion caused by generalizations in encyclopaedic texts can be found in Martin Ruhnke's commentary in *Grove 6*[4] on Telemann's approach to the composition of recitative:

> [Telemann]..kept to the rules laid down by theorists and modelled on Italian Opera recitative: rhythm and melodic line had to be subordinate to speech declamation. Only when the recitative was in quavers could faster or slower declamation or the

3 The lyrical-type was an important influence on the development of the 18th-century liturgical Passion. In the first decade of the 18th century in Hamburg, just at the time that the oratorio Passion was developing into its mature 18th-century form, there appeared such works as *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus* (text by Hunold) and *Tränen unter dem Kreuze Jesus* (text by König), both set by Keiser in 1704 and 1711, and Brockes's text *Der für die Sünden der Welt*, set by Keiser (1712), Händel (1716), Telemann (1716) and Mattheson (1718). Without the constraints of the need to set the lengthy Gospel text an to fit local liturgy, the lyrical Passion proved to be more adaptable to the changes in taste in the mid-century, was much more widely performed, in many centres replacing the liturgical Passion customarily performed in the the Passiontide services.

4 Ruhnke (1985) pp. 304-5.

> lengthening of individual notes give point to the text; and only when the melodic line consisted mainly of stepwise movement and repetition could melodic leaps and unusual intervals stand out and become significant. Where the recitative accompaniment generally pursued an uneventful course, the composer could at appropriate points in the text create additional rhetorical accents harmonically. By adopting these basic principles in his recitatives, Telemann was able to achieve the maximum effect with the simplest means.

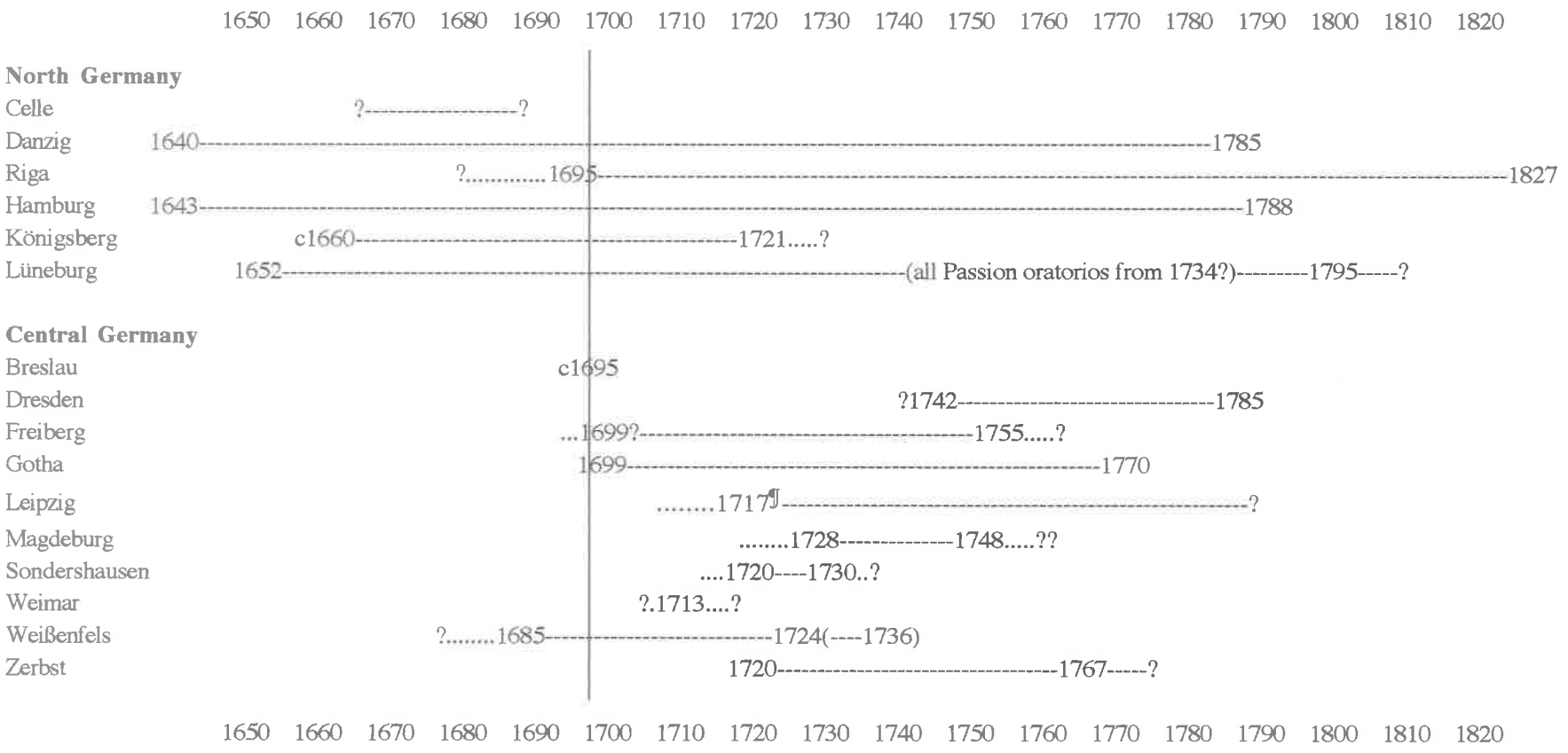
What 'rules' is Telemann supposed to have followed, expressed by which theorists and based on what style of Italian opera (Rome or Naples?), and how is this writing unique to Telemann's idiomatic recitative style?

At best, therefore, owing to the sheer volume of material that might be considered in an in-depth view of the topic, this study must be viewed as 'work in progress'. However, the broad survey of main characteristics of the genre in this chapter provides some clear points of comparison by which the Zerbst Passions might be placed in the context of contemporary practice. Thus, the chapter is divided into five main topics, themes that will provide the backbone of the discussions of the Passion works under consideration in this study, namely: 1) the liturgical contexts, 2) macro-structure, 3) texts, 4) internal structure/musical structure and 5) musical techniques of 18th-century oratorio Passions. These surveys indicate trends in Passion composition not previously identified; particularly in the use of gospel text, internal structure, the use of chorales, the choice of voice for the setting of biblical characters and the instrumentation. Two case studies, of works contemporary with the surviving Zerbst Passions (Telemann 1744 St Luke Passion and Homilius St Mark Passion, composed by ?1768), are provided to give examples of typically mid-century works and to which reference can be made in subsequent discussions.

1.2 Centres of oratorio Passion performance and the repertoire

The oratorio Passion, or liturgical Passion, flourished in the German-speaking Lutheran areas of northern Europe - northern and central (modern) Germany, Danzig, East Prussia (Königsberg), and the Baltic states - in the latter half of the 17th and through most of the 18th century. The history of the oratorio Passion falls neatly into two parts; 1) the development of the form and the assimilation of new techniques in the period up to 1700 to produce an oratorio-type work setting the relevant part of one of the gospels with reflective commentary in the forms of arias (often chorale texts sung by solo voices) and, 2) the period after 1700,

Table 1.1: Centres of Oratorio Passion - Periods of activity



Other centres for which incomplete details of performances survive: North Germany - Bremen, Dahlen, Hanover, Stettin; Central Germany - Bernstadt, Delitszch, Halberstadt, Merseburg, Rudolstadt,

¶ An oratorio Passion (presumably by Hofmann) was performed in the Leipzig Neukirche in 1717. It wasn't until 1721 that one was heard in the *Hauptkirchen* with a performance of Kuhnau's St Mark Passion in the Thomaskirche. It is from this point the Leipzig 'tradition' commences.

which are characterised by the developments in the new post-Neumeister cantata texts and the subsequent gradual eroding of the differences between the oratorio Passion and the newer lyrical oratorio, the Passion oratorio.[5] Of about 194 oratorio Passions that are known, only forty or so survive.[6] The Hamburg tradition produced by far the majority of the known examples, numbering over 85 of which 27 survive in a complete musical form.

After the establishment of the oratorio Passion as a new form in the northern German cities of Hamburg, Danzig and Lüneburg (c1640-1660), the form was gradually taken up by other cities and courts of northern Germany, spreading south, eventually, to central German cities and courts such as Weißenfels, Rudolstadt, Gotha, Leipzig and Dresden. Table 1.1 above indicates the periods of activity in the principal centres where oratorio Passions have been known to be have been performed and highlights dramatically the geographical division of Germany.[7] Where only one or two works are known from a particular centre, the paucity of information makes it difficult to establish dates of such a tradition while with others, such as Hamburg, Danzig, Lüneburg, Leipzig and Zerbst, there is a well-documented performance history.

In the period during which the greatest Passion compositions were produced in the Court of

5 Although these dates may appear rather neat, they are not arbitrary. There was a great stylistic leap between the 17th-century Passions, the last of which is Meder's St Matthew Passion (1701) and the setting of the anonymous 1704 St John Passion with text by Postel. This setting can be considered the first surviving work which is entirely in an 18th-century style. The new Passion oratorio is entirely the product of the 18th century, and the development of this genre exerted an important influence on the structure, content and style of the liturgical Passion. (Since the inclusion of the 1704 setting in the first complete edition of Händel's works, the authorship has been questioned. Though Smallman (1970) p.160 points out that detailed evidence has yet to be published, according to Steinitz (1975) p. 643, Georg Böhm is a possible author based upon Harald Kümmerling's observation that the source of the Passion in Berlin is in the same hand as known Böhm sources in the Bokemeyer collection (see Walter (1967) p. 159.) Without supporting evidence, Keiser has been suggested as the author in Hogwood (1984) p.25, as has Mattheson, but the style of this work is markedly different to that displayed in later Passions accredited to these two composers.

6 Data from Springthorpe, *A Directory of oratorio Passions* (in preparation). The surviving 18th-century oratorios are listed below in Table 1.3.

7 Malinovsky (1978) pp.8 ff. identifies 23 centres associated with regular performances of oratorio Passions: Bernstadt, Breslau, Celle, Danzig, Delitszch, Freiberg, Gotha, Halberstadt, Halle, Hamburg, Hanover, Königsberg, Leipzig, Lübeck, Lüneburg, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Riga, Rudolstadt, Sondershausen, Stettin, Weißenfels, Wismar. To this list the author has been able to add Dresden, Weimar and Zerbst. Malinovsky gives no sources of information covering Halberstadt, Lübeck, Bernstadt, Merseburg, Rudolstadt and Stettin (though it seems likely that the St Mark Passion by Vogler offered in Breitkopf (1761) p. 25 was prepared for performance in Merseburg. In the case of Lübeck although Kun(t)zen performed a (lyrical?) Passion in this period, there seems to have been no annual tradition established at any time. The emphasis was on the annual *Abendmusik* on six Sundays leading up to Christmas.

Anhalt-Zerbst (from 1743 to 1763 - see Chapter 4 below) the tradition of Passion composition and performance had already expired in several centres and only a handful of composers were still producing examples of the genre. The reasons for this were two-fold; several courts which sponsored composers and performances had by then dissolved their orchestras, and in other centres - mainly cities where Passion performances were part of the liturgy of the parish churches - the oratorio Passion had been superseded by the more popular lyrical type.

Table 1.2 Centres where, by 1740, the oratorio Passion performance tradition had expired or had become irregular:

Celle	-	No reports of oratorio passions after Kühnhausen St Matthew Passion (composed before 1680).
Königsberg	-	Kapelle disbanded in 1707;[8] only subsequent work is Riedel St Matthew Passion 1721, performed, presumably, under the auspices of the Cathedral.
Lüneburg	-	Last reference to an Oratorio Passion is of a St Matthew Passion in 1734. Thereafter, all Passions performed there (all lyrical oratorios) were imported.
Merseburg	-	Kapelle disbanded 1738.[9]
Sondershausen		Only known Passion, by Freislich, was composed in the period 1720-1730. Most knowledge of the work comes from the version performed in Danzig after 1755.
Weißenfels	-	Kapelle disbanded 1736. [10]

In some centres (Riga, Gotha and Leipzig), although the annual practice of performing oratorio Passions continued during the period 1740-60, no completely new examples seem to have been added to the repertoire (though examples of *Pasticcio* Passions made up of previously composed music were performed by Bach in Leipzig in the 1740's). Of other centres that did nurture the oratorio Passion in the period, in four there are no surviving examples (Delitszch, Freiberg, Magdeburg and Rudolstadt). The following table lists all the surviving works produced after 1700 with the exception of the examples from Zerbst. In the majority of centres there was a certain amount of repetition of repertoire. In Hamburg, however, there was a tradition of producing a new work on an annual basis with no significant repetition after 1721, resulting in the domination of the genre by the two

8 Braun (1980) p. 175-6
9 Baselt (1993) p. 240.
10 *Ibid.* p. 242.

Stadtkantors who held office in Hamburg between 1721 and 1788: G.P. Telemann and C.P.E. Bach:[11]

Table 1.3a Surviving musical settings

1701	Meder	St Matthew	Riga	A
1704	(attr. Händel)	St John	Hamburg	A
1710-20?	Keiser	St Luke	Hamburg	B
c1712	Keiser	St Mark	Hamburg	A
b1718	A.A. Koch	St Matthew	Bernstadt	A
b1720	J.B.C. Freislich	St Matthew	Sondershausen	A
b1720	anonymous (attr. Bach)[12]	St Luke	?(N.Germany)	A
1723	G.P.Telemann	St Mark	Hamburg	A
1723	J.S. Bach	St John	Leipzig	A
1723	Mattheson	St John	Hamburg	A
1727	J.S. Bach	St Matthew	Leipzig	A
1728	G.P. Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	A
1730	G.P. Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	A
1731	J.S.Bach	St Mark	Leipzig	B
1733	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1734	anonymous	St Matthew	Danzig	A
c1735-7	J.G.Röllig	St Matthew	Leipzig	B
1736	Römhildt	St Matthew	Merseburg	B
1737	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1741	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1744	G.P. Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	A
1745	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1746	G.P. Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	A
1748	G.P. Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	A
1749	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1750	G.P. Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	A
c1750	anonymous	St Matthew	Danzig	A
1753	Doles	St Matthew	Freiberg	A
c1755-1768	Homilius	St Mark	Dresden	A
1755	G.P. Telemann	St Mark	Hamburg	A
1757	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1758	G.P. Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	A
1759	G.P. Telemann	St Mark	Hamburg	A
1760	G.P. Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	A
c1760	Pucklitz	St John	Danzig	B
1761	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1762	G.P. Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	A
1764	G.P. Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	A
1765	G.P. Telemann	St John	Hamburg	A
1766	G.P. Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	A
1767	G.P. Telemann	St Mark	Hamburg	A
1769	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew	Hamburg	B
c1775	Homilius	St Matthew	Dresden	A
1777	C.P.E. Bach	St Mark	Hamburg	B
1781	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew	Hamburg	B

11 Lists from N.R. Springthorpe, *A Directory of Oratorio Passions* (in preparation). Two works were parodies of earlier settings: the 1738 St Matthew Passion of the 1726 setting and 1749 St John of the 1741 setting. See Hörner (1933) p.68 and Clark (1984) p.27.

12 Catalogued as BWV 246, performed Leipzig 1734 (see table 7.1 below).

1783	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke	Hamburg	B
1784	C.P.E. Bach	St John	Hamburg	B
1787	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke	Hamburg	B
1788	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew	Hamburg	A

A = Full score or set of parts survives
B = music survives incomplete

In addition, wordbooks only survive of the following works from which information about structure and texts can be gleaned:

Table 1.3b Passions surviving as text-only

a) anonymous Passions from Hamburg:[13] 1701 St Luke; 1706 St John; 1707 St Matthew; 1708 St Mark; 1709 St Luke; 1710 St John; 1712 St Mark; 1715 St Matthew; 1716 St Mark; 1718 St John; 1720 St Matthew;

b) G.P. Telemann Passions: 1722 St Matthew; 1724 St Luke; 1725 St John; 1726 St Matthew; 1727 St Mark; 1729 St John; 1736 St Luke; 1738 St Matthew; 1739 St Mark; 1740 St Luke; 1752 St Luke; 1763 St Mark;

c) C.P.E. Bach Passions: 1768 St Matthew; 1769 St Mark; 1770 St Luke; 1771 St John; 1772 St Matthew, 1773 St Mark; 1774 St Luke, 1775 St John; 1776 St Matthew; 1777 St Mark; 1778 St Luke; 1779 St John; 1780 St Matthew; 1781 St Mark; 1782 St Luke; 1783 St John; 1784 St Matthew; 1785 St Mark; 1786 St Luke; 1787 St John

d) Other Passions: 1707 anonymous (Witt?) St Matthew; 1707 Erlebach St Matthew?, Rudolstadt; 1710 Böhm St Luke, Lüneburg; 1721 Riedel St Matthew, Königsberg; 1729 Stölzel St Matthew and 1737 St John, Gotha; before 1744 J.S. Beyer St Mark, St Matthew, St Mark and St Luke, Freiberg.

1.3 Liturgical placement and macro-structure

Performance customs of the oratorio Passion varied from centre to centre and, although such works were most commonly performed on Good Friday, there was more variety in structure and liturgical context than Smallman suggests.[14] The Catholic liturgy placed readings or performances of the four gospel accounts of the Passion on set days in Holy Week - St Matthew on Palm Sunday; St Mark, Tuesday of Holy Week; St Luke, Wednesday of Holy Week, and St John on Good Friday. Malinovsky points out that, aside from the fact that they were given in the biblical order, the two most detailed accounts were given on two of the most important days in Holy Week: Palm Sunday and Good Friday.[15] Echoes of this can be seen

13 No composer can be established for these works.

14 Smallman (1970) p. 33.

15 Malinovsky (1978) p. 283.

in the local customs adopted by the Lutheran Church though the performance of liturgical Passions were not restricted to Holy Week, but could be heard on any Sunday in Lent. The placement within the liturgy determined, to a great extent, the large-scale division (or macro-structure) of the work into 'Parts'[16] and, thus, the two topics are discussed in tandem in the following survey.

The earliest oratorio Passions are multi-sectional works. The early Hamburg Passions by Selle (St John, 1640; St Matthew, 1642; St John, 1643) and the Sebastiani St Matthew Passion (Königsberg, c1663) fall into three Parts following the pattern of the old Responsorial Passion with a complete performance given in one service.[17] The first group of surviving post-1676 word books in Hamburg is clearly influenced by the Sebastiani model in their adoption of three Parts and in the use of chorale verse for congregational singing and for solo reflective arias.[18] Each Part commences with a sinfonia.[19] Strutius's St Matthew Passion, published in Danzig in 1664, falls into five Parts whereas Kuhnhausen's St Matthew Passion (Celle 1670-80)[20] adopts a more modern two-Part structure. By the turn of the century, two distinct performing practices were to be found in Hamburg: the performance of a Passion in two Parts in the Domkirche, normally in Holy Week,[21] and an unbroken performance in one Part only in the parish churches and other minor churches under the direction of the

16 The term 'Parts' (with a capital letter) will, henceforth, refer to the structure of the Passion as opposed to the various lines of music in the score.

17 See Hammitt (1974) for a survey of the 17th-century oratorio Passion and its models.

18 Prior to WWII there was a valuable resource in the form of an unbroken chain of *libretti* of Passions performed in Hamburg from 1676 to 1788. Those works performed prior to Telemann's appointment as *Stadtkantor* in 1721 give no indication of the authorship of the music or text. Possible composers are the two Hamburg *Stadtkantors,* Christoph Bernhard and Joachim Gerstenbüttel, and four other musicians associated with Hamburg during the period: Joh. Adam Reincken, Matthias Weckmann (c1623-1674), Johann Theile (1646-1724) and Dietrich Becker (1623-1679). (Springthorpe (1996) pp. 27- 28.)

19 anonymous St Matthew (1676), St John (1677) and St Mark (1679) - according to Hörner (1933) pp.11 ff.

20 Malinovsky (1978) p. 166

21 *Domkantors* in the period were 1686-1715 - Friedrich Nicolaus Bruns (also Brauns) (b.1686, d. 1718); 1715-1728 - Johann Mattheson (b.1681, d.1764) and 1728-39 - Reinhard Keiser (b.1674, d.1739). Oratorio Passions performed inc. anonymous (attr. Händel) St John Passion; Keiser, St Mark Passion and possible St Luke; Mattheson, *Das Lied des Lammes.* At first the performances were given in the former refectory and then from about 1716, in the nave of the church itself. - The former refectory, was from the late 17th century, used as a kind of concert-room and was the venue for the concerts of oratorios and secular music given by Weckmann's *Collegium Musicum* (See Petzoldt (1974) p. 52 and Smither (1977) p.109).

Stadtkantor in a sequence of performances leading up to Holy Week.[22] The order in which the performances were given had been established in the mid 17th century:[23]

Petrikirche:	third Sunday in Lent
Nicolaikirche:	fourth Sunday in Lent
Catharinenkirche:	fifth Sunday in Lent
Heilige Geist:	Friday before Palm Sunday
Jacobkirche:	Palm Sunday
S.Maria-Magdelena:	Monday of Holy Week
S.Gertrudis:	Tuesday of Holy Week[24]

In addition, performances were to be heard by the 1650s in the Church of Marie-Magdelenenklosters and Heilige Geist-Spitäle. Later additions were the Michaeliskirche, the Pfarrkirche der Neustadt and the Dom in the Pfichtenkreis.[25] By Telemann's time Passions were also performed in S. Georg and in the Waisenhauskirche.[26] Clearly the work-load was great: by C.P.E. Bach's time there were 10 performances in 13 days.[27] However, judging from the schedule suggested above, oratorio Passions performances in the Hamburg parish churches were completed prior to Maundy Thursday - unlike the performance practice in the Domkirche where the 1704 anonymous St John Passion with text by Postel was reportedly

22 Hamburg *Stadtkantors* who oversaw oratorio Passion perfomances in the 17th and 18th centuries were: Selle, 1637-1663; Bernhard,1663-1674; Gerstenbüttel 1674-1721; G.P. Telemann, 1721-1767; C.P.E. Bach, 1767-1788.

23 Following the Catholic Liturgy, in German Lutheran tradition, each Sunday and feast day in Lent leading up to Easter is given a title that relates to the verse for the day. Oratorio Passion performances have been recorded in various centres throughout the Lenten period on the following feast days:

German Name	Day in Anglo-Catholic liturgy
Esto Mihi	Quinquagesima
Invocavit	1st Sunday in Lent
Remiscere	2nd Sunday in Lent
Oculi	3rd Sunday in Lent
Lätare	4th Sunday in Lent
Judica	5th Sunday in Lent
Palm Sonntag	Palm Sunday
Gründonnerstag	Maundy Thursday
Karfreitag	Good Friday

24 Krüger (1933) pp. 82-3.

25 *Ibid* p. 86.

26 Menke (1983) p.18.

27 Helm (1983) p.265.

heard in the Refectory on Good Friday.[28]

The two-Part division of the Passion with a sermon placed between the two halves was the most popular structure in the 18th century though the two halves of a bipartite work were not necessarily performed at a single service; in Danzig the performance was spread across two services on Good Friday in the *Danziger Gesangbücher* published in 1735, 1759, 1760 and 1782.

> *Das Leyden und Sterben Unsers theuresten Heylandes Jesu Christi, Aus dem XXVI and XXVII. Capitel des Evangel. Matthäi, Auf Verordnung E. hoch=Edl. Rahts der Stadt Danzig, Bey der Früh- und Vesper Predigt des Stillen Freytags, In einer erbaulichen Musik Zur Vermehrung guter Andacht vorgestellet.*

In this centre only St Matthew's account was allowed to be performed in church; Part I (Chapter 26) in the morning service, Part II (Chapter 27) at Vespers.[29] In Riga the tradition seems to have been to divide the performance of the Passion between Tuesday in Holy Week and Good Friday as suggested by the title of a Passion text printed in the Riga *Gesangbuch* (1695): [30]

> *Heilige Passions-Andacht / Von Jesu Christi / unsers Herrn und Heilandes unschuldigen Leydens und Sterben Matthäus am 26. und 27. Cap. Wie solche allhier in Riga in der stille[n] Woche am Dienstag und Char-Freytag in der Kirche abgesungen wird.*

The division of oratorio Passions into two Parts continued in centres further south which gradually adopted the form. In Halberstadt, Clajus's Passion (St Matthew, 1693) is so divided.[31] In the last two major cities that instituted a Passion tradition - Leipzig (from 1721 in the *Hauptkirchen*, although apparently from 1717 in the independent Neukirche) and possibly Dresden (from the mid-century) - a two-part Passion was performed in the

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28 Hogwood (1984) p.25 (Hogwood does not give a source). Malinovsky (1978) p.197 gives the date as 17.3.1704. On Monday and Wednesday of Holy Week in 1704, Keiser's *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus* was also given performances in the Refectory as detailed in the libretto. (Smither (1977) p. 105.)

29 Lott (1920) p. 291 and Lott (1925) pp. 298 and 305.

30 Lott (1920) p. 292.

31 Clajus published three others: St John, 1694 and two according to St Mark in 1695 and 1696.

Good Friday Vespers.[32] The order of service for Vespers on Good Friday in Leipzig, a service which commenced at 1:45 pm, had been established in the *Hauptkirchen* in 1721 (with the first performance of Kuhnau's St Mark Passion in the Thomaskirche). Part I of the Passion was sung before the sermon, and Part II after. For the performances of Bach's St Matthew Passion, the congregation in the Thomaskirche displayed considerable stamina:

1) Performance of the chorale 'Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund' by the choir.
2) Part I of the Passion
3) Pulpit Hymn, 'Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend'
4) Sermon
5) Part II of the Passion
6) Motet sung by choir: *Ecce quomodo moritur* (Gallus).
7) Passion verse intoned - Collect for the day
8) Chorale 'Nun Danke alle Gott' (from Schering (1941) pp.166)

A differing pattern of performance was conceived by Picander for the setting of his lyrical Passion of 1725. Although there is no evidence that Bach set this libretto, let alone performed it, Picander's title indicates an intended performance spread across services on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday: *Erbauliche Gedanken auf den Grünen Donnerstag und Charfreytag über den Leidenden Jesum. In einem Oratorio entworffen,* 1725.

More variety was displayed in other central German centres and presentations of the Passion were not restricted to Holy Week. In Lüneburg, Funke's St Luke was performed before the sermon on Quinquagesima Sunday.[33] In Freiberg, the two Parts of Beyer's *Heilige Leidens Geschichte Unsers Herrn Jesu Christi* were performed twice in the Cathedral, on *Esto mihi* and the first Tuesday in Lent and on Palm Sunday and Tuesday of Holy Week.[34] In Gotha, the anonymous 1707 St Matthew Passion (possibly by Witt) is divided into four Parts, performed before and after the sermon in the Maundy Thursday and Good Friday Vespers

32 There seems to be some confusion over the details of the Dresden tradition. Homilius's Passions were invariably in two Parts, and, indeed, the source in Berlin of the St Mark Passion *So gehst du nun* is divided into two volumes. According to Hans John (1980) pp. 207ff., the Homilius Passions were performed at special services during Lent and on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. The sleeve notes (author anonymous) accompanying the recent recording of the St Matthew Passion *Ein Lämmlein geht* state that, as at Leipzig, the two parts were performed before and after the sermon in the *Karfreitagsgottesdienst.* However, in his book, John does not distinguish between the liturgical and Passion oratorios in his comments - it is conceivable that the liturgical type were performed on Good Friday, whilst the lyrical type were performed on other occasions, possibly in sacred concerts.

33 Walter (1967) p.155.

34 Schünemann (1918/1919) p. 200.

services. The majority of subsequent works in the centre adopted a similar plan.[35] Finally, in Weißenfels, a court with a well established tradition of Passion performances under Krieger, at least two Passions of which details survive were performed over several days. The anonymous 1703 Passion in three Parts was performed on *Laetare* and *Judica* whilst an anonymous six-Part Passion performed in 1710 was given over six Sundays from *Esto mihi* to Palm Sunday (excluding *Oculi.*)[36]

In forms related to the oratorio Passion, there seems to have been more variety in structure. Some, as in the *Zerbstisches Gesangbuch* (1743), were no more than extended hymns with the entire Passion text in strophic verse.[37] However, examples of more complex settings can be found in Hymn books of major cities where the gospel text is interspersed with lyrical movements displaying aria structures. *The Rudolstädter Passionsharmonie* (1688), *Merserburger Evangelienharmonie des Gesangbuches* (1709) and the *Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch* (1666 and 1788) all contain 'harmonized' settings of the Passion story (i.e. compilations from all four Gospels).[38] The various editions of the *Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch* contain a text for an oratorio Passion divided into five 'acts'. This format was developed as early as 1666 by Piscator and was entitled *Die Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens...in fünf Theile eingerichtet.* The five acts began with the following text incipits:

Act 1 'Und da sie den Lobgesang gesprochen hatten...,'
Act 2 'Die Schaar aber und der Oberhauptmann...,'
Act 3 'Und der ganze Haufe stund auf...,'
Act 4 'Da nahmen die Kriegsknechte Jesum...'
Act 5 'Darnach am Abend, weil es der Rüsttag war...'

An additional note in the title 'Wie dieselbe am Char-Freytage abgesungen wird', clearly denotes that the Passion was to be performed on Good Friday in Hamburg.[39] However, no record of a setting of this text survives and the cycle of performances of oratorio Passion in Hamburg suggests that there was no oratorio Passion performance on Good Friday. The presence in the *Neu-vermehrtes Württembergisches Gesangbuch* (Stuttgart 1691, pp.340-

35 Blankenburg (1963) pp. 50-59.
36 Werner (1911) pp.134-5.
37 See description and music in Chapter 4 below.
38 Lott (1925) p. 291.
39 Haberlen (1974) p. 57.

365) of a very similar five-Part Passion text (*Historia*) by Daniel Speer is an indication of the influence there of the Hamburg setting. Four of the five acts in Speer's libretto commence with the identical text incipits to Piscator's (the exception being the first act which begins 'Es war aber nahe das Fest den süssen Brot').[40] Steiger, referring to the St Mark Passion *Die betrübte und getröstete Geistliche Sulamith* (discussed below in Chapter 9), suggests that the five Parts refer back to the preface of Johann Gerhard's *Erklärung der Historien des Leidens und Sterbens unseres Herrn Jesu Christi* (Jena 1611) in which the author summarizes the Passion story into five scenes: *Hortus - pontifices - Pilatum - cruxque - sepulchrum.*[41] The format matches the text in the *Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch* and is possibly the model of Piscator's libretto. The same division of the drama can be seen in Telemann's five-Part setting of St Luke (1728 - further comments below).

1.4 Texts

The core of the oratorio Passion libretto, which separates it from all other 'concerted' settings of the Passion story in the 18th century, is the Gospel account of the Passion. To this, German hymns, arias, *arioso* movements and lyrical choruses are added at significant moments in the text - the inclusion of these other movements is not only to relieve the monotony of extended recitative, but more importantly from the devotional point of view, to inspire an appropriate reaction in the congregation. This section deals with each aspect of the libretto, gospel text, chorales, arias and choruses in turn establishing the consistencies and deviations of approach to the construction of the libretti between differing centres.

1.4.1 Gospel text

The two gospels favoured by ancient tradition were St Matthew and St John.[42] By far the greatest number of oratorio Passions composed were settings of St Matthew; indeed, they were almost exclusively so at the end of the 17th century in centres other than Hamburg

40 *Ibid.*

41 Steiger (1988) p.72.

42 Mention has been already made of the placing of the readings of the four gospels on set days in Holy week with St John and St Matthew being given on two of the most important days in Holy Week: Palm Sunday and Good Friday.

(where there was a rotating four-year cycle of the gospels).[43] Although St John was the traditional gospel for Good Friday, Smallman suggests that the completeness of St Matthew's account of the Passion history (in chapters 26 and 27), together with the richness of the description and the balance of the text (as opposed to the truncation of the earlier scenes and the considerable expansion of the scene of the trial before Pilate in St John's narrative), gave the Passion librettist more scope to include reflective commentary.[44] The balance of the structure also favoured the natural break at the end of Chapter 26, i.e. after Peter's denial, so that a sermon might be interpolated. Thus, in those centres that adopted a two-Part division of the Gospel (Danzig, Freiberg and Dresden)[45] this is the pattern which prevails in the 18th century.[46] J.S. Bach adopts a rather more individual approach and makes the break after Chapter 26:56, the end of the Scene of the Arrest, so that Part II commences with the trial before Caiaphas.

The accounts of the Passion story given in the synoptic Gospels - St Matthew, St Mark and St Luke - differ little in their presentation of the various events and in their dramatic structure, and lend themselves to a bipartite structure with a natural break between chapters. St John's version is strikingly different, both in construction and in focus, making a division of the text less straightforward. Without the largely devotional sections recounting the Last Supper and the Agony of Christ to balance the drama of the trials and crucifixion, the account in chapters 18 and 19 does not lend itself easily to a bipartite division; a break at the end of chapter 18, during the second trial scene before Pilate, comes particularly late in the story.[47]

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43 Malinovsky (1988) p. 284 states, 'although the surviving texts of the Hamburg Passions at the turn of the 18th century indicate no real pattern of alternation of the four gospels in that city, it was apparently the custom in some places [Malinovsky gives no details or sources for his information] to use Matthew, Mark, Luke and John in a four year cycle.' In fact the reverse is true; from 1691 to the death of Emanuel Bach (1788), the Passion performances in the Parish churches of Hamburg rotated through the four gospels in a four-yearly pattern in the gospel order (with only a couple of breaks) while only in Zerbst was a similar quadrennial cycle of performances adopted - see chapter 4 below.

44 Smallman (1970) pp. 33ff.

45 It is worth noting that the Kantors of two of these cities, Doles (Freiberg) and Homilius (Dresden), were both students in Leipzig and pupils of Bach, and in his choice of chorales and the pattern of their interpolation in the Gospel text, Doles seems also to have been influenced by the Danzig liturgy (see comments below).

46 Three of the earliest surviving examples, Selle (1642), Flor (1667) and Funcke (c1680) all adopt the same break after Chapter 26: 66, directly after the verdict of the High Priests is given.

47 The scene of the Last Supper is recounted in Chapter 13 and Christ's agony in the garden is omitted altogether in John's account.

Consequently, there is much more variety in construction in settings of this Gospel. Selle's setting of St John (1643) divided the Gospel text into: (I) the arrest and trial before Caiaphas, (II) the trial before Pilate and (III) the Crucifixion, inserting large-scale *Intermedii* at each division.[48] The earliest 18th-century two-Part plan, the libretto by Postel, set anonymously in 1704 and by Mattheson in 1723, side-steps the problem by setting only chapter 19, creating, in effect, a *passio brevis*. [49] Pucklitz (c1760) ignores any problems of balance and allots one chapter to each Part. J.S. Bach chooses a more creative solution by breaking after Ch.18:27, i.e. after Peter's denials (the sermon comes at the same point in the anonymous Luke Passion BWV246 which Bach performed in 1734),[50] and commencing Part II with Jesus being led to the Praetorium to be interrogated by Pilate for the first time. He also inserts some verses from St Matthew (Ch.26: 75 and 27: 51-2) to compensate for the omissions in St John's account of Peter's remorse and the rending of the curtain of the temple, the earthquake and opening of tombs upon Christ's death.

There are very few surviving settings of St Mark's account which are divided into two or more Parts. The earliest surviving setting, composed before 1713 by Keiser, is abridged, commencing at Ch.14: 26 when Jesus and the disciples go across the Brook of Kidron to the Mount of Olives. The work may well have been originally in one Part, but was subsequently divided into two by Bach to adapt it for performance in the Leipzig liturgy in 1726.[51] The break adopted by Bach (Ch.15:15) is late in the account, at the point when Pilate delivers Jesus to be crucified. In his own setting (1731), Bach sets chapters 14 and 15 in their entirety, the sermon coming directly following the arrest Ch.14: 52. Homilius (*So gehst du nun,* by

48 Choral settings of Isaiah 53:4-5, Psalm 22, and the chorale *O Lamm Gottes unschuldig* in a style influenced by the motets of Gabrieli.

49 The break is made after verse 25: the second Part commences with Jesus announcing to his mother and other women gathered at the cross: 'Behold, thy son!' It is likely that both the 1704 St John Passion and the later Keiser St Mark Passion, which is also abridged, were not intended for liturgical use as part of a service since they were given concert-style performances in the former Refectory of the Domkirche. The earler work also contains no chorales, a further indication that this work was intended for non-liturgical performance. Neither work was given performances in the Parish churches as part of the annual Passion cycle.

50 In four sections, the Brockes Passion - presumed to have been performed in Leipzig in ?1739 (setting by Telemann) and c1746-1747 (setting by Händel) - also breaks after Part II after the Peter's denials.

51 Glöckner (1975) p. 613. Bach probably performed Keiser's Passion in Weimar c1712 (an edition of this version is currently being prepared for publication by Carus Verlag) and adapted it for use in the Leipzig liturgy (the version currently known).

1768) adopts the natural break between chapters after Peter's denials.

There are even fewer surviving settings of the Passion according to St Luke outside the Hamburg Tradition.[52] The work which Bach performed in Leipzig in 1734 (BWV 246), which sets the entire gospel text of Chapters 22 and 23 in two Parts, was also probably adapted for performance in the Leipzig liturgy.[53] Part II commences at Chapter 22: 63, at the point after Peter's Denial as BWV245.

The abridgement of the gospel text, already noted above in the settings of the Postel *St John* text and Keiser's *St Mark Passion*, appears to be a particular characteristic of the Hamburg Passions - there seems to be no occurrence of this in works from other centres (where presumably the gospel text was treated with more reverence). In his earlier settings in 1723-1735, Telemann followed tradition and set the complete Passion text.[54] However, from 1736 he experimented with various cuts and eventually adopted a kind of *passio brevis* in which the scenes of the Last Supper, the descent from the cross and burial of Christ are omitted (an unusual treatment of the Passion text - clearly the Lutherans give the institution of the holy sacrament far less emphasis than the Roman Catholic tradition). In all the oratorio Passion settings from 1742, Telemann consistently selected a text which is more or less common to each of the gospels commencing with the scene on the Mount of Olives (the point at which chapter 18 starts in St John) and finishing at the Death of Jesus: St Matthew 26: 30 - 27: 50; St Mark 14: 26 - 15:38; St Luke 22:39 - 23:46; St John 18:1 - 19:30).

1.4.1.1 Recitative: allocation of voices and tonality

From the 5th century the performance of the gospel text emphasised the division between Evangelist, Christus and the *synagoga,* a collective term to describe the minor characters and

52 Known examples in the 18th century include: at least two composed for the liturgy in Zerbst (see chapters 4 and 8 below, one incomplete, the other lost); Böhm, Lüneburg (1710) (wordbook only survives); the anonymous work performed by Bach in 1734 (composed N. Germany c1712); Beyer, Freiberg (before 1744) (wordbook only survives); Keiser, Hamburg (1710-20?) (frag.); C.F. Rolle Magdeburg (1744) (lost).

53 Malinovsky (1978) pp. 209-211, Schulze/Wolff (1988) III, 983-4.

54 St Matthew, Chapters 26 and 27; St Mark Chapters 14-15 and St Luke Chapters 22 and 23.

turba (crowd of Jews).[55] The earliest presentations of the Passion story in plainchant were given by a single singer, the *diakon* (deacon), who distinguished between narrative sections, the words of Christ, the minor characters and crowd by altering the pitch and inflection of the voice indicated by letter symbols (*litterae significativae*) placed beside the text.[56] The Evangelist's part lay in a medium (tenor) pitch, Christ in a low (bass) pitch and the *synagoga* in a high (alto) pitch. The formula chosen became the standard for all later Passion settings where different singers were employed to sing the solo roles. There is no reliable evidence that the Passion was recited by more than one singer until the 13th century. The earliest definite distribution of the parts among several singers is to be found in the *Gros livre* of the Dominicans, dating from 1274. By the 14th century it was normal practice for three clerics to present the various roles. Letter symbols were retained but their interpretation was somewhat modified:[57]

Common 15th cent interpretations:		Original interpretation:
c =	*cantor* or *chronista*	*celeriter* (quickly)
s =	*synagoga* or *succentor*	*sursum* (in a raised voice)
† =	*Christus*	†= t = *trahere* (to drag) or *tenere* (to hold) indicating that the music for the part of Christ should be performed slowly and reverently

The simple plainsong formulae, known as the Passion tones, were published in a definitive version in Rome in 1586 by Guidetti under the direction of Pope Sixtus V[58] (though local traditions did survive).[59] This publication codified the chants, the relative pitches of the three voices (Evangelist, Christus and *synagoga*) and the mode (Lydian) of the Passion tones. Initially, composers of oratorio Passions continued to use the Passion tones to set the gospel text and it became a natural step as the major-minor key system gradually became established for composers to choose the key of F as the key for oratorio Passions. Thus, the majority of

55 The term *synagoga* is not found readily in musical dictionaries but has been adopted by Smallman (1970), p.123. and Reese (1954). This collective term is a useful one but, as Smallman describes, one which 'has no foundation in liturgical writings but stems from a recent misinterpretation.'

56 Smallman (1970) p.123.

57 *Ibid.*

58 From Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg, *Leiturgia* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1961) vol.IV. pp.435-6, quoted in Malinovsky (1978) p.17. The simple plainsong Passions have continued to be performed to the present day in an almost unaltered version in certain continental centres.

59 See Snow (1996) pp. 37-45.

the surviving passions composed between 1641 and 1700 are in F major and it continued to be a popular key for Passion compositions in the 18th century.[60] Passion tones continued to play an important, if diminishing role in the setting of the gospel text - Sebastiani's 1672 St Matthew Passion is the first surviving oratorio Passion where the recitative sections are entirely free of the Passion tones. The key of G minor also seemed to have a particular significance for composers of oratorio Passions; in a survey of thirty-three 18th-century oratorio Passions, seven commenced or concluded in F major whilst thirteen adopted the key of G minor.

Aspects of the pattern of vocal scoring established in the 5th century continued into the 18th century: the Evangelist was uniformly sung by a tenor and *Christus* by a bass, while *Ancilla* and *Uxor Pilatus* were assigned to the soprano voice. For the other minor parts there appears to have been no consistent pattern, indeed, even within the oeuvre of a single composer there was variety (c.f. Telemann Passions in Table 1.4 below) though as a very loose rule, weakness is denoted by a high voice (alto) and strength by the bass. Hence, after Christ, the character most often cast as a bass is Pilate though there are echoes of the *synagoga* tradition in Selle's St John Passion, the anonymous 1704 St John Passion (Postel), Mattheson's setting of the same text in 1723, and in Telemann's 1737 setting of St John where Pilate is set as an alto [61] whilst Judas is most often an alto. J.S. Bach (in both BWV 244 and BWV 245)[62] and Telemann (in St Matthew, 1730) stand apart from the general trend by assigning <u>all</u> the major male *dramatis personae* to the bass voice. Table 1.4 below indicates the assigned voices in the surviving examples from the 17th and 18th centuries.

60 Of the eight surviving 17th-century Passions, Sebastiani's is in D minor, Theile's is in G minor (the second most popular key), and Funck's is in the unusual key of Eb (with the Passion tones transposed down). All the others have F major as their home key.

61 Only in Zerbst it seems that all the minor characters were assigned to the alto voice in the ancient manner. (See chapters 8 and 9 below.)

62 With the exception of the false witnesses in BWV245.

Table 1.4: Allocation of voices (Male characters) in the synagoga

				Jesus	*Peter*	*Judas*	*Caiaphas*	*Pilate*	Hauptmann	Servus	Kriegsknecht malefactors	False Witnesses
1643	Selle	St John	Hamburg	bass	tenor	-	-	alto				
c1663	Sebastiani	St Matthew	Konigsberg	bass	tenor	alto	tenor	tenor	SATB choir	-		A/T duet
1667	Flor	St Matthew	Lüneberg							-		
1673	Theile	St Matthew	Lubeck	bass	tenor	alto	bass	bass	SATB choir	-		A/B duet
c1680	Funcke	St Matthew	Lüneberg	bass	tenor	alto*	tenor	tenor	SATB choir	-		T/B duet
c1700	Kuhnhausen	St Matthew	Celle	bass	tenor	alto*	tenor	tenor		-		2 tenors
c1700	Meder	St Matthew	Danzig	bass	tenor	2	bass	bass		-		alto/tenor duet
1704	(Handel)	St John	Hamburg	bass	-	-	-	alto	-		-	-
1712	(J.S. Bach)	St Luke	?	bass	tenor	-	-	bass	bass		T/B duet	-
c1717	Keiser	St Mark	Hamburg	bass	tenor	alto	alto	tenor	alto	-	alto	SATB choir
1718	Koch	St Matthew	Danzig	bass	tenor	alto	tenor	bass		-		soprano
1720	Freislich	St Matthew I	Sondershausen	bass	alto	tenor	tenor	bass		-		soprano
1755	Freislich	St Matthew II	Danzig	bass	alto	tenor	tenor	bass		-		soprano
1724	J.S. Bach	St John	Leipzig	bass	bass	-	-	bass	-	tenor	-	-
1723	Mattheson	St John	Hamburg	bass	-	-	-	alto	-		-	-
1727	J.S.Bach	St Matthew	Leipzig	bass	bass	bass	bass	bass		-	1. alt, 2. ten.	tenor
1734	anon	St Matthew	Danzig	bass	tenor	alto	tenor	bass		-		
1752	Römhildt	St Matthew	Danzig	bass	alto	alto	tenor	tenor		-		*choir*
c1740-50	Fasch	St John	Zerbst	bass	alto	-	-	alto	-	alto	-	-
1750	Röllig	St Mark	Zerbst	bass	alto	alto	alto	alto	alto	-	alto	SATB choir
c1750	anon	St Matthew	Danzig	bass	tenor	bass	tenor	alto		-		?
by 1768	Homilius	St Mark	Dresden	bass	tenor	alto	bass	bass	bass	-	alto	-
by 1774	Homilius	St Matthew	Dresden	bass	tenor	alto	bass	bass	-	-		choir?

Telemann's Passions				*Jesus*	*Peter*	*Judas*	*Caiaphas*	*Pilate*	Hauptmann	Servus	False Witnesses	malefactors*
1728	Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	bass	tenor	-	-	bass	tenor		-	bass
1730	Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	bass	tenor	bass	bar	bass		-	1.2. bass	
1737	Telemann	St John	Hamburg	bass	tenor	alto?	-	alto	alto			
1744	Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	bass	tenor	-	-	tenor				
1745	Telemann	St John	Hamburg	bass	tenor			tenor			tenor	
1746	Telemann	St Matthew	Hamburg	bass	tenor	alto	tenor	bass	-	-	1.alt 2. bass	tenor
1748	Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	bass	bass	-	bass	bass			?	
1750	Telemann	St Matthew†	Hamburg	bass	tenor	?	bass	bass		-		
1759	Telemann	St Mark	Hamburg	bass	bass	bass	bass	bass				
1764	Telemann	St Luke	Hamburg	bass	bass	tenor						

† from Danzig version, information from Lott (1924) p. 318.

*Übeltäter

1.4.1.2 *Turbae*

In the development of the Responsorial Passion from the Plainsong Passion composers were able to create infinitely more realism from choral settings of the *synagoga*, which had previously been sung by a solo voice. A division between the solo voices and chorus did not occur until the settings by Victoria in the late 16th century. Expressiveness was paramount in the Catholic tradition of the early part of the 16th century, particularly in the dramatic interjections of the crowd, which were generally set melismatically in a contrapuntal style. The Lutheran tradition, on the other hand, in the same period placed great emphasis on the clarity of the words and favoured the simplest type of chordal *turbae* following the natural rhythm of the words.[63] With the exception of Selle - who was greatly influenced by the Italian style of the late 16th century and who thus stood apart from his Lutheran colleagues with his use of contrapuntal textures in the *turbae* [64] - generally, composers of 17th century oratorio Passions displayed a surprising conservatism and simple chordal responses similar to those of Johann Walter (c1550) were still common currency in the works of Flor and Sebastiani.

From the first decade of 18th century one can perceive a lengthier and often more contrapuntal approach; *turbae* were developed into more elaborate musical items.[65] The considerable variety in these short sections in 18th-century settings is highlighted by a comparison of the *turbae* of three of the earliest surviving complete scores of the 18th century: the anonymous St John Passion (1704, libretto by Postel), Reinhard Keiser St Mark Passion (c1717) and Mattheson *Das Lied des Lammes* (1723 - also a setting of the Postel libretto). For instance, in the 1704 setting of Postel's St John Passion, a common feature to all the *turbae* is that the voices commence *a capella* or with *basso continuo* accompaniment only, and that instruments, when employed, enter after the first vocal phrase. Often the first orchestral phrase is an answer to the initial vocal phrase and, as in the first chorus, 'Sei gegrüsset' (Example 1.1 below), the instruments are always in opposition to the voices, or in the second and third turba choruses ('Kreuzige, Kreuzige!' and 'Wir haben ein Gesetzt') only join the voices from the last phrase(s).

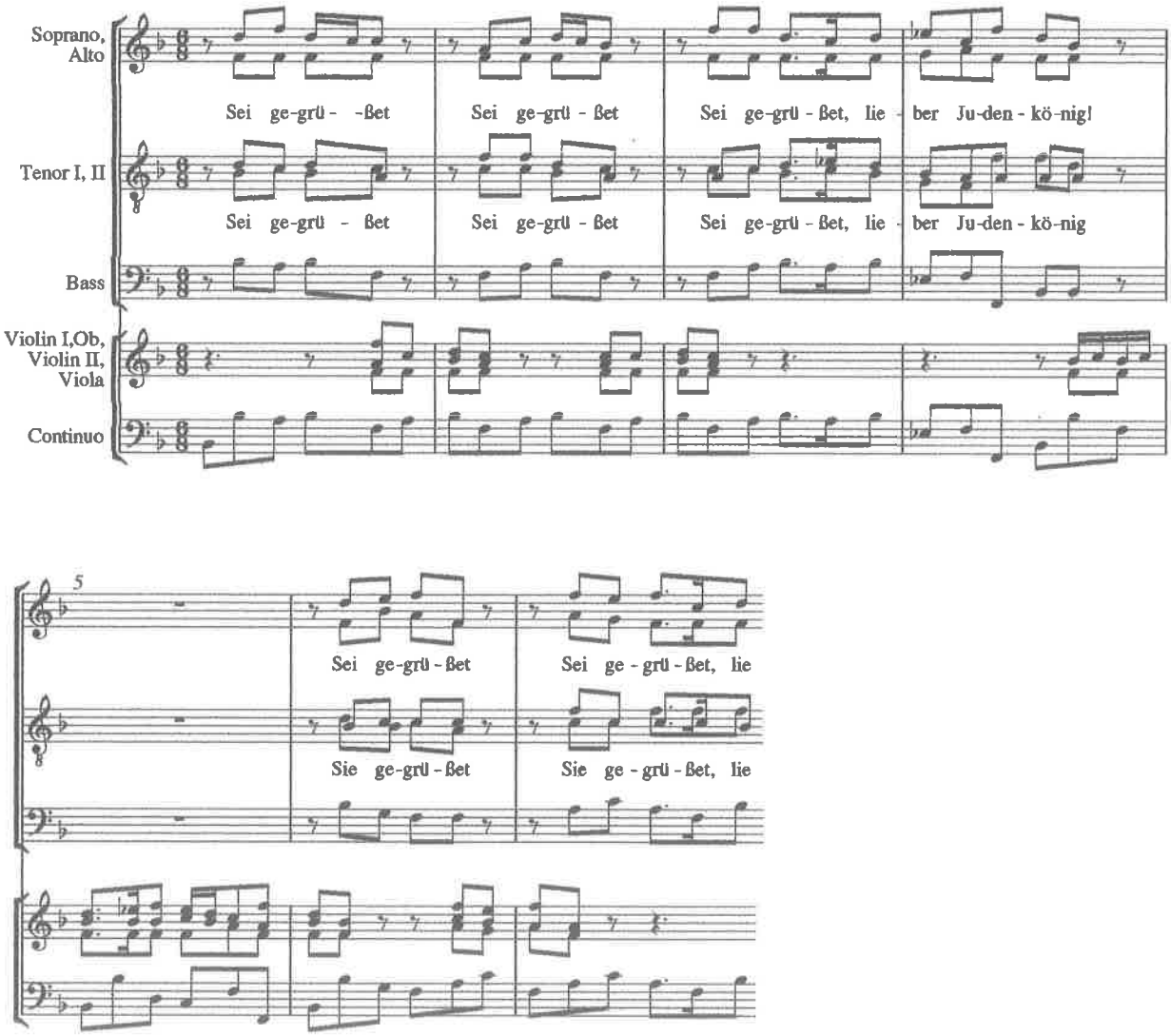
63 Smallman (1970) pp. 61-62.

64 *Ibid.* pp. 64-5.

65 See below and the Case Studies at the end of this chapter for examples.

Musical Example 1.1

Attr. Händel, St John Passion (Postel, 1704): *turba* chorus 'Sei gegrüßet' (bars 1-17)[66]

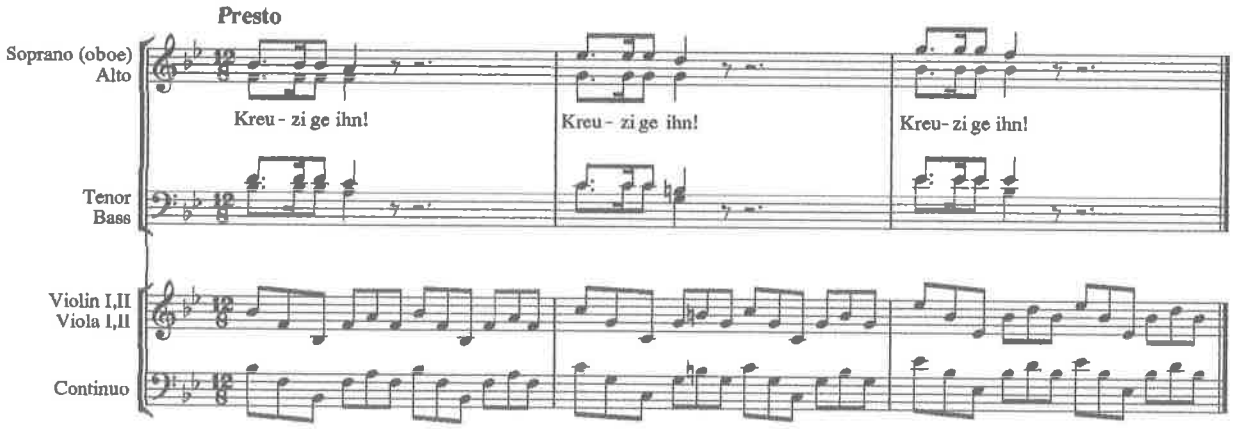


In his setting of St Mark's gospel, Keiser sets the *turbae* in a number of ways: 1) entirely contrapuntally with the instrumental parts *colla parte* ('Gegrüßet seist du'); 2) mainly contrapuntally but with a homophonic opening and final phrase ('Er hat andern geholfen'); or 3) entirely chordally but with independent string figuration ('Kreuzige ihn'- Example 1.2 below).

66 Translation: 'Hail, thou King of the Jews'

Musical Example 1.2

Reinhard Keiser, St Mark Passion: *turba* chorus 'Kreuzige ihn' (complete)



Despite Mattheson's belief that church music should be imbued with the theatrical style, there are still echoes of *stylus gravis* in the choruses where there is often an emphasis on contrapuntal techniques. However, Mattheson's belief that the composition of sacred music is the highest 'calling of a composer'[67] seems to be taken to extremes in *Das Lied des Lammes*. In the choruses he gives a bravura display of contrapuntal techniques, not only in set-piece choral movements with lyrical texts, but also in two of the *turba*-choruses which take on an unprecedented length and academicism. Mattheson ensures that we do not miss this by adding subtitles titles to movements:

No. 18 *Canon Perpetuus in Hypodiapente: 4 vocum: Fuga in consequenza*
(*Turba* chorus: 'Lässet der diesen los, so bist du des Kaisers Freund nichts'

No. 20 *Fuga Doppia*
(*Turba* chorus: Weg, weg mit dem, kreuzige ihn.')

No. 32 *Antiphona, overo Responsorio moderno*
(lyrical chorus: 'Welche sind des heilandes Erben?)[68]

No. 33 *Canto fermo col Contrapunto de i Stromenti: Alla dodecima*
(opening lyrical chorus to Part II: 'Es dient zu meinen Freuden')

67 Cannon (1971) Preface, p.v.

68 See musical example 1.5 below.

No. 45 *Contrapunto all'ottava, sopra un canto fermo.*
(*Schlußchor*: 'Schlafe wohl! nach deinen Leiden')

Of the works composed after 1723, Bach tended to set the majority of the crowd outbursts in contrapuntal style, their effect being heightened by the use of independent orchestral accompaniment 'with its wide-range of colourful pictorialism'.[69] Those in the Matthew Passion BWV244 range in length from the single bar of the choral shout 'Barrabam' (45a) and 'Der rufet dem Elias' (61b) to over 20 bars (average length 8 bars)[70] whilst Telemann's *turba* choruses are generally short and terse and syllabic settings prevail.[71] Some of Telemann's are entirely homophonic, but the majority are contrapuntal in texture and Hörner identifies two distinct groups amongst the latter: those which are largely imitative and those where upper and lower voices each have independent melodic or rhythmic and patterns simultaneously (e.g. soprano/alto sing a melody in crotchets, whilst the tenor and bass sing differing patterns in minims). In his settings of the St Matthew Passion, C.P.E. Bach relied heavily on the compositions of his father, utilising as many as 10 *turba* choruses from BWV 244 .[72] Thus, no hard-and-fast rules can be applied about the approach of 18th-century composers save that these passages are almost always set chorally. [73]

1.4.2 Lyrical movements - Chorales

After the Gospel text, one of the most important and characteristic elements of oratorio Passion form is the presence of chorales. 'Chorales were the cornerstone of Lutheran worship, and their appearance at focal points in the Passions provided a link between elaborately composed music and that understood and participated in by the people.'[74] Simple settings of chorales, presumably intended for performance by the congregational, started to

69 Smallman (1970) p.72.

70 Theil (1978) p.444ff. argues that 'Er hat anderes geholfen' in BWV 247 is a parody ofn the chorus 'An dir, du Vorbild großer Frauen' from the *Trauerode* - which goes on for a wildly improbable 73 bars (as in the Simon Heighes's edition of the reconstructed work).

71 See examples below in Case Study 1.

72 1) 'Er hat gesagt: Ich kann den Tempel Gottes abbrechen', 2) 'Wahrlich, Du bist auch einer', 3) 'Barrabam', 4) 'Maß ihn kreuzigen', 5) 'Sein Blut komme über uns', 6) 'Es taugt nicht daß wir es in den Gotteskasten', 7) 'Der du den Tempel Gottes zerbrichen', 8) 'Andern hat er geholfen', 9) 'Der rufet den Elias', 10) 'Halt, laß sehen, ob Elias komme.' (Meisner (1969) pp.62-3.)

73 One of the exceptions is highlighted below in the case study of the Homilius *St Mark Passion* (section 1.6.4 below).

74 Steinitz (1979) p. 24.

appear in oratorio Passion scores in the late 17th century[75] and by the 18th century were an indispensable element of liturgical Passions (though their presense does not automatically imply the particiption of a congregation). This is despite the views of many commentators in the first half of the 18th century (including Händel, Keiser, Telemann and Mattheson) that the Lutheran hymns were outmoded forms of expression and 'had no place in the new, more elegant theatrical style.' Mattheson's statement should be taken with some caution since he himself introduced two chorales into *Das Lied des Lammes,* his setting of Postel's libretto for the St John Passion which in its original 1704 version had none.[76] However, indicative of the unfashionable nature of chorales is their total absence from some lyrical Passions.[77]

The number of chorales utilised in some north-German centres (discussed below) also confirms the importance of hymns in worship at Passiontide. To what extent there was congregational participation in the hymns in various centres has not been fully established, though isolated reports confirm such participation. A comment made in 1732 by Christian Gerber, a pietist pastor in Saxony, once presumed to be about Bach's own Passion settings but now thought to apply to to an event in Dresden, gives a graphic account of the reception of an extravagant performance showing that perhaps the theatrical style which was acceptable in Hamburg was less tolerated in more southerly centres:[78]

> Some high officials and well-born ladies in one of the galleries began to sing the first Choral with great devotion from their books. But as the theatrical music proceeded, they were thrown into greatest wonderment, saying to each other, 'What does it all mean?'; while an old lady, a widow, exclaimed, 'God help us! 'tis surely an Opera-comedy!'

Composers other than Bach opted for a simple note-for-note style for the hymns in settings of

75 Sebastiani's St Matthew Passion (1672) is the earliest surviving Passion which includes simple chorales printed in the score.

76 Smallman (1970) p. 87. The lack of chorales in the earlier setting of 1704 Postel (by Böhm?) strongly suggests that the work was indended not for liturgical use but for a sacred concert.

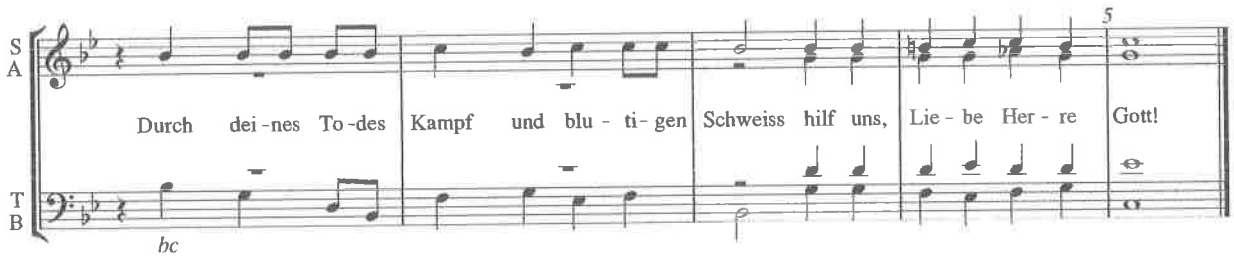
77 There were none in Hunold's *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus* (1704), set by Keiser nor has C.P.E. Bach's *Die letzten Leiden* (1770) a single chorale. Despite the opinions expressed by Mattheson, there was still a demand for the ancient hymns since Brockes re-introduced five into *Der für die Sünde der Welt*, very possibly to avert possible criticism from the Hamburg clergy. Telemann's lyrical Passion, *Seliges Erwärgen* has 10 chorales. Sensibility had undoubtedly changed by the mid-century. In *Der Tod Jesu* (1755) C.H. Graun abandons the traditional words in favour of Ramler's new texts which turned the congregational hymn into 'a sentimental edifying song the tune of which was known to everyone from the church.' Herz (1985) pp. 58-9.

78 Steinitz (1979) p.103. after C.H. Bitter *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Berlin 1865 and 1881, II, p.58.

the Passion although the treatment of chorales was not uniform. In one of the earliest surviving works of the 18th century, the St Luke Passion performed by Bach in 1734 (presumed to have been composed c.1712-1720) not only is there a return to unison (i.e.melody and instrumental accompaniment) settings, as in the final chorale of Part I which

Musical Example No.1.3

Anon. (attr. J.S. Bach, BWV 247) St Luke Passion:
Chorale 'Durch deines Todes Kampf' (complete!)



(tr.: 'Through your mortal struggle and bloody sweat, help us, dear Lord')

represents the words of Peter, but also of the performance of incomplete chorales as in the example 1.3. Here the statement of the first phrase is given in the soprano part only (in many other examples from the same work this entirely unaccompanied), with the entry of the full choir at the beginning of the second phrase. (This is a feature of Nos. 7, 9,11, 23, 27 and 40 from this work).

The importance placed upon the listener's association of melodies with particular sentiments is emphasised in the use of chorales as *cantus firmi*, either sung or played. The effectiveness of this was, to a great extent, dependent on the congregation's knowledge of the texts associated with the melody. As the 18th century progressed, such use of *cantus firmi* declined; no doubt, by the mid-century the technique was considered to be antiquated but it is also likely

that the congregation's knowledge of the texts of chorales was also waning.[79] Bach's use of chorale *cantus firmi* in the opening chorus of the St Matthew Passion is well-documented, though Telemann's use of *cantus firmi* is less known. There is one notable example in the St Mark Passion (1759) where, immediately following the death of Christ, there is a dramatic aria for bass voice marked 'Die Stimme Gottes' announcing that Jesus, now crowned with glory and praise, has atoned for the sins of man through his death and may now rest. With striking effect, high above the voice in the orchestral accompaniment is heard the melody of the chorale 'Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich' (1560) by Nikolaus Hermann.

1.4.2.1 The structural role of chorales - fantasia movements

The structural role of chorales is a characteristic of the 18th-century oratorio Passion. In the Telemann-type, the traditional *Exordium* ('Höret das Leiden...') and *Danksagungslied* (Dank sei dem Herrn...') used extensively in 17th-century oratorio Passions are replaced by simple chorale settings (see Case Study 1 for plan of Telemann 1744 St Luke Passion).[80] In many settings the final chorale was preceded either by a *Schlußchor* or by a *Schlußaria* (see below for disussion of lyrical choruses). Internal divisions into Parts are also framed by chorales. Even in the large-scale choral *Introitus* that typically commence the Bach-type, chorales, whether used as a *cantus firmus* or spun out in a chorale fantasia are very much in evidence. In its first version, J.S. Bach's St John Passion (BWV245) commenced with the chorale fantasia 'O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß' which now closes Part I of the St Matthew Passion (BWV244), whilst the opening chorus of the St Matthew Passion features a *cantus firmus* on the hymn tune 'O Lamm Gottes unschuldig'. In the final chorus of Keiser's St Mark Passion (c1712), framed by straightforward settings of verses of 'O traurigkeit', the composer sets the 7th verse as a chorale motet in *stylus gravis*. Each phrase of the chorale theme is set using an imitative exposition in which the strings play the harmonised chorale theme against the vocal parts supported only by the *colla parte* oboe and continuo. As Moe points out, 'the chorus parts resemble points of imitation of a Renaissance

79 See Butt (1994) pp.166ff. for a commentary on the decline in musical education and choral singing in general during the 18th century. A further factor may well have been the overwhelming number of chorales produced - 'an incomplete hymnological index of first lines revealed actually 72,733 German hymns!' - Steinitz (1979) p. 24, quoting Terry *Bach Chorales,* Part 1. (Presumably referring to Zahn (1889)).

80 See section 1.4.4.1 for a fuller description of these terms and their history and application.

motet in structure and in the conservative, step-wise character of the individual lines'[81] Part II of *Das Lied des Lammes* (Mattheson, 1723) opens with a chorale fantasia on the melody 'Herzlich thut mit verlangen'.[82] With the choir's first entry, Mattheson creates a most novel effect with the upper strings, viola and continuo weaving contrasting lines against the chorale melody in the voices.[83] However, such writing, rooted in contrapuntal technique, lost favour during the course of the century. There are few examples of the chorale fantasia to be found in the music of Telemann and composers of the generation born after 1705. However, one such fantasia does appear as the opening chorus (a chorale fantasia on 'So gehst du nun mein Jesu hin') of the earlier of the two surviving liturgical Passions - a setting of St Mark (before 1768) - by Bach's pupil G.A. Homilius (see case Study 2 below).[84] Though not a true chorale fantasia, the treatment of the chorale 'Derselbe mein Herr Jesus Christ, vor all' mein Sündige storben ist' in the St Luke Passion BWV 246 (c1717) deserves mention. In the final aria, 'Lasst mich ihn nur noch einmal küßen' the strings (marked *con molto lamento*) rest intermittently to allow the four-piece double-reed group (2 oboes, taille and bassoon) marked *piano, und zwar die Hoboen mit Papier gedämpft* playing the harmonised chorale melody to come through. In fact, this chorale is played only moments earlier as a short sinfonia, again by the double reed band, followed by one verse sung and completed by a *da capo* of the sinfonia.

1.4.2.2 Frequency of chorales

The Danzig liturgy is unusual in its highly rigid use of chorales and the prohibition of lyrical texts set as arias and choruses. A sequence of 34 chorales is included in the various settings of St Matthew performed in Danzig[85] and is printed in various *Danziger Gesangbücher,* of 1735, 1759, 1760 and 1782.[86] Works composed in other centres and subsequently

81 Moe (1968) p.129.

82 This is one of four chorales added by Mattheson to Postel's 1704 libretto.

83 Mattheson's rather 'academic' approach is evident in other works. In his 1718 setting of Brockes' poem *Der für die Sünde der Welt,* Mattheson set some of the chorales in a form similar to the organ fantasia. (Moe (1968) p.67.)

84 Is this the work, reported by Gerber, that caused such consternation amongst the congregation? (See comments above.)

85 Koch, 1718, Freislich 1720, anonymous 1734, anonymous c 1750, Roemhildt 1752 and Telemann (Hamburg 1750). (Lott (1925) pp. 299ff.)

86 Lott lists them in (1925) pp. 304-5.

performed as part of the Danzig liturgy were modified by the removal of all the lyrical texts and the addition of the Danzig chorale sequence.[87]

Two other works, neither of which has a confirmed association with Danzig, also contain an unusually high number of chorales. In the first, Doles's sole surviving setting, a St Matthew Passion (1753) written for Freiberg,[88] there are eight aria movements with pietistic texts and a simple chorale-like chorus called an '*aria à tutti*' for four voices, not unusual for the period, combined with 32 chorales, only two fewer than in the Danzig sequence. Since 14 of the Doles chorales also appear in the Danzig sequence and placed at the same points in the gospel text, and 22 gospel verse breaks are also common, it would appear that Doles had knowledge of the Danzig tradition.

Another work containing of a large number of chorales is the St Luke Passion BWV246. Like the Doles St Matthew Passion, this setting of St Luke contains 7 aria movements and 32 chorales. Bach may have acquired this work from a provincial north-German city influenced by the Danzig tradition (though not Danzig itself, since only settings of St Matthew were allowed in this centre).[89]

The number of chorales required in the examples discussed above is exceptional, the majority of composers including a more modest number of chorales in the body of their Passions. Amongst other centres, one can perceive differing levels of importance placed upon the chorales reflecting the requirements of the local liturgy. In Hamburg, where the performance was generally unbroken, Telemann experimented with the number of chorales inserted in the text, ranging from none at all in one setting (St Matthew 1742) to as many as 18 in another

87 Apart from the St Matthew Passions by Freislich (1720) (composed in Sondershausen) and Telemann (1750)(composed in Hamburg - source *D-B*, Mus. ms. autgr. G.P.Telemann 21 - performed in the Johanniskirche, Danzig in 1781, 1784 and 1785. Lott (1925) pp. 300-301), little is known of the original versions of those works composed in other centres by Koch (Bernstadt) and Römhildt (Merseburg) and subsequently performed as part of the Danzig liturgy.

88 Banning (1939) lists four Passion Oratorios, and seven other Passions. Of these, all but the 1753 St Matthew Passion (*A-Wn* Mus.Sam. 18479) are lost. From the incipits in Banning's thematic catalogue (pp. 247-250), it appears that four of the other seven Passions formerly in the Thomasschule Library prior to WWII were *acapella* works in the Responsorial Passion tradition. Three of these works (St Matthew, St Luke, St Mark) open with the words *Höret an die Leidensgeschichte* set in plainsong. The opening of St Mark is transposed up a tone from the traditional lydian mode/F major into G major.

89 Lott (1925) p.299.

(1725 St John), though 35% use 6,7 or 8 chorales. C.P.E. Bach requires between 6 (in the settings of St Luke (1772, 1776, 1780, 1784 and 1788)) and 8 (in each of the settings of St Matthew (1769, 1773, 1777, 1781, 1785 and 1789)).[90] The majority of chorale settings in these works were harmonizations by J.S. Bach)[91] In centres where two-Part works were performed, Homilius used 8-9, and Bach has 11 in St John, 16 in St Mark and 13 in St Matthew (averaging 13).

1.4.3 Lyrical movements - Aria and arioso

1.4.3.1 Text and singing characters

From the earliest Passions in Hamburg in the 18th century, allegorical non-biblical characters are assigned lyrical commentaries in the form of *recitative accompagnato* (*arioso*) and formal arias which voiced, in effect, the collective reaction of the congregation. In the liturgical Passions dating from the period 1700-1720, the characters were anonymous; not until the 1720s were contemplative aria texts in oratorio Passions regularly allocated to named (or identifiable) commentators. At first these were taken from the Old Testament or were imaginary characters, but later some from the Passion story itself including Jesus and even God himself were to sing *arioso* and aria texts!

The idea of adding lyrical commentaries to oratorio libretti was established in a related type of work that can be considered the forerunner of the Passion oratorio, the 'Seven Last Words'. Two influential early examples were *Die Sieben Worte unsers Herrn Jesu Christi am Stam des Kreuz gesprochen* by Schütz (1645) [92] and *Septem verba Christi in cruce pendentis* by Augustin Pfleger (Gottdorf, 1670).[93] In the latter was introduced an allegorical

90 He re-used the recitative for each subsequent setting and maintained the same or similar pattern of interpolation in each.

91 See Clark (1984) pp.36 ff. and appendices.

92 (In German) ed. Grunswick, *Neue Ausgabe, Sämtliche Werke,* II Bärenreiter: 1957, and (in English) *The Seven Last Words*, ed. P. Steinitz, Oxford University Press, London:1961.

93 Ed. Stein, *Das Chorwerk* lii (Wolfenbüttel: 1938)

commentator, the character *Tochter Zion* (Daughter of Zion),[94] which appeared again in Rothe's *St Matthew Passion* (Sondershausen, 1697)[95] and in the earliest of the 18th-century purely lyrical texts, *Der blutige und sterbende Jesus* written by C.F. Hunold/Menantes (set by Keiser, 1704); thereafter *Tochter Zion* became a regular character in 18th-century Passion *libretti*. Similarly, a further character the *Gläubige Seele* (believing soul), which also appeared for the first time in the libretto of Rothe's St Matthew Passion, featured again in Heinrich Brockes's highly influential text, *Der für die Sünde der Welt*[96] and subsequently became a widely-used character. Both characters were normally set for soprano voice.

Tochter Zion became a standard character in Passion *libretti* from 1720 and even if no direct reference is made, that it was this allegorical commentator was often implicit in the text. The characteristics that identify her are feelings of despair, grief and guilt, and identification with Christ's suffering. In Brockes's typically Pietist-inspired and (by modern day standards) overblown text, these characteristic traits are clearly expressed and no more so than in Nos.21 and 73:

Der für die Sünde der Welt No. 21	
Brich, mein Herz, zerfließ in Tränen,	Break my heart, dissolve in tears,
Jesus' Leib zerfließt in Blut.	the body of Christ dissolves in blood.
Hör sein jämmerliches Ächzen,	Hear His pitiful groans,
schau, wie Zung' und Lippen lechzen,	see how his tongue and lips thirst,
hör sein Wimmern, Seufzen, Sehnen,	hear his moans and sighing,
schau, wie ängstiglich er tut.	see how much he is afraid.
da capo	
Der für die Sünde der Welt No. 73	
Laß doch diese herbe Schmerzen,	Let this bitter pain shameful sinner,
frecher Sünder, dir zu Herzen,	pass through your heart,
ja durch Mark und Seele gehn!	marrow and soul!
Selbst die Natur fühlt	Nature itself feels
Schmerz und Grauen,	Grief and horror,
ja sie empfindet jeden Stich,	indeed she feels each stab,
da sie der Dornen starre Klauen	since the thorn's hard points
so jämmerlich in ihres Schöpfers Haupt	pierce so woefully
sieht eingedrücket stehn.	the brow of their creator.
da capo	

94 Which is presumbly taken from Christ's comments to the multitude on the route to Golgotha–Luke Ch.23: 28: 'But Jesus turning to them [the women who bewailed and lamented him] said, Daughters of Jerusalem,weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children.' (Authorised Version.) Pfleger includes a lengthy dialogue between a soprano and bass set to these words. It is a duet combination librettists returned to time and again in the 18th century.

95 Malinovsky, (1978) p. 193. The appearance of named allegorical characters in this work appears to be an isolated occurrence in the period 1670-1720.

96 See comments in chapter 6, section 6.3

Brockes even gives a duet to the two allegorical commentators, the *Gläubige Seele* presenting *Tochter Zion* 's questions:

> *Der für die Sünde der Welt* No.109: duet -*Tochter Zion* and *Gläubige Seele* (III))
> *Tochter Zion*
> Sind meiner Seelen tiefe Wunden — Hast Thou dressed the deep wounds of
> durch deine Wunden nun verbunden? — my soul with your wounds?
> Kann ich durch deine Qual und Sterben — Can I through your suffering and death
> nunmehr das Paradies ererben? — gain paradise?
> Ist aller Welt Erlösung nah? — Is the redemption of the world close at hand?
> *Gläubige Seele*
> Dies sind der Tochter Zion Fragen. — These are the questions of the daughter of Zion
>
> Weil Jesus nun nichts kann — Since Jesus cannot now speak
> vor Schmerzen sagen, — in His great pain,
> so neiget er sein Haupt und winket: Ja! — he bends his head and beckons: yes.

Though J.S. Bach never specified particular characters in his Passions with the use of titles in the score, the personal emotion associated with the character of *Tochter Zion* comes through in several of the movements of both BWV245 and BWV244. Bach had adapted several of the arias from *Der für die Sünde der Welt* in preparing the St John Passion, including several for *Tochter Zion.* Picander was clearly influenced by Brockes, and the St Matthew Passion libretto contains both aria and *recitativo accompagnato* texts which reflect the characterization of *Tochter Zion.* However, the association of the sentiment expressed by the character with the soprano voice was not important to Bach. In adapting the *Tochter Zion* movements from Brockes in the St John Passion he assigned all of them to bass or alto voice.[97] In St Matthew, *Tochter Zion* is more often set as the alto voice. *Tochter Zion* arias are also assigned to the tenor (as in Nos.25 and 26 of BWV244 where the solo voice is answered by a chorus of believers) and bass, as in 'Eilt, ihr angefochtnen Seelen' (BWV245 No.48) - which is, but for some judicious changes, the same text as Brockes No. 84. The reasoning behind this may lie in the preponderance of soprano solos in the *Der für die Sünde der Welt* text: there are as many as 22 soprano aria and arioso movements and 1 SSS trio and 2 S/B duets in Telemann's setting of 1716 against 1 alto, 5 tenor and 2 bass arias. Bach's allocation of arias is more even amongst the solo voices, thereby achieving greater contrast in

97 See Terry (1926) Vol. I for a discussion of Bach's adaptation of Brockes' text and Steinitz (1979) pp.29, 46, 70-1, 80 and 92 for further commentary on *Tochter Zion.* Picander's lyrical text prepared for Bach in 1725 included Zion, Peter, John, Mary the Mother of Christ and a choir of *Gläubige Seelen.*

timbre.[98]

The language of Bach's *libretti* is much more subdued than in Brockes but the chief characteristics of the *Tochter Zion* arias can be identified in the following examples:

St Matthew: No. 59 (recitative) (alto)[99]

Ach Golgotha, unsel'ges Golgatha!	Ah! Golgotha! Unhappy Golgotha!
Der Herr der Herrlichkeit	The lord of Glory
muß schimpflich hier verderben	'mid shame and scorn must perish;
der Segen und das Heil der Welt	The blessed Saviour of the world
wird als ein Fluch ans Kreuz gestellt.	Upon th'accursed tree now hangs;
Der Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden	The Lord Who heaven and earth created,
soll Erd' und Luft entzogen werden.	Of life and light is now bereft;
Die Unschuld muß hier schuldig sterben,	The Sinless here as sinner dieth.
das gehet meiner Seele nah;	Ah, how this grief doth pierce my soul!
ach Golgatha, unsel'ges Golgatha!	Ah! Golgotha! Unhappy Golgotha!

St Matthew: No. 5 (recitative) and 6 (aria) (alto)

Du lieber Heiland du,	My Master and my Lord,
wenn deine Jünger töricht streiten,	In vain do Thy disciples chide Thee
daß dieses fromme Weib	Because this pitying woman,
mit Salben deinen Leib	With ointment sweet,
zum Grabe will bereiten,	Thy flesh for burial maketh ready.
so lasse mir inzwischen zu,	O grant to me, beloved Lord,
von meiner Augen Tränenflüssen	The tears wherewith my heart o'erfloweth
ein Wasser auf dein Haupt zu gießen!	An unction on thy Head may pour.
Buß und Reu, Buß und Reu	Grief for sin,
knirscht das Sündenherz entzwei;	Rends the guilty heart within,
daß die Tropfen meiner Zähren	My weeping and my mourning be a
angenehme Spezerei,	welcome sacrifice
treuer Jesu, dir gebähren.	Saviour, hear in mercy.
da capo	

In BWV244, the chorus also takes on the characters of *Gläubige Seele* and *Tochter Zion*. Sometimes this is for musical reasons, as in the opening chorus where Picander clearly intended a solo voice to be answered by a chorus, much in the manner of the aria with chorus *Eilt, ihr aufgeflochtnen Seelen* in Brockes's libretto that Bach adapted in BWV245. Bach saw both dramatic and musical reasons for casting the movement as a double chorus with the role of *Tochter Zion* taken by Choir I. The dynamic use of the chorus in this way is found rarely

98 Allocation of voices in aria and arioso movements in J.S. Bach's Passions:

	Arias				*Duet*	*Ariosos*			
	S	*A*	*T*	*B*		*S*	*A*	*T*	*B*
St John	2	2	1	3			1	1	
St Matthew	3	5	2	4	1SA	2	3	1	3

99 Item numbers follow the numbering in the *Neue Bachs-Ausgabe*.

in works by other oratorio Passion composers in the 18th century.[100] In the St Matthew Passion, the larger congregation, *Die gläubige Seelen*, is represented by Choir II, whilst Choir I invariably represents the Disciples (Nos. 7,14, 15) and *Tochter Zion* when this character is represented chorally (as in No. 1).[101] Further, the case of the opening movement of Part II, where the alto solo is accompanied by orchestra I whilst the choir is accompanied by orchestra II, shows that the antiphonal effect between the named characters and the chorus of believers can be extremely strong if the performers are well-spaced.

The growth in the number of commentating characters, both allegorical and biblical, is no more clearly seen than in the Telemann Passions. At first Telemann remained conservative in his *libretti*. In the years 1722-1730, with the exception of the 1728 St Luke Passion,[102] almost all arias in the liturgical Passions were assigned to the *Gläubige Seele* with one to *Tochter Zion* in 1724. *Zu eignung Andacht* ('Appropriate Devotion') appears in 1726. From 1731 there seems to have a been a fundamental change in outlook, since a string of new characters was added on an almost yearly basis. Amongst the mainly abstract allegorical characters are several 'named' ones that can be traced to specific sources:

Table 1.5 Allegorical and biblical commentators in Telemann Passions - first appearances[103]

1731	*Die gottselige Erwärgung*	Devout consideration
	Die liebende Treue	Loving faithfulness
	Die gläubige Zeugnung	Believing assumption
1732	*Die gläubige Emunterung*	Believing encouragement
	Betende Andacht	Praying reason
	Herzliche Buße	Great Penance
	Das heilige Leben	The Sacred Life
1733	*Sulamith*	The Shulammite
	Die Andacht	Devotion
	Die Frömmigkeit	Piety

100 There is only one instance of a free text set with a double chorus in Telemann's Passions: the *Schlußchor* to the 1760 St Luke Passion.

101 In his division of the performing forces into two instrumental and vocal 'choirs', the Evangelist and Christ are designated Choir 1.

102 The 1728 St Luke Passion can be considered a one-off experimental libretto in which the Gospel text is divided into five Parts. (See further comments below in section 1.5.1.)

103 Hörner (1933) p. 85.

	Der Seelenfreund	Intimate friend
	Chor der Töchter Jerusalem	Chorus of the daughters of Jerusalem[104]
1734	*Die Geduld*	Patience
	Die Vorsichtigkeit	Circumspection/consideration
	Der Glaube	Faith
	Der Gehorsam	Obedience
1735	*Die unnerschrockene Aufrichtigkeit*	Undismayed sincerity
1736	*Bußfertig Sünder*	Penitent sinner
	Demut	Humility
	Unschuld	Innocence
	Die Wahrheit	Truth
	Die Behutsamkeit	Circumspection
	Chor frommer Israeliten	Chorus of pious Israelites
1737	Jesus, Maria and Johannes[105]	-
	Gottlieb and Gotthold	(Two Pilgrims)
	Chor der Gläubigen	Chorus of believers
1738	*Bußfertig Seelen*	Penitent souls
	Jesus, Petrus	
1739	(None)	
1740	*Ein Bußfertiger*	The penitent
	Die Treue	Faithfulness
	Die Rache	Vengeance/vindication
	Pilate, Simon the Cyrene	
1741	*Die Seele (eine Wahrheitsliebende)*	The soul (a lover of truth)
1742	Jesus, Petrus and Judas	
1743	*Klugheit*	Prudence
	Achtsamkeit	Carefulness
	Menschenliebe	Human love (Philanthropy)
1744	none	
1746	*Zeuge*	Witness
1756	*2 versöhnte Feinde*	The two reconciled foes
	Gedrückte Freiheit	Published liberty
1759	Courage, Devotion, Reason, Religion, Zeal (*Der Eifer*)	

Other characters introduced by Telemann were 'Wisdom' and 'Tranquillity'.[106] However, the addition of 'named' commentators in Telemann's liturgical Passions was in contrast with the trend in lyrical Passions of the mid- to late-century which have only unnamed personages as

104 From Luke Ch.23: 28 (see footnote above).

105 This trio of characters is used again in 1741.

106 Malinovsky (1978) p.256.

commentators.[107] In *Der Tod Jesu* (1755) the character of the commentator is not defined by voice, rather, Graun emphasizes their idealised natuure by assigning the arias successively to soprano, tenor and bass voices in turn.

Of the commentators introduced above, *Sulamith* [108] is one of the more interesting since it is adopted, like previous allegorical characters, from the Passion oratorio.[109] The biblical character *Sulamith* first appeared in the oratorio *Das Hohe Lied Salomis in Acht Kantaten* by Joachim Beccanus (performed in Hamburg in 1719). In the context of a Passion setting, the earliest appearance of *Sulamith* as an allegorical character was in one of Graun's earlier

107 Smither (1984) p.403.

108 There is considerable debate over the derivation of the word 'Shulammite' (*Sulamith*). The only reference to the Shulammite in the Bible is Song of Solomon, 6:13, 'Return, return, O Shulammite, return, return, that we may look upon you. Why should you look upon the Shulammite, as upon a dance before two armies?' The word could be a corruption of Shunammite, i.e. a woman of Shunem (see Gottwald (1962) Vol.3, p. 341.) The only Biblical characters from Shunem were Abhag, the beautiful Shunammite brought to David in his old age (I Kings I:1-4 and 2:17-22), in which case the allegory is her legendary beauty, or the wealthy woman visited by Elisha (II Kings 4:11 and 25-26). However, many scholars believe the word 'Shulammite' to be a feminine form of 'Solomon' i.e. with a definite article, it refers not to a definite person but to "The Solomness", a bride in her honorary role of 'princess', companion to the bridegroom 'King' (See Song of Solomon). In this context, the Shulammite appears to dance as the bride customarily did at the wedding ceremony. A further cultic theory suggests that the Shummanite was a consort of a Canaanite god of peace and well being, Shalem, Shelem or Shulman. She appears in non-biblical sources as the goddess Shala or Shulmanite, Ishtar of Uru-Silim-ma (Jerusalem?). It is possible to read the original form as a proper name Shelomith, and in the Greek as Salome. The external support for the cultic theory based on a pre-Christian celebration which was subsequently secularised, is seen in the reading of Song of Songs at Passover. (Gottwald (1962) Vol 3, p.423.)

109 And is also of special interest from the point of view of this study - see chapter 9 below.

Passion settings *Kommt her und schaut*, composed in Brunswick in the period 1725-35.[110] Another appearance of the character is in Telemann's 1733 St John Passion. Following the words 'Barabbas aber war ein Mörder' (verse 40: 'Now Barabbas was a robber') there is a short scene based on the Song of Solomon:

Sulamith: 'Ich beschwöre Euch, ihr Töchter Jerusalems, findet ihr meinen Freund, so sagt ihm, daß ich vor Liebe krank liege...'
CAVATA
Salems Töchter! Schauet mich voll Mitleid an!...

Chor der Töchter Jerualems: Was ist's das deinen Freund vor anderen Freuden schätzbar macht?...

Sulamith: (arioso) Ein solcher Freund ist mein Freund...[111]

In the same setting, *Sulamith* has a duet with the *Seelenfreund*: 'Siehe du bist'. *Sulamith* reappears in Telemann's 1766 setting of St Matthew where the character has an *accompagnato* section.

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110 Winterfeld (1847) III pp. 234-5. In Part I, following the institution of the sacrament is a short scene set in *arioso* and aria style between the allegorical characters *Sulamith* and *Die thörichte Vernunft* (foolish reason):

S	Nun ist mir Jesus stets zur Seiten
DtV	Und wo, und wie?
S	In Brod und Wein
DtV	Dies scheinet mit sich selbst zu streiten!
S	Soll Jesus mit sich uneins seyn?
DtV	Der Heiland giebt dir nun ein Zeichen!
S	Ein Testament hat keine Zeichen nicht!
DtV	So willst du nicht von deinen Worten weichen?
S	Ich glaube was ein Sterbender, noch mehr, was Jesus spricht.
DtV	Der Leib war ja noch nicht gebrochen, und die Verheißung war noch nicht geschehn!
S	Und doch hat Jesus so gesprochen, der deinen Einwurf längst vorausgesehn!
	DUET
DtV	Mein armer Geist giebt sich gesangen,
S	Mein froher Geist kann siegend prangen!
DtV	Mein Grübeln fällt, mein Einwurf bricht,
S	Mein Glaube steht und scheitet nicht!
	Ach, folge mir!
DtV	Ich folge dir
S	{Du mußt das tolle Denken lassen
DtV	{Ich will das tolle Denken lassen
S and DtV	Und Jesu wort in Einfalt fassen
S	{Das dir den Leib im Brod, das Blut im Wein verspricht!
DtV	{Das mir den Leib im Brod, das Blut im Wein verspricht!

111 Translated as: *Sulamith:* 'I implore you, o Daughters of Jerusalem, seek thee my friend, say to him , that I am sick for love' (CAVATA) - 'Salems daughter! Look on me with much compassion!...' *Chor der Töchter Jerualems*: 'What is it that you value in your friend above all others?' *Sulamith: (arioso)* 'Such a friend is my friend...'

A further important development in *Der für die Sünde der Welt* was the allocation of commentary arias to New Testament biblical characters which broke the convention of the clear division between the *dramatis personae* of each Gospel account who sing only biblical words and those solo singers who present reflective commentary.[112] In this work are several instances where Gospel characters step out of their normal role and become commentators: Peter, Judas and *Hauptmann* each have solo arias and Jesus (bass) has duets with both Mary, the mother of Jesus, (soprano) and *Tochter Zion* . The convention was further broken by Telemann in settings of St Matthew (1730) and St Mark (1759) where Jesus sings commentary arias; in the St Matthew Passion (1730) it is in a duet with a soprano (*Sünderin* - sinner). The soprano/bass duet become the most popular vocal combination in subsequent works (see Table 1.6), and in many works, the text implies strongly that the two voices are *Tochter Zion* and Jesus though not expressly described as such.[113] In another aria from the 1730 St Matthew Passion, the conscience-stricken Judas sings a dramatic *arioso* passage marked *furioso*. The ultimate situation was reached both in the 1759 setting of St Mark (mentioned above) where there is a dramatic *arioso* marked 'Die Stimme Gottes' and in the 1763 setting of St Mark where Telemann sets imaginary words of God in a conversation with Jesus:[114]

Cavate

Gott:	'Mein Tag ist da: Ich, Gott, will rechten!...'
Cavata:	'Ihr Donner sagt es Weltgeschichten...'
Jesus:	(Psalm 40: 8 and 9) 'Siehe, ich komme in Buche ist von mir geschrieben. Deinen Willen, meinen Gott, tue ich gerne, und Dein Gesetz habe ich im Herzen.'
Gott:	'Du willst so viel zu Leiden wagen? Ihr Himmel hört es! Du? mein Sohn?...'
Jesus:	'Siehe, ich komme...'

However, the majority of composers, including Bach, were rather more conservative and more reluctant to adopt such overtly 'operatic' developments in liturgical Passions. Apart

112 Although, in the majority of centres from the evidence of the parts it was clearly the custom for the same singers to sing the *synagoga* as well as the reflective arias (which had all been sung by anonymous characters in the 17th century), in the libretto of *Der für die Sünde der Welt*, for the first time named characters sang the commentaries, some idealised, others biblical.

113 A combination which can be traced back to Pfleger's *Septem verba Christi in cruce pendentis.*

114 Hörner (1933) p.4.

from the popular duet combination of soprano and bass, mentioned above, ensemble arias - duets, trios and quartets - were relatively rare in liturgical Passions in the 18th century. Postel includes four duet arias in the libretto of the 1704 St John Passion. Here, there is one each for pairs of sopranos and tenors (the five-part chorus has two tenor parts) and two for the soprano/bass combination. In the anonymous St Luke Passion BWV 246 there is a trio for two sopranos and alto, and in another setting of the 1704 Postel libretto by Mattheson, *Das Lied des Lammes* (1723), there are two duets for soprano.

1.4.3.2 Placement of aria and *arioso* movements

Lyrical texts, be they chorales, arias or accompanied recitative (*arioso*),[115] are placed at focal points in the drama and several standard ones are: after the Institution of the Holy Communion, at the Arrest of Jesus, after Peter's Denials and after the leading out of Jesus to be crucified. Postel introduced several elements in his St John Passion libretto (1704) that became firmly established in subsequent Passions. One of these is the 'rage' aria calling to the elements following the arrest of Jesus or following the call for Barabbas to be released. It was an idea developed by Brockes in Peter's aria 'Gift und Glut, Strahl und Flut' (No.29) in *Der fur die Sünde der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus* and J.S. Bach in No.27 of the St Matthew Passion ('Sind Blitze, sind Donner in Volken verschwunden'). Other examples can be found in Mattheson, *Das Lied des Lammes* following the turba chorus: 'Kreuzige Ihn; in the Röllig St Matthew Passion (No.2: 'Juda, Juda') and in the Zerbst Passions (St John Passion - No.7: 'O Juda! bist du so verstocket?', and St Mark Passion - No. 21: 'Verfluchte Faust, verfluchte Faust!') (See chapters 7-9 below.)

Increasingly in the oratorio Passions of both Telemann and J.S. Bach, the libretto is filled out with free poetic texts marked *arioso* which are set as sections of accompanied recitative or even short aria-like movements indicating the influence of the lyrical passion on its liturgical counterpart. The majority of liturgical Passions follow the 18th century convention of preceding every aria with recitative (see Case Study 1 and 2 for examples of typical plans);

115 ie. the music of the recitative is characterised by a regular pule and metre and accompanied by either just the the continuo instruments or a complete set of strings in what might be described as the style associated with aria vocal sections.

Table 1.6 Allocation of voices in aria and ensemble movements of selected oratorio Passions

date	composer	work	Solo voices				Ensemble arias					Total
			S	A	T	B	S/S	S/B	A/T	T/T	other	
1704	(Handel)	St John	4	1	1	3	1	2	-	1	-	13
b1713	Keiser	St Mark	3	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	10
b1720	Freislich	St Matthew										10
b1720	anon (attr. Bach)	St Luke	2	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	SSA	7
1723	G.P.Telemann	St Mark										10
1723	J.S. Bach	St John	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	8
1723	Mattheson	St John	3	-	1	4	2	-	-	-	S/T	11
1727	J.S. Bach	St Matthew	3	5	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	14
1728	G.P.Telemann	St Luke	-	-	3	4*	-	-	-	-	-	7
1730	G.P.Telemann	St Matthew	10	-	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	14
1731	J.S.Bach	St Mark	3†	2†	1†	-†	-	-	-	-	-	6
c1735-7	J.G.Röllig	St Matthew	(-)	1	1	5	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)	A/T/B	8
1737	G.P.Telemann	St John	2	3	-	3	-	1	-	-	SAB	10
c1737	J.F.Fasch	St Luke	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
1741	G.P.Telemann	St John										9
1744	G.P.Telemann	St Luke	5	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	8
1745	G.P.Telemann	St John	8	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	11
1746	G.P.Telemann	St Matthew	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
1748	J.F. Fasch	St John	3	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	11
1750	J. G. Röllig	St Mark	2	2	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	10
1753	Doles	St Matthew	7	1	-1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8(9)
1759	G.P. Telemann	St Mark	4	2	3	3/1*					S/B	15
b1768	Homilius	St Mark	3	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	9
1775	Homilius	St Matthew	1	1	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	8
1788	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	-	-	6

* = baritone

† = the distribution of the arias is not firmly documented. However, this is the most widely accepted allocation

only occasionally does a composer or librettist break with convention and precede an aria movement with a chorale as in Telemann's 1745 St John Passion and Picander's text for BWV247. Unlike opera and the lyrical oratorio (including the lyrical Passions), where the aria normally develops out of a recitative almost without a break, with the same character/voice singing both, the voice that sings the commentary aria in liturgical Passions is rarely the singer of the recitative that immediately precedes it. An indication of the extent that Bach has moved towards the lyrical Passions is not only the number of the lyrical interpolations but the manner in which he uses these texts. Bach experimented with the pairing of settings of lyrical texts as accompanied recitatives and arias twice in the St John Passion BWV 245, while ten of the fourteen arias in the St Matthew Passion are preceded by a preparatory *arioso*, sung by the same voice in the manner of a lyrical oratorio. The accompanied recitative is generally harmonically unstable (ending often in a key related to that in which it started) and there are frequently musical links to the following aria. Even the *Schlußchor* of BWV 244 is preceded by an arioso in which each solo voice is given one phrase in turn in the order bass, tenor, alto, soprano, much the pattern that Graun was to adopt in *Der Tod Jesu* (1755) where, to emphasise the anonymity of the commentators, each aria is sung by a new voice in turn.[116] Such a consistent application of the techniques in BWV244 of the lyrical oratorio in a liturgical Passion sets Bach apart from even Telemann, who was far more flexible in his use of the lyrical texts, never adopting a regular formula. However, the occurrence of texts set as *arioso* is rare in the works of other composers in the 18th century. (See Case Study 2 below.)

1.4.4 Lyrical movements - Choruses

1.4.4.1 *Introitus* and *Conclusio*

From the earliest musical presentations of the Passion story it had been customary to begin the Passion with an announcement of the title called the *Exordium* or *Introitus* , e.g. 'Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum [Matthaeum]'. By the 17th century a characteristic wording was 'Höret das Leiden unsers Herren Jesu Christi wie es beschreibet der heilige

116 Though one cannot rule out that Bach intended a more symbolic meaning such as the Resurrection or Ascension by this particular ordering of solo voices in successive solo phrases.

Evangeliste [Matthaeus]'. To end there would be a simple offering of praise and thanks called the *Gratiarem actio* by Catholic composers and *Danksagungslied* by the Lutherans, the so-called *Conclusio*.[117] This traditionally opened with the words: 'Dank Sie unserm Herren Jesu Christi...' as in Flor's St Matthew Passion of 1667. In the 18th century the structural feature of the opening choral movement remained but these tradtional formulae were replaced either by choruses with lyrical texts or by chorales.[118] An example of the 'new type' of lyrical movement is the the opening chorus of Keiser's St Mark Passion which is divided into two sections: an adagio with homophonic choral writing and a constant quaver beat in the strings, followed by a fast contrapuntal section. Brockes' influential text opens with a chorus of the *Gläubige Seelen* (Faithful Souls). However, after 1720, works with an opening lyrical chorus are relatively few. Examples include Mattheson *Das Lied des Lammes* (1723), the three J.S. Bach Passions, Homilius's St Mark Passion (c1742-1768 - see Case Study 2 below) and Röllig's setting of St Mark (1750 - see Chapter 9 below).[119] Of Telemann's 46 settings of the Passion, five have both an opening and closing chorus (St Mark 1731, St Luke 1732, St John 1733, St Matthew 1734 and St Luke 1748) and only two others have just an opening chorus (St John 1729 and St John 1757). (It would appear that Telemann did not consider opening and closing choruses an important feature in his early Passions.) In C.P.E. Bach St John (1780) and in all St Matthew Passions there is a lyrical chorus following the opening chorale. (In 1789 the chorus is repeated before the final chorale 'Ich danke dir von Herzen'.)

The great majority of 18th-century liturgical Passions conclude with a *Schlußchor* (final chorus) which very often is followed by a final chorale verse (*Schlußchoral*). Perhaps surprisingly Telemann only introduced final choruses into his Passions from 1731.[120] The

117 Smallman (1970) pp.25-26 and 101.

118 Böhm's 1711 setting of St Luke continues the, by then, archaic tradition with the *Exordium* 'Höret das Heil. bitter Leiden und Sterben unsers Herrn Jesu Christi welches uns beschriebet der heilige Evangelist Lucas' sung, unusually, by the Evangelist.

119 Undoubtedly the influence of the early 18th-century Hamburg Passions was strong on the development of Bach's own settings, and the links between the 1704 St John Passion, Keiser's setting of St Mark and Brockes's libretto *Der für die Sünde der Welt* have been described in various writings.

120 *Schlußchor* were very much more common in Telemann's settings than opening choruses. The following end with a chorus: 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1738, 1745, 1748, 1750, 1753, 1756, 1758, 1759, 1760 (with a double chorus), 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1767. Once established, final choruses seem to come in and out of favour in Telemann's Passion settings with regular two-year gaps in the sequence. The longest, a four-year break occurs between 1740-1744.

final chorus of the Hamburg and Leipzig is often cast as a 'sleep chorus', a theme that was first introduced in the *Schlußchor* of the 1704 Postel St John Passion (set again in 1723 by Mattheson). Bach was clearly influenced by the 1704 setting since the theme of the *Schlußchor* of BWV 245 is very similar to the earlier setting, and he continued the theme of sleep in the St Matthew Passion. Röllig's St Matthew Passion, composed for Leipzig c1735, also concludes with a departing wish for gentle sleep.[121] Telemann was also aware of the tradition: the 1728 St Luke Passion closes with a sleep-chorus whilst in the 1730 St Matthew Passion the *Schlußchor* is replaced by a soprano aria, which opens with the words: 'So ruhe sanft in deiner Kammer nachdem Dich ungezählter Jammer, entseelter Heiland, hingericht', ruhe sanft.'[122] The 1726 St Matthew Passion has a similar text for the *Schlußarie* 'So ruhe sanft, gequälter Nazarener', a sentiment which is maintained in the parody version of 1738: 'So schlafe sanft, bis du nach wenig Tagen.' In the middle section of the final lyrical movement in the 1737 setting of St John a *terzetto*, which is cast as a conversation between Jesus, Joseph and Maria, Jesus wishes farewell to his followers with the words 'Gesetz ist nun erfüllet, Gottes Zorn ist nun mehr gestillet, meine Lieben, gute Nacht' to which Joseph and Mary answer 'Liebster Jesu, gute Nacht.' Even where there is neither a *Schlußchor* nor aria, Telemann chooses a *Schlußchoral* with an appropriate text as in 1744 St Luke, which contains the words 'so schlaft ich ein und ruhe sein.'

1.4.4.2 Other choruses with lyrical texts

The only use of the choir in the 17th century was in the *turbae* and in the formal *Introitus* and *Conclusio*. By the 18th century, the choir may also have lead the congregation in the singing of the chorales but, as Smallman points out,[123] the distinctive characteristics of the chorales clearly separates the dramatic and meditative function of the chorus. Such a distinction is also maintained where the choir sings a chorale in conjunction with a free solo voice (described above). However, during the 18th century other non-gospel interpolations were also assigned to the choir such as choral interjections in aria movements and free-standing choral movements with lyrical texts. The majority of the known examples of choral

121 See discussion of this work in Chapter 7.

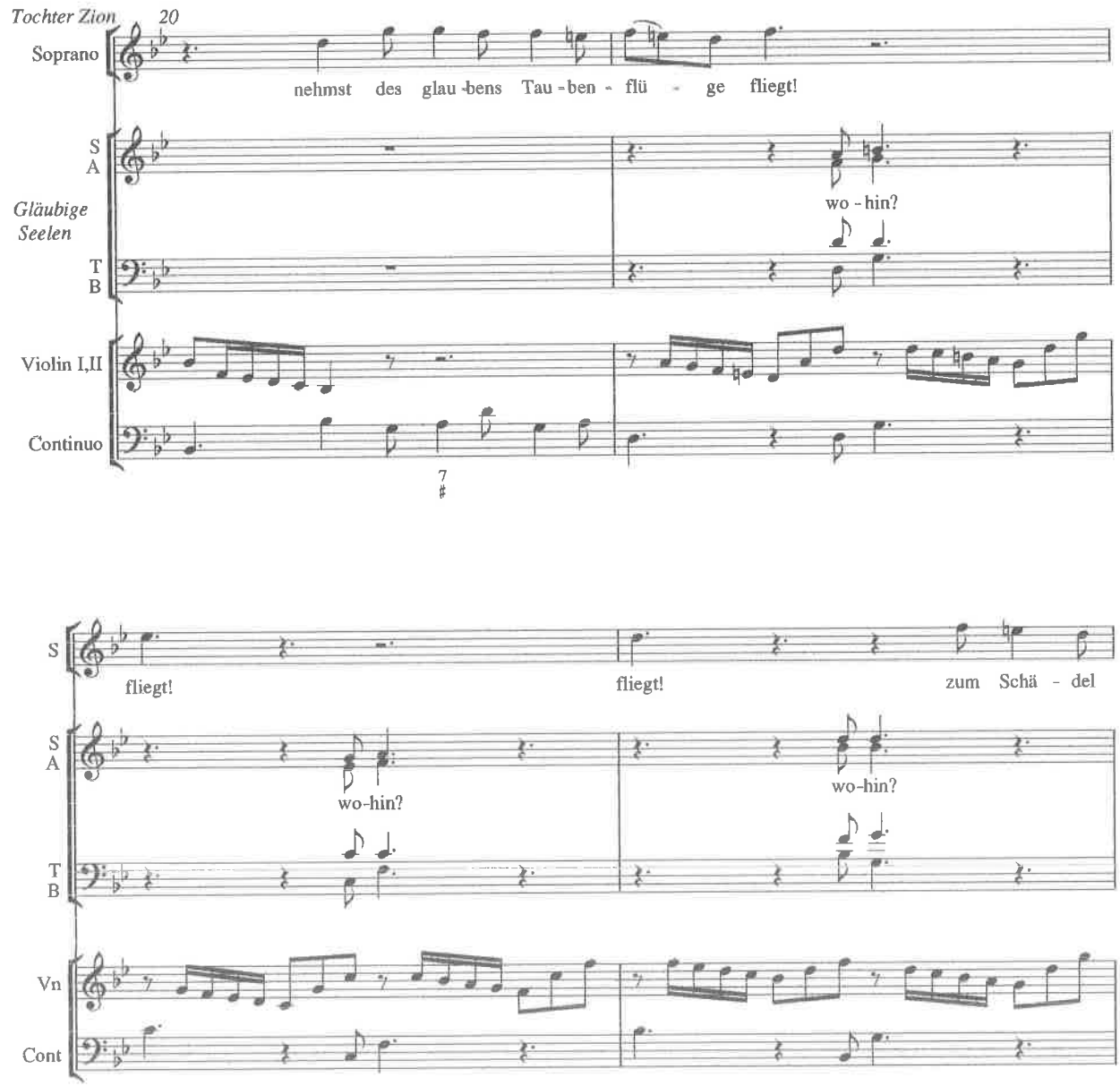
122 'Rest softly in the Chamber, after Thou hast suffered untold pain, oh dead Saviour, rest softly.'

123 Smallman (1970) pp.70-71.

interjections in Bach's and Mattheson's Passions can be traced back to the aria with chorus, 'Eilt, ihr angefochten Seelen', from Händel's setting of the Brockes' libretto which Mattheson conducted in the Domkirche in Hamburg and which Bach copied. In this short movement short interrogatory phrases from the chorus of *Gläubigen Seelen* interject into *Tochter Zion*'s musical line.

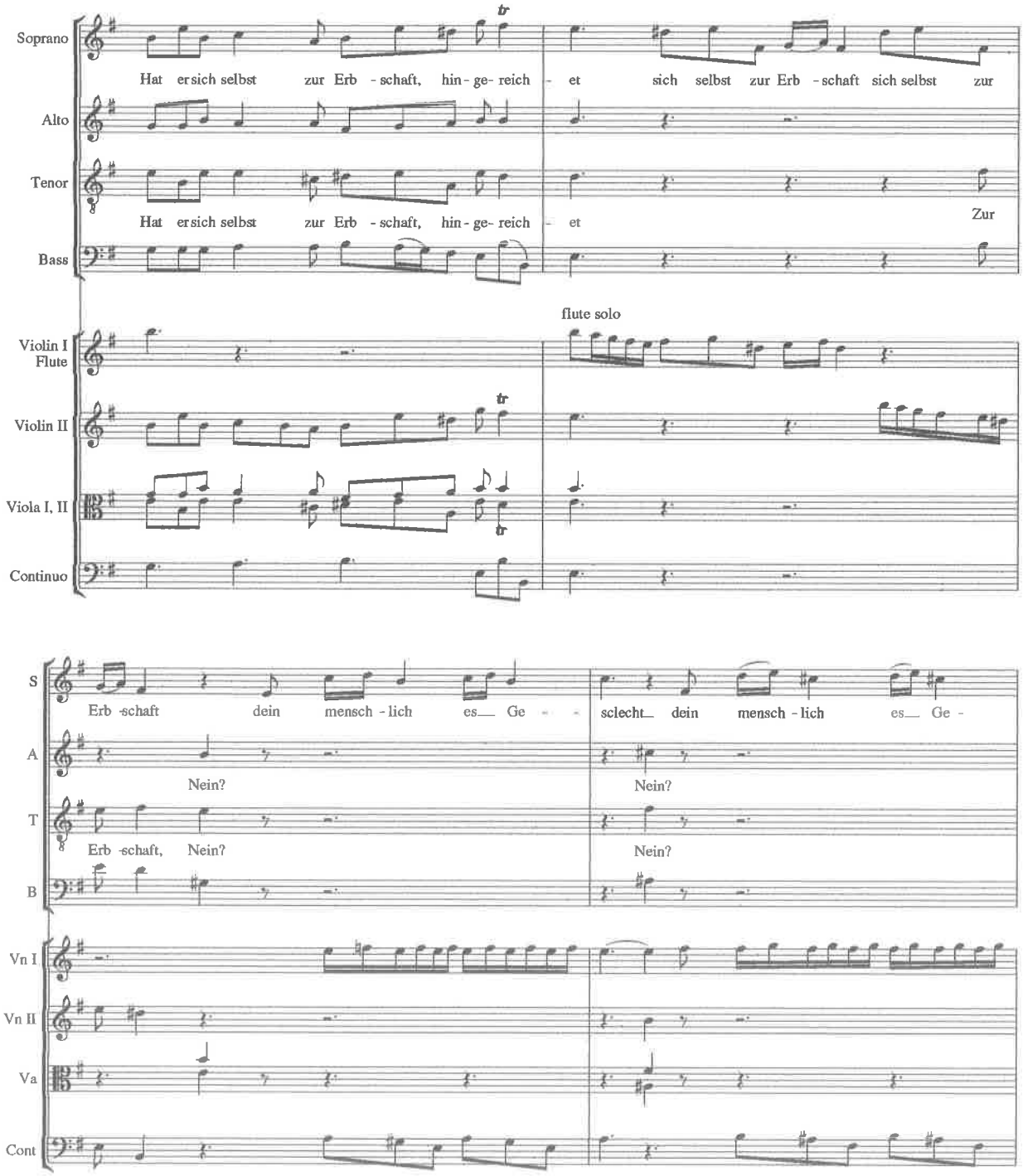
Musical Example 1.4

Händel *Der für die Sünde der Welt* : chorus 'Eilt, ihr aufgeflochtnen Seelen' (bars 20-23)



In the final movement of Part I of *Das Lied des Lammes* (1723), 'Welche sind des Heilands Erben?' described as *Antiphona, overo responsorio moderno* (which in the 1704 setting had been a duet for two tenors), the composer adapts the conversational style of the text so that the soprano line is broken in a similar way to the Händel example above by choral interjections from the lower voices on the word 'Nein!'

Musical Example 1.5 *Das Lied des Lammes*: chorus, 'Welche sind' (bars 29-32)



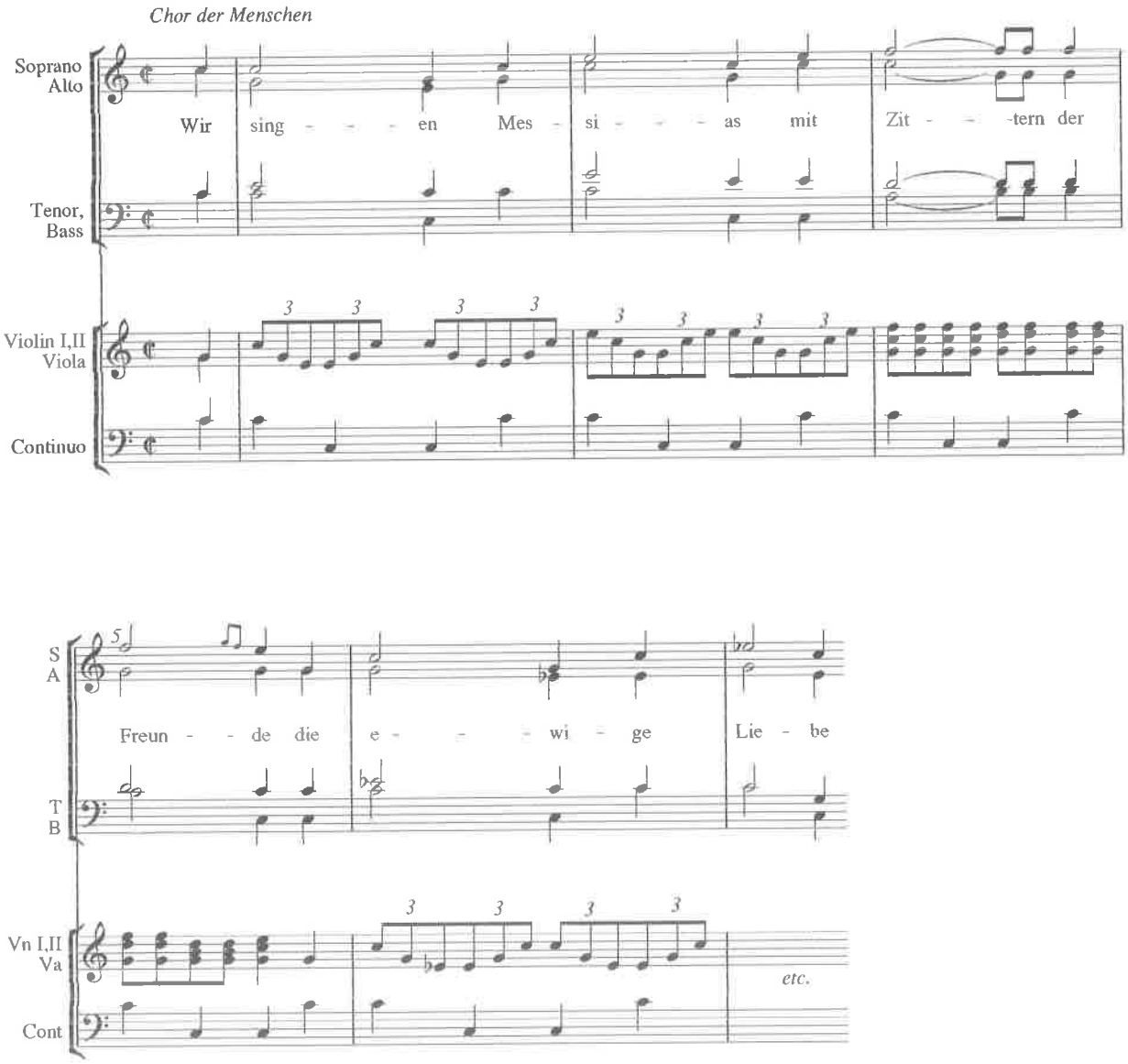
Bach exactly imitates the Händel model in the bass aria with chorus 'Eilt, ihr angefochtnen Seelen', No.24 from the St John Passion - itself based upon Brockes's text - with choral interjections with the question 'Wohin?', answered by the bass with 'Nach Golgatha!' [124] Telemann also seems to have been aware of the Händel example, adopting the device in two of his earlier settings. In the soprano aria with chorus from St Mark 1727, the Evangelists questioning 'Wohin?' is answered by the *Gläubige Seele* 'So flieht aus euren Sünderhöllen!' Three years later in the soprano aria with chorus 'Frohlocket, hochbetrübte Seelen' from St Matthew, 1730, there are similar interjections from the chorus 'Wodurch?', 'Womit?', 'Was denn?'

A choral section might follow on from, or conclude, a solo aria. Examples include the alto aria with chorus, No. 9 from the Homilius St Mark Passion, and the dramatic 'rage-chorus' 'Sind blitzen, sind Donner in Wolken verschwunden' (No. 27b) in BWV244. Free-standing choruses with other biblical (i.e. non-gospel) texts or free lyrical texts (but not chorales) seem to be the least common in the 18th-century liturgical Passion, and the great majority are found in the works of Telemann. Apart from one fugue (1748), all are mainly homophonic with some *fugato* and the majority are through-composed. It is in these movements that the clearest examples of Telemann's adoption of the classical style can be found. Simple Haydnesque triadic themes with clear antecedent and consequent phrases, together with slow-moving block harmony over a constant triplet quaver accompaniment can be clearly identified in the *Schlußchor* of the 1757 *St Matthew Passion.*

124 Similar choral interjections can be found in the opening chorus 'Kommt, ihr Töchter', in the soprano and alto duet 'So ist mein Jesus nun gefangen', (no.27) and the alto aria 'Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand, uns zu fassen, ausgespannt', No.60 from the St Matthew Passion.

Musical Example 1.6

Telemann St Matthew Passion 1757: *Schlußchor* (bars 1-6).



1.5 Internal construction

1.5.1 The balance between gospel and lyrical texts

Telemann's Passions provide examples of most of the constructions found in the 18th century, from the simplest to the most complex. In a cosmopolitan and liberal city such as Hamburg, the musical capital of the German-speaking lands and the centre for German opera in the first half of the 18th century, Telemann was in a unique position to experiment with the new Passion setting he produced annually over a period of forty-six years. There was considerable variety of approach - Hörner identifies up to five different types of work, all ostensibly oratorio Passions but some frequently closer to the Passion oratorio or Passion cantata:[125]

1. Those with *libretti* under the influence of the poets Brockes, Menantes and Postel (1722-25)
2. The experiments with new text and forms - 1728 and 1735
3. The Parodies - 1726/1738, 1741/49
4. Passions with introductory and/or *Schluß*- choruses[126]
5. Those that display the loosening of the strict Passion form through many poetic interpolations, poetic paraphrasing of Gospel text and inclusion of oratorical scenes for the biblical characters.

Earlier settings, such as the St Matthew Passion (1730) set the entire gospel text of chapters 26 and 27 with a variety of interpolated lyrical texts set for solo voice as arias and recitative (several are called 'soliloquies'). In general the chorales are fewer than in Bach (Telemann clearly did not regard them as such an important part of the act of worship) and thus the the role of the chorus is considerably diminished (see Case Study 1 below). Some Passions dispense with an introductory choral movement altogether and commence immediately with recitative. In Telemann's setting of St Luke (1764) this is a setting of a lyrical text sung by *Ein Gläubige am Ölberg* (a believer on the mount of Olives). At the opposite extreme to the concise 1744 Passion come works where the gospel text is submerged under the weight of commentary so that in the end there is little distinction between the liturgical form of the Passion and its entirely lyrical relation. In the course of Telemann's output of Passions, the

125 Hörner (1933) p. 68.

126 Passions with opening chorus and *Schlußchor:* 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734 and 1748. Passions with only an opening chorus: 1729 and 1757. Passions with only a *Schlußchor:* 1735, 1738, 1745, 1753, 1756, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1762, 1763, 1764, and 1767.

gospel text is increasingly filled out with lyrical, contemplative interpolations and in later settings some of the gospel text itself was made more dramatic by being recast in free verse - even Christ's words were rewritten as texts for bravura arias. A graphic example of the diminished importance of the gospel text can be found at the beginning of the 1766 setting of St Matthew where no fewer than six lyrical movements precede the first appearance of gospel text:

1. **Chorale:** *Ein Lämmlein geht*
2. ***Arioso*** (*Die Bewunderung* [127] - Tenor): *Schrecklich ist der Eifer*
3. **Chorus:** *Erbarme dich unser*
4. **Aria:** *O Bürden die dich drücken*
5. **Chorus:** *Gib uns deiner Frieden*
6. **Chorale:** *Wenn des Gesetzes Donner*
7. **Gospel Text** (Evangelist): *Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem* (Chap 26, vs.30)

Perhaps it was in order to accommodate the increase in meditative movements in this setting and others such as St Mark 1759 (where there are 16 arias, two non-biblical recitatives, and 11 chorales) that the gospel text was abbreviated in the later works (as described above).[128] The result, a modified oratorio Passion, was colourful and operatic and well-suited to contemporary taste in Hamburg. The substitution of gospel narrative by dialogue, such as the following exchange in rhyme between Pilate and the crowd in St Luke 1728, only served to heighten the operatic charcteristics of these Passions.[129]

Pilatus: Bedenkt welch ein Wahl ist das;
für Jesum wählt ihr Barabbas!
Chor des Volkes: Ja, unser fester Schluss ist das:
nicht Jesum, nein, den Barabbas!
Pilatus: Den Barabbas! Bedenkt welch ein Wahl ist das!
Chor des Volkes: Ja, Ja wir wollen Barabbas![130]

In other works, the substitution of gospel text indicated a differing direction toward the ideals

127 'Admiration'.

128 See section 1.4.1.

129 Malinovsky (1978) p. 255. Some of the recognised authors of the Telemann lyrical Passion *libretti* include: Brockes (1723 St Mark), Wilkens (1728 St Luke, 1735 St Mark and 1738 St Matthew), Justus Gesenius (1744 St Luke), Zimmermann (1745 St John), Johannes Rist (1746 St Matthew).

130 Translated as: *Pilatus:* 'Think what a choice it is: instead of Jesus, you choose Barabbas!' *Chor des Volkes:* Yes, our firm conclusion is that, not Jesus but Barabbas!' *Pilatus:* ''Barabbas? Think what a choice it is! *Chor des Volkes:* 'Yes, Yes, we want Barabbas.'

of the Enlightenment. As Smither explains: 'rather than presenting the external events of the story in a connected, dramatic or narrative-dramatic text [as in the oratorio Passion where the Gospel text is paramount], as the traditional Baroque librettist had done, the poet assumed the listener's knowledge of the story and wrote a contemplative, lyric drama with personages who are usually unnamed and 'idealized', and who express their sentiments about the story's events.'[131] We can see this process continued on into the 19th century - when Telemann's oratorio Passions were performed at the turn of the 19th century in Riga, his grandson Georg Michael felt obliged to make changes not only to the orchestration (such as the addition of clarinets and trombones), but also to the texts as well to 'bring them up to date'. The titles of the textbooks of the Riga performances underline the fundamental change of outlook where, instead of the drama being the focus, following the tenets of the Enlightenment, the congregation's 'edification' was deemed more important. A comparison of Telemann's original title for the St Matthew Passion of 1762 and the Riga performance in 1819 provides a dramatic example of this change in outlook:

1762: *Die Geschichte der Vorsöhnung der sündiger Menschem durch das Blut Jesu Christi.* (The story of the reconciliation of sinful mankind through the blood of Jesus Christ.)

1819: *Gedanken und Empfindungen bei eineigen Stellen der von Evangelisten Matthäus beschreibenen Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi.* (Thoughts and feelings on a few passages from the Evangelist Matthew's account of the story of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ.) [132]

The most striking construction of any 18th-century liturgical Passion is that of Telemann's 1728 setting of the St Luke Passion. The librettist Wilkens combines the chief elements of the liturgical Passion and the Passion oratorio: the gospel text is divided into five Parts (following Gerhard's five scenes: *Hortus - pontifices - Pilatum - cruxque - sepulchrum*, see above), in which the gospel text is punctuated only by chorales. Each Part is then preceded by a lyrical section which is divided into a *Vorbereitung* ('preparation') taken from the Old Testament and *Die gläubige Anwendung* ('the Holy application' or 'application of faith') in which parallels are drawn between the Gospel and Old Testament texts. In the plan of Part I below, one can

131 Smither (1987) p. 336. The most famous oratorio libretto of this new type was Karl Wilhelm Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* (1754) set by Carl Heinrich Graun and G.P. Telemann (both in 1755).

132 Malinovsky (1978) pp.258-9. (presumably from Hörner but with no reference)

see an extended musical scene based on Genesis 37, depicting the selling of Joseph by his brothers into captivity in Egypt which prepares for, and relates to, the scene of Jesus's betrayal by Judas and his desertion by his disciples:

I. Preparation to the first section : the selling of Joseph
recitative: *Israel, ach!* }
aria: *Allgegenwärt'ger Hort der Deinen* } *baritone*
Die gläubige Anwendung
recitative: *Was Josephs Brüder hier an ihrem Bruder taten* }
aria: *Laß, Erlöser, deine Treue* } *tenor*

Section One
Chorus of the disciples: *Wo willst du, daß wir's bereiten*
recitative: *Mich hat herzlich verlanget* *baritone/tenor*
chorale *Herr, laß mich nicht vergessen*
Chorus of the disciples: *Nie keinen*
Chorus of the disciples: *Herr, siehe, hier sind zwei Schwerter*
recitative: *Betet, auf daß ihr nicht in Anfechtung fallet!* }
recitative: *Vater, willst du* } *baritone*
chorale: *Trieb, Herr, von mir und verhüte*
Chorus of the disciples: *Herr, sollen wir mit dem Schwert*
chorale: *Du Nacht voll Angst*

The other Old Testament parallels are:

II. I Kings 22, II Chronicles 18 - 'The guiltless Micah, struck and reviled by Zedekiah for his divinely inspired, but unfavourable prophecy on the impending fate of Ahab' prepares 'the description of the beating and mockery of Christ before the High Priests.'

III. II Samuel 15 - 'King David is abandoned and persecuted by his son and people' prepares 'the condemnation of Christ before Pilate.'

IV. Judges 16 - 'Samson brings destruction to the Philistines' prepares the Crucifixion scene.

V. 'Jonah's shipwreck, preservation in the whale's belly and eventual restoration to dry land' parallels 'the entombment and approach of resurrection of Christ.'

Parts III-V follow the same structure as Part I. The setting of the Gospel text is very simple with only basso continuo accompaniment for the recitative and *colla parte* writing for the orchestra in the choral movements which is reminiscent of the later 17th-century oratorios by

Sebastiani, Theile and Meder.[133] In contrast the five Old Testament sections are more elaborate, each having a separate key centre and orchestration to distinguish the moods of each section. For example, whether consciously or unconsciously, there are echoes of the Passion tones in Telemann's choice of F major for part IV, the section which describes the Crucifixion:

	key	*obbligato instrument*
I.	G minor	solo oboe
II.	G major	solo bassoon
III.	C minor	solo oboe
IV.	F major	solo oboe
V.	C major/ F major	solo flute

(in the final chorus the original tonality of G reappears)

Telemann returned to the concept of self-contained scenes in three later settings: St John (1733), St Matthew (1734) and St John (1735). The St John Passion (1735) is another collaboration with the poet Wilkens who provided seven poetic soliloquies. Once again, the Bible narrative and the lyrical sections are kept quite separate, recalling the *intermedii* of Selle's St John Passion (1643). Smallman suggests that this format, like that of the 1728 setting, would perhaps have seemed somewhat conservative to congregations of Hamburg.[134] Following the words 'Barabbas aber war ein Mörder' (Ch.18: 40) in the 1733 St John Passion there is a short scene based on the Song of Solomon introducing an allegorical character named *Sulamith* in conversation with a chorus of *Töchter Zion* (referred to above in section on singing characters). The textbook of the lost 1734 St Matthew Passion shows an interpolated section called 'Cantata' which consists of two *da capo* arias and a recitative.

The liberal climate in Hamburg enabled Telemann to contemplate such radical changes to the format and texts of the lyrical Passion such as those described above and thus much of this

133 Smallman (1970) p. 164.

134 *Ibid.* p.165. Smallman is perhaps commenting on the proliferation of Old Testament texts used for interpolations in the Hamburg Passions at the turn of the century reflecting the Pietist's wish for greater knowledge of the Bible. The 1694 St John Passion is the first of the Hamburg Passions to drop the traditional opening *Introitus*: *Höret das Leiden* which was replaced by 'Wir warten auf dich, Herr, im Wege deine Rechte, des Herzen Lust stehet zu deinem Namen, und deinem Gedächtnis' (Isaiah 26:8). The full extent of this move can be seen in the 1710 St John Passion where as many as twenty-two such quotations from the Old Testament were used for interpolated movements. Thereafter, there was a reduction in the use of Old testament verses. In the 1711 St Matthew Passion there were only sixteen such interpolations all of which had been recast in lyrical verse form in a similar manner to the new contemporary Passion oratorios. (Hörner (1933) pp. 21 ff.)

section has been devoted to his works. Mention has also been made above of the interpolated *ariosos* that precede many of the arias in Bach's St Matthew Passion, BWV244. Generally, however, composers either felt unable (owing to restrictions imposed by the clergy), or simply did not wish to add such a number of lyrical insertions into their works, nor meddle with the gospel text - as will be seen in Case Study 2 and in the discussions of the Zerbst Passions in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. Undoubtedly, Telemann's adoption of an abridged gospel text afforded the composer scope to add other non-gospel material without overburdoning the work as a whole, which was performed without interruption.

1.5.2 Common aria forms in 18th century.

1.5.2.1 The *da capo* aria

The chief determinants of the forms of arias and choruses of cantata and oratorio works was the *libretto*. 'As a rule, arias with relatively short texts tend to be in *da capo* form while those with longer or strophic texts are more often in non-repeating forms.'[135] Since the vast majority of texts consisted of single verses of 4 to 6 lines where the first 2 or 3 lines contain the first sentence, so the majority of arias are set in *da capo* form, and almost exclusively so in works of the first two decades of the century.[136] In liturgical works *da capo* form tends to be reserved for texts consisting of just one verse. The two parts of the text might present differing metaphors: the first sentence might represent the *'expositio'* whilst the second sentence or clause contained in the B section presents the *'confutatio'*. Often the librettist indicated in the text if the aria was to be set using a *da capo* structure.[137] Late Baroque and early Classical oratorios share the *da capo* form in arias to 1750, often in an abridged form,

135 Crist (1989) p. 44

136 Smither describes a *da capo* form that was prevalent in the oratorio of the early classical period, where a multi-strophic text might be set in *da capo* form (with the first strophe sung in its entirety in both the first solo section (S1) and the second vocal phrase (S2), whilst strophe 2 is sung as the B section). Smither (1987), p.72.

137 Crist (1989) Footnote. p.38. Stephen A. Crist states that *da capo* form was indicated in eighteenth-century libretti either by the repetition of the opening portion of the text or by the printing of the words 'Da Capo' at the end of the aria text. Thus, when adopting *da capo* form in the arias of his first Leipzig *Jahrgang*, Crist suggests Bach was merely following the lead of the librettist. While this may hold true for published collections of cantata *libretti*, such as those produced by Neumeister, without access to the source material for the aria texts of the Passions in this study it is impossible to see whether it was the librettist who determined the form that the arias finally fell into or whether the decision was totally the composer's.

though its use began to wane in the 1760s and had almost died out by the 1780s.[138] Crist points out that the use of this form was so prevalent in the first half of the century that the one composer who experimented with a variety of structures, J.S. Bach, stands out amongst his contemporaries - 'Bach's arias are extraordinarily diverse, in contrast to those of his contemporaries. In fact, it seems that Bach deliberately and systematically varied the elements of aria composition throughout his career'.[139] My researches into the Zerbst Passions, discussed in following chapters, indicate that there was a variety of structures reflecting the variety of text types.

The construction of the A section in the *da capo* movements usually followed a standard pattern in the period. There were two vocal phrases (S1 and S2) framed and separated by instrumental *ritornelli* (R1, R2 and R3). In major keys, almost invariably S1 modulated to the dominant and S2 returned to the tonic via related keys while in minor keys the principal modulation in the A section was to the relative major.[140] Although there was variety in the tonally unstable B section, the relative minor is very often established in S3 or S4 phrases at some point in arias in major keys. In movements with a minor tonic, there was more variety in the tonality of the B section. For purposes of identification in the discussions of the music of the Passions music in Chapter 6-9, the standard *da capo* structure is called Type 'A1':

Table 1.7

Most common design of *da capo* arias (Type 'A1'):

Section:	**A**					*Fine*	**B**	*D.C.*
Rit.& Solo:	R1	S1	R2	S2	R3	‖	S3	‖
Key (major tonic):	I	I-V	V	(V-) I	I		vi	
Key: (minor tonic)	i	i-III	III	(III-) i	i		New key(s)	
lines:	1-2		1-2				3+	

It is often taken for granted that the 18th-century standard *da capo* aria commenced with an instrumental ritornello, as all of Bach's do, but a wider examination of the literature shows

138 Smither (1987) p. 72.

139 Crist (1989) p. 36.

140 Smither (1987) pp. 72-73 states that S2 either immediately returns to the tonic key, or commences in the dominant and re-establishes the tonic very quickly.

that this was not necessarily so. *Da capo* arias of Albinoni, Vivaldi, Händel and others often commence with a vocal section instead of a ritornello.[141] In fact , a composer was at liberty to omit any ritornello in the structure.[142]

A further structural feature identified by Crist which is 'a normal pattern for approximately three-quarters of Bach *da capo* arias' is a division of the B section into two parts, divided by a medial ritornello and each containing the entire second sentence or clause of the text:

Table 1.8

Da capo aria with a four-line text with divided B section (Type 'A2')

Section:	**A**					*Fine*	**B**			*D.C.*
Rit.& Solo:	R1	S1	R2	S2	R3	‖	S3	R4	S4	‖
Key:	I	I-V	V	(V)-I	I		mod.	new key	mod.	
Key: (minor tonic)	i	i-III	III	(III-) i	i		mod.	new key	mod.	
Lines		1-2		1-2			3-4		3-4	

However, Crist points out that 'its frequency in the works of Bach is quite unusual when compared with other music of the period. Although the second segment of the text generally was repeated in arias around the turn of the 18th century, such two-part middle sections became outmoded by the 1720s. In 1753, Christian Gottfried Krause[143] reported that the B section of a *da capo* aria rarely has a medial ritornello. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, Koch [144] stated categorically that 'it always contains only a single main period'.[145] Thus the appearance of the feature in the works of Bach (and some of his older contemporaries) appears to have been a conservative trait.[146]

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141 Crist (1995) (The author is most grateful to Stephen A. Crist for making a pre-publication copy of his article available.) See also Michael Talbot, *Tomaso Albinoni: The Venetian Composer and his World,* Oxford (1990), Eric Cross *The Late Operas of Antonio Vivaldi*, 1727-1738, 2 vol. (Ann Arbor, 1981) and Winton Dean, *Händel and Opera Seria*, Berkeley (1969). Talbot (1990) notes, 'as many as one third of Albinoni's da capo arias lack an introductory ritornello'. The *Schlußchor* of *Die betrübte und getröstete Geistliche Sulamith* (see Chapter 9) also commences with the first vocal phrase.

142 Rosen (1980) p.43.

143 Krause (1753/1973) p.286.

144 Koch (1983) p.171.

145 Crist (1995)

146 The bipartite division of the middle sections is also a feature of some of the St Luke Passion arias considered in Chapter 8 and the majority of the Röllig St Mark Passion arias (see Chapter 9).

Crist goes on to comment on the shift in emphasis between the two parts of aria form during the course of the eighteenth century: 'In the late seventeenth century, the B section often was longer and subdivided while the A section was simple. But gradually more musical emphasis was placed on the A section, and it grew in length while the stature of the B section diminished. Around the mid-eighteenth century, composers often treated the B section as little more than a bridge between A and its repeat.'

Not only did the balance of A and B change through the course of the 18th century, but from the 1720s to the 1760s composers also increasingly abbreviated *da capo* form. An abridged form of the *da capo* pattern is that in which *Fine* occurs at the end of R1, i.e. there is no reprise of the vocal music in the A section. This will be referred to as Type 'B'. Other abridgements are made by using the *dal segno* indication to return to the music of the A section at various points. The most common form is the omission of the opening ritornello (R1) (Type 'D1') but three other more abbreviated structures have been identified in each of which there is a reprise of just one vocal section prior to the final ritornello: 'half da capo' (Type 'E' - where the return is at the beginning of S2), 'condensed da capo' (Type 'F' - where S1 is written out in full following the B section and then the *dal segno* mark returns the music to the final ritornello) and 'quarter da capo' (Type 'G' - where a new vocal phrase follows the B section prior to a return to the final ritornello).[147] In a similar manner to the full *da capo*, the B section of the abridged form may also feature a medial ritornello with allied modulatory pattern and repetition of the text. In the works discussed in chapters 6-9 below this pattern has only been found in the 'half *da capo*' form and is thus labelled Type 'D2':

Table 1.9

Dal segno Aria Type 'D2' with R 1 deleted from repeat:

Section:	A	§				*Fine*	B			D.S (§)
Rit.& Solo:	R1	S1	R2	S2	R3	‖	S3	R4	S4	‖ R5
Key:	I	I-V	V	V-I	I		vi-IV	IV	IV-vi	vi-I
Lines		1-2		1-2			3-4		3-4	

The *dal segno* mark often occured during, rather than at the end, of R1which is indicated below as types 'D1b',' D2b' etc.

147 See plans of typical *da capo* form and the three abridged forms: 'half da capo', 'condensed da capo' and 'quarter da capo' in Smither (1987) pp.72-74.

Rosen also describes a highly abbreviated structure where S2 is omitted in the exposition of the A section and S1 on the recapitulation to give a structure (omitting ritornelli) of:

$$A^1 \; B \; A^2$$

where A^1 modulates to the dominant as S1 would do, A^2 is in the tonic (or commences in the dominant to return almost immediately to the tonic as S2 would often do) and B is a central trio section (described below as Type 'C').[148] This is in contrast with a strict ternary structure ABA where the opening A section concludes in the tonic.[149] The various *da capo* forms can be summarized as follows:

Table 1.10 Resumé of common *da capo* structures

TYPE

A1 Standard *da capo* form

A2 As A1 but with medial ritornello in B section

B An abridged form of the *da capo* pattern in which *Fine* occurs at the end of R1, i.e. there is no reprise of the vocal music in the A section.

C Simple type - single vocal section with no medial ritornello in A section

***Dal segno* forms**

D1 Where the opening ritornello is omitted on the reprise (the most common) (*D.S.* to end of R1)

D2 As D1 but with medial ritornello in B section

E 'half da capo' - where *D.S.* is to the beginning of S2

F 'condensed da capo' - where S1 is written out in full following the B section and then the *dal segno* mark returns the music to the final ritornello

G 'quarter da capo' where a new vocal phrase follows the B section prior to a return to the final ritornello

Notes:

1. **A1a**, **A2a**, **D1a**, and **D2a** are as above except that R2 is tonally unstable and modulates.
2. **D1b**, and **D2b** are as above except the dal segno mark is placed during, rather than at the end, of R1.

148 Rosen (1980) p.43.

149 Only examples of A1, A2, B, C, D1 and D2 can be found in the Passions discussed below. The abridged *da capo* forms E, F and G and the highly abridged version described by Rosen are more readily found in Italian opera (particulary *opera buffa*).

1.5.2.2 Non-*da capo* aria forms

Where the text was not suited to *da capo* structure (often because the first sentence was longer than three lines, or the number of lines exceeded 7), composers tended to use a great variety of structures including: binary form (the plan of which is identical to the A section of the *da capo* structure), an ABB structure, a tripartite structure (ABC) which is essentially an expansion of Binary from (see Table 1.11 below), as well as various through-composed structures.

Table 1.11 ABC structure (Expanded binary form)

Rit.-	**A-**	**Rit.-**	**B-**	**Rit.-**	**C-**	**Rit**
I	modulation away from tonic (usually to dominant)	new key	further modulation	new key	modulation back to tonic	I

Indicative of the gradual abandonment of the *da capo* aria as the almost automatic choice is the introduction of other types of movement in the Telemann Passions composed after 1750. Hörner identifies three new aria-types: the 'Chain aria', (*'Kettenarie'*) in which one aria leads to the next without a break (neither of which is in *da capo* form);[150] Rondo form arias (*'Ringel-Arie'*) in 1752 and 1760[151] and two examples of strophic Lieder in 1764 and 1766.[152] Telemann also adopts a short lyrical movement called a *Cavata,* which Hörner describes as something between the full aria and *arioso accompagnato.*[153] The first example: 'Ihr Salems Tochter', sung by the *Sulamith,* comes from the 1733 setting of St John whilst all subsequent examples occur in post-1754 works. This trend was continued by Telemann's successor in Hamburg; the *libretti* of the works for which the music is now lost, confirm

150 Three examples in 1745, four in 1754, six in 1756, five in 1757, four in 1759, four in 1762 and three in 1766. Hörner (1933) p.133.

151 1752 St Luke: 'Ist's möglich,' aria in ABACADA form and 1760 St Luke: 'Höre, Jesus, wie ich girre' in the more irregular ABCDBEBB. Hörner (1933) p.133.

152 1764 St Mark: 'Es stoßen wilde Wetter'; 1766 St Matthew: 'Dies ist der Juden König' (3vs), entitled 'canzonetta'. See Hörner (1933) p.133.

153 Other examples are 1754 'Hirbei ihr frevelhafte Sünder' (now lost); 1756, 'Göttlich starker Weibessamen' (now lost); 1758, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763 (lost) and 1767. Hörner (1933) p.133. *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Willi Apel, 1976) p. 139, states 'In 18th-century music the term [*cavate*] is used occasionally for short epigrammatic ariosos found at the end of a long recitative (*recitative con cavata*).' An example of a *cavata* can be found in the St John Passion, *Ach! Wir armen Sünder* described in chapter 8.

that in the period 1781-86 C.P.E. Bach favoured homophonic song-arrangement in the style of the German *Lied* .[154]

1.6 Musical Techniques

1.6.1 The use of the orchestra

From the earliest surviving oratorio Passions, composers have endeavoured to enhance the dramatic quality of the Gospel text. Selle (St John, 1643) assigns an unusually large group of instruments to give individual colour to the accompaniments of each of the characters. Note that a particularly noble sonority is reserved for Pilate by the use of trombone and the cornetti (the latter are not used for any other character):[155]

Jesus:	*Bass*	2 violins, bassoon, organ (regal)
Evangelist:	*Tenor*	2 viole da gamba, bassoon, organ
Servus:	*Alto*	2 flutes, trombone or bassoon, organ
Petrus:	*Tenor*	2 flutes, trombone or bassoon, organ
Pilatus:	*Alto*	2 cornetti, trombone or bassoon, organ
Ancilla:	*Soprano*	2 violins, flute, organ

Sebastiani likewise assigned contrasting combinations of instruments to differing characters in the 1672 St Matthew Passion: two violins accompany Jesus and three violas, the Evangelist. With the establishment of the standard four-part string group there came a clear division between *secco* and accompanied recitative and by 1700 the tradition of reserving a string 'halo' to the words of Jesus had been established. However, there was still inconsistency in the application of the accompanying instruments. Whereas, in the 1704 St John Passion (Postel), characterization is achieved in a traditional manner by assigning purely *secco* accompaniment to the Evangelist and minor characters and *arioso* accompanied by four-part strings to the words of Christ, as in the Selle example above, the nobility of Pilate is suggested by the setting of his words in *arioso* -style accompanied by the continuo group, and some of the time, by four-part strings. In setting the same text in 1723, Mattheson maintained the same pattern but without the string accompaniment.

There was continuity from the 17th-century examples described to the 18th-century oratorio in

154 Clark (1988) p. 536. Comparing the the arias from C.P.E. Bach's 1788 St Matthew Passion with those from the 1773 Passion, Clarke notes that the later ones display 'a more modern style, with short symmetrical phrase lengths, syllabic vocal writing, and short or non-existent ritornellos. Three of them are in variants of binary form and the other is a *da capo*.' Clark (1988) p. 537.

155 Steinitz (1979) p.5.

the use of intruments to achieve a variety of tone colours. Instruments were invaluable to define the *Affekt* where the text is rich in symbolism as well as well-defined non-musical association typically found in Passion libretti. A range of tone colours could thus be used for a number of particular associations, eg flutes for the scene on the Mount of Olives, oboes d'amore for the scene of the entombment or oboes to portray the cock crow. However, while they afforded more instrumental colour in lyrical works, generally baroque composers employed more modest orchestras for liturgical Passions, a point illuminated in Table 1.12 below.

1.6.1.1 Instrumentation of the 18th-century Passion

The size and constitution of orchestras provides one indicator of the changing styles during the 18th century. Table 1.12 below lists the instrumentation, where known, of 18th-century oratorio Passion settings, and, in order to provide a comparison, of Passion oratorios produced by composers of liturgical Passions.[156] This table indicates the standard complement of pre-1750 works (and all of Telemann's Passions) of (besides strings) 1 or 2 oboes and possibly 1 or 2 flutes, played by the oboists, with occasional use of the oboe d'amore, the recorder and *concertato* bassoon in single movements. The great exception are the works of Bach, which utilise a far larger performing body, with a greater array of tone colours which Bach uses to provide variety for individual movements. Noticeable is the use of the French-style five-part string orchestra with the gamba providing an extra tenor part in two of the earliest Hamburg Passions by Keiser and Mattheson. However, after 1750 there was a very clear move toward a classical grouping with the addition of pairs of oboes, flutes, horns and *concertato* bassoons in selected movements.

156 The information for the table was obtained from manuscript sources, and from Menke (1983); Lott (1925) pp. 297ff. (Danzig Passions inc. Telemann St Matthew 1750); C.P.E. Bach *Nachlassverzeichnis*; Banning (1939). Owing to the inevitable lack of corroboration, care is needed when reading the table since the oboists often also took the flute part(s). Errors in Menke's list, when found (indicated by bracketted figures), have been corrected.

Table 1.12: Instrumentation of Surviving Passions in period 1700-60

date	Composer	work/date	No. of upper W.W. Players *1	fl.trav	oboe	d'amore	other	fag.$	corno	Strings
Passion Oratorios		*(by composers of oratorio Passions)*								standard v1,2, vla and bc unless specified
1716	Telemann	Brockes	3?	3	2	-	1 rec.	1	-	
1722	Telemann	Seliges Erwärgen §		1 (2)	2	-	2+1¢ rec. 2 Chalumeau	2	2	
1731	Telemann	Die grekreuzigte Liebe		2	2	1	1 Chalumeau	$	-	violetta plus standard group
1755	Telemann	Betrachtung der 9ten Stunde		2	2	1	-	1	-	
1755	Telemann	Der Tod Jesu		2+*	2	1	-	1	-	
c 1750?	Freislich	Brockes		1	1	-	-		-	vln 1 2, vla 1, 2 , gamba, b.c.
after 1750	Doles	Wer, wer ist der		2	2	-	-	2	2	
	Doles	Nun ist da der große Tag		-	2	1	-	2	2	
"	Doles	Herr, stärke mich		2	2	-	-	2	2	
"	Doles	Gedanke, der uns leben gibt		-	2	-	-	2	2	
1769	C.P.E. Bach	Die Lezten Leiden	4	2	2	-	muted timps	2	3	
oratorio Passions										
Hamburg I										
1704	Anon. (Händel)	St John (Postel)	2	2	2 (d)	-	-	1	-	
c1712	Kaiser	St Mark	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	5 part strings inc gambas
1723	Mattheson	St John (Das Lied des Lammes)	4	2	2	-	1 chalumeau (d. oboe)		-	violetta and 5 part strings inc. 2 gambas
1723	Telemann	St Mark		1	2	1	-		-	
1728	Telemann	St Luke §	1	1 (2)	1 (2)	-	1 recorder	1 conc.	-	
1730	Telemann	St Matthew	2	2	2	-	-		-	
1733	Telemann	St John		1	2	-	-		-	
1737	Telemann	St John	2	1	2	-	1 recorder		-	
1741	Telemann	St John	2	2	2	-	-		-	
1744	Telemann	St Luke	1	1	1	1d	-		-	
1745	Telemann	St John	2	-	2+#	-	-		-	
1746	Telemann	St Matthew §	2	2 (0)	1	1	1 recorder		1 (2)	
1748	Telemann	St Luke		2	1	1	-		-	
1749	Telemann	St John		2	2	-	-		-	
1750	Telemann	St Matthew	2	2	-	-	-		-	
1755	Telemann	St Mark	2	2	-	-	-		-	
1757	Telemann	St John	1	1	1	-	-		-	
1758	Telemann	St Matthew	1	1	1	-	-		-	
1759	Telemann	St Mark	2	2	1+#	-	-	1 conc.	-	

1760	Telemann	St Luke	2	-	2	-	-		-	
1761	Telemann	St John		2+*	1+#	-	-		-	
1762	Telemann	St Matthew		2	2+#	-	-		-	
1764	Telemann	St Luke §		2 (1)	1 (2)	-	-		-	
1765	Telemann	St John	2	-	2+#	-	-	1 conc.	-	
1766	Telemann	St Matthew		1	1+#	-	-		-	
1767	Telemann	St Mark		2	1	-	-		-	

Leipzig

1724	J.S.Bach	St John	4	2	2	2d	2 oboe da caccia (d)	1	-	2 viola d'amore, lute and gamba
1727/9	J.S.Bach	St Matthew ¶	8	4	4	4d	2 rec. (d) and 2 d" caccia (d)		-	2 gambas
1731	J.S.Bach	St Mark	4	2	-	2	-	2	-	2 gambas plus standard group

Danzig

1718	Koch	St Matthew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Strings only
1720	Freislich	St Matthew I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Strings only
1745	Freislich	St Matthew II	1	-	2	-	-	?	-	bass part entitled 'Bombardo'
1734	anon	St Matthew	1	-	1	-	-		-	
1750	Telemann	St Matthew		2	2†	-	-		-	
1750	anon	St Matthew		2	2	-	-		-	
1752	Römhild	St Matthew		2	2	-	-	1	-	

Freiberg

1753	Doles	St Matthew		-	2	2	-		-	
1755	Doles	St John		-	2?	-	-		-	
?	Doles?	St Matthew		2	2	-	-		2	

Hamburg II

1768-9	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew	4?*2	2	2	-	muted timps.	2	3	
1769-70	C.P.E. Bach	St Mark		2	2	-	-	1	-	
1770-1	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke		2	2	-	-	2	2	
1771-2	C.P.E. Bach	St John		2	2	-	-	2	-	
1772-3	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew		2	2	-	-	2	-	
1773-4	C.P.E. Bach	St Mark		2	2	-	-	-	2	
1774-5	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke		2	2	-	-	2	2	
1775-6	C.P.E. Bach	St John		2	2	-	-	2	2	
1776-7	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew		2	2	-	-	1	2	
1777-8	C.P.E. Bach	St Mark		2	2	-	-	2	2	
1778-9	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke		2	2	-	-	2	2	
1779-80	C.P.E. Bach	St John		-	2	-	-	2	2	
1780-1	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew		2	2	-	-	-	-	

1781-2	C.P.E. Bach	St Mark		-	2	-	-	-	-	
1782-3	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke		2	2	-	-	1	2	
1783-4	C.P.E. Bach	St John		-	2	-	-	-	-	
1784-5	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew		2	2	-	-	-	2	
1785-6	C.P.E. Bach	St Mark		2	2	-	-	1	-	
1786-7	C.P.E. Bach	St Luke		2	2	-	-	1	-	
1787-8	C.P.E. Bach	St John		2	2	-	-	1	-	
1788-9	C.P.E. Bach	St Matthew		2	2	-	-	1	-	

Dresden

c1742-1768	Homilius	St Mark	2	2	2	-	timpani	2	2	
c1768-1775	Homilius	St Matthew								

Gotha

1737	Stölzel	St John	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	

North Germany

b1720	anon (attr. Bach)	St Luke	3	2(d)	2	-	Taille	1	-	

Notes	
*1	The column for total woodwind players is completed where known - the examination of all the sources has not been possible.
*2	As a result of the close association of the St Matthew Passion and Die Letzten Leiden, it has been possible to calculate the number of woodwind
+*	plus quart flute - in 5:6 (1755) and 5:46 (1761)
+#	plus Grosse Oboe - is this the oboe d'amore or the tenor instrument, J.S. Bach's 'Taille' or oboe da caccia? (It is perhaps significant in an age when the terminology of instruments was still vague that the oboe d'amore and grosse oboe never play in the same work - are they the same instrument?)
$	Though not listed in Menke, it is most probable that a bassoon player performed when an oboe is also scored for
§	Menke quotes the figure in brackets yet reference to the score suggests that the first figure is correct
¢	two flauti piccoli and one flauto dolce
†	No oboes in Danzig version Ms. Joh. 396., according to Lott, VII p.318.
d	doubling instrument
¶	J.S. Bach's St Matthew Passion requires two complete orchestras. Hence, here all the figures seem twice as many as other contemproary Passions

Generally, the instrumentation of the oratorio Passion remained modest despite the richness that composers afforded works written primarily for the concert stage, a characteristic which is seen nowhere more clearly than in Telemann's Passions. Hörner suggests that this is a reflection of the more straightened financial circumstances of the church,[157] but Menke views this as an echo of the traditional 'quiet week' before Easter when all instruments had once been silent.[158] However, since performances of *Seliges Erwärgen* became increasingly popular in the *Nebenkirche*, indicating that there was no liturgical restriction on the sounding of instruments during Lent in this period,[159] the financial demands of producing 10 performances in 13 days may well have been a more important factor. Notable is Telemann's interest in the more modern instruments (such as the chalumeau), rather than the archaic (such as the recorder, violetta and the viola da gamba). It is clear from some of the orchestral parts that often a single performer played all the treble woodwind instruments.[160] Despite using a reduced orchestra for the liturgical Passions, Telemann is clearly aware of the tonal possibilities including techniques such as *scordatura* which he employs in St Luke (1744) (tuning the four strings from G-D-A-E to A-E-A-D). A bassoon is assumed to double the bass line where upper double-reed instruments are specified.[161] In three works, the bassoon is given a *concertato* role. However, for a composer renowned for composing in the latest style and for continual experimentation,[162] it is significant that there was a simplification of the orchestration of later settings. Of the unusual instruments that had been used in earlier Passion settings (the chalumeau, horn and oboe d'amore) none are required in the surviving examples after 1748.

157 Hörner (1933) p.87. goes on to suggest that the the orchestra was also small to balance the small choirs.

158 Menke quoted in Petzoldt (1974) p.184.

159 Telemann was in charge of the performances in the five principal parish churches, the *Hauptkirchen* whilst the musical provision in the lesser *Nebenkirche* was independent and which traditionally were less conservative.

160 A further reason Hörner gives for the extended use of flute replacing the oboes in Telemann's Passions was the ability of a famous flute player Anderen Alois Freymut, who was excellent on both flute and oboe. Mattheson mentions this excellent player in *Critica Musica* I, p. 123: 'Hier in Hamburg excelliert auf diesem Instrument vor Anderen Alois Freymut, ein geschickter und geschulter Musikus.' Such doubling is evident in the Schwerin parts of St Luke (1744) where all the flute, oboe and oboe d'amore music is to be found in the same part, and in the St Luke (1728), where the flute and recorder play only in one movement each whilst the oboe remains silent.

161 As in all the works listed by composers prior to C.P.E. Bach in Table 1.11. After Carse (1964) p. 120.

162 Stewart (1985) p. 1.

Unlike Telemann's oeuvre, the settings of St Matthew performed in the Danzig liturgy display a continued increasing richness of orchestration from the use of strings only in Freislich's earlier setting of the St Matthew Passion (1720) to Römhildt's setting (1752); Freislich's setting of the Brockes text (c.1755) stands apart since the composer adopts an archaic French-style five-part string texture (with divided viola parts) and the viola da gamba.

In the works of Doles one perceives the trend from those which require just a pair of oboes doubling oboe d'amore in his St Matthew Passion of 1753 (Freiberg)[163] to the more 'modern' complement of the later works (the oratorio and lyrical Passions prepared for Leipzig) which require pairs of oboes and horns with the possible addition of flutes and bassoon. C.P.E. Bach follows a similar format to the later Telemann Passions with a basic instrumentation of strings, flutes, oboes, bassoon(s) and horns. The paired instruments and consistent use of horns (the third horn used in the 1768-9 St Matthew Passion and *Die lezten Leiden* appears in one movement only)[164] with oboes indicates how firmly the new classical grouping was becoming established by this time. A point of interest is the use of muted timpani which provides a novel colour to the 1768-9 St Matthew Passion /*Die lezten Leiden.* However, as was apparent in the Telemann Passions, there is a reduction in the latter works; C.P.E. Bach reduces to oboes and strings for works composed in 1779-80 and 1783-4; note also the reduction in the use of bassoons (only a single bassoon is required in five of the Passions written in 1781 or later) and that horns are not required in seven of the last nine works. Perhaps this is indicative of the decline in musical standards/resources prevalent in the Lutheran church towards the end of the 18th century. The reduction in instrumentation also coincided with a low period in C.P.E. Bach's Passion composition.[165]

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163 Even though this seems at odds with forward-looking in his approach to aria style - see Malinovsky (1988) p.259.

164 A note in the *Nachlassverzeichnis* (p.59) explains that Bach derived the Passion cantata of 1770 from the 1769 St Matthew Passion 'after the omission of the Evangelist and other changes'. Thus, it is possible to reconstruct parts of the former work, (including the orchestration) from the latter. To create the new work, Bach used all the text written for the St Matthew Passion by Karsch, and engaged the Hamburg poet Eberling to replace the biblical text. A rearrangement of the choral movement *Et misericordia* from the Magnificat and the inclusion of one aria with a text by by Eschenburg also written for the 1769 St Matthew Passion were also included in the new Passion Oratorio which now consisted of a single chorale, four other choral movements and six arias; three for tenor, two for bass and a duet for two sopranos. (Clark (1984) p. 44.)

165 Not all the music was of the highest standard and in particular much of the 'new' music in the works of the 1781-6 period took the form of song arrangements. See Clark (1988) p. 536. See also Clark (1984) for a full discussion of the manner which Emanuel Bach constructed his Passions.

1.6.1.2 Orchestral movements

Whereas short sinfonias were common in 17th-century oratorio Passions and continued to be popular in oratorio works of the 18th century, including Passion oratorios, there is a notable absence of instrumental overtures or introductory sinfonias in the oratorio Passions of the 18th century. One of the few examples is Mattheson's *Das Lied des Lammes* which opens with a short 'Sonatina'. Oratorio Passions composed after 1720 normally commence with a choral movement, and instrumental movements, when they occur, are placed in the body of the work. Instrumental movements were not common in Hamburg Passions (Keiser includes three in the St Mark Passion,[166] but there are no reports of purely orchestral movements in either Telemann's[167] or C.P.E. Bach oratorio Passions.[168]) but they were occasionally to be found in the works composed for other centres.[169] The only centre where there was a consistent tradition of including purely orchestral movements in oratorio Passions in the 18th century was Danzig.[170] Perhaps composers included instrumental movements to compensate for the omission of all lyrical texts apart from the 34 prescribed chorales. Most settings, from Koch St Matthew (1718) onwards, begin both Part I (performed on Good Friday morning) and Part II (in the Vespers service), with an instrumental Sinfonia. The scale is variable, ranging from 23 bars to 147 bars long, but most seem to be of slow lamenting music. Instrumental movements open both halves of the anonymous 1734 St Matthew Passion, Part I opening with a 30-bar *Adagio* in F major in 4/4. The 'Telemann' 1750 St Matthew Passion opens with a three-part *Sinfonie* in a 'lamenting character' and sharp contrasts between loud and soft dynamics.[171] (This movement was presumably not by Telemann but added by the Danzig copyist. - See comments above.) Some sinfonias were quite substantial; Part I of the

166 Keiser includes three purely instrumental movements in his setting of St Mark: at the opening of Part II, following the tenor aria that comes after Peter's Denials and concluding a sequence of solo chorales and arias following the Death of Jesus.

167 According to Lott (1925) p. 297., the St Mark Passion, '1729' (sic) 'is one of the few Telemann Passions with an instrumental movement.' The only score connected with the Hochschule für Musik, Berlin was the 1723 St Mark (lost in WWII) which is probably the one to which Lott refers. The Passion of 1729 was St John (now lost). (The earliest setting of St Mark now surviving is from 1755.) Was Lott referring to the copy of Keiser's St Mark Passion in Berlin (Mus.ms.11471) in Bach's hand dated 1729? - very probably!

168 Clark (1988) p. 540, lists all the movements of St Matthew (1789), the only surviving complete score.

169 Part II of Homilius' St Matthew Passion commences with a sinfonia ($1^1/2$ minutes long).

170 The following information about Danzig Passions comes from Lott (1920) pp. 296 ff. or Lott (1925). Now lost, prior to WWII the scores of anonymous 1734, Freislich 1755, anonymous 1750 and Römhildt 1752, were formerly in Biblioteka Gdansk.

171 Lott (1925) p. 319.

anonymous 1750 St Matthew Passion opens with a short two-movement French overture of 147 bars: an *Adagio* in A minor 3/4 time and an *alla breve* contrapuntal section.

Lott points out a notable feature of three Danzig Passions; a *Lamentosatz* in the body of Part II following Chapter 27, verse 50 ('Aber Jesus schrey abermal laut und verschied'), found in the Römhildt, Freislich (1755) and 'Telemann' Passions. In the 'Telemann' Passion, the strings play a plucked accompanying figure for a few bars after which the oboe begins a 'lamenting' chorale melody which continues 'accompanying the orchestra' to the end.[172] After 'Eli, lama asapthami' Römhildt adds an instrumental piece of 19 bars in which an oboe solo plays the chorale melody 'Nun lasset uns den Leib begraben' over a string motif built on sequences.

1.6.2 General stylistic characteristics of the mid-18th century - two case studies

So far in this lengthy introductory review of the 18th century oratorio Passion, aspects of form, structure, text and orchestration have been discussed to show the development of the genre during the century and the variance of local custom and its influence on composers. The purpose of this final section is to outline some of the important stylistic characteristics of typical mid-century oratorio Passions to provide a yard stick by which the Zerbst Passion may be measured.[173] However, such a survey is fraught with problems since the picture in the mid-century is extremely complex. When attempting to define 'style', not only do national and regional styles vary considerably, but also there is inherent variety of approach between differing genres, even in the oeuvre of a single composer - there can be a dichotomy between secular (and largely instrumental) music for courtly entertainment and a rather more conservative (and 'learned') sacred style, espoused in particular by organist-composers of the Lutheran tradition in the mid-century period. There can even be a contrast between traditional cantata works produced for the liturgy and the newer purely lyrical works reflecting the beliefs of the Enlightenment that were finding favour in churches in the latter part of the century and indeed, between what was allowable in conservative and liberal centres. After a short

172 Lott (1920) p. 297.

173 While some of the following discussion goes over familiar material, it was deemed necessary to define those aspects which can be considered to be 'old' or 'new' features in the music of Case Studies 1 and 2 below, and the works considered in chapters 6 - 9.

preamble on general characteristics of the early classical style come two short case studies of works by different composers to provide examples of the general position of liturgical Passion music at the mid-century; both are contemporary with the two surviving complete settings of Zerbst Passions (which date from 1748/52 and 1750 respectively). For balance it was decided that works from more than one centre should be discussed. The first is a case study of a setting of St Luke by Telemann prepared for performance in Hamburg 1744, and the second is of a setting of St Mark by Homilius (composed some time after 1742 and before 1768) for Dresden. The availability of Telemann's scores is limited - a few have been published in modern editions[174] while others exist only in manuscript, many of in a very incomplete and sketchy form. The 1744 Passion was chosen since not only is it the only work published as a fully orchestral score which is more or less contemporary with the Zerbst Passions, it also represents a more conservative version of liturgical form (untouched by some of the overtly operatic influences described above) which will enable a more direct comparison of structure and style with the works under consideration below. Performed in Dresden, the Homilius St Mark Passion represents one of only two surviving post-1750 complete settings composed for a centre other than Hamburg available to the author at the time of writing.[175] For an example of the completely lyrical type, reference should also be made to Smither's case study of Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* (1755), the most famous and most often performed work in Germany in the latter half 18th century.[176]

In general, the music of the mid century was characterised by a development of a popular, more secular aspect in Church music.[177] This, in effect, reflected the developments in secular vocal music and a shift in emphasis in the cultural centre from church to secular music, which itself coincided with the shift of the centre of German-speaking music-making from

174 Published editions include: 1728 St Luke ed. Ruhnke, (Bärenreiter, 1964) (full score); 1730 St Matthew ed.Redel, (Vaduz, n.d.), (vocal score); 1737 St John (1976); 1744 St Luke ed. Schroeder, (Stuttgart, 1966) (full score); 1746 St Matthew, ed. Schroeder (1976); 1759 St Mark ed. K. Redel (Vaduz 1963) (vocal score).

175 The others are: the 1753 St Matthew Passion by Doles (which, since it contain 32 chorales, is too unusual to be representative); the 1788 C.P.E. Bach St Matthew Passion (which is both a Hamburg work and was composed to late for this particular survey); and the Homilius St Matthew Passion (the source of which had not yet come to light at the time this part of the study was written). Works from the Danzig liturgy had to be discounted since no arias were allowed in this centre.

176 Smither (1987) pp. 401-434. Smither also includes a case study of the Telemann's *Der Tag des Gerichts* (1762) pp. 377-400.

177 Rhea (1958) p.83.

Hamburg to Vienna. The disparity between the styles of music adopted for use in theatre and in church narrowed until by the latter half of the century, there had formed a more-or-less unified idiom which met the needs of both. Whilst many Cantors diligently upheld the learned contrapuntal style of church music well into the 1740s and later, sometimes to the chagrin of their employers on the city council (*viz* J.S. Bach, and to a certain extent C.P.E. Bach in Hamburg), others happily embraced the new style in their church music. The universal popularity in Lutheran lands of such works by Graun as *Der Tod Jesu,* or the widespread performances of *Du Göttlicher* (otherwise known as *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers*) by C.P.E. Bach, not only in sacred concerts but in a liturgical context, bears witness to the strength of the regard for the new style of music in church. The dispersal of works by Homilius and Doles (who are regarded as the most important Protestant composers of the second half of the century), the inclusion of simple Lied-like songs in C.P.E. Bach's later Passion settings, and the widespread dispersal of simple motet settings by composers such as G.P. Weimar in published form and in manuscript confirm this. In between the 'Baroque' and 'Classical' style epitomized in the works of J.S.Bach and his contemporaries (on the one hand), and Haydn and his contemporaries (on the other), comes the so-called 'pre-Classical' style, which is, in essence, a mixture of Baroque and Classical elements. A rather all-embracing term , 'pre-Classical' has been applied to describe the music of a great range of composers, as Michael Saffle points out, 'as different from one another as Domenico Scarlatti, Stamitz, and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.'[178]

During the century there was a noticeable tendency to move away from the contrapuntal texture of the Baroque, with its emphasis on one basic *Affekt* and motive towards melody with homophonic support and a greater variety of musical material (i.e. the transition from what William S. Newman designates 'motivic play', implying the continuous development of a single idea, to polythematicsm denoting a multiplicity of elements arranged and ordered in more or less discontinuous segments).[179] The effect of this new concept of theme of the pre-classical period was the breaking up of the theme into small articulated phrases or fragments, a process called '*Klingliedrigkeit*' (Blume)[180] or '*Mehrgliedrigkeit*' (Riemann),[181] resulting

178 Saffle (1997), pp.56-57.

179 Newman (1963/1972) p.113.

180 Blume (1958) col. 1056-1057

181 Riemann *Grosse Compositionslehre* Vol.1 p.415, cited and translated by Sheldon (1968) p.53.

(Riemann),[181] resulting in very short melodic phrases composed of contrasting motives. The *Galant* style, which was most associated with a freer approach to composition (and which was bemoaned by some contemporary commentators),[182] was most readily found in instrumental works, especially small-scale chamber and solo keyboard music. It also infiltrated sacred music, though not to such an extent. In *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin 1771-1779), Johann Philipp Kirnberger observed that:

> In the strict style every chord, and almost every note... is stressed; fewer decorations of the melody, or fewer passing notes that are not indicated in the figures, occur. However, in the freer or lighter style some chords are skipped over and thus have less emphasis. The melody is mixed with numerous passing notes that are considered as decorations of the main notes. The strict style gives grave character to the melody ... but the light style entails a free and decorative character.

Thus:

> The strict ['or fugal'] style is used chiefly in church music, which is always of a solemn or serious character, but the latter [the 'free and Galant' style] belongs chiefly to the stage and to concerts [*den concerten*], in which the aim is rather to delight the ear than to awaken serious or solemn feelings. It is, therefore, generally known as the *galant* style and various elegant departures [*Ausschweifungen*] and sundry deviations from the rules are permitted.[183]

Rosen also points out that a weakened form of the 'strict' style still held sway in most religious music in the period 1750-75 (and indeed survived into the 19th century).[184] In his *Clavierschule* (Leipzig and Halle 1789), Daniel Gottlob Türk explains that '"church style" requires a serious character united with dignity, solemnity, [and] ... the strict following of the rules.'[185] It should not be surprising, therefore, to find this true particularly for the liturgical Passion which was by this time an essentially conservative form shackled to the gospel text.

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181 Riemann *Grosse Compositionslehre* Vol.1 p.415, cited and translated by Sheldon (1968) p.53.

182 'It is a very serious error when the composer allows himself to be seduced by applause that impractical and inexperienced listeners give to the pleasant so-called *galant* pieces and hereby introduces small, chopped-up dainty mosaic instead of beautiful music into serious works and even church music.' Ratner (1956) citing and translating Johann George Sulzer in *Allegmaine Theorie der schönen Künste* Vol 3 p.378, Leipzig 1777-1779. (Saffle (1997), p.56.)

183 J.Ph. Kirnberger: *The Art of Strict Musical Composition* , trans. by D. Beach and J. Thym. New Haven 1982, p.99. cited in Arnold p. 360 (translating Kirnberger Part I p.80), Sheldon (1968) p.74. and Saffle (1997) p.58.

184 Rosen (1971) p.44.

185 Quoted by Saffle (1997) p. 57, from D.G. Türk: *The School of Clavier Playing*, trans. R.H.Haggh. London 1982, p. 397 [Italics in Haggh's translation.]

representative of] ... the feelings and passions in their totality,' while the 'chamber style holds a middle ground ... and unites that which is found only occasionally in the afore-mentioned styles of writing.' In fact, composers adopted and mixed *topoi* more consciously in the instrumental music of the latter part of the 18th century than in vocal music.[186]

Liturgical vocal music of the mid- century, therefore, tended to display characteristics of both Baroque and early Classical style, the emphasis being determined by both the composition date and the preferences of the composer. Since 'Galant' and the 'Roccoco' were distinct styles largely associated with instrumental forms, for the purpose of following discussions, therefore, the global term 'early classical' (a less pejoritive label than pre-classical) pertains to works of the mid-18th century where at least some general aspects of the mature classical style are recognizably present in the music. Some of the chief stylistic difference between the two styles are summarized in Table 1.12. Here a rather crude comparison is made between characteristics commonly found in the music of Bach and his contemportaries c1730 and those in the music of Haydn c1770:[187]

Table 1.13 Comparison of chief features of late baroque and early classical style

Baroque (c1730)	**Classical (c1770)**
Movements often built on one theme only	Contrasting thematic material
Themes built from figures (e.g. Suspirans, Corta, Groppo, Circolo, Superjectio, and Mezzanza) and uniform rhythms	Figures often replaced by virtuosic scale and arpeggio figuration. Common rhythmic figures include: Lombardic, triplet against duple, triplets in semiquavers.
Frequently florid vocal style	An often simple vocal style influenced by the German Lied
Frequently, essentially linear bass line	An essentially non-linear bass line, at times using *Trommelbass* and occasionally such

186 *Topoi* or "topics" are stylistic gestures- recognizable dance rhythms, characteristic national or regional musical figures, melodic and contrapuntal textures associated with various social classes, and so on - scattered throughout eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century European music.' Saffle (1997) p.56.

187 After Rosen (1971), Blume (1931/1974), Sheldon (1968, pp.50-74) and Stewart (1985)

	chordal figures as the 'Alberti bass'
Contrapuntal texture is common	A prevalent use of homophony with normally only two or three real parts (with violins often in unison, violas doubling basses, and winds doubling strings)
Often relatively quick and regular harmonic rhythm	Often slower and more irregular harmonic rhythm
Tension *fairly* constant	Tension highly varied
Melodic lines that tend to be spun out with sequential treatment of motives.	A simple tuneful, melodic line organised by units clearly grouped into antecedent and consequent phrases (possibly overlapping) with more frequent cadences.
Often many single suspensions	Fewer supensions, but many more appoggiaturas, especially long appoggiaturas at cadences
Cadences mainly on strong beat	Many 'feminine' cadences, with only bass resolving on the beat
5-4 suspension most common at cadence	$^{6}_{4}$ - $^{5}_{3}$ 'standard' approach to cadence

1.6.3 Case Study 1 - Telemann: St Luke Passion 1744 Menke 5:29

Georg Philipp Telemann (b.Magdeburg 1681, d.Hamburg 1767)[188] came to Hamburg in 1722 having held many the major types of post open to a successful practising musician in the field of both sacred and secular music: organist, church director of music, opera composer and conductor, court Kapellmeister and city music director. Under Telemann, there was a resurgence of the quality of music in the Hamburg parish churches, and, owing to his highly successful creativity as an operatic composer, this period was also marked by 'a leap forward in ...the modernity of the style of the music performed as part of the liturgy',[189] a style of church music which was influenced by secular styles, particularly opera. Telemann worked to break down the disparity between the operatic style and what was thought suitable for church. In addition to the 46 oratorio Passions that Telemann composed for the annual performances in the parish churches in Hamburg, he also produced six Passion oratorios for performance in concert venues. Some of these, such as *Seliges Erwärgen,* were also frequently performed in the minor churches in Hamburg.

1.6.3.1 Structure

Telemann's St Luke Passion of 1744 (Menke 5:29)[190] provides an example of the 18th-century liturgical Passion in its simplest form, with opening and closing choral movements (here chorale verses), with commentary in the form of eight arias, one lyrical chorus and three

188 Telemann received his early general and musical education in Magdeburg, Zellerfield and Hildesheim. In 1701 he went to Leipzig to study law but his musical interests soon eclipsed his law studies. He was soon commissioned by the *Burgomeister* of Leipzig to write a cantata for performance every two weeks at the Thomaskirche and in 1702 founded a *collegium musicum* which gave regular concerts for which he composed music. In the same year he also became musical director of Leipzig Opera and had within three years composed four operas. Later, in 1704, Telemann applied for the post of organist at the Neukirche, promising his prospective employers that he would take on the duties of musical director of the church (which was still at that time the University Church) and that his student *collegium musicum* would give concerts of sacred music on feast days and fair days, all for no extra remuneration. A year later he was appointed Kapellmeister to the Court of Sorau where he composed a great number of French Overtures in the style of Lully and Campra to please his employer. He moved to Eisenach in 1708, also as Kapellmeister. In 1712, Telemann took up the post of city director of music of Frankfurt and Kapellmeister of the Barfüsserkirche. As in Leipzig he took control of the *Collegium musicum* of the Frauenstein Society and mounted weekly public concerts for which he composed chamber and orchestral works. A significant development was the performance at one of these concerts of his setting of Brockes' text *Der für die Sünde der Welt gemartete und sterbende Jesus.*

189 Buelow (1993) p. 202.

190 Source: *D-SWl* Sign. Mus. 5377/12. A published score is available edited by Felix Schroeder, Stuttgart, 1966.

chorales. Since this work is more 'conservative' than others by Telemann described above - i.e. it represents a 'pure' example of the liturgical Passion in terms of structure and the treatment of the gospel text, rather than one highly affected by the developments in the lyrical Passion described above - it is suitable for providing a direct comparison with the Zerbst Passions which all display 'conservative' features.

This work was designed to be performed without a break, and there is thus less requirement for chorales to 'frame' sections of the work; indeed, congregational participation is kept to a minimum. Telemann also sets the abridged text that he adopted for all his later liturgical Passions; omitting the Last Supper, and ending at the point of death:[191]

Table 1.14 Structure of St Luke Passion, Menke 5:29[192]

1.	**Chorale**	*Wann meine Sünd' mich kränken*	G
2.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 22: 39-46	
3.	**Chorale**	*Wer fleißig betet und dir traut*	Gm
4.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 22: 47-48	
5.	**Aria** *soprano*	*Die freundlichsten Küsse*	D
6.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 22: 49-53	
7.	**Aria** *soprano*	*Wie sich ein winzges Lüftchen regt*	G
8.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 22: 54-62	
9.	**Aria** *tenor*	*Du, o ewiges Erbarmen*	Em
10.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 22: 63-70	
11.	**Aria** *bass (Jesus)*	*Ihr werdet mich sehen*	D
12.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 22:70, Chapter 23: 1-13	
13.	**Aria** *soprano*	*Schönste Freundin edler Seelen*	F
14.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 23: 13-25	
15.	**Aria** *soprano*	*Diener Feinde bösem Willen*	Am
16.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 23: 26-27	
17.	**Chorus**	*Ach, klage, wer nur klagen kann*	Dm
18.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 23: 28-43	
19.	**Aria** *tenor*	*Holdselige Worte*	D
20.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 23: 44-46[1]	
21.	**Aria** *soprano*	*Ich befehl' an meinem Ende*	C
22.	**Gospel text**	Chapter 23: 46[2] -48	
23.	**Chorale**	*So fahr' ich in zu Jesus Christ*	C

The instrumentation is also typical of Telemann's liturgical Passions, requiring a four-part string group plus one woodwind player who also plays oboe d'amore and flute. There is also a solo violin part for an instrument scored in *scordatura* (with the strings tuned: A-E-A-D).

191 See section 1.4.1 above.

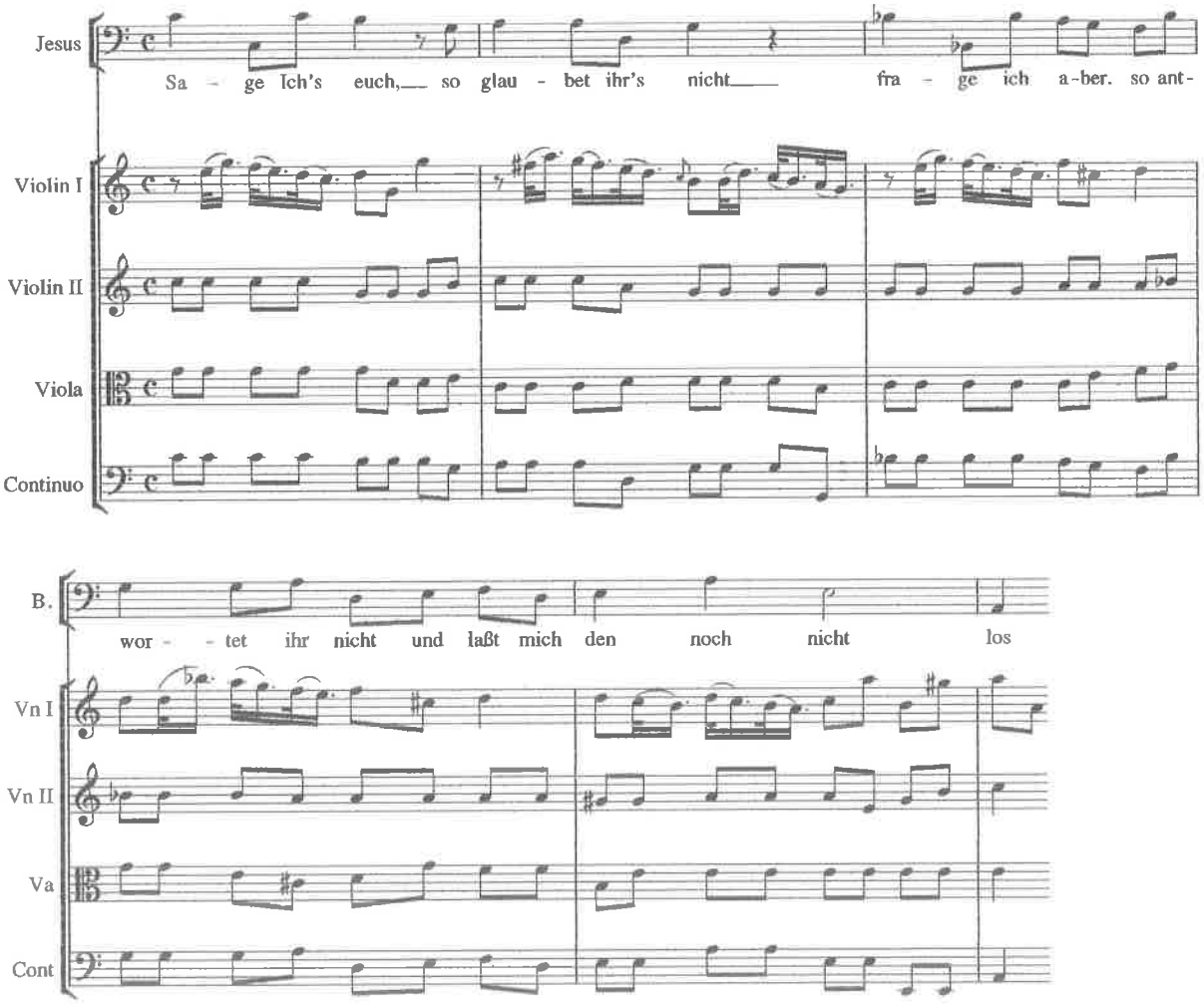
192 The numbering of the movements follows the same convention throughout this dissertation. Self-contained movements (chorales, arias, lyrical choruses and large-scale *arioso* movements and instrumental movements are given a separate numbering. Intervening gospel text, be it *secco* or *arioso* recitative and *turbæ*, is given just one item number with subdivisions (eg 12a, b, c...etc.).

1.6.3.2 Gospel text

Apart from the *Ancilla*, all *synagoga* roles are sung by tenor or bass (Tenor: *Petrus*, *Pilatus*, 1st and 2nd. *Übeltäter* and *Hauptmann*; Bass: 1st and 2nd *Kriegsknecht*). No solo writing is assigned to the alto voice for either lyrical commentary or gospel text. There is a clear division in style of recitative: *secco* for the settings of the Evangelist and *synagoga* and accompanied recitative for Christ. This features both 'halo of strings' (though never just sustained chords but always at least with a lyrical treble part) and some ornate *arioso* .

Musical Example 1.7

Telemann, *St Luke Passion* 1744: recitative (Jesus) 'Sage ich's euch' (bars 2-7)[193]

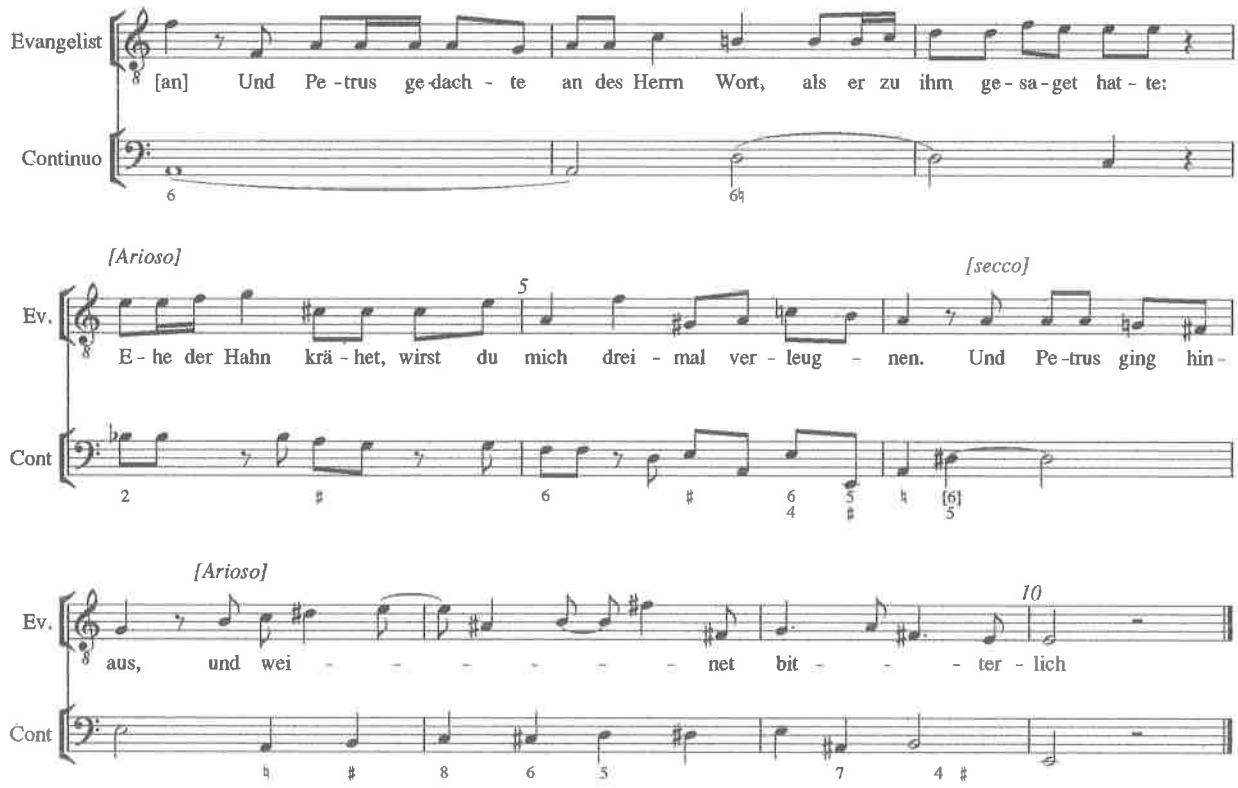


193 Translation: If I tell you, ye will not believe: And if I also ask you, ye will not answer me, nor let me go.' (Luke 22: 67-68)

Telemann also follows convention in setting scriptural quotations and quotations of words of Christ that occur in the Evangelist's part also with *arioso*, but only accompanied by the continuo group. Although by no means consistent in his musical treatment of the text, like Bach, he does not pass up the chance to exploit such dramatic chances as Peter weeping bitterly:

Musical Example 1.8

Telemann, *St Luke Passion* 1744: recitative (Evangelist)[194]

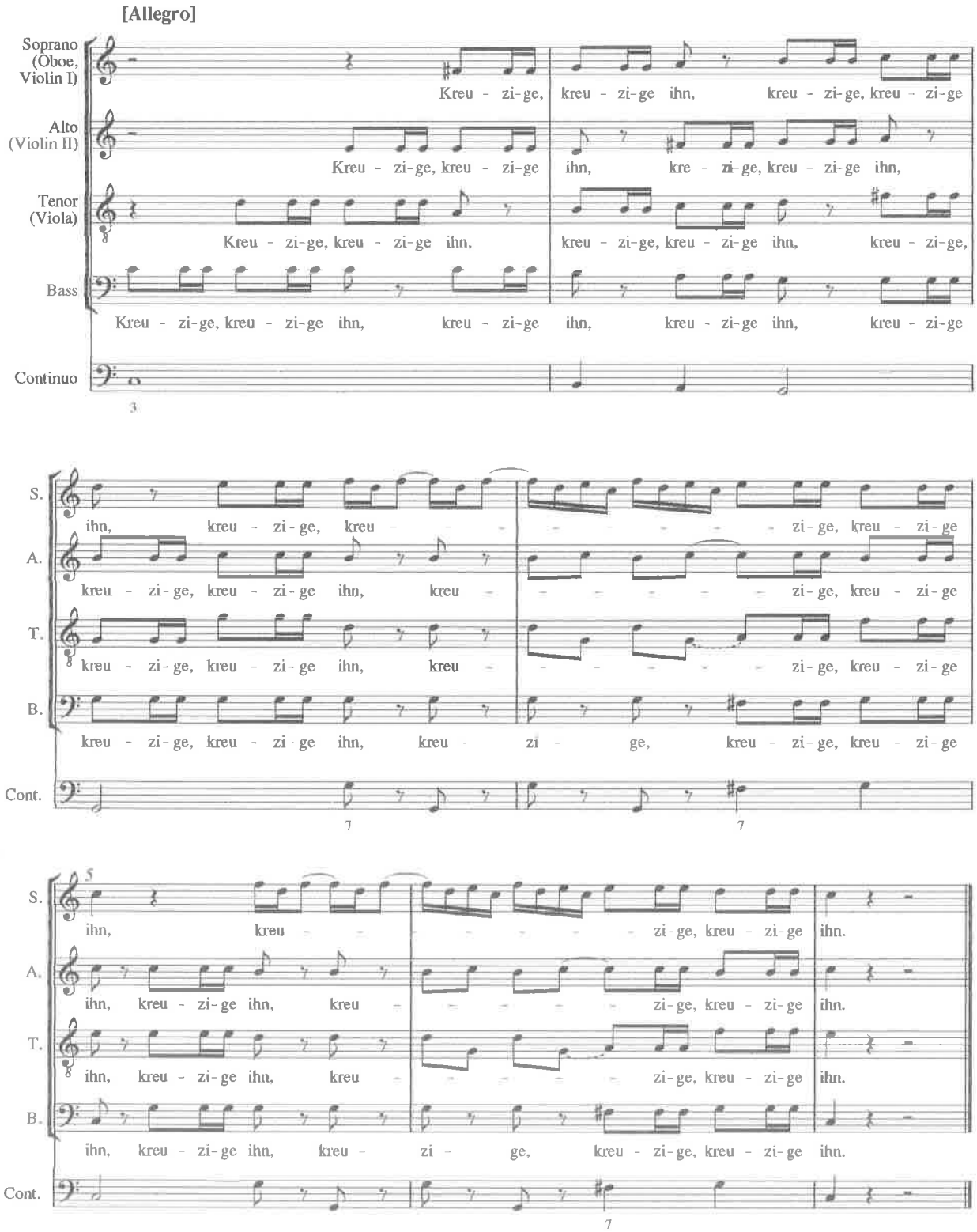


The dramatic *turbae* are generally fairly short, ranging from 6 to 26 bars (average 12.8) and often contrapuntal. All contain fugal expositions. Seven are completely contrapuntal, while four commence and close with chordal sections with a fugal exposition in the middle sections. The imitative entries are used to great effect as in Ex 1.9. Here Telemann exploits the dramatic potential of the consecutive dissonant entries in a 'wedged-shaped' chorus which serve to express the crowd's venom.

194 Translation: 'And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly.' (Luke 22: 61-62)

Musical example 1.9

Telemann, *St Luke Passion* 1744: *Turba* chorus 'Kreuzige ihn!'



1.6.3.3 Lyrical texts

All of the arias are in *da capo* form; four (items 5, 7, 13 and 19 above)[195] are in the conventional full-*da capo* form Type 'A1', item 15[196] adopts the Type 'B' structure while four (items 9, 11 and 21)[197] are in *dal segno* Type 'D1'. Significantly, indicating the period of composition, not one of the arias has the medial ritornello or repeated texts in the B section, so typical of Bach's cantata works. Also, in line with Stephen Crist's observations, the B section occupies a lesser proportion of the whole - the length of the B section is diminished so that its ratio to the A section ranges from only .18 to .28 of the entire movement. (Compare this with Table 8.13.) In the Type 'B' aria (no.15), B has a greater proportion of the entire movement (27 bars or 21% of the total length of the movement), hence, presumably, the the reason for the placement of *Fine* at the end of R1. The B section in all of these arias uses new melodic material, and changes of metre (from C time to $^{3}_{8}$ in No.11) and of tempo (in no.29) are apparent.

Unusually, and indicative of the variation composers were able to include in the *da capo* structure, even though six arias conform exactly to the plan of Type A1, R2 in Nos. 7 and 9 are tonally unstable:

Table 1.15

Da capo aria No.7

Section:	**A**					*Fine*	**B**	*D.C.*
Rit.& Solo:	R1	S1	R2	S2	R3	‖	S3	‖
Key:	I	I-V	V-ii	ii-I	I		vi-iii.	

Da capo aria No.9

Section:	**A**					*Fine*	**B**	*D.C.*	
Rit.& Solo:	R1	S1	R2	S2	R3	‖	S3	R4	‖
Key:	i	i-v	v-III	III-i	I		III	III-i	

A summary of the tonal plans of the B sections displays the variety of approach that Telemann adopted. Only in Nos. 7, 13, does Telemann follow the typical structures indicated in section

195 Items 5, 9, 27 and 41 in Schroeder (1966).

196 Item 33 in Schroeder (1966).

197 Items 11, 19 and 43 in Schroeder (1966).

1.4.1 above.

Table 1.16

Summary of the tonal Structures of B sections of the *da capo* arias

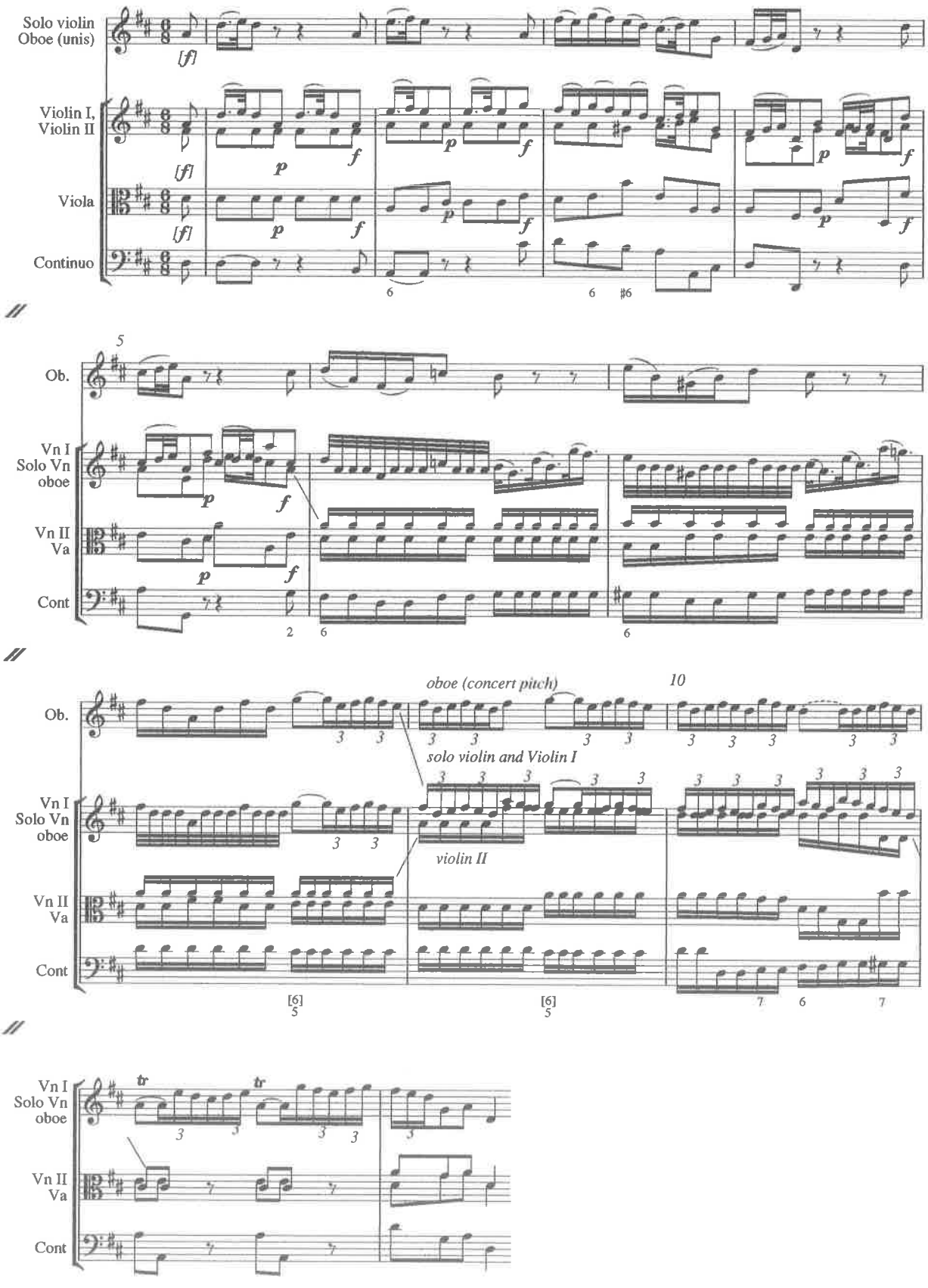
	movement.	**key**	**S 3**	**R5**	**Proportion** [198]
da capo movements					$B/_A$
Type 'A1'	5.	D	IV - VI		.26
	7.	G	vi - iii		.18
	13.	F	vi - iii		.27
	19.	D	I - vi		.28
Type 'B'	15.	Am	III - v		.25
dal segno movements					
Type 'D1'	9.	Em	III	III - i	.25
	11.	C	i - iii		?
	21.	C	vi	vi - I	.28
				average:	**.25**

The music of the lyrical sections of the 1744 St Luke Passion provide a clear example of the mixture of conservative and forward-looking elements, very often side-by-side in the same movement, though with Baroque procedure more prevalent. In the opening ritornello of the soprano aria 'Die freundlichen Küße, die höflichsten Grüße' (No.5) there is a strong feeling of antecedent and consequent phrases over slowly moving harmonic changes. The opening phrase, consisting of two, one-bar phrases, each over one chord, is answered by a two-bar phrase which includes a passing secondary 7th. There is then an overlap, with bars 4 and 5 acting as an antecedent to the sequential phrase featuring Lombardic rhythms commencing in bar 6. This is spun out with the development of a new idea: triplets against duple rhythm in bars 8 -10. (Both rhythmic ideas are characteristics of the mid-century style.)

198 $B/_A$= proportion of S3 over R1, S1, R2, S2 and R3.

Musical example 1.10

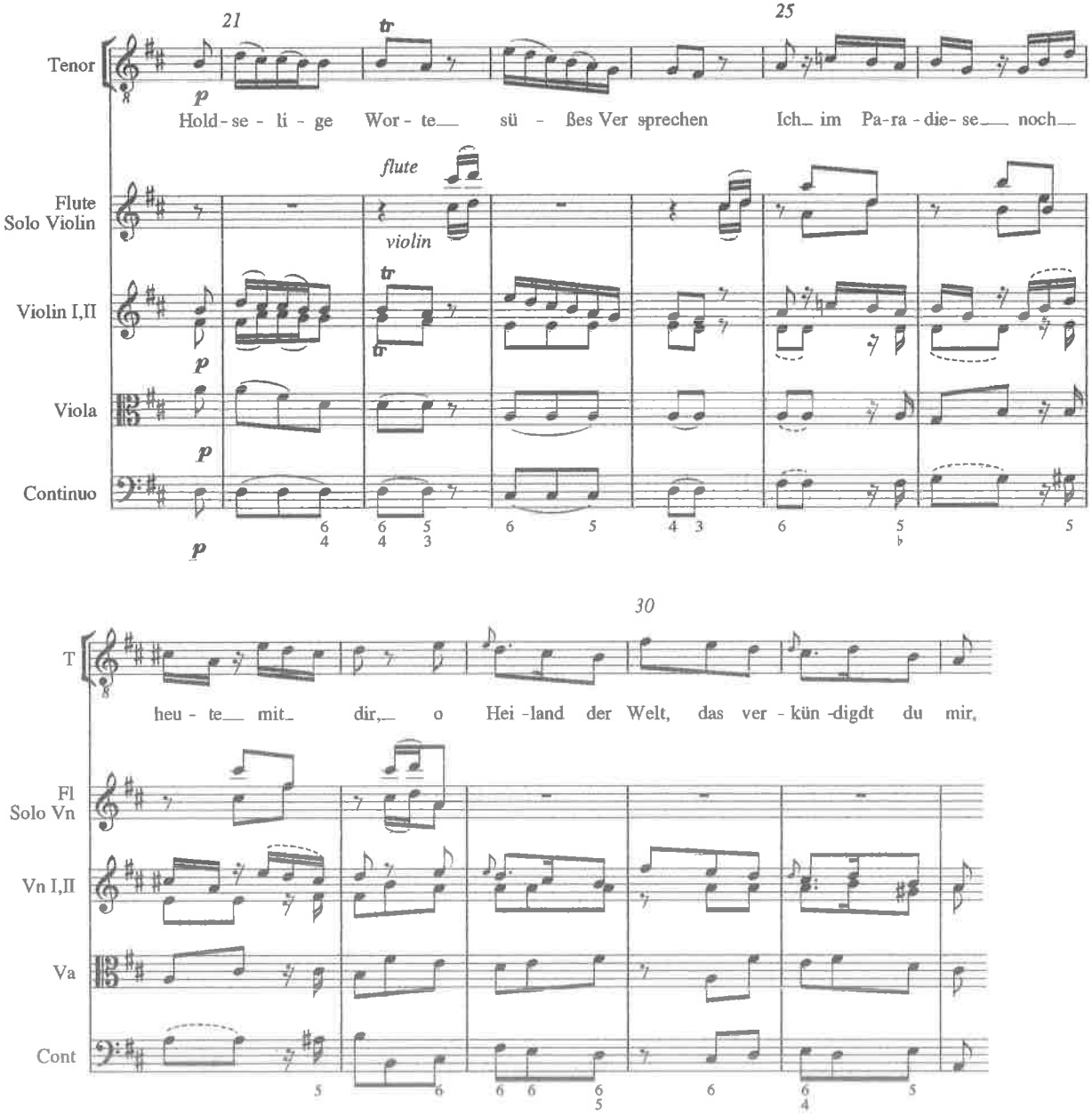
Telemann, St Luke Passion, 1744:
soprano aria 'Die freundlichen Küße, die höflichsten Grüße' (bars 21-32)



However, the simplicity of the early classical style is more clearly identifiable at in the opening of the soprano aria 'Holdselige Worte, süßes Versprochen' (No.19), with frequent cadences in the vocal part over a slow-moving bass line. The short two-bar antecedent and consequent phrases (bars 21-24) at the opening of S1 are followed by a four-bar phrase (itself 2 + 2) which acts as a consequent to bars 21-24. This is then followed by the first half of another eight-bar antecedent/consequent phrase group featuring a much simpler melodic phrase - the diversity of thematic material a characteristic of the classical style.

Musical example 1.11

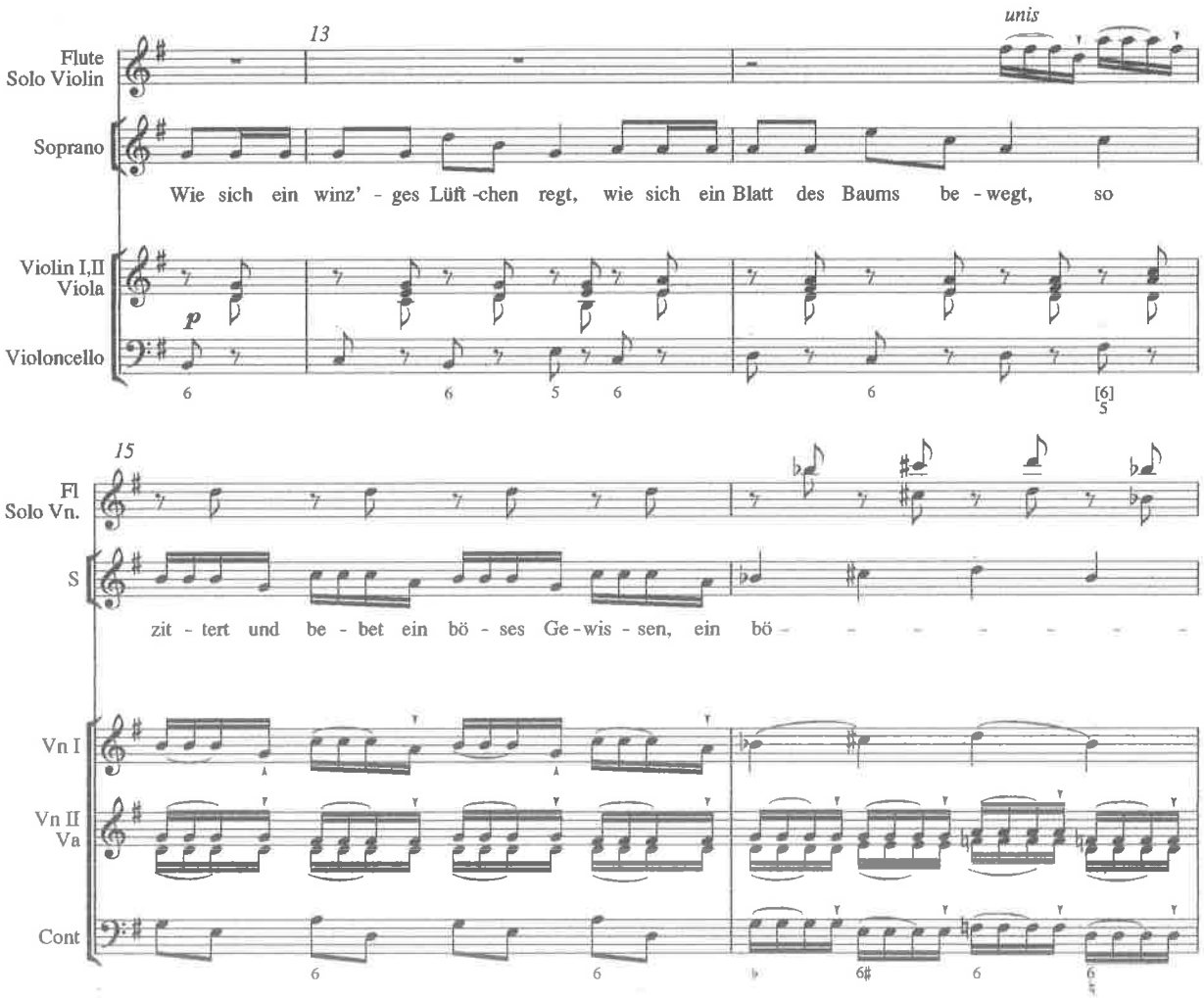
Telemann *St Luke Passion* 1744:
tenor aria 'Holdselige Worte, süßes Versprechen' (bars 21-32)



The melodic-rhythmic simplicity that is associated with Telemann's early classical style can be seen most clearly in the opening phrase of the soprano aria 'Wie sich ein winz'ges Lüftchen regt'. Following Judas's betrayal of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane the text expresses the belief that, in the simple and pure surroundings of a garden, those with a clear conscience may find peace whilst those without will not find peace in the sound of the leaves in the wind. 'Simplicity' is portrayed both in the triadic opening phrase and the off-beat chords in the strings. In contrast, the music continues with a typically baroque setting of the text - repeated notes on single vowels to depict 'quivering' and 'trembling', whilst a sinuous chromatic phrase and the introduction of the minor chords in 16-17 is used to suggest 'craven'. The bass line is more linear than in examples 1.10 and 1.11.

Musical example 1.12

G.P.Telemann *St Luke Passion* 1744:
soprano aria 'Wie sich ein winz'ges Lüftchen regt' (bars 13-16)



In the use of the *obbligato* instruments Telemann's technique is firmly in the baroque syle. There is no hint yet of pairs of sustaining wind instruments, a characteristic of classical orchestration. Instead, single *obbligato* instruments are chosen according to the *Affekt* of the movement. The oboe is used where there are references to 'Heaven' ('Ihr werdet mich sehen' and 'Ich befehl' an meinem Ende'), and the flute in arias which represent a pastoral scene ('Wie sich ein winz'ges Lüftchen regt'), or which are concerned with 'innocence' ('Schönste Freundin edler Seelen') or 'sweetness' and 'comfort' ('Holdselige Worte'), whilst the darker tone of the oboe d'amore is reserved for references to 'judgement'[199] ('Du, o ewiges Erbarmen'), for the aria referring to Judas's treachery ('Die freundlichsten Küsse'), and to represent enemy and 'fear' ('Deiner Feinde bösem Willen'). The orchestration is strictly *colla parte* - the *obbligato* wind instruments double the 1st violin part whilst the instruments all double one of the vocal lines in choruses.

1.6.3.4 The lyrical chorus: 'Ach, klage, wer nur klagen kann'

Unlike the typical mid-century German oratorio which characteristically places special emphasis on the chorus,[200] there is very little use of the chorus in Menke 5:29 other than the obligatory *turbae* and the three chorales and the single through-composed lyrical chorus which comes in the last quarter of the work, following Ch.23:27 ("And there followed him a great multitude of the people, and of women, who bewailed and lamented him"). The opening diminished chords and secondary 7ths support an expressive but simple melodic phrase which features frequent breaks in the line (see example 1.13a) Later, after flowing parallel thirds in the upper parts over a sustained 3rd-inversion dominant 7th (bars 37-39), the simplest of melodic phrases seemingly lifted directly from a German Lied and treated sequentially on the words 'voll Beulen ist sein heilger Rükken', leads to the most exquisite phrase featuring Lombardic sighs, a rising expressive diminished 5th on the word 'Schmerz' and a feminine cadence. (See example 1.13b) Then, after alternating repetitive falling sighs over a rising bass, the music finally restates the opening phrase to conclude the movement. With the homophony, period structure, Lombardic rhythms, feminine cadences and parallel thirds, one can perceive no more clearly than in this chorus the 'secular' style that Telemann

199 'Thou o mercy everlasting, love eternal pity me, let Thy judgement gentle be. Do not suffer my perdition.'

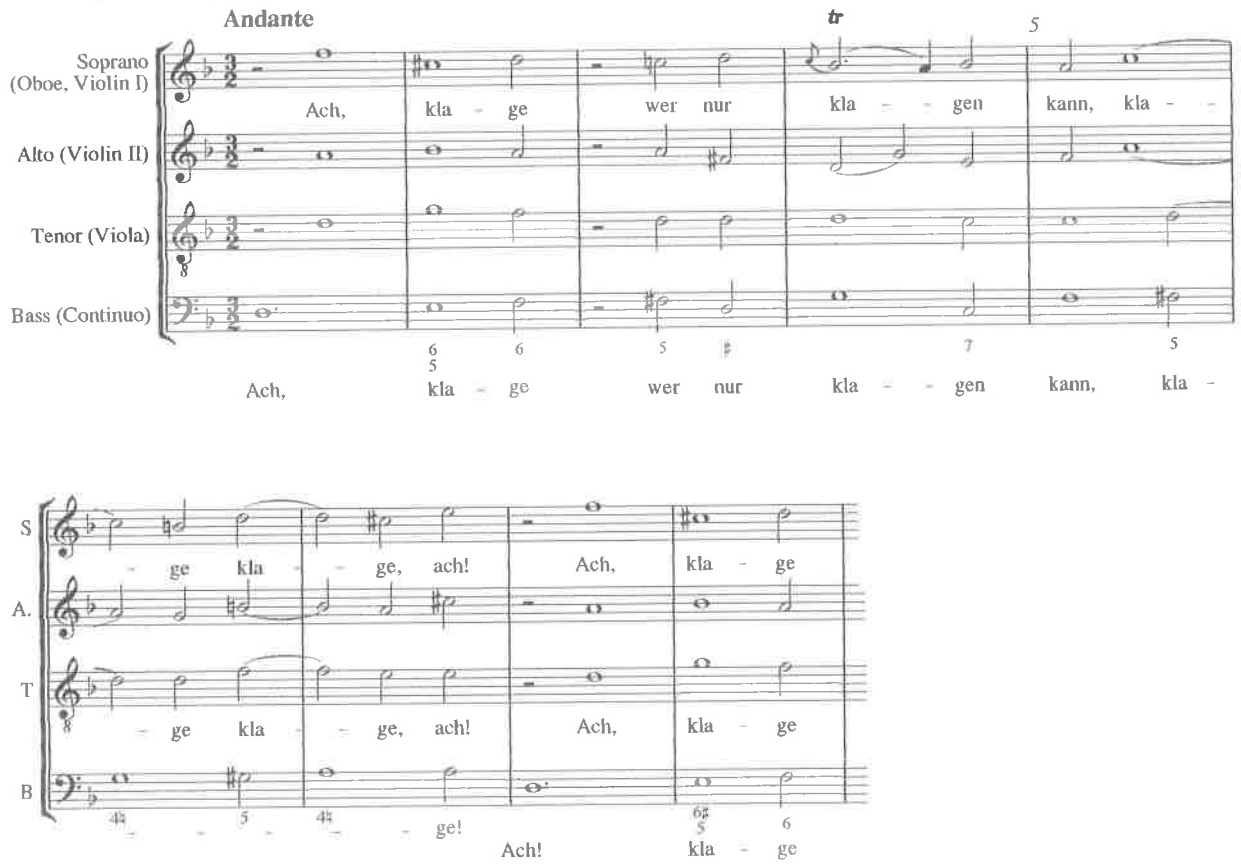
200 Smither (1987) p.395.

music (which became much more developed in the later works - see ex 1.4 above of the *Schlußchor* of the 1757 St Matthew Passion).

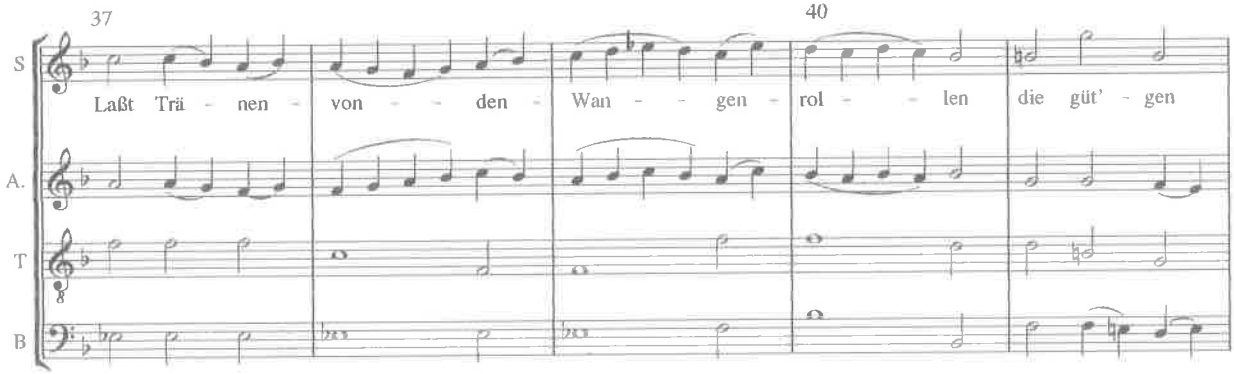
Musical example 1.13

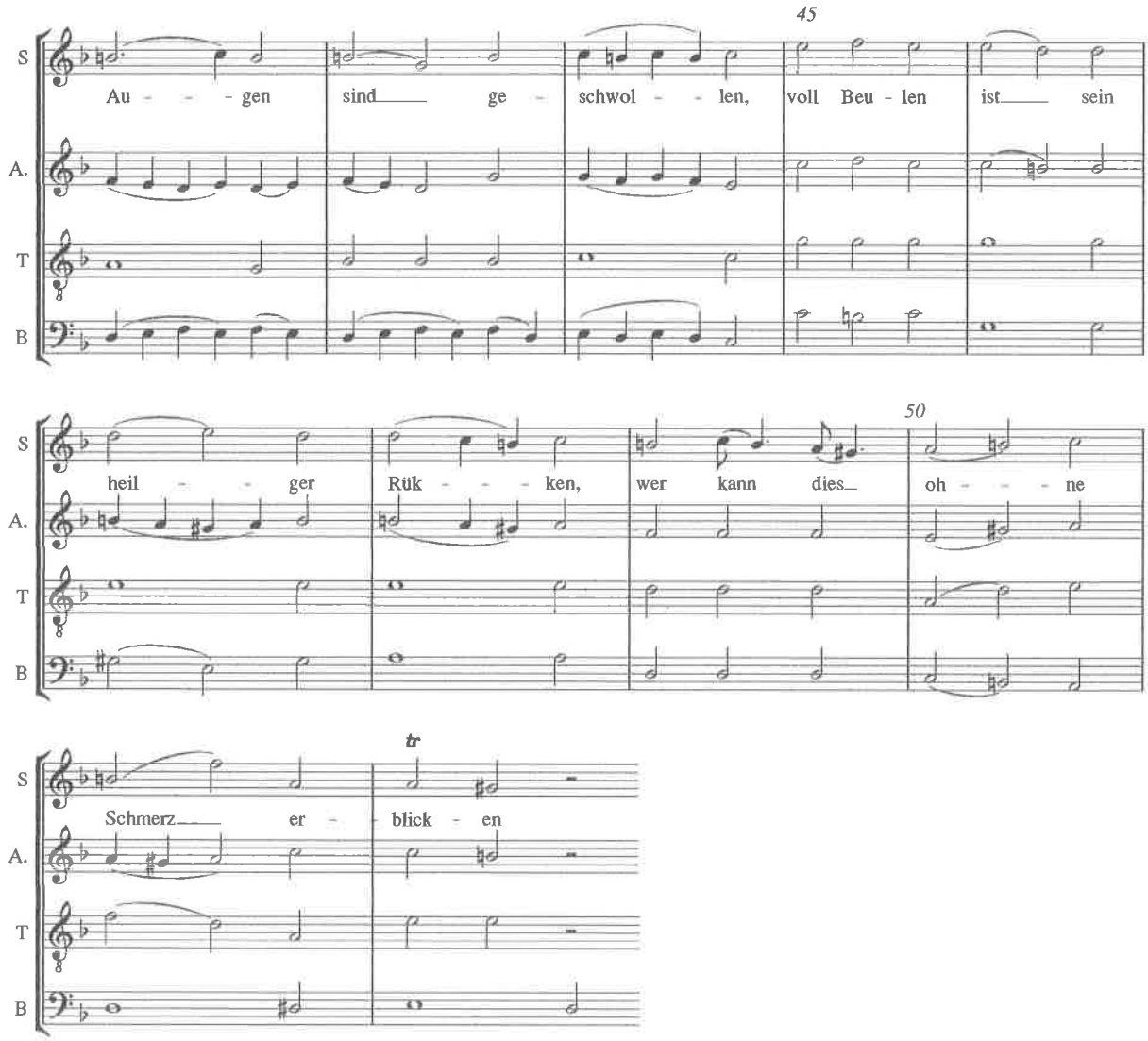
Telemann *St Luke Passion* 1744: chorus 'Ach, klage' (bars 1-9)

Example 1.13a (Bars 1-9)



Example 1.13b (bars 37-52)





(translation: Ex. 1.13a ' Oh Sorrow! What great suffering'
Ex 1.13b 'Let floods of tears in deep distressing vision. His sacred flesh is sore and smarting'

1.6.4 Case Study 2 - Homilius: St Mark Passion

Together with J.F. Doles, Kantor in Leipzig, the Dresden Kreuzkantor Gottfried August Homilius (Rosenthal 1714 - Dresden 1785) was considered the most important composer of Protestant music of his day.[201] Homilius composed a great deal of music in every sacred genre, including eight lyrical Passions and at least two oratorio Passions, and also contributed significantly to the literature for the organ. Unlike Telemann he was not active in the field of secular music (although he produced a number of Lieder and a concerto).

Although great emphasis has been given to the developments of the liturgical Passion and the overtly operatic influences from the lyrical Passion in this chapter, one of the main points highlighted in the following discussion is that composers of centres other than Hamburg adopted a much more conservative approach to the setting of the liturgical Passion. Structurally, Homilius follows convention, and in his approach to the setting of the gospel text little is changed from the early century. There are also echoes of archaic procedures in the use of the medial ritornello in the B section (it is perhaps significant that Homilius had been a pupil of J.S. Bach) though this is tempered by the almost universal adoption of *dal segno* and abridged *dal segno* forms. However, it is in the style of the writing in the aria movements that Homilius betrays his mid-century leanings.

1.6.4.1 Structure

No date is known for the composition of the St Mark Passion *So gehst du nun, mein Jesu hin,*[202] although it must have been composed after Homilius's appointment to the Kreuzkirche in 1755 and, according to Hans John, by 1768.[203] Since this setting lacks the

201 Homilius was educated in Porschendorf and in Dresden. He matriculated in Law at Leipzig University in 1735. During his time in Leipzig he had taken lessons from Bach in composition and keyboard playing. In 1742 he was appointed organist to the Frauenkirche in Dresden and in 1755 Kantor at the Kreuzkirche, the principal *Stadtkirche* in Dresden. In common with the wide-ranging responsibilities of the Kantors in Hamburg and Leipzig, Homilius was also music director of Dresden's three principal churches and a teacher in the Kreuzschule. Thus, with his early musical training in Dresden and his academic and musical links with Leipzig and Bach, Homilius shares much with his almost exact contemporary, Johann Georg Röllig, organist and Kapellmeister to the Court of Zerbst. (See section 3.4 below.)

202 Source: *D-Dbs* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin -Potsdamer Straße), Mus ms. 10800/1. A St Matthew Passion, *Ein Lämmlein geht,* survives in *D-LEm*, PM 5171. Both are believed to be part of a cycle. (John (1980) p. 208.)

203 Although he gives no reason.

five *accompagnato / arioso* settings of lyrical texts to be found in the (later?) setting of St Matthew[204] it is likely that the St Mark Passion was produced not long after Homilius took up his post in Dresden. The orchestral forces required include 2 horns, 2 oboes (doubling flute) and 2 bassoons. However, the full complement is heard only in the final chorus; the choral movements have the normal accompaniment of 2 oboes and strings whilst the arias have a variety of wind (pair of flutes, oboes or horns) and strings.

The general plan of *So gehst du nun* is of the Bach-type in two Parts opening with a chorale-fantasia and closing with a *Schlußchor.*[205] (Both lyrical Passions and oratorio Passions were divided into two Parts and intended to be performed in services in the Kreuzkirche during Lent especially on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.)[206] The work is longer than the work discussed in Case Study 1 since Homilius sets St Mark chapters 14 and 15 unabridged, using the break between chapters. Though there are no more arias than in Menke 5:29, there is much more congregational participation in the form of 14 chorales, which also fulfil the structural role of concluding Part I and commencing Part II.

Table 1.17 Structure of Homilius St Mark Passion

Part 1			
1	**Chorus**	*So gehst du nun, mein Jesu hin*	Cm
2	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 1-9		
3	**Aria** (Soprano)	*Mensch! empfinde doch Erbarmen*	Cm
4	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 10-18		
5	**Chorale**	*Wo soll ich, der du alles*	C
6	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 19-21		
7	**Chorale**	*O weh derselben wahler hat*	A
8	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 22-		
9	**Aria** *Alto*	*Wenn euch eure Sünden dancken*	G
10	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: ?-31[1]		
11	**Chorale**	*Hilf daß ich stets*	Am
12	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 31[2]-34		
13	**Chorale**	*Wache, das dich Satans*	F
14	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 35-42		
15	**Aria** *Bass*	*Ich von Leiden ganz umgeben*	Fm
16	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 43-?		
17	**Chorale**	*Sey getreu in deinem Herzen*	Fm
18	**Gospel text:** Ch.14: 1?-54[1]		

204 Presumed by Hans John (1980) to have been composed c1775; the first chorus is a transposed version of the Buschmann lyrical Passion *Ein Lämmlein geht* published 1775.

205 In contrast to Homilius's St Matthew Passion *Ein Lämmlein geht,* which commences with a simple chorale setting.

206 See previous comments in section 1.3.

19	**Chorale**		*Mir nach springt Christus unser Held*	G
20	**Gospel text:**	Ch.14: 54²-62		
21	**Chorale**		*O Jesu hilff zur selbenzeit*	Bb
22	**Gospel text:**	Ch.14: 63-64		
23	**Aria**	*Alto*	*Verdammt ihn mir,*	Bb
24	**Gospel text:**	Ch.14: 65-71		
25	**Aria**	*Alto*	*Verkennt ihn nicht, der Gott den Göttes*	Dm
26	**Gospel text:**	Ch.14: 72		
27	**Chorale**		*O Vater der barmherzig*	Fm
Part II				
28	**Chorale**		*Weint, jetzt wird das fomme Leben*	A
29	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 1-2		
30	**Aria**	*Bass*	*Der Thron des Vaters ist sein Thron*	D
31	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 3-14		
32	**Chorale**		no text	Am
33	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 15-21		
34	**Aria**	*Soprano*	*Jerusalem, wie wütest du*	Am
35	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 22-23		
36	**Chorale**		*Dein durst und Gallentrank*	D
37	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 24-32		
38	**Chorale**		*Ich werde dir zu*	Am
39	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 33-34		
40	**Aria**	*Tenor*	*Verstummet ihr Himmel*	Em
41	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 35-37		
42	**Aria**	*Soprano*	*Ihr schränen fliehßt!*	Eb
43	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 38		
44	**Chorale**		*Ihr Gräber bricht ihr*	Gm
45	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 39-45		
46	**Chorale**		*Der Hirt ist Todt*	Am
47	**Gospel text:**	Ch.15: 46-47		
48	**Chorus**		*Gott ist versöhnt*	C

Indicative that the prevalent use of *da capo* form was waning, none of the nine arias are cast in full *da capo* form (whereas half the arias of Menke 5:29 were in full *da capo* form (A1)); seven are in *dal segno* forms, one is through-composed and ends with a chorus, whilst soprano aria (No.34) 'Jerusalem, wie wütest du' has a rondo-like structure (ABAB). Only two arias (the two Type 'D' ones) follow the patterns described in section 1.5.1 above; the others (Nos. 3, 15, 30 and 25) place the *dal segno* sign at some point within R1 in four arias - a plan designated D1b or D2b. To compensate for such an abbreviated restatement of the opening ritornello, there is generally an instrumental section following the B section vocal phrases which completes the tonal preparation for the return to the dominant. Unusual is the modulation in R2 in four arias (Nos. 3, 25, 30 and 40). Also surprising for a work completed so late in the century is the presence of a medial ritornello and repetition of text in the B section

(Type 'D2') in two arias. However, the proportion of the B vocal phrase to the A section is comparable to Menke 5:29 discussed above.

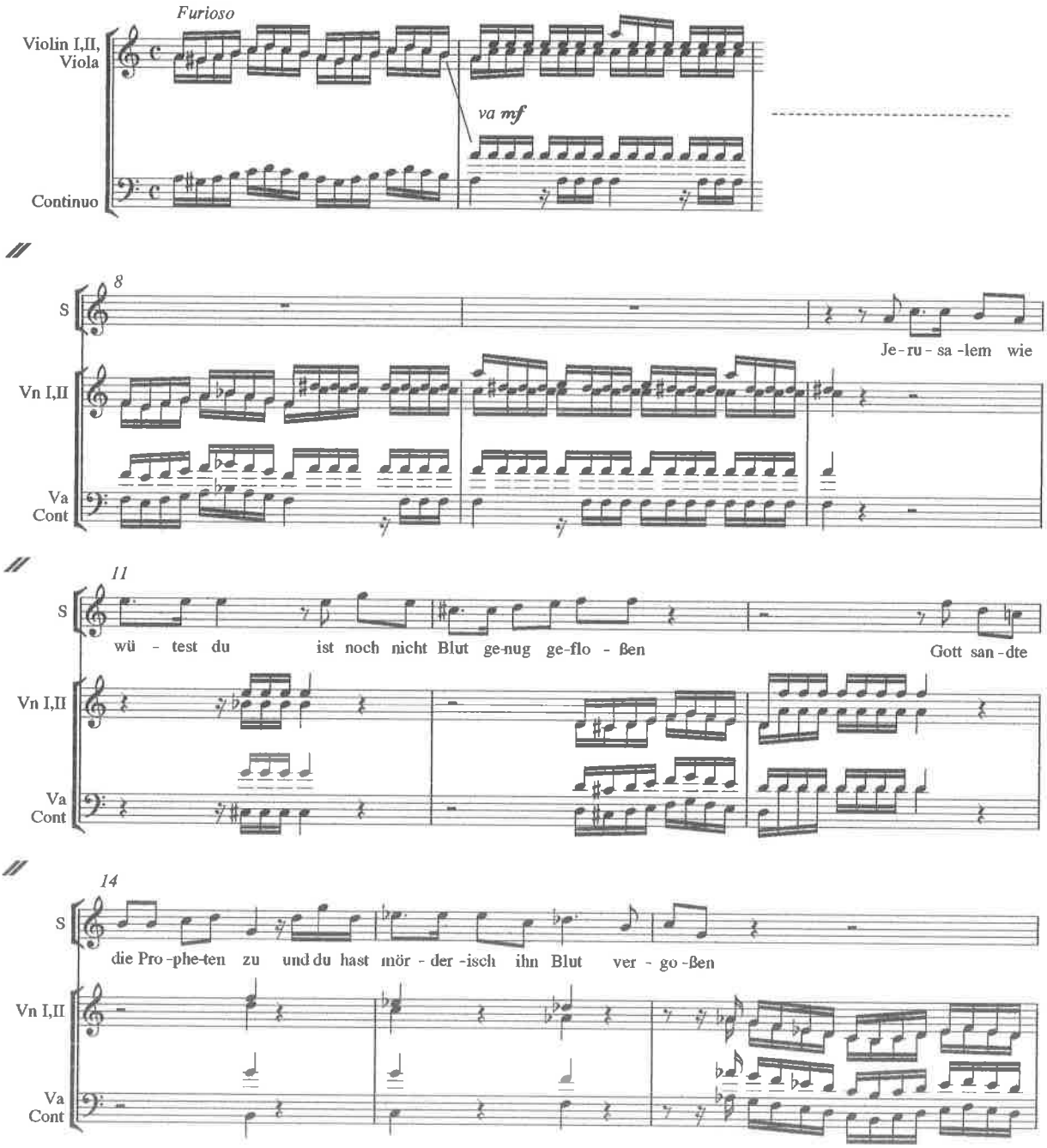
Table 1.18 Summary of the tonal structures of B sections of *dal segno* arias

	movement.	**key**	**S 3**	**R4**	**Proportion** B/A
Type 'D1'	23.	Bb	iii - IV	IV- I	.23
	42.	Eb	I - iii	iii - I	.16
Type 'D1b'	3.	Cm	i	i	.27
	15.	Fm	I-V		.33
	30.	D	iii - IV	IV - I	.27

	movement.	**key**	**S 3**	**R4**	**S 4**	**R5**	
Type 'D2'	40.	Em	i - iv	iv	iv - III	i	.32
Type 'D2b'	25.	Dm	i	i-v	v		.29
						average:	**.26**

The most unusual construction, that of 'Jerusalem, wie wütest du' (No 34), is best described as an amalgamation of dramatic accompanied recitative alternating with gentle *arioso* (ie the non-recitative sections are in an 'aria style' - see example 1.15 below). Following the condemning of Jesus (St. Mark Chapter 15: 21) this 'Rage' aria commences with a dramatic recitative marked *furioso* for voice and strings in common time:

Example 1.14
Homilius *St Mark Passion* : Soprano aria 'Jerusalem, wie wütest du' (bars 1-16)



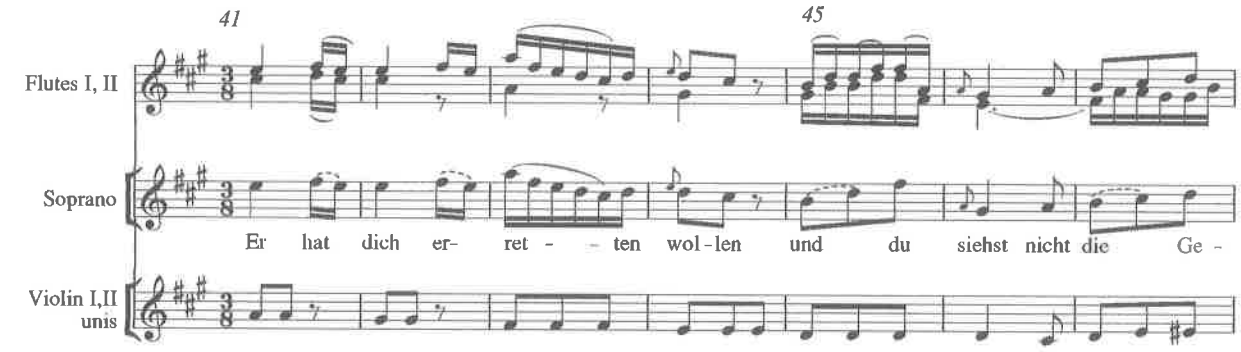
(Translation: 'Jerusalem, how enraged you are; has not enough blood flowed. God sent you the prophets and you have callously spilt their blood.')

A delicate 3/8 *arioso* follows in which the soprano voice is supported by a pair of flutes whilst the unison violins provide a harmonic/bass part with very sparing use of the viola and

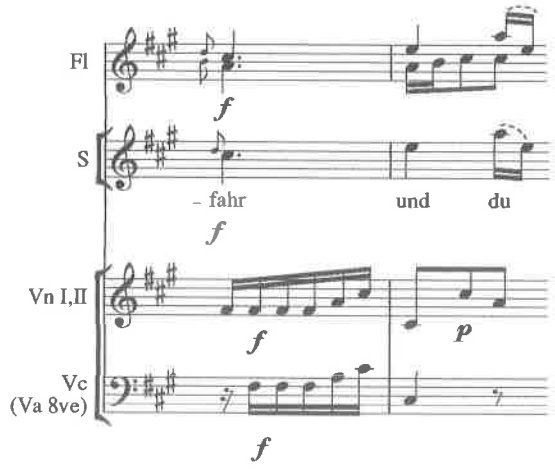
bass line. The simple melody which falls in balanced four-bar periods is characteristic of the early classical style and the style reminiscent of C.P.E. Bach in the writing for the soprano voice in the Magnificat.[207]

Example 1.15

Homilius *St Mark Passion* : Soprano aria 'Jerusalem, wie wütest du' (bars 41-49)



viola and bass tacet till bar 8 of extract



(Translation: ' He wanted to save you and you do not see the danger.')

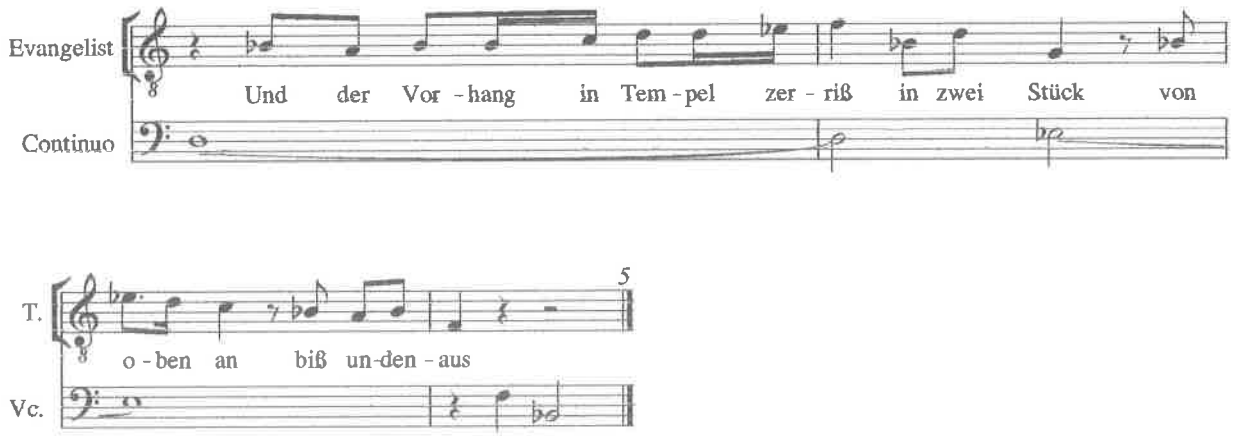
207 This texture, most commonly associated with flutes and the soprano voice, can be found in works of C.P.E. Bach - cf. 'Suscepit Israel' from C.P.E. Bach's *Magnificat* (1749). An early example is the soparano aria, 'Aus Liebe, will mein Heiland sterben' (item 49 from BWV 244) where the solo voice is supported by a florid flute solo and staccato chords from two oboes da caccia.

1.6.4.2 Gospel texts

Apart from set-piece aria movements and chorales, there are no *arioso* or other lyrical inserts in Gospel text. Homilius eschews the more operatically inspired settings of the gospel text in this work that can be considered the norm in the works of the Hamburg and Leipzig composers. Although in itself this is indicative of the generally conservative approach of the non-Hamburg composers, the extent of the conservatism is surprising for a piece composed so late in the 18th century. The text delivered by the Evangelist and the spoken words of Christ and other members of the *synagoga* is accompanied in a simple style solely by the *basso continuo* –there is no use of treble instruments to create, for instance, a 'halo of strings', a feature of Passion settings since the first decade of the century. Obvious opportunities for more elaborate settings such as the narration of the earthquake and rending of the temple curtain are forgone, see Example 1.16 below (compare this with settings of the same text in Bach BWV 244 No.17 *NBA* pp.57-58, examples 7.2 and 7.3 below, and with example 9.5, which is a setting of a similar text).

Example 1.16

Homilius *St Mark Passion* : recitative: 'Und der Vorhang' (complete)

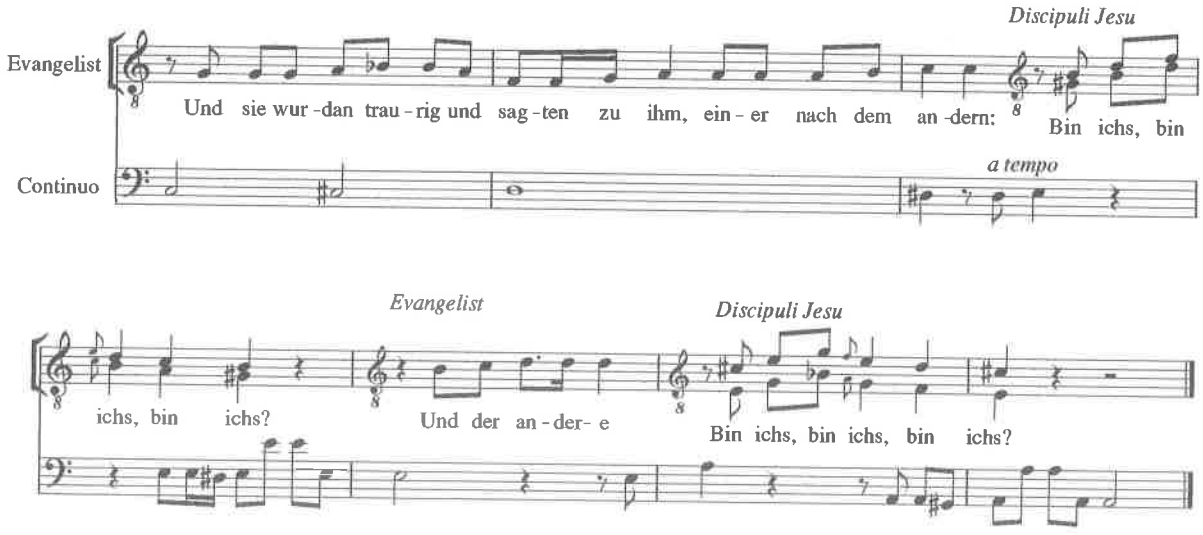


Some characterization is achieved by the allocation of predominantly *arioso* -style to the words of Christ whilst the music for the Evangelist and the *synagoga* is entirely *secco*. In keeping with common 18th-century views of the voice allocation, Judas is an alto, and Peter a tenor, whilst Pilate, the Priest and the Centurion are bass voice. (See Table 1.4.)

There is a wide variety of approach to the setting of the *turbae* which range from 3 to 34 bars in length, (average 19.8 bars). For 'Bin ich's', one of the shortest, Homilius chooses a very simple setting. Instead of the commonly contrapuntal treatment of this text with full vocal ensemble, the two solo tenor voices give six statements of the words, first in thirds and then sixths suggesting the number 12, i.e. despite the unusual non SATB setting of this text, in the the use of number association, Homilius follows in the tradition of Schütz and Bach (see ex 1.17).

Example 1.17

Homilius *St Mark Passion* : *Turba* chorus 'Bin ichs'

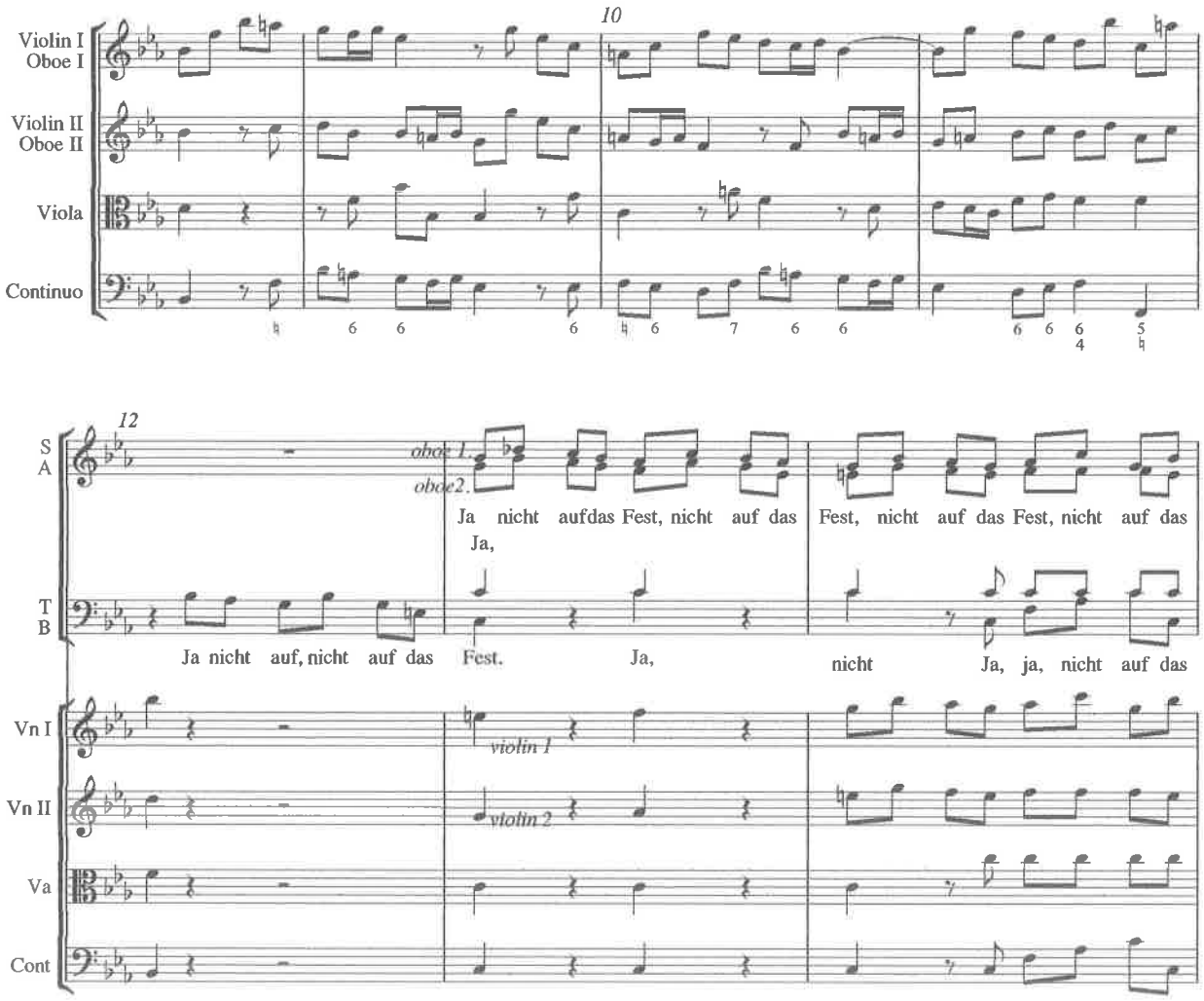


(tr.: 'And they began to to be sorrowful, and to say to Him one by one: "is it I?"')

All the other *turbae* are quite large-scale through-composed SATB choruses in a dramatic style with instruments strictly *colla parte* with voices except for a four-bar instrumental interlude half-way through the opening *turba* (No. 2b). The longer choruses, such as 'Ja nicht auf das Fest' (No.2b - see excerpt 1.18 below) and 'Wahrlich' (No.24d), are sectional

with alternations of homophony and counterpoint. 'Sei gegrüsset' is entirely contrapuntal, the greater part of movement being a fugal exposition.

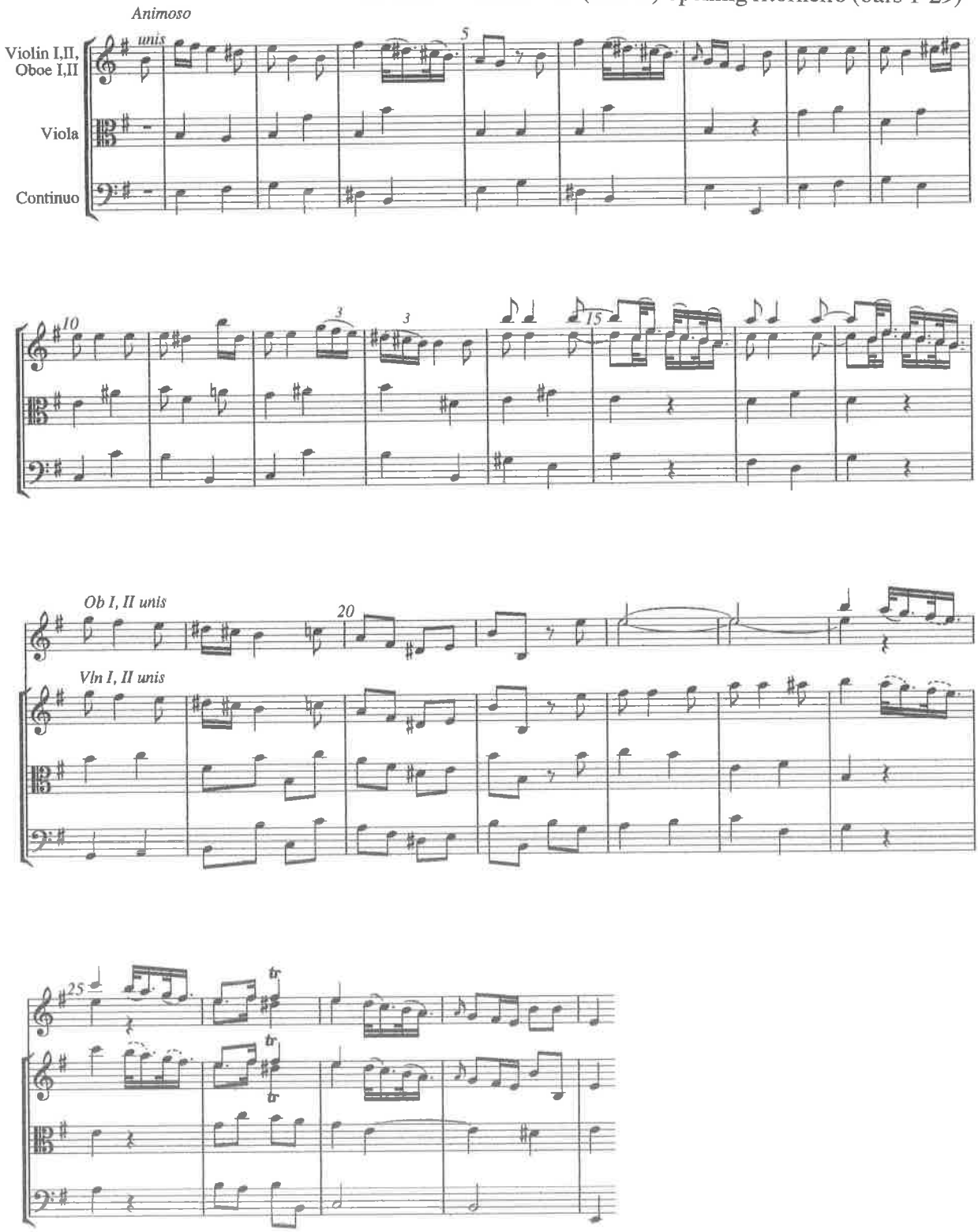
Example 1.18
Homilius *St Mark Passion*: Turba chorus 'Ja nicht auf das Fest' (bars 9-15)

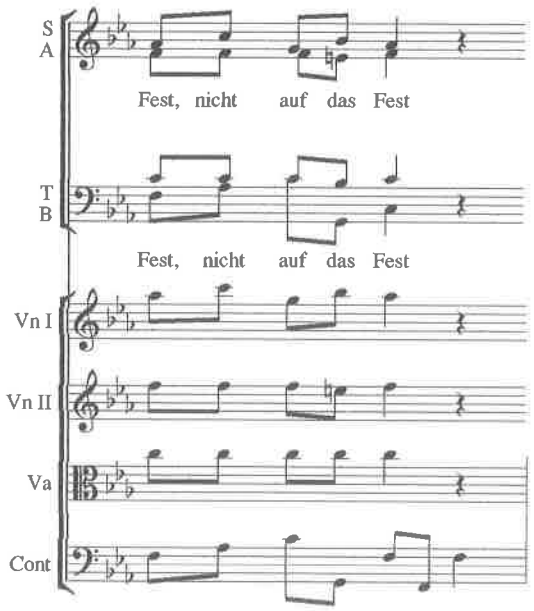


steadily moving bass line, echo passages, the spinning out of ideas by repetition and sequence and the avoidance of the cadence.

Example 1.19

Homilius *St Mark Passion* : tenor aria 'Vestummet' (No.40) opening ritornello (bars 1-29)





(tr.: 'Not on the feast day')

1.6.4.3 Lyrical movements

Hans John considers Homilius to be one of the main representatives of the *Empfindsamer Stil.*[208] On Homilius's general style he adds, often in some of the vaguest terms (underlining the difficulty that many commentators have in descibing the 'mixed styles' of the mid-century): 'in his vocal works Homilius followed the example of C.H. Graun in emphasising melody, naturalness and folk-like simplicity. The works are rooted in the era of Bach and Händel, but at the same time increasingly show Pre-Classical traits.' Amongst these characteristics John states that 'motif, theme and formal design were increasingly orientated towards the symmetry and clear articulation found in the German Lied. Aria themes are often made up of two half-periods; homophony and singable melody [presumably simple Lied-like melodic material] predominate, even in choruses.'[209]

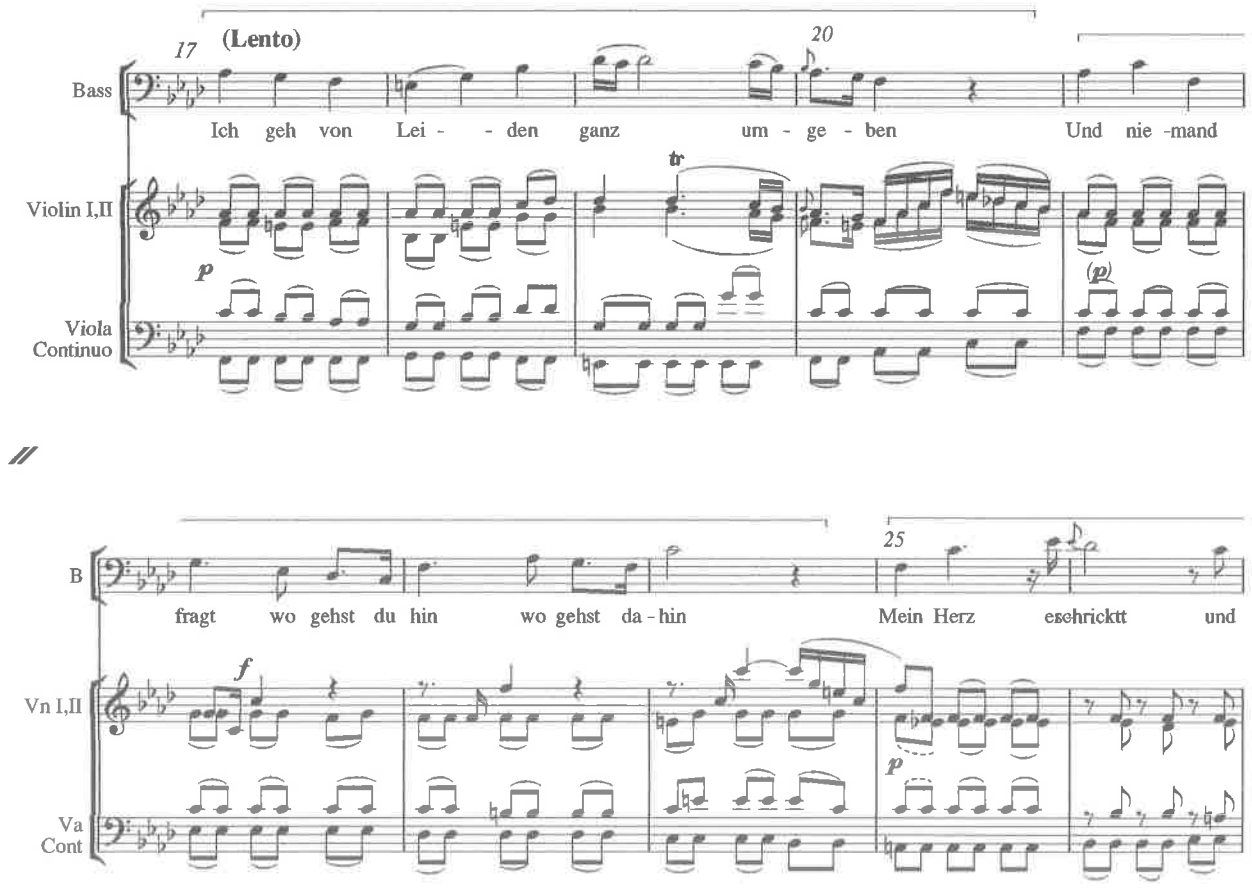
One can find music that emphasises both Homilius's attachment to the musical language of the baroque and elsewhere clear indications of his willingness to experiment with an early classical style. In the first extract 1.19 there is no denying Homilius' s baroque voice with a

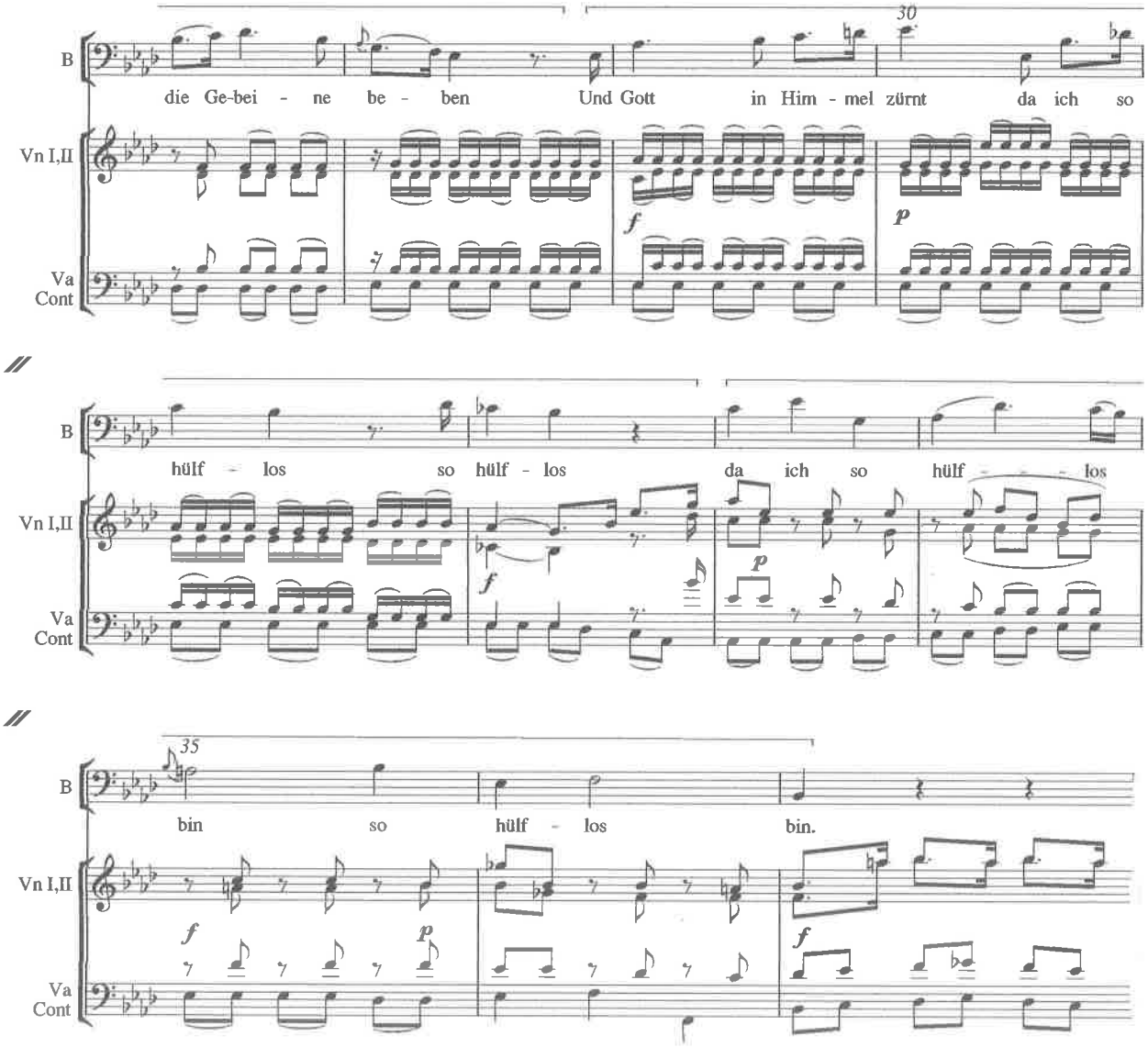
208 John (1980) p.675.
209 *Ibid.*

However, 'simpler' melodic shapes with frequent cadences, some feminine in the typical early classical $^{6}_{4}$ - $^{5}_{3}$ formula typical of the 'new' style, can be clearly identified in Example 1.20 below. The music falls into distinct four-bar periods with slow- moving harmonic rhythm and varied accompaniment patterns in the supporting strings. The 1st violin features a rising motif in bars 2-4 which eventually turns into a link between phrases; another can be found in bar 12. Dynamics are also used in the short term to highlight textural and harmonic colour such as the V7d chord approach (in bar 15), to the perfect cadence into Bb minor in bars 17-19 of the extract.

Example 1.20

Homilius *St Mark Passion* : bass aria 'Ich von Leiden ganz umgeben' (bars 21-37)





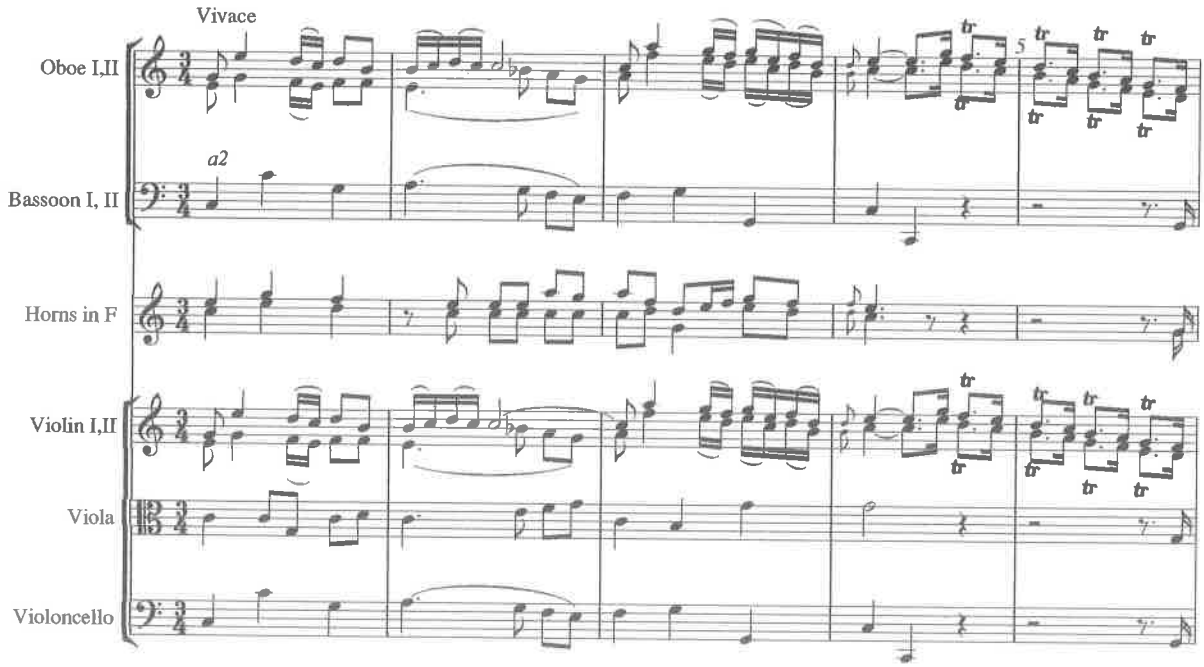
(Translation: ' My heart is terrified and my body trembles and God in Heaven is enraged because I am so helpless.')

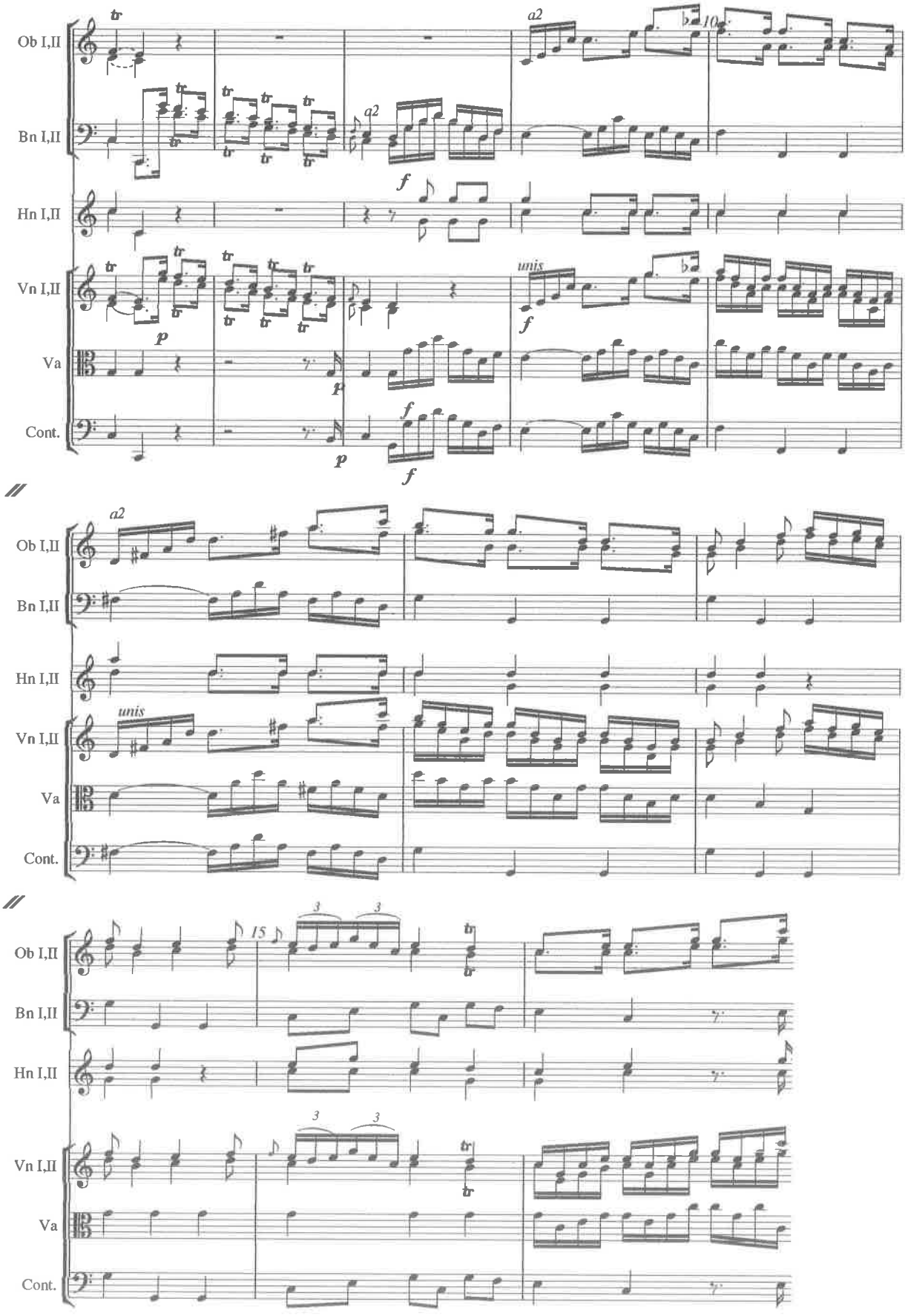
In contrast to the contemplative sleep-choruses of the Hamburg/Leipzig traditions, Homilius's work concludes with a through-composed choral *vivace* in C major with energetic semiquaver motifs in the strings offset the homophonic writing. The opening ritornello not only provides

a further example of four-bar periodicity (bars 1-4) but also exemplifies the passage-work based on harmonic patterns over slow-moving harmonies (- in the baroque period more scalic patterns combined with a quicker harmonic pulse would normally prevail). The sprightly syncopations and mix of thematic material are characteristics of the early classical period. The motivic working out of few ideas typical of the Baroque is here replaced by motivic variety, particularly in bars 11-16 where almost every bar presents a different melodic-rhythmic pattern. Notable, also, is the arpeggiated semiquaver passages in the strings (bars 10, 12 and 16ff) which are not figural but increase the density of the sound creating a sense of motion in the music. Horns are used to emphasise harmonies in bars 8-11, though the more melodic nature of bars 1-4 betrays Homilius's mid-century standpoint:

Example 1.21

Homilius *St Mark Passion*: *Schlußchor* (bars 1-16)



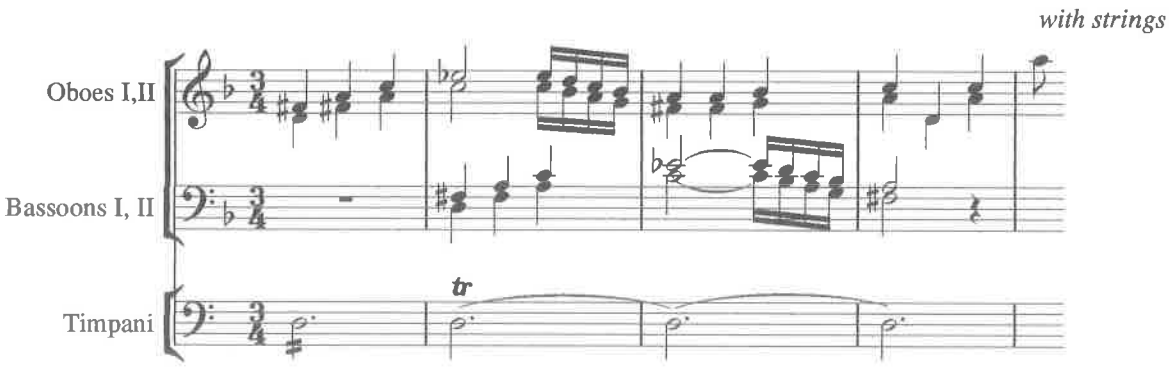

Ob I,II
Bn I,II
Hn I,II
Vn I,II
Va
Cont.
a2
unis
10
15

1.6.4.4 The use of instruments

Though *collaparte* writing in the wind instruments predominates in the *turbae* and in the *ritornelli*, sustained wind writing can be found such as in example 1.21 above, where horns play a principally harmonic role. The independence of the wind section is highlighted in the ritornello of No. 25, 'Verkennt ihn nicht, den Gott der Gottes' (Example 1.22). Here Homilius also uses a pair of timpani, not with trumpets or horns, but with the novel combination of 2 oboes and 2 bassoons. Thus, as well as the added colour effect, the timpani rolls provide the bass (i.e. the lowest hamonic note) to the woodwind group whilst the strings are silent. (The only other example of the use of timpani in the 18th-century oratorio Passion is in the C.P.E. Bach's 1767 St Matthew Passion and *Die letzten Leiden des Erlösers*. In this work, the timpani are used more traditionally with fanfare rhythms allied to the brass.)

Example 1.22

Homilius *St Mark Passion* : 'Verkennt ihn nicht, den Gott der Gottes' (No.25) (bars 9-13)



strings tacet