DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to two people: The late Dr. Kurt Frederick, who encouraged me to pursue this, and to Dr. Susan Patrick, for her guidance and insight. Without them, this work would not have been possible.

NARRATIVE PARODY IN BACH'S ST. MARK PASSION

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Master of Music

May, 2000

[Corrected, Updated: March, 2012]

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ABSTRACT

Like his *Mass in B minor*, Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Mark Passion*, BWV 247, is based almost entirely on previously-written music that was adapted through the process of parody or new text underlay. Passages that do not utilize substituted text are based upon exemplars or models of Bach's previous works or on the music of other composers with whom he was familiar. All of the lyrical music has been found or suggested by other scholars -- that is, the opening and closing choruses, six arias, and sixteen chorales. The movements are confirmed through the printed text, including the biblical narrative, as published by Bach's librettist, Picander. In addition, portions of the narration involving all the *turbae*, or crowd choruses, have been discovered or suggested through parody from other vocal works of Bach. Previous reconstructions of the narrative of Bach's *St. Mark Passion* have taken a wide range of approaches to the fulfillment of the narration. They have involved substituted Passion accounts by other Baroque composers, or they have

provided newly-composed music in Baroque or contemporary styles, or they have used a pastiche of materials from various Bach vocal sources.

Through the use of collateral and circumstantial evidence, I will demonstrate that Bach had the motive, method, and opportunity to parody not only the lyrical music, but also the narration. This comprises twelve *turba* action choruses, the ariosi of Jesus, and the secco recitatives of the Evangelist narrator and the characters in the biblical account. Bach's primary model and source was his *St. Matthew Passion*.

Bach's "creation" of the St. Mark Passion concluded his Passion endeavors, and initiated his final period of the summation of his art through parody and publication of collections of his works.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

With the creation of his *St. Mark Passion*, Johann Sebastian Bach began the final phase of his career, focusing on the summation of his art. During the last two decades of his life, he produced primarily a series of large vocal works based on parody and collections of instrumental and theoretical works. This last period began with the *St. Mark Passion*, BWV 247, the summation of Bach's Passion art. Bach's involvement with Passion settings was part of his concept of a well-regulated music for the church year. It began in Mühlhausen (1707-08) and gained momentum in Weimar (1708-17) with his first two Passion presentations. It culminated in Leipzig, where he was required to present a Passion annually on Good Friday, resulting in three original Passion creations.

Early in 1731, Bach and his librettist Picander (Christian Friedrich Henrici, 1700-64) collaborated to produce Bach's third and final known original Passion setting, *Paβion Musik nach dem Evangelisten Marco*. It was presented on Good Friday, March 23, at the St. Thomas Church. The entire text for this oratorio Passion *historia* survives, but of the music, only the lyrical portion of commentary chorales, arias, and choruses. The original score, including the narrative recitatives and crowd choruses (*turbae*), is lost. The missing narration probably lasted about half an hour, occupying perhaps one third of the length of the entire work.

Picander's complete text was published in 1732. It contains the entire Biblical narrative, in Martin Luther's translation, of chapters 14 and 15 of the Gospel account of

Jesus= Passion by the evangelist Mark. Interspersed are Picander's madrigalesque settings for the choruses and arias, as well as the single-strophe settings of German chorales. Picander skillfully fashioned appropriate, concise lyrical commentary to complement and enhance the adjacent Passion narrative and chorales. The overall treatment reflects a sense of brevity and immediacy, which is a distinguishing feature of Mark's Gospel.

The surviving music was taken from parodies of previously-existing vocal music. This involves eight madrigalesque movements, two choruses and six arias, set to newly-composed poetry. Bach took the core music from the opening and closing choruses and three arias found in his *Trauer-Ode* (Funeral Lament), Cantata BWV 198, of 1727. He chose three additional arias from other cantatas. The sixteen strophic-form chorales Bach harmonized can be found in the "complete" collection of Bach's 371 four-part, free-standing, untexted chorales. These were collected primarily by his second-oldest son Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714-88) and published by Breitkopf in Leipzig in 1784-87.

Most of this music -- seven of the eight madrigalesque numbers and twelve of the sixteen chorales -- was published in 1964 in the reconstruction of the *St. Mark Passion* by Diethard Hellmann. In order to achieve a complete performing edition, several subsequent reconstructions have filled in the remaining gaps. These involved the narrative portion, consisting of solo recitatives and twelve *turba* (crowd) choruses. These reconstructions contain newly-composed music in the style of Bach, or borrowings from other vocal music by Bach or by his contemporaries, such as Reinhard Keiser

(1674-1739). While these pastiches usually requisition music with appropriate *affect*, they are scarcely justified by source-critical scholarship.

In contrast to these reconstructions, my hypothetical "realization" utilizes music of Bach throughout that is stylistically and textually compatible and faithful. I believe that the crucial narrative portion of Bach's *St. Mark Passion*, like his entire *B Minor Mass*, is based almost solely on musical parody and modeling of Bach's music, as I believe Bach would have assembled the work. The primary source is Bach's own *St. Matthew Passion*, BWV 244. Bach inaugurated this work in 1727, four years before Mark. A secondary influence could have been the so-called Keiser *St. Mark Passion*. Bach first presented it around 1713 in Weimar and repeated it twice in Leipzig.

An examination of Bach's other original Passion settings, as well as Passions by other composers contemporary with Bach, also reveals distinct influences. A thorough investigation of the possible sources for the narrative portions of Bach's *St. Mark Passion* entails an examination of all the evidence available. This includes circumstantial and collateral evidence found elsewhere in his vocal music.

By 1731, no longer writing cantatas weekly for the church year, Bach had the opportunity to follow his own interests and desires. He had a vast storehouse of appropriate music available for parody. Bach had the musical and theological knowledge to use a wide range of contemporary church hymns. Most important, he could summarize his art and the art of Baroque music through the traditional parody technique of recycling his own creations.

In this thesis, I will review the recovery and reconstructions of the music in Bach's St. Mark Passion. I will examine the German narrative tradition and Bach's Passion compositions. Next, I will explore in depth Bach's Leipzig Passions as part of his well-ordered church music. Then I will study the St. Mark Passion as parody. Finally, I will examine Bach's possible treatment, with a selection of individual turbae and recitative movements in the narrative portions of the work. I hope to elucidate and substantiate the significant position of this piece in Bach's output, especially among his Passion creations.

Out of necessity, I will be naming titles or incipits of many individual movements of the *St. Mark Passion*. I also will be using the titles of many other Bach vocal works. All will be identified by the numbers with German titles found in the official catalogues of Bach's works. All the German translations, including research citations, are mine, except where noted.

For the numbering system of the movements in the *St. Mark Passion*, the first number is the numbering established in the first edition of the Schmieder Catalogue (*BWV*, 1950). The second number, following, in parenthesis, is the subsequent numbering established in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (*NBA KB II/5*).

St. Mark Passion Movements

[Not a corresponding narrative passage in the St. Matthew Passion]

No.	Vor der Predigt	Before the Sermon	BWV Sources
1. Chorus: 2. Evangelist: 3. Chorus: 4. Evangelist: 5. Chorus 6. Evangelist:	Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein! Und nach zween Tagen war Ostern Ja nicht auf das Fest Und da er zu Bethanien war Was soll doch dieser Unrat? Und murreten über sie	Go, Jesus, go to thy pain! And after two days was the Passover Nay, not on the feast And being in Bethany Why was this ointment wasted, And they complained of her	198/1 244/4;m.1-2,4-7 102/1;26-29 244/6 244/7 244/8;1
7. Chorale: 8. Evangelist:	Sie stellen uns wie Ketzern nach Jesus aber spracht	They who would brand us "heretic" Jesus therefore said	258 256 244/8;2
9. Jesus:	Lasset zie zufrieden	Let this woman alone	244/8;3-16
10. Evangelist: 11. Chorale:	Und Judas Ischariot Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht	And Judas Iscariot Me has the world deceitfully judged	244/11 244/38 1089
	Und am ersten Tage der sußen	And on the first day of unleavened	244/38 1089 244/13;1,6-9
13. Chorus:	Wo willt du, daß wir hingehen	Where wilt thou that we shall go and	244/14
	Und er standte seiner Jüngern zween	And he sendeth two disciples	244/15;1
15. Jesus:	Gehet hin in die Stadt	Go to Jerusalem	244/15;2-6
	Und er wird euch einen grossen Saal	And he will show you a large upper	244/2;1-6]
	Und die Jünger gingen aus	The disciples then went forth	244/15;7-13
17. Jesus:	Wahrlich, ich sage euch Und sie wurden traurig	Verily I say unto you And they sat in sorrow	244/15;13-15 244/15;16-17
	Und der andere: Bin ich's?	And then another: Not I.	244/15,10-17
20. Chorale:	Ich, ich und meine Sünden	I, I and my sins	393
21. Evangelist	Er antwortet und sprach zu ihnen	He answered them and said unto them	244/17;1-2
22. Jesus:	Einer aus den Zwölfen, der mit	One of you Twelve, he that	244/17;2-11
	Und indem sie aßen	And as they were eating	244/17;16-19
24. Jesus:	Nehmet, esset, das ist mein Leib Und nahm den Kelch	Take ye, eat ye, my body this And he took the cup	244/17;20-22
26. Jesus:	Das ist mein Blut des neuen	This is my blood of the new	244/17;22-24 244/17;27-40
27. Aria (alt.):	Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht	My Savior, thee forget I not	198/5
	Und da sie den Lobgesang	And when they had sung an hymn	244/20;1-4
29. Jesus:	Ihr werdet euch in dieser Nacht	All ye because of me this night	244/20;4-13
30. Chorale:	Wach auf, o Mensch, vom	Wake up, O man, from	397 ~
	Petrus aber sagte zu ihm	But Peter said unto him	244/22;1-2
32. Peter:	Und wenn sie sich alle ärgerten Und Jesus sprach zu ihm	Altho' they all shall be offended And Jesus saith to him	244/22;2-4
34. Jesus:	Wahrlich, ich sage dir,	Verily I say unto thee	244/22;5-6 244/22:6-9
	Er aber redete noch weiter	But he did speak the more vehemently	244/22;10
36. Petrer:	Ja, wenn ich auch mit dir sterben	Yea, tho' I should die with thee	244/22;11-13
37. Evangelist:	Desselbigengleichen sagten	And likewise also said all	244/22;13-15
	Und sie kamen zu dem Hofe	And they came to a place which	244/24;1-4
38. Jesus:	Setzet euch hie, bis ich hingehe	Sit ye here, while I shall go	244/24;5-7
40. Jesus:	Und nahm zu sich Petrum Meine Seele ist betrübt	And he took with him Peter	244/24;8-12
41. Chorale:	Betrübtes Herz, sei wohlgemut	My soul is exceedingly sorrowful Troubled heart, be cheerful	244/24;12-16 428 430
	Und ging ein wenig fürbaß	And he went a little forward	244/27;1-3
43. Jesus:	Abba, mein Vater, es ist, dir	Abba, my Father, to thee are	244/27;3-7
44. Chorale:	Machs mit mir Gott nach deiner Güt	Do with me, God, according to thy good	Children Control Control
45. Evangelist:	Und kam und fand sie schlafen	And he cometh, and found them	244/30;1-3
46. Jesus:	Simon, schläfst du?	Simon, sleepest thou?	244/30;3-9
47. Evangelist:	Und ging wieder hin, und beteten	And again he went away, and prayed	244/30;9-11,15
	Und kam wieder, und fand sie	And when he returned, he found	244/32;1-4,6-8

48. Jesus:	Ach, wollt ihr nun schlafen und	Ah, are ye yet sleeping and	244/32;8-15
49. Aria (Sop.):	Er kommt, er ist vorhanden!	He comes, he is at hand	198/3
	Und alsbald, da er noch	And immediately, while he yet	244/32:16-27
51. Judas:	[O] Rabbi, [O] Rabbi;	[O] Master, [O] Master	244/32;27-28
	und küssete ihn	and kissed him	244/32;28
53. Aria (Alt.):	Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd	False World, thy flatt'ring	54/1
	Die aber legten ihre Hände	And so they came and laid their hands	244/32;32-34
. On Evangener	Einer aber von denen	And one of them among them	244/34;1-5,17-18
55. Jesus:	Ihr seid ausgegangen als zu	Are you come out against me as	244/34;19-22,
	nii oola aasgogangan alo za	, no you come out against me ac	24-26
56. Chorale:	Jesu, ohne Missetat	Jesus, without misdeed	355 %
	Und die Jünger verließen	And they all forsook him	244/34;29-31
[Und es war ein Jümgling	And there was a young man	244/50;22-28
1	one of war our duringing	7 and anoto mad a young man	or Keiser 8b]
58. Chorale:	Ich will hier bei dir stehen	I will stand by thee here	271 270
oo. Onoraio.	Torr Will flior Bor dir Storion	1 Will Starte by the Proceed	211 210
	Nach der Predigt	After the Sermon	
50 Aria(Ten)	Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir	My comforter is not by me	198/8
	Und sie führeten Jesum zu	And they led Jesus away to the	244/37;1,3-16
ou. Evangenst.	Viele gaben falsche Zeugnis wider	For many bear false witness against	244/39;1-5
61. Chorus:	Wir haben gehöret, daß er	We heard heard it from this man	248/26
	Aber ihr Zeugnis stimmete	But neither so did their witness	
[UZ. Evaligelist.	Aber in Zeugnis summete	but fieldler so did their withess	248/27;5-8] or Keiser 8d]
63. Chorale:	Was Menschenkraft und -witz	What men's strength and wit	257 <u>-</u>
	Und der Hohe Priester stund	And the high priest stood up	
	: Antwortest du nichts zu dem	And answerest thou naught	244/39;12-14 244/39;14-16
	Er aber schwieg stille und	But Jesus held his peace and	244/39;16-18
67. Chorale:	Befiehl du deine Wege und	Entrust thy ways unto Him and	270 27/
	Da fragte ihn der Hohe Priester	Again did the high priest ask	244/42;1-2
	Bist du Christus, der Sohn des	Art thou the Christ, the son of	244/42;4-6
	Jesus aber sprach:	Jesus said to him	244/42:6-7
71. Jesus:	Ich bin's; und ihr werdet sehen	I am: and ye shall see the son	244/42;7,8-12
	Da zeriß der Hohe Priester	Then did the high rend	244/42;13-15
	: Was dürfen wir weiter Zeugen?	What need we any further witness	244/42;15-19
	Sie aber verdammeten ihn alle	And they condemned him, everyone	244/42;19-20
Evangonou	Da singen an Etliche ihn zu verspeien	And some of them began to spit on him	
1	und mit Fausten zu schlagen	and to buffet him and to say to him	244/54;18-19]
[75. Chorus:	Weissage uns!	Now prophesy!	244/54;30]
	Und die Knechte schlugen ihn	And the servants struck him	244/43;3-5
77. Chorale:	Du edles Angesichte	Thou noble countenance	244/62 272
	Und Pertus war danieden im	And as Peter was beneath in	244/45;1-3
[Und da sahe Petrum sich wärmen	And when she saw Peter warming	244/52;7-9]
79. Maid:	Und du warest auch mit Jesu	And thou also wast with Jesus	244/45;3-5
	Er aber leugnete, und sprachen	But he denied it, saying	244/45;5-7
81. Peter:	Ich kenne ihn nicht	I know not his man	244/45;7-8
	Und er ging hinaus in den	And he went out into the porch;	244/45;8-11
83. Maid:	Dieser ist der einer	This is one of them	244/45;11-12
	Und er leugnete abermal	And he denied it again	244/45;12-14
85. Chorus:	Wahrlich, du bist der einer	Surely, thou art one of them	244/45;18-21
	Er aber fing an sich zu verfluchen	But Peter answered them with cursing	244/46;1-2
87. Peter:	lck kenne den Menschen nicht	I know not this man at all	244/46;2-3
	Und der Hahn krähete zum	And the cock crew for the	244/46;3-12
89. Chorale:	Herr, ich habe mißgehandelt	Lord, my evil deeds are many	331 330
	Und bald am Morgen hielten	And straightaway in the morning	244/49;1-6
	Und Pilatus fragte ihn	And Pilate asked of him	244/52;17-18

91. Pilate:	Bist du ein König der Juden?	Art thou the King over Judah	244/52;18-19
92. Evangelist:	Er antwortete aber, und sprach	And answering Jesus said	244/52;19-20
93. Jesus:	Du sagest's	Thou sayest it.	244/52;20-21
94. Evangelist:	Und die Hohenpriester beschulgditen	And the chief priests accused	244/52;21-25
95. Pilate:	Antwortest du nichts? Siehe,	Answerest thou naught? Behold	244/52;25-26
96. Evangelist:	Jesus aber antwortete nichts	But Jesus answered them nothing	244/52;26-27,
			29-30
	Er flegte aber ihnen auf das	Now at the feast he was wont to	244/54;1-10
97. Pilate:	Wollt ihr, daß ich euch den König	Will ye that I release the King	244.54;10-12
98. Evangelist:	Denn er wüste, daß ihn die	For he well knew that the	244/54;13-15,
	Aber die hohen Priester reitzen	But still the chief priests moved	22,24-27,31
99. Pilate:	Was wollet ihr denn, das ich tue dem	What will ye then that I do to him	244/54;32-34
100. Evang.:	Sie schrien abermal	But they cried out again	244/54:34-35
101. Chorus:	Kreuzige ihn!	Crucify him!	248/21;49-57
102. Evang.:	Pilatus aber sprach zu ihnen	And Pilate said unto them	244/56:1
103. Pilate:	Was hat er Übels getan?	Why, what of eveil hath he done	244/56;1-2
104. Evang.:	Aber sie schrien noch viel mehr	But yet they cried out more and more	244/59;1-2
105. Chorus:	Kreuzige ihn!	Crucify him!	248/21;1-25
106. Aria	Angenehmes Mordgeschrei!	Pleasing murder-cry	204/8
[107. Evang.:	Pilatus aber gedachte dem Volk	And so, willing to content the people	244/54;15-16]
	genug dem tun gekreuziget würde	released Barabbas to be crucified	244/59;39-43
	Die Kriegsknechte aber sühreten	The soldiers led him away	244/62;1-10
108. Chrous:	Gegrüßest seist du, der Juden König!	[O] Hail, King of the Jews!	187/1;28-34
109. Evang.:	Und schlugen ihm das Haupt	And smote him on the head	244/62:15-18
110. Chorale:	Man hat dich sehr hart verhöhnet	They have struck thee very hard	354
111. Evang.:	Und da sie ihn verspottet hatten	And when they had mocked him	244/64
	Und sie brachten ihn an die Stätte	And they bring him unto the place	244/67;1-11
112. Chorale:	Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn	The Word of God will firm abide	302 -
113. Evang.:	Und es war um die dritte Stunde	And it was the third hour	244/67:15-24
[Da ward die Schrift erfület	And so the scripture was fulfilled	244/67;12-15]
	Und die vorüber gingen lästerten	And they that passed by railed	244/67;24-27
114. Chorus:	Pfui dich, wie fein zerbrichst du	Ha, ha! Thou who destroyest	248/45;1-5,9-19
115. Evang.:	Desselben gleichen die Hohen	And likewise also the chief priests	244/67;40-43
116. Chorus:	Er hat andern geholfen, das er	He saved others, himself he	187/1 or 198/7
117. Evang.:	Und die mit ihm gekreuzigt	And they that were crucified	244/68
	Und nach der sechsten Stunde	And when the sixth hour was come	244/71;1-7
118. Jesus:	Eli, Eli, lama asabthani?	Eli, Eli, lama asabthani?	244/71;7-9
119. Evang.:	Das ist verdolmetschet	Which is being interpreted	244/71:9-12
120. Chorale:	Keinen hat Gott verlassen	No one has God forsaken	369
121. Evang.:	Und etliche, die dabei stunden	And some of them that were standing	244/71;12-14
122. Chorus:	Siehe, er rufet dem Elias	Hear him, he calleth for Elijah	244/71;14
123. Evang.:	Da lief einer und füllete einen	And one ran and filled a sponge	244/71;15,16-21
124. Soldier:	Halt, lasset sehen, ob Elias	Wait, let us see if Elijah	244/71;22-24
125. Evang.:	Aber Jesus schrie laut	And Jesus cried with a loud	244/71;24-26
126. Aria:	Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren	Earth and Heaven listen	120a/4
127. Evang.:	Und der Vorhang im Tempel	And the veil of the temple	244/73;1-4
	Der Haupt mann aber, der	And when the captain, who	244/73;14-16
	:Wahrlich, dieser Mensch ist	Truly this man was	244/17;25-26]
129. Evang.:	Und es waren auch Weiber	And also were there women	244/73;21-37
130. Chorale:	O! Jesu du mein Hilf und Ruh	O Jesus, thou, my help and rest	404 4
131. Evang.:	Und er kaufte ein Leinwand	And he bought fine linen	244/76;1-11
132. Chorus:	Bei deinem Grab- und Leichenstein	By thy grave and tombstone	198/10

English translation by Henry Sandwich Drinker, English Texts to the Vocal Works of Heinrich Schütz (Merion, PA, no publisher, 1952).¹

CHAPTER 2

RECOVERY AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ST. MARK MUSIC

The possible existence of the *St. Mark Passion* was revealed exactly a century after Bach's death. In the first major Bach biography to include a detailed examination of his vocal works, Carl Ludwig Hilgenfeldt said that "the score of the one [Passion] according to Mark has up to now not been discovered. Meanwhile, proof should be provided soon that it existed." Hilgenfeldt identified Picander as the poet. The text is found in the 1732 edition of Picander's work. Hilgenfeldt enumerated the five Passions mentioned in the Bach Nekrology: the four by the evangelists, later designated BWV 244-47, and a Passion composed in Weimar in 1717.3

In 1873, the "proof" that at least a portion of the *St. Mark Passion* had survived was found by Wilhelm Rust (1822-92), a principal editor of the Bach-Gesellschaft edition of Bach's complete works.⁴ Rust showed that five madrigalesque movements in the Funeral Lament, Cantata 198, *Laβ*, *Fürstin*, *laβ* noch einen Strahl (Let us, Princess, let us yet a beam), written in 1727, were parodied in the Picander Mark Passion text. The texts from both works are virtually identical in meter, line length, and rhyme scheme. The St. Mark "core" music, consisting of the opening and closing choruses and three arias from the Funeral Lament, was used as follows:⁵

St. Mark Passion, BWV 247

No. 1, Chorus: Geh Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein!

No. 27(9), Aria: Mein Heiland, dich vergeßich nicht

No. 49(17), Aria: Er kommt, er ist vorhanden!

No. 59(24), Aria: Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir

Funeral Lament, BWV 198

No. 1, Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl

No. 5, Wie starb die Helden

No. 3, Verstummt, ihr holden Saiten

No. 8, Der Ewigkeit saphirnes Haus zieht

Another characteristic common to both the Funeral Lament and the *St. Mark*Passion is the extraordinary performing group. The forces listed in the 1764 Breitkopf catalog for the *St. Mark Passion* are almost identical to those in the opening chorus of the Funeral Lament.⁶ The accompanying tutti orchestra in the Funeral Lament has pairs of flutes, *oboi d'amore*, *viole da gamba*, and lutes -- a blend found nowhere else in Bach's music -- plus the strings and basso continuo.

Subsequent reconstructions have accepted Rust's findings, and other parodied music has been restored or suggested. Two researchers, Charles Sanford Terry (1864-1936) and Friedrich Smend (1893-1980), made significant efforts towards recovery of lyric movements from the St. Mark Passion. Terry, in Bach, the Passions (1926), offered parody possibilities for the remaining three arias. He was the first writer also to point out the chorale usage for the texts of all sixteen chorales. Friedrich Smend gets credit for proving in 1940 the existence of one of the three missing arias, No. 53(19), "Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen" (False world, thy flatt'ring kisses).⁸ The aria is a parody from the Lenten/Trinity Cantata BWV 54, composed in Weimar about 1714. Some consensus has emerged regarding the remaining two arias, No. 106(34), "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei" (Pleasing murder cry), and No. 126(42), "Welt und Himmel, nehmt zu Ohren" (Earth and Heaven, listen). These are discussed below after a consideration of the various reconstructions. I will briefly mention each of the reconstructions of which I am aware. 10 See Table 1, Restorations (Editions & Recordings), at the end of this chapter for a list of these.

The first comprehensive reconstruction to achieve acceptance was Diethard Hellmann's published 1964 edition, which was a pioneering effort. Making no significant changes in the extant music, Hellmann was able to underlay Picander's text for seven of the eight choruses and arias, omitting "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei!," as well as to insert twelve of the sixteen chorales.

Hellmann's reconstruction of most of the lyric movements was accepted in subsequent reconstructions. He suggested that the lost biblical narrative music could be spoken in performance. Hellmann did not reconstruct the *turba* chorus 114(39), "Pfui dich, wie fein zerbrichst du den Tempel" (Ha, ha! thou who destroyest the temple).¹¹ In 1964 he observed:

Since this is the only piece of the Gospel which it would be possible to reconstruct in its musical form, and as it has, moreover, no particular claim to importance in the story of the Passion, it is hardly likely to be of practical interest to musicians and is, therefore, omitted from our publication.¹²

Following Hellmann, additional *turba* chorus possibilities have been put forward, parodied from other Bach cantatas and the *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248 (1735), as possibly being authentic. Most notable are the findings of Ortwin von Holst in 1968. In addition to BWV 247/114(39), "Pfui dich," being from BWV 248/45, "Wo ist der neugeborne König" (Who is the new-born King of the Jews), Holst shows a parody relationship between *St. Mark* No. 61(25b), "Wir haben gehört" (We heard it) and the *Christmas Oratorio* No. 28, "Lasset uns nun gehen" (Let us also go now). The second edition of the Schmieder Catalogue (1990) lists this movement, but with a question mark.

The *Bach Compendium* BC D-4 (1985-90) lists the two finds but also expresses uncertainty.

Alfred Dürr in his 1974 essay in the Bach critical study accepted the *turba* "Pfui dich" as "a hypothesis that, although not definitely substantiated, nevertheless convinces." Dürr, a leading Bach authority, said Holst's argument concerning the *turba* "Lasset uns nun gehen" is not as convincing as that for "Pfui dich." Dürr also disagreed with Holst's claim in a written program pamphlet for a performance of the *St. Mark Passion* on March 24, 1967, that three additional *turbae* are parodies of opening choruses from earlier Bach sacred cantatas. These are No. 3(2b), "Ya nicht auf das fest"; No. 108(35b); "Gegrüßest seist du"; and No. 116(39d), "Er hat andern," respectively from cantatas BWV 102, 187, and 179. Dürr, who has never done his own reconstruction, cautioned against this kind of speculation but conciliatorily concluded, "Here, all too obviously, the conscientiousness of the philologists must give way to the desire to obtain a performable whole."

Gustav Adolf Theill, in his 1980 complete reconstruction, *Die Markuspassion*, composed new narrative recitatives, linked them with parodied *turbae* passages he chose from appropriate Bach cantata choruses having the same *affect*, and interspersed the narration with most of the Hellmann lyrical edition. Theill, a German musicologist, found the music for two additional *turba* choruses in the *St. Mark Passion:* the repeated chorus, Nos. 101 and 105 (33b and 33d), "Kreuzige ihn!" (Crucify him!), comes from the *Christmas Oratorio*, and No. 116(39d), "Er hat andern geholfen" (Thou hast saved

many others), comes from the Funeral Lament. This first complete "reconstruction" raised serious objections from some quarters.¹⁶

Soon after, two abridged reconstructions surfaced. Without any claim to authenticity, Polish musicians Stefan Sutkowski and Tadeusz Maciejewski in their 1983 edition used corresponding narrative passages, virtually unaltered, from both the *St. Matthew Passion* and the spurious *St. Luke Passion*, along with the complete Hellmann edition, omitting one aria and four chorales. In contrast, American music editor Richard Gore's 1984 version, *The Passion According to St. Mark*, has original narrative recitatives and *turba* choruses set to the King James English text, again with the complete Hellmann edition, omitting four chorales.

Subsequently, various scholars have created hybrid reconstructions, turning to narratives of Peranda, Homilius, and Keiser (two versions) for the narrative portion of the *St. Mark Passion*. Dutch conductor Jos van Veldhoven in 1986 used the plainsong-style narrative of the *St. Mark Passion* by Marco Gioseppe Peranda (1625-1675) formerly attributed to Schütz. In 1991, German musicologist Christophe Albrecht used the full narration from the *St. Mark Passion* by Gottfried August Homilius (1714-1785), a Bach student. Professor Andor Harvey Gomme in the early 1990s produced a version that uses the entire Keiser narration, including the *turbae*.

In 1996, British scholar and writer Simon Heighes assembled another complete reconstruction in a performing version. It uses a variety of sources, both authentic and of his choosing. He relied primarily on the Hellmann edition for the lyrical music but substituted different music for several chorales and two arias. He generally used the

narrative recitatives from the Keiser *St. Mark Passion* and Theill's choices for most of the *turba* choruses. Since the Keiser setting begins later in the Passion story, at the Mount of Olives, Heighes relied on narrative material from Theill's version to fill in the first twenty-five verses of Mark, chapter 14.

As stated above, there is some consensus among the reconstructions regarding the two arias, No. 106(34), "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei," and No. 126(42), "Welt und Himmel," both of which have extensive parody history.

For "Welt und Himmel," Hellmann used the extant soprano aria "Heil und Segen" (Salvation and Blessing) from the 1729 sacred wedding cantata BWV 120a, which was parodied twice between 1728 and 1730, in a town council cantata BWV 120 and in cantata BWV 120b for the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession. The versions of Gore, Sutkowski-Maciejewski, and Gomme accept Hellmann's choice. Theill used the bass aria "Domine Deus" from the Lutheran Mass in A Major, BWV 234, assembled about 1735, which is a parody of a lost aria probably composed in Leipzig. Heighes adapted the bass aria "Himmel reisse" (Heaven Rends) BWV 245a, found in the 1725 version of the *St. John Passion*, from the Weimar Passion.

C. S. Terry first suggested that the aria "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei!" was parodied from the extant soprano aria "Himmlische Vergnügsamkeit" (Heavenly Contentment) in the secular cantata BWV 204 of 1727, ¹⁷ which likewise was parodied in two secular cantatas of 1728, BWV 216 and 216a. Theill, Heighes, and Gomme use this aria in their reconstructions. Gore uses the alto-tenor duet "Ruft und fleht den Himmel"

(Call and cry to Heaven) from the Weimar Christmas Cantata BWV 63, *Christen, ätzet diesen Tag*.

In summary, in the past thirty-five years, various reconstructions have attempted to put forth full or substantial realizations that include the narrative. They have taken many approaches: original composition in the style of Bach, pastiches of original music and Bach parody, hybrids using narratives by other Baroque composers, or modern music to convey the narration. Theill and Heighes achieved complete versions following the entire Picander text, including the entire two-chapter Biblical narrative. Sutkowski and Gore compiled abridged versions, based on Hellmann's edition. Gomme's setting, which he called a hybrid, begins in the Garden of Gethsemane, omitting the first twenty-five verses in Chapter 14 of Mark's account, from the omens of Jesus' death through the Last Supper. Van Veldhoven's hybrid substituted Peranda's narration, while Albrecht's hybrid uses the full narration of Homilius. There are at least two versions using new, modern narrative music, by German contemporary composers Volker Brautigam in 1983 and Otto Büsing in 1995.

Table 1. Restorations (Edition & Recordings)

The following is a listing of these reconstructions, including first performances

where listed, in chronological order:

- A. Diethard Hellmann, ed.; *Markuspassion*; score (Stuttgart-Hohenheim: Hänssler-Verlag, 1964), Hellmann foreword; piano-vocal score (Neuhausen-Hohenheim: Hänssler-Verlag, 1976); two-part cantata (opening and closing chorus, five arias, five chorales (Hellmann "Form a"); seven more chorales as Appendix ("Form b"); first performed, Stiftskirche of St. Goar, Passion Week 1964; LP recording: ("Form a") Stuttgart Madrigal Chorus, Pforzheim Chamber Orchestra, conductor Wolfgang Gönnenwein (Erato, 1964; Epic BC-1306, 1965; Musical Heritage Society MHS-1508, 1972); duration, 60 minutes.
- B. Gustav Adolph Theill, ed.; *Markuspassion nach BWV 247*, score (Bonn: Forberg-Verlag, 1980). Monograph, *Die Markuspassion: Entstehung, Vergessen Wiederentdeckung, Rekonstruktion* (. . . Composition, Forgotten, Discovery, Reconstruction), 2nd, exp. ed. (Steinfeld: Salvator-Verlag, 1981); complete version: original narrative recitatives set to entire Picander biblical text, *turbae* from Bach choruses, parodied appropriate Bach lyrical music; first perfor., 1978, Steinfeld; duration, 110 minutes.
- C. Stefan Sutkowski, Tadeusz Maciejewski, and Diethard Hellmann, eds.; *Passione Secondo San Marco*; first performance, March 17, 1983, Warsaw; forces: Warsaw Symphony Orchestra and Warsaw Chamber Opera Chorus, conductor Joszwef Bok; CD recording, (Bongiovanni: Bologna, 1989), GB-2024/25-2; abridged version, Hellmann lyric music "Form b" and comparable narrative passages from *St. Matthew* (28 mvts.) and *St. Luke Passion* (7 mvts.), BWV 244 and 246; duration, 86 minutes.
- D. Volker Brautigam, ed.; Hellmann "Form b" and original complete narration in style of Schütz and contemporary style of Penderecki's *Lukaspassion*; first performance, Bremen, 1983. Cited in Gomme, Afterword.
- E. Richard Gore, ed.; *The Passion According to St. Mark*, piano-vocal edition (?Wooster, OH: Chantry Music Press, 1984); abridged version: Hellmann "Form b" and Gore setting of entire narrative.
- F. Jos van Veldhoven, ed.; appropriate Bach lyrical music with complete narration (same as Picander) from Marco Peranda's *St. Mark Passion* (1668) in plainchant-style, formerly attributed to Schütz; first performance, 1986. Cited in Gomme, Afterword.
- G. Christophe Albrecht, ed., complete narration from *St. Mark Passion* (c.1768) of Bach student Gottfried August Homilius (1714-1785), appropriate Bach lyrical music; first performance Berlin, 1991. Cited in Gomme, Afterword.
- H. Simon Heighes, ed; *Markus Passion*; full score (Huntingdon, 1993); recording, March 25-30, 1996 (London: Columns Classics, 1996), Musica Oscura 070970 (forword, Heighes); Ring Ensemble of Finland, European Union Baroque Orch., conductor Roy Goodman; complete hybrid: appropriate Bach lyric music, Keiser recitative with newly-composed narration preceding Garden scene, and *turbae* from Bach choruses.
- I. Andor Harvey Gomme, ed.; *Markus-Passion, BWV 247;* full score (Keele: privately printed, 1993); piano-vocal score (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997); recording: June 23-26, 1998 (London: ASV, 1999), ASV Guademus GAX 237; Choir of Gonville Caius College, Cambridge; Cambridge Baroque Camerata, conducted by Geoffrey Webber; abridged hybrid: entire Keiser narration, appropriate Bach lyrical music.

Table 1 (continued)

J. Otto Büsing, original music, "Fragment BWV 247, Passionsbericht nach Markus" (Bad Schwalbach: Edition Gravis [c.1995]); essentially Hellmann lyric numbers plus BWV 248/26, minus BWV 120a/3; interspersed with original 12-tone "commentary" music for vocal soloists, chorus, and chamber orchestra; text paraphrase of key Marcan statements by Walter Jens, in spoken musical style; duration, 60 minutes.

CHAPTER 3

THE GERMAN PASSION NARRATIVE TRADITION AND BACH'S PASSIONS

The road to creating Passions was a long and complex one for Bach. Of all the large-scale sacred vocal forms Bach used, including church feast oratorios, cantata cycles, and Mass sections, Bach labored with cantatas and Passion music the longest and most intensively.

Bach's own Passion compositions form one large, interwoven tapestry, here and there shot through with strands contributed by others. Bach stood at the culmination of the German oratorio Passion tradition. As such, he was directly influenced by the Passion music of the Hamburg circle of Keiser, Postel, Handel, and Telemann, which flourished from 1704 to 1722.

Although Bach was influenced by both of the Passion types dominant in the first half of the 18th century, biblical narrative (liturgical) "oratorio Passion" and poetic "Passion oratorio," he composed only the former type, which emphasizes, usually verbatim in translation, the Gospel text of one of the four evangelists. Bach did borrow texts from poets writing for the poetry-only Passion oratorio, and he also assembled pastiches using music from both types of Passions. However, from their conception, Bach's extant Passions from John, Matthew, and Mark use the full two-chapter Gospel accounts of the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ.

The oratorio Passion is usually distinguished by its title, Passion "secundum" or "nach" (according to) a specific evangelist. For example, Picander's published text for

Bach' s St. Mark Passion is entitled Texte zur Paßions-Musik nach dem Evangelisten Marco. Reinhard Keiser' s c. 1707 setting is entitled Passio secundum Marcum.

In contrast, settings by various composers of the best-known Passion oratorio libretto, that by Barthold Heinrich Brockes (1680-1747), use his graphically descriptive title, *Der für die Sünden der Welt gemartete und sterbende Jesus* (Jesus Martyred and Dying for the Sins of the World). Settings of this text, published in 1710, are known as the "*Brockes-Passion*" and include those by composers Keiser, Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), George Frideric Handel (1685-1759), and Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), as well as Mattheson's omnibus pastiche from all four composers in 1722. Bach used a portion of the Brockes text for five arias, two ariosi, and the final chorus in the *St. John Passion*, BWV 245. Other composers whose Passion settings also were influenced by the Brockes text included Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690-1749) and Johann Friedrich Fasch (1688-1758).

Bach consistently used the full, two-chapter narratives of the Passion account of the evangelists, beginning with the plot to arrest Jesus or with Christ's actual arrest in the Garden (John). Other composers used shorter versions: Schütz's St. Matthew Passion starts with Christ's trial before Pilate, Postel's St. John Passion starts at Christ's crucifixion, and Keiser's St. Mark Passion begins at the Mount of Olives.

Bach's compositional technique in the Passion narration is traced directly to the earliest examples of German oratorio Passion. Foremost was the work of Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672). Virtually all of the music in his extant Dresden Passions of Matthew, John, and Luke, all c. 1665, deals exclusively with settings of the Passion

stories in the Gospels in Martin Luther's translation. The narrative music includes motet-style crowd choruses; recitative solos for individual characters such as Jesus, Peter, and Pilate; and lyrical, arioso-like treatment of Christ's words, sometimes "haloed" by strings. These are persistent, pervasive traits also found in Bach's settings of John, Matthew, and Mark, as well as in many settings by other contemporary composers. Further, a Passion based on Mark, attributed formerly to Schütz and now to Marco Gioseppe Peranda (c.1625-1675), has characteristics that Bach may have used as models in his version of Mark: the text is virtually the same, and the designation of solo and chorus passages in the text also is virtually identical. The four Passions, Schütz's and Peranda's, are found together in a handwritten collection in Dresden that could have been easily accessible to Bach. ¹

Two other distinguishing traits in the oratorio Passion were developed by Thomas Selle (1599-1663) and Johann Sebastiani (1622-83) and are found extensively in Bach's Passions. They are the use of German chorales and contemplative arias. Both function as commentary during the course of the Passion narrative.

Bach's Passion-influenced works can be placed in five groups: (1) biblical-texted music of penitence at Mühlhausen (1707), with the composition of the sacred concertos BWV 106 and 131; (2) a "proto"-biblical Passion cantata in Weimar (1717), possibly set to the Matthew text for single chorus, which Bach probably salvaged in his later Leipzig Passions; (3) the first attempt at a unified Passion with John (1724), with emphasis on narrative and chorales instead of on madrigal poetry; (4) the grand-scale, double-ensemble *St. Matthew Passion* (1725-27), with Bach in full command of his

powers; and lastly, (5) the *St. Mark Passion* (1731), the summation of Bach=s oratorio Passions, with the literal use of extensive music from previous compositions of mourning and consolation.²

Passion influences are initially found in Bach's earliest extant vocal works. In the summer of 1707 at Mühlhausen, Bach at the age of 22 composed two vocal concertos for penitential occasions, probably memorial services. They are titled *Aus der Tiefen rufe ich, Herr, zu dir* (Out of the Depths I Cry, O Lord, to Thee), BWV 131, and *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit* (God's Time Is the Very-Best Time), BWV 106. These works use biblical text sometimes accompanied by brief chorale stanzas in long notes in the soprano. They are set in the old continuous madrigalian style, which connectes through-composed movements, and are sometimes called *scenas*, comprising ensembles, arias, and ariosi. This open form is modeled after Dietrich Buxtehude's sacred vocal concertos using Psalm settings and Lutheran chorale quotations.³

The texts of Bach's cantatas BWV 131 and 106 were traditionally used in Lenten and Passiontide services. In BWV 131, Bach used the entire text of Psalm 130 (*De profundis*) and the contrasting chorale, "Herr Jesu Christ, du höchstes Gut" (Lord Jesus Christ, Thou Highest Good). Bach set these penitential texts in a myriad of musical styles in contrasting tempos.

A miniature Passion setting, BWV 106, subtitled "Actus tragicus" (Tragic Action), is Bach's first extant venture into Passion treatment. The first two movements are an orchestral sinfonia and a commentary *scena* of two ensembles, two ariosi, and an aria, to texts from Acts, Psalm 90, Isaiah, Ecclesiastes, and Revelation. The focal point

of BWV 106 is its third movement, a narrative *scena* from Luke 23:46 and 23:43 containing an alto aria, "In deine Hände befehl' ich meinen Geist@ (Into thy hands I commit my spirit; quoted from Psalm 31:6), and a bass aria, "Heute wirst du mit mir im Paradies sein" (Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise), the latter accompanied by Luther's *Nunc dimittis* chorale, "Mit Fried und Freud" (With Peace and Joy). The cantata closes with an ensemble chorale, "Glorie, Lob, Ehr, und Herrlichkeit" (Glory, Praise, Honor and Majesty). The passages from Luke are two of the three quotations from Luke that are found in the "*summa*" or "harmony" Passion text, "The Seven Last Words of Christ From the Cross." This is the only extant treatment of the Luke Passion story by Bach.⁴

In his later sacred cantatas, Bach intermingled variously aria, recitative, arioso, and chorus. This *scena* format was used most effectively in the highly dramatic scenes in the Passions: Jesus' trial in the *St. John Passion*, the closing burial in the *St. Matthew Passion*, and the Crucifixion in the *St. Mark Passion*. Both BWV 106 and 131 are considered among Bach's finest works, with their "early style" of open form and only occasional thematic and modulatory development, in contrast to the later cantatas, beginning in Weimar.⁵

Less than a year after the origin of BWV106 and 131, Bach first articulated what he believed to be his Lutheran calling. In June of 1708, in his resignation letter to the Mühlhausen town council, he enunciated his career goal of using a "well-regulated church music." During his one-year stay at Mühlhausen, Bach had composed a handful of sacred concertos for special occasions such as memorial services, weddings, and town

council installations. With the exception of the Easter cantata *Christ lag in Todes*Banden (Christ Lay in Death's Bondage), Bach had as yet composed no vocal works for the church year. His regular composition would commence in 1714 in Weimar with a commission to present church year pieces monthly. Finally, during his last tenure, in Leipzig, Bach would present three complete annual cycles of sacred cantatas and oratorios between 1723 and 1727, as well as annual performances of Passions on Good Friday from 1723 to 1749.

Bach's mastery of vocal music, which began in Mühlhausen, was firmly established in Weimar when he undertook the regular production of church year vocal works, now called cantatas. He had progressed from his early open form of 1707, with its shorter, connected sections, interspersing arias, sometimes with chorales, as well as with choruses and ariosi (melodic solos, in style between arias and accompanied recitative), usually labeled "Recitative" in Bach's scores. At Weimar, using the Neumeister cantata model, also called madrigalian or Italian-style, Bach created works with distinct closed-form movements, influenced by the poet Salomo Franck, who added texts for *secco* recitatives with basso continuo and for four-part chorales.

Bach's apprenticeship in Passion music resumed at his post in Weimar, around 1713 or slightly earlier. Here he presented Keiser's *St. Mark Passion*, a work that he would perform more often -- three times -- than any other single vocal work by another composer. The Keiser work, written about 1707, was Bach's first known Passion presentation. It is an hour-long madrigalesque oratorio Passion. Bach repeated it in 1726 in Leipzig with a few changes and between 1743 and 1746 expanded it with seven arias

from Handel's Passion oratorio, the *Brockes Paßion*, HWV 48. The Keiser-Handel pastiche Passion has fifteen short arias but only four chorales, two of them inserted by Bach into the original Keiser work.⁷

Keiser' s *St Mark Passion* (poet unknown) influenced Bach' s Passion settings.

As Andreas Glöckner observes:

Keiser's work was a valuable study object for the young Bach, containing the germ of what he would later develop to the peak of perfection in his own Passions. Particularly the dramatic recitative style appears to have influenced Bach a great deal.⁸

Two arias in the St. Matthew Passion are traced to Keiser. Eric Chaffe says:

It seems likely that Picander took the idea for "Komm, süsses Kreuz" and "Ach, Golgatha" at least in part from Reinhard Keiser's *St. Mark Passion* (from) the aria "O süsses Kreuz. . . . " Picander would have encountered Keiser's work through Bach directly, since Bach performed Keiser's Passion in 1726.9

Bach had strong connections with the prominent Passion chorale "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid" (O Mournfulness, O Heart's Suffering). For the Weimar performance, he added this and another chorale. These two Bach insertions are probably not his harmonizations; the source is unknown. In 1731, Bach chose "O Traurigkeit" as the closing chorale in his *St. Mark Passion*.

During his Weimar period, Bach also was influenced by another Hamburg oratorio Passion, the so-called Postel *St. John Passion*. It is a madrigalesque work with numerous short choruses, ariosi, and arias, as well as a complete narration in recitative and *turbae*. The *St. John* poetic text by Christian Heinrich Postel (1658-1705), Hamburg librettist based at that city's opera theatre, was published in 1704. The hour-long work

has been variously attributed to Handel, Georg Böhm (1661-1733), and Mattheson, respectively, by Chrysander, Steinitz, and Baselt.¹¹ Coincidentally, the composers Mattheson, Keiser, and Handel also were at the Hamburg Opera in 1704, where they produced staged sacred dramas; by 1716, all of them, plus Telemann, had composed settings of the *Brockes Passion*.

Postel's text influenced at least four arias and a chorus in Bach's *St. John*Passion. In addition, it is possible that the music in the Postel setting influenced at least four *turbae* in Bach's *St. John Passion*, including No. 36(21d), "Kreuzige ihn" (Crucify him), the text of which also occurs in both Bach's Passion settings of Matthew, No. 54(45a) and of Mark, No. 101(33b), repeated as No. 105(33d). 12

Bach's first personal Passion endeavor came during his final, tumultuous year at Weimar in 1717. On Good Friday, March 26, he presented the so-called "Weimar" oratorio Passion, BWV *deest* (BC D 1), not in Weimar, but nearby in Gotha. It is a Passion oratorio, observing Gotha tradition, using only poetic texcts. Bach utilized at least two choruses and three arias from it for his later Leipzig Passions. No score has been found. It probably was a short Passion cantata, similar in length to the Postel and Keiser Passions, which use abbreviated Passion story texts. ¹³ Since it probably was not a Passion oratorio on a scale with Bach's other Passions and was unsuitable for Leipzig church performances in the 1720s, Bach probably salvaged it.

Beginning with this "Weimar" Passion, Bach began to employ a large-scale structure using four distinct types of movements with specific types of texts and functions: devotional chorales, dramatic biblical narrative, lyrical arias and ariosi, and

monumental opening and closing choruses. The "Weimar" Passion's surviving movements also may include a four-part chorale, two narrative recitatives and *turbae*, arias with chorales, ariosi, large-chorale choruses, and possibly the three-movement sequence later found in Cantata BWV 55.¹⁴

The "Weimar" Passion lacks a unified libretto, but four of the six extant numbers are vested with chorales, also a Gotha tradition. The large-scale chorale chorus "O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde gross" (O Man, Bewail Thy Great Sins) is from the extended Passion chorale poem of the same name by Sebald Hayden. The tenor aria "Zerschmettert mich, ihr Hügel und ihr Felsen" (Crush Me, Ye Hills and Rocks) was influenced by Salomo Franck, one of Bach's Weimar poets. The tenor aria "Ach windet euch" (Ah, Writhe Thou) and the bass aria "Himmel reisse" (Heaven Rends) were influenced by Postel's settings. The chorale chorus "Christe du Lamm Gottes" (Christ, Thou Lamb of God) is the German setting of the *Agnus Dei*. The chorale "Christus, der uns selig macht" (Christ, Who Makes Us Blessed), BWV 283, is set homophonically in four parts. "Himmel reisse" has an accompanying soprano trope chorale, "Jesu Leiden, Pein und Tod" (Jesus, Suffering, Pain, and Death), similar in form to the Lucan setting in BWV 106.

Eventually, Bach recycled the five madrigalesque numbers from the original "Weimar" Passion. "O Mensch bewein" became the opening chorus in the 1725 version of the *St. John Passion* and then closed Part 1 of the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1736. "Christe du Lamm Gottes" became the closing chorus in the 1725 second version of John and then was transferred to close a later version of Cantata BWV 23. The three

arias were inserted into the 1725 revision of the *St. John Passion* but removed from all later versions.

Since none of the narration in the "Weimar" Passion has been authenticated, it is possible that Bach composed only the extant lyrical music, inserting it into an oratorio Passion such as Keiser's *St. Mark*, which he had performed in Weimar about 1713. The fact that no authentic narrative text or music has been found supports this suggestion. Further, Bach, estranged from the Weimar court in 1717, could not rely on his usual librettist, Salomo Franck, who published only Passion cantata texts without the biblical narrative; indeed, the texts of the authentic lyrical music were published by several poets. At the same time, since the hour-long "Keiser" Passion is lacking in chorales and in lengthy madrigalesque choruses and arias, it would have been an ideal source for Bach's first effort at a Passion. It could have enabled him to focus his energies on the non-narrative music, which survives, and to assemble a Keiser-Bach pastiche.

When Bach arrived in Leipzig in 1723, he was fully prepared to take on the task of composing extended vocal works, whether cycles of cantatas for the church year or large-scale annual Passions. A cornerstone of Bach's sacred vocal music would be his three original, interrelated Passions. Chronologically, the three settings show significant development in the final three stages of Passion composition. Bach began by structuring his *St. John Passion* (1724) in chiastic form, with the central *turbae* perhaps composed first, anchoring the large-scale palindrome (mirror-like) scenes. In the *St. Matthew Passion*, which Bach began in 1725 and took three years to complete, he turned to Keiser as the model for the topical narrative of this expansive synoptic Gospel in a treatment that

is considered without equal. Finally, the *St. Mark Passion* became the concise summation of Bach's Passion art, with restatement or literal re-use of existing music through parody and other modeling techniques, including the central narration.

The influences of the *turbae* in the *St. John Passion* and of the entire narration in the *St. Matthew Passion* on the *St. Mark Passion* are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

After 1731, Bach composed virtually no original Passion music. He seemed content to present reperformances of all three original Passions: John at least twice, Matthew probably twice, and Mark at least once in 1744. In addition, he turned to reperformances of the anonymous Luke Passion and the Keiser *St. Mark Passion*. In 1734 Bach presented the Gottfried Heinrich Stözel (1690-1749) oratorio Passion, "Ein Lämmlein geht und trät die Schuld" and perhaps, Handel and Telemann oratorio Passions as well as Passion cantatas of C. H. Graun (c.1703-59). In the 1740s, during his last decade, Bach focused his annual Passion efforts on so-called "pasticcios" of music he already had on hand, by Handel, Keiser, and Graun. For a list of Bach's Passion performances, see Table 2, following this chapter.

For the first two decades of the 18th century, it appears that Bach deliberately and cautiously studied the German Passion tradition and how he could incorporate it into his design of a "well-regulated church music." He took as his primary models the narrative works of Schütz and two members of the Hamburg school, Postel and Keiser. In Weimar, he performed the Keiser work and in 1717 composed his first Passion music, later utilizing six lyric movements in at least two of his three extant Leipzig Passions. By 1723, Bach was equipped to create large-scale Passions in order to explore fully the

narrative oratorio form he preferred, to apply the best techniques and styles of music in the culmination of his efforts, and finally to summarize in a most concise manner the key components of his Passion art, using primarily his own music as exemplars.

Table 2.
Bach's Passion Performances

Title	Bib. Text	Poet/Composer	Location/Notes		
(Keiser)	St. Mark Mk.13:26-14	?	Weimar ²		
	3/26/17 BC D 1	"Weimar"	?Mat 26-27	various	Gotha ³
	4/7/24 BWV 245I	St. John	Jn.18-19	various	Nicholas
	?1725 BWV Anh.169	Pasticcio	paraphrase	Picander	text only
	3/30/25 BWV 245II	St. John	2 nd version	various	Thomas
	4/19/26 (Keiser)	St. Mark	repeat		Nicholas ⁵
	4/11/27 BWV 244I	St. Mathew	Mt. 26-27	Picander	Thomas
	4/25/28 ?BWV245II	St. John	repeat		Nicholas ⁵
	4/15/29 ?BWV244I	St. Matthew	repeat		Thomas
	4/7/30 BWV 246 (anon.)	St. Luke	Lk.27-28:53	?	Nicholas ⁵
	3/23/31 BWV 247	St. Mark	Mk. 13-14	Picander	Thomas
	4/11/32 ?BWV245III	St. John	3 rd version		Nicholas ⁵
	no perf. permitted ⁵				
	"Ein Lamlein geht" none	Stözel	Thomas ¹¹		
?TVWV 5:2	"Seilges Erwägen" none	Telemann	Leipzig ⁶		
	4/8/35 ?BWV 246/Anh.II 30	St. Luke	repeat		Nicholas ⁵
	?4/8/35 ?BWV 247	St. Mark	repeat		Delitzsch ⁷
	3/30/36 BWV 244II	St. Matthew	later version		Thomas
	3/27/39 rev. BWV 245	St. John	perf. cancelled		Thomas 4,5
	??TWV 5:1	(Telemann)	paraphrase	Brockes	Thomas ⁸
	1741 ⁴				
	or ?>42 ⁵ ?BWV 244II	St. Matthew	repeat		?
	1743-46 BWV 246(a)	St. Luke	repeat 9		
	c1743-8/48	Pasticcio	Keiser-Handel9	various	
Pasticcio	after C.H. Graun, etc. 10	(BC D 10)			
	3/27/44 BWV 247(a)	St. Mark	repeat	Picander	Thomas ¹²
	c1746-10/49 HWV 48(D)	Brockes	Handel ⁹	Brockes	
	4/4/49 BWV 245IV	St. John	4 th version		Thomas
	?before 1750, title unknown	(cantata)	C.H. Graun ¹		Leipzig

¹ Andreas Glöckner, "Joh. Seb. Bachs Aufführungen zeitgenössischer Passionsmusiken," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1977: 75-118.

² Full score with foreword, Hans Bergmann (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1997), notes in Carus CD 35.304/01.

³ Andreas Glöckner, "Neue Spüren zu Bachs 'Weimarer' Passion," in *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* 1 (1995): 35-37.

⁴ Hans. T. David & Arthur Mendel, *The New Bach Reader*, rev. Christoph Wolf (New York: Norton, 1998), 115.

⁵Robin A. Leaver, "The Mature Vocal Works and Their Theological and Liturgical Context," in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), 100.

⁶ Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Das Stück in Goldpapier -- Ermittlungen zu einigen Bach Abschriften des führen 18. Jahrhunderts," *Bach-Jahrbuch 1978*: 37-39.

Table 2 (continued)

⁷ Cited in Wolff and Schulze, *Bach Compendium* D 4: 1080.

⁸ Werner Menke, Das Vokalwerke Georg Philipp Telemanns (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1942), 11.

⁹Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke J. S. Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1988: 68. ¹⁰ Bach contributed the opening chorus of cantata BWV 127 and the arioso "So heb ich," BWV 1088/247.

¹¹ Schabalina, Tatjana. "Texte zur Music" in St. Petersburg," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 2008). pp. 30-48.

¹² Schabalina, Tatjana. "Texte zur Music" in St. Petersburg - Weitere Funde," Bach-Jahrbuch, 2009, pp. 77-84.

CHAPTER 4

BACH'S LEIPZIG PASSIONS: COMMON FEATURES

During his first decade in Leipzig, Bach achieved complete mastery of his art. He expended considerable efforts to create large-scale oratorio Passions. He produced two major Passions, John and Matthew, that represent his investigation and full application of the Passion genre, and then composed the *St. Mark Passion* as his final statement.

Initially, Bach toiled to find a unified libretto and strong musical structure. He overhauled the *St. John Passion* twice, in 1725 and 1728 or 1732. At the same time, he took five years, from 1725 to 1729, to create the *St. Matthew Passion*, which later required virtually no revisions or changes. By 1731, Bach had the formula and the ingredients to conclude his Passion creation. Above all, he had the sound synoptic Gospel structure from the *St. Matthew Passion*, as well as its librettist, Picander.

During these years, Bach mastered the treatment of the *turbae*, as well as structural and tonal unity, key Passion traits. Bach's thematic treatment of the *turbae* in the *St. John Passion* had been parodistic and palindromic. This gave artificial structural unity to the non-synoptic Gospel. In his later treatment of the *turbae* in the synoptic Passions of Matthew and Mark, as well as in the *Christmas Oratorio*, Bach surmounted constraints. His treatment was less rigid and less literal. He also perfected the overall structure of the movements in his treatment of the Matthew narrative and in the interpolations. This enabled Bach to display cohesion and tonal coherence in the *St. Mark Passion*.

One of the most prominent characteristics of Bach's Leipzig Passions is the unified structure of the large-scale forms. By alternating narrative and interpolation in his Passions, Bach created contrast and internal symmetry. Throughout the years of Bach's Passion composition, this structural symmetry becomes less apparent and calculated: the *St. John Passion* has a series of very obvious chiastic (cross-like) structures; the *St. Matthew Passion* has a more complicated and complex overall structure, with overlays of palindrome (mirror-like) sections; and the *St. Mark Passion* has a simple symmetry, alternating chorales with narrative.

Schematically, sections of the Passions can be coded with letters designating types of movements. For example, in the *St. John Passion*, Part 2, the scene of the Trial before the High Priest, Nos 10-15 (NBA), the palindrome structure can be designated ABACABA. The repeated letters represent very similar (A) narratives, (B) arias, and (C) chorales. Similarly, in the *St. Matthew Passion*, in the scene of the Trial before Pilate, Nos. 49-64 (NBA), the repetition of clusters can be designated ABAC, ACAB, ABACA. In the *St. Mark Passion*, the chorales and infrequent arias alternating with narrative can be designated simply ACACABACAC.

Only in the theologically significant scene of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane does the *St. Mark Passion* have a full, balanced, and musically varied symmetrical structure very similar to scenes in the *St. Matthew Passion*. An outline shows the following:

A, 44(15), chorale, Do with me God, according to Thy goodness
B, 45-48(16), narrative: Evangelist and Jesus (Christ's agony)
C, aria, 49(17), He [Judas] comes, he comes, he is at hand
B, 50-52(18), narrative: Evangelist and Judas (betrayal)
C, aria, 53(19), False world, thy flat'tring kisses
B, 54-55(20), narrative: Evangelist and Jesus (arrest)
A, 56(21), chorale, Jesus without misdeed in the Garden

Here is palindromic symmetry as found in abundance in Bach's two previous Passions. Chorales open and close this dramatic setting of Christ's suffering in the Garden and betrayal. The narrative is balanced, with the Evangelist and Christ paired, flanking two arias. The centerpiece, Nos. 50-52(18), is the straightforward narrative betrayal of Christ by Judas and, through theological implication, by the whole world. ³

In the *St. Mark Passion*, Bach displays another unifying technique, the pattern of alternating narrative and hymn. The model for this may come from the last book in Luther's Bible, the Revelation of St. John.⁴ It is the only book in the Bible that intersperses hymns, also found in many Psalms, with narration. Bach used numerous verses from Revelation, especially for church year cantatas celebrating the Feasts of St. Michael and St. John. The use of Biblical verse with chorale was developed by the cantata librettists Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756) and Salomo Franck (1659-1725), who heavily influenced Bach and his librettists.

Another characteristic of Bach's Passions is his use of a wide range of tonalities to portray the contrasting emotions in the narrative, within a larger tonal framework. A scoring without brass instruments gave Bach great harmonic freedom. In contrast, his later major parodies, the oratorios and Masses with trumpets in the choruses, have restricted tonalities. Despite this harmonic freedom in Bach's Passions, the composer did not impose uniform key signature patterns with these works, except in Mark:

The overall tonal schemes of Bach's Passions do not seem to conform to any special formal patterns, apart from the St. Matthew and St. John (but not the St. Mark) following the tradition of flat keys in the final Arest in the grave@ choruses.⁵

An examination of the recovered music in the *St. Mark Passion* shows the unifying element of a strong reliance in the work on one key, B minor, from beginning to end.

This is the home key of the torso material from the Funeral Ode, Cantata BWV 198.

Bach probably composed his last Passion using the cantata form that centers on one key, in the manner of the Passions of Keiser and Postel.⁶

Bach could easily have parodied narrative recitatives from Matthew in Mark, without being restricted by the original key signature and forced to transpose the music above or below the normal vocal range of the singer. For example, in the *St. Mark*Passion, the final chorale, No. 130(44), "O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh" (O Jesus, Thou, my help and rest), BWV 404, bears the key signature of A minor (no accidentals) but is primarily in the sharp key of E major, closing in A minor. The connecting some ten measures of final narrative recitative of the tenor Evangelist, No. 131(45), borrowed from the Matthew setting, can easily modulate to the closing chorus, which is in the related original key of B minor.

Another trait in Bach's oratorio Passions is the increasing brevity in his treatment of *turba* choruses in the narration. Those in the 1724 *St. John Passion* are the most extensive and dramatic. The fourteen choruses contain about one hundred eighteen words, or about eight and one-half words per chorus. By comparison, the seventeen choruses in the later *St. Matthew Passion* contain about one hundred sixty-nine words,

about ten words per chorus. But the difference in the musical treatment is striking: in the *St. John Passion*, the fourteen choruses total about two hundred eighty measures, an average of twenty measures per chorus; in the *St. Matthew Passion*, the seventeen CHchoruses total about one hundred thirty-seven measures, an average of eight measures per chorus, or less than half as long. A comparison of the two very similar choruses in the two Passions further illustrates this difference:

St. John, No. 34(21b)
Sei gegrüßet, lieber Judenkönig!
St. Matthew, No. 62(53b)
Gegrüßet seist du, Judenkönig!

4 words, 12 measures

4 words, 5 measures

St. John, No. 36(21d)
St. Matthew, No. 54(45a)
Kreuzige, kreuzige!
Lass ihn Kreuzigen!
3 words, 9 measures

Because Mark's narrative has similar but usually terser text than Matthew, Bach was able to be even more concise in his musical treatment, particularly since he did not compose double-chorus *turbae*. These, with their antiphonal layout, caused words to be repeated between the two choruses, necessitating more measures of music. In the *St. Mark Passion*, it is possible Bach reused choruses having similar texts from the *St. Matthew Passion*.

A comparison of the structures and texts of the *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark* Passions can be fruitful, since they have several similarities. Bach's last two originally-composed Passions, they were composed within a few years of each other, and they have the same librettist, Picander. They have very similar biblical texts, which lend themselves to comparable treatment.

Significantly, there is a strong commonality in the placement of interpolated movements, regardless of type, where commentary is appropriate. Bach divides the two Passions into two parts at the same place, between Christ's arrest and his appearance before the Jews (Mt. 26:57 and Mk. 14:53), which is not quite midway in the two-chapter Passion accounts. The distribution of lyric movements between the two parts of the *St. Mark Passion* is equal (eight chorales, one chorus, and three arias in each part), forming a symmetry; while in the *St. Matthew Passion*, about 60 percent of the total arias, ariosi, and chorales is found in Part 2.

The basic narratives in Bach's *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark Passions* are quite similar. Both cover the same tragic actions, though Matthew has several subplots not found in Mark. These include the death of Judas (Matthew 27:3-10) and Pilate's wife's dream (27:19). The concise, fast-paced Marcan plot has only one incident not found in Matthew, at the end of Part 1, when a young man, perhaps Mark, flees after Christ's arrest (Mark 14:51-52). Occasionally, Mark's text provides more detail, such as the preparation for the Last Supper, which takes five verses in Mark (14:12-16) but only three in Matthew (26:17-19).

The Matthew narrative begins with the brief prophetic scene between Jesus and his disciples, not found in Mark, where Christ predicts his own death. Terry calls this scene the "Prologue." Mark simply cuts to the action, the Passion story, bolstering the description of Mark's Gospel as the so-called "Passion Gospel." Bach closes the *St. Matthew Passion* "Prologue" scene with a chorale. The two Biblical texts and the placement of the interpolations in both Passions are very similar through most of the rest

of Part 1. Bach often uses an arioso-aria combination in the *St. Matthew Passion* where a chorale is usually employed in the *St. Mark Passion*. Here are the titles in English:

Action	Commentary, Matthew	Mark	
Prologue thy pain!	1. chorus, Come, ye daughters	1. chorus, Go, Jesu, go to	
Bethany Omen (Mt.26:13, Mk.14:9)	9(5). arioso, Thou, Dear Redeemer 10(6). aria, Patience and remorse	7(3). chorale, They who would brand us "heretic"	
Judas' Plot (Mt.26:16, Mk.14:11)	12(8). aria, Bleed on, dear heart	11(5). chorale, Me has the world deceitfully judged	
Supper Preparation (Mt.26:19, Mk.14:16)	16(10). chorale, It is I. I should atone	20(7). chorale; I, I and my sinsthey have thee caused misery	
Institution of Wine thee	18(12). arioso, Although my heart	27(9). aria, My Savior,	
(Mt.26:29, Mk.14:25)	19(13). aria, I will give my heart to Thee	forget I not	
Mount of Olives (Mt.26:32, Mk.14:28)	21(15). chorale, Know me, my keeper.	30(11). chorale, Wake up, O man, from sin-sleep	
To Gethsemane (Mt.26:38, Mk. 14:34)	25(19). arioso, O sorrow, here trembles 26(20). aria, I will watch beside my Jesu	41(13). chorale, Troubled heart, be cheerful	
Christ's Passion (Mt.26:39, Mk.14:36	28(22). arioso, The Savior falls down 29(23). aria, I will gladly submit myself	44(15). chorale, Do with me, God, according to thy goodness	
Arrest/Betrayal (Mt.26:50, Mk.14:45	33(27a). aria, So is my Jesus captured	53(19). aria, False world, thy flat'ring kisses	
Closing, Part 1	35(29). chorale chorus O man, bewail thy great sins	58(23). chorale, I will stand by thee here	

In Part 1, there are several differences in placements between the two Passions.

The *St. Matthew Passion* has a chorale after Peter and the other disciples say they will not deny Christ, Mt. 26:35, No. 23(17), "Ich will hier bei dir stehen" (I will stand by thee here), and another interpolated chorale, No. 31(25), "Was mein Gott will" (What my God wills), after Jesus asks again that the cup pass away from him. On the other hand, the *St. Mark Passion* has an aria warning of Judas approaching, Mk. 14:42, No. 49(17), "Er kommt" (He comes), and a chorale after all the disciples have fled, Mk. 14:49, No. 56(21), "Jesu, ohne Missetat" (Jesus, without misdeed). These differences are entirely

appropriate in context. The two additional insertions in the *St. Mark Passion* break up long narrative and provide symmetry. The Mark aria, No. 53(19) after Judas kisses Jesus, occurs one verse before Jesus' arrest, where the comparable Matthew aria is located.

Four of the five scenes in Part 2 of both Passions are treated very similarly: the trial before the Jews, Peter's denial, the crucifixion, and the burial. The exception is the trial before Pilate with its juxtaposed subplots, discussed below. Both Passions close with extended choruses. Here is the placement of similar movements (in English) in the four scenes of Part 2:

Action	Commentary, Matthew	Mark
Opening, Part 2	36(30). aria, Ah, now is my Jesus gone	59(24). aria, My comforter
Charges (Mt.26:60a, Mk.14:59)	38(32). chorale, The world has judged	63(26). chorale, What men's strength and wit
High Priest (Mt.26:63a, Mk.14:61a)	40(34). arioso, My Jesus holds 41(35). aria, Patience, patience	67(28). chorale, Entrust thy ways unto him
Jesus' Prophecy (Mt.26:68, Mk.14:65)	44(37). chorale, Who has buffeted	77(30). chorale, Thou noble countenance
Peter's Denial (Mt.26:75, Mk.14:72)	47(39). aria, Have mercy, my God 48(40). chorale, Altho= I have strayed	89(32). chorale, Lord, I have misbehaved
Delivered Jesus (Mt.27:26, Mk.15:15)	60(51). arioso, Have mercy, God 61(52). aria, If the tears on my cheeks	106(34). aria. Pleasing murder-cry
Jesus Scourged (Mt.27:30, Mk.15:19)	63(54). chorale, O head full of blood (O sacred head now wounded)	110(36). chorale, They have struck thee very hard
On the Cross (Mt.27:44, Mk.15:33)	69(59). arioso, Alas, Golgatha 70(60). aria, Behold, Jesus had his hand	120(41). chorale, No one has God forsaken
Jesus' Death (Mt.27:50, Mk.15:37)	72(62). chorale, When once I must	126(42). aria, Earth and Heaven
Body to Joseph (Mt.27:58, Mk.15:45)	74(64). arioso, In the evening when it 75(65). aria, Make thyself clean	130(44). chorale, O Jesus, thou, my help and rest
Conclusion	78(68). chorus, We sit ourselves with tears down	132(46), chorus, By thy grave and tombstone

In the scenes in Part 2 just listed, there are minor differences. In Matthew, there is an arioso-aria combination, Nos. 65-66(56-57), after Simon, the Cyrene, takes up Christ's cross. Another difference, which Smend notes, is at the beginning of the crucifixion scene where Mark uses the chorale, No. 112(38), "Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn" (The Word of God will firm abide). Smend justifies theologically this placement and the use of the fourth and final stanza of Luther's "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" (A Mighty Fortress Is Our God). He observes that "the biblical account of the *St. Mark Passion* has a much different complexion" than the *St. Matthew Passion*. He also points out the differences in the treatment of the crucifixion (listed just above): Matthew has an arioso-aria combination, Nos. 69-70(59-60), just after the crowd urges Jesus to save himself, while Mark has a chorale, No. 120(41), after Christ asks why he has been forsaken, one verse later.⁸

In the scene of Christ's trial before Pilate, the contrast is striking. The *St. Matthew Passion* has an aria, two chorales, and an arioso-aria during the first twentythree verses of Chapter 27, with its subplots noted above. (This scene is even more
dramatic and confrontational in Bach's *St. John Passion*, where it is treated with
palindromic structuring.) The *St. Mark Passion* has no lyric interpolations whatsoever in
these corresponding first fourteen verses of Chapter 15. In the *St. Mark Passion*, Bach,
like Mark's Gospel treatment, telescopes the action. This, it is assumed, was considered
of lesser theological significance, in order to get to the crucifixion scene, which in the
Marcan Gospel is as central to the Passion story as the Garden scene.

The basic narrative characteristics of Mark's Passion offered Bach distinct opportunities to fashion with ease his musical treatment. Mark's tale is the essential story of Christ's passion and death, shorn of various subplots. The story readily lends itself to a pietistic emphasis on directness, brevity, and simplicity, which would please Bach's congregation. The Marcan account focuses on the two primary Passion scenes of Christ's suffering, in the Garden and on the Cross, where Bach concentrated his interpolated movements and dramatic skills.

For the actual text, Bach probably employed, unchanged, Luther's translation of the Marcan narrative, as he had done in the *St. John* and *St. Matthew Passions*, without cuts or poetic paraphrasing. Bach probably used verbatim the text as found in Picander's published poetry. While there were existing variant biblical narrative texts, as well as chorale texts, in Bach's time, the minor divergences in spelling and grammatical construction should not have had a serious effect on his musical treatment.

Mark's story is the earliest extant Gospel and is the basis for the Matthew and Luke Gospels, which are longer and have more details and sub-plots; all three are "synoptic," meaning "seen-parallel-together" Gospels. Mark's is the essential biography of Jesus. It is simple, direct, human, and immediate, in the present tense. These characteristics can be compared to the techniques that are the trademark of the powerful pietistic element active during Bach's lifetime.

Mark's Gospel has been described as the "Passion Gospel" because from the third chapter onward its events lead inexorably to Christ's suffering and death. Mark's account has little commentary, juxtaposes few scenes, and has little crowd participation, which

would provide more dramatic emphasis. It portrays Christ in a somewhat dark and depressing manner as not being understood. Mark's story, possibly written for the Church in Rome, is a message of salvation wrought from the scandalous death of a man betrayed by his own people. The actual Passion story contains many omens and judgements; it chronicles the personal sufferings of Christ, who begins the Garden scene (Mk. 14:27) with this prophecy: "All ye shall be offended ["fall away" in the Revised Standard Version] because of me this night." The scene (Mk. 14:50-52) closes thus: "And they all forsook him, and fled" except for "a certain young man," perhaps Mark himself, who also flees, later.9

Bach's Passion narrative in Mark='s Gospel has a simpler structure than Matthew, without many of the subplots. It is divided into two parts, with eight scenes. The sermon delivered during the Good Friday service in Leipzig was presented between the two parts.

Part 1:

- A. Omens: plot to arrest Jesus, anointing in Bethany, Judas' betrayal, 14:1-11;
- B. Preparation for the Passover, the Last Supper, 14:12-25;
- C. Mount of Olives, Garden of Gethsemane, 14:26-52.

Part 2:

- D. Christ's Trial before the High Priests, 14:53-65;
- E. Peter's Denial, 14:66-72;
- F. Christ's Trial before Pilate, 15:1-15;
- G. Crucifixion, 15:16-37;
- H. Earthquake, Christ's Burial, 15:38-47.

Dramatically and theologically, the focal points are the two actual passion scenes of suffering: C, Mount of Olives, Garden of Gethsemane, and G, Crucifixion, beginning

with the scourging of Christ. In both places, the main figure, Christ, undergoes physical suffering. Bach placed all six parodied commentary arias in these two scenes.¹⁰

Despite basic differences of pacing and drama, there are parallels and commonality between Bach's St. Matthew Passion and St. Mark Passion. These enabled Bach to parody the entire narrative in the St. Mark Passion. With their very similar narrative texts and places of interpolation, Bach was able to achieve a strong sense of unity. He accomplished structural integrity through the interpolation of certain types of music at similar places in the two Passion stories, alternating narrative recitative and turba chorus with chorales and arias. He wrought textual homogeneity in both Passions through the use of one librettist, Picander. Having mastered the treatment of the longer, more detailed narration of the St. Matthew Passion, Bach, in the St. Mark Passion, with its brevity and quick pace of plot, was able to use concise musical treatment to achieve stylistic consistency through the full use of parodied music.

CHAPTER 5

MARK AS PARODY: AN OVERVIEW

By 1731, Bach had curtailed original vocal composition, which repeatedly had caused him to come into conflict with the Leipzig Town Council. He had been given limited performing resources to present properly his "well-regulated church music." He still was required to submit the poetic texts of his church works to the council for approval prior to composition. He had been cautioned by the Leipzig Tow Council (his emloyer) not to write worldly "operatic" music for the church. Further, at the time of his production of the *St. Mark Passion*, Bach and his family were required to find temporary housing elsewhere, because their family quarters at the Thomas School finally were being remodeled after years of requests from Bach. At last, he had received the support before the council from his immediate superior, the sympathetic school rector Johann Matthias Gesner, who was appointed in 1730.¹

Bach's development and exploitation of parody had already been very pervasive, resolute, and unswerving. The years prior to Leipzig were his apprenticeship both in the art of vocal composition to achieve his goal of a "well-regulated" church music and in the technique of self-adaptation. At the beginning of his service in Leipzig in 1723, Bach was required to present vocal church works on most Sundays and feast days. To achieve this, he developed a calculating strategy to utilize all the appropriate materials he had previously composed. To help meet the demand, he recycled and often expanded almost all of his earlier sacred cantatas written in Weimar (1714-16), and he parodied his secular celebratory cantatas composed in Cöthen (1717-23). Of the some thirty Weimar cantatas

written for church-year occasions, he presented almost all of them during his first year in Leipzig. Where necessary, he inserted recitatives and added closing chorales. The well-known examples (with their English titles) are Cantata BWV 147, "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring;" Cantata BWV 80, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God;" and Cantata BWV 70, "Watch! Pray!"

Bach's first major parody efforts probably began in May 1723. Bach accepted the terms of employment of the Town Council as Leipzig cantor on May 5 and was examined by church authorities on May 8 to establish his theological competence.² Bach began composing works for the three-day Feast of Pentecost, Sunday to Tuesday, May 16-18. He paced himself, composing Cantata BWV 59 for Pentecost Sunday; then he could have parodied two Cöthen cantatas for Pentecost Monday and Tuesday, respectively, BWV 173 and 184. Virtually all the existing materials – choruses, arias, and recitatives – were underlain with new sacred texts, possibly written by Bach himself. Since the Bach family did not take up residence until May 22, and since Bach officially began his duties on the Sunday after Trinity, May 30, the three cantatas were delayed a year and presented at the end of Bach's first cantata cycle, in May 1724.

Thereafter, when Bach composed music for specific church occasions, he sometimes resorted to parody. He utilized in their entirety three other Cöthen secular cantatas. Cantata BWV 194a, which originally may have been planned for Trinity Sunday, May 23, 1723, was first used for a church organ dedication on November 23, 1723, in Störmthal at the beginning of Advent, and then was performed at the end of the first cantata cycle for Trinity Sunday, June 4, 1724. Cantatas BWV 134a and 173a were

parodied with the music virtually unchanged for Easter Monday and Tuesday, respectively, April 10 and 11, 1724, as part of Bach's first cycle.

Subsequently, there were various milestones in Bach's use of vocal music parody. On Easter Sunday, April 1, 1725, Bach presented his first church festival oratorio, BWV 249, drawn from a recently-composed secular celebratory cantata with new text by Picander in what is verified as their first active collaboration. For the funeral of Bach's Cöthen employer, Prince Leopold, on March 24, 1729, Picander wrote parody texts for an extended cantata based on eight arias and choruses from the *St. Matthew Passion* and the opening and closing choruses of the Funeral Ode, Cantata BWV 198, which eventually were used in the *St. Mark Passion* in 1731. In 1730, for the 200th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, presented on three consecutive days, June 25-27, Bach recycled three sacred Leipzig festive cantatas, all with new texts by Picander, BWV 190, 120, and Anh. 4, each divided into two parts with the pastor's celebratory sermon in between.

In all likelihood, when Bach took up the *St. Mark Passion*, he continued the musical styles of the two previous Passions, John and Matthew. The basic vocal and instrumental makeup was similar, but the musical treatment was less literal and more flexible in the narrative sections. In 1731, Bach extended his circle of collaborators to include the Passion sermon preacher Christian Weiß Sr. (1671-1736), chief pastor at the St. Thomas Church. He also had the assistance of his students as transcribers and copyists, particularly his son Carl Philipp Emanuel, and possibly Christian Gottlob Meißner (1706-60).

Parody is the compositional hallmark of the *St. Mark Passion*. All of the extant madrigalesque movements, some half of the music, are taken from earlier choruses and arias. The chorales, too, can be considered a form of "parody" in that Bach took existing church melodies and set them to specific, interchangeable strophes reflecting upon the Passion story. In the narration, most of the *turba* choruses could be parodies, either first or second generation. The recitatives used established rhythmic formulas, while the melodic and harmonic material could have been based upon models from the *St. Matthew Passion* and Keiser's *St. Mark Passion*.

With the St. Matthew score as a model for the structure, Bach's "compositional" process in the *St. Mark Passion* probably involved the selection of the various types of Passion music in the same order that the work now is being recovered: parodied madrigalesque choruses and arias inserted at key places, set to new Picander text; chorale melodies "parodied" with associated hymn texts, and interpolated at key places, harmonized by Bach; and, finally, the narration (*turba* and recitative). All the types together comprise one unified work, as seen in Picander's entire published text, which includes the complete biblical narrative and all the chorales.

Picander's text clearly distinguishes between lyric interpolations and biblical narrative. The former is set in larger typeface, and each interpolation is headed with the designation "Chorus," "Choral," or "Aria." In the narrative, all changes in characters are preceded with the labels "Evan.," "Jesus," "Petrum," or other names for individuals and "Chorus" for the *turba*, the exception being "Testes" (testers, or witnesses) in No. 61(25b).³ Alfred Dürr cautions, that in the published text of the *St. Mark Passion*:

However explicit it seems that they were set to music, the graphic arrangement of the movements shown in Picander's published text gives no surety of them conforming to treatment by Bach. So it seems to us, e.g. [answered Smend] uncertain if Bach has indicated the words "Is it I?" in [NBA] No. 6c (BWV No. 19) is actually the Evangelist or not yet perhaps the chorus. . . . 4

Previously, Smend had gone to great lengths to show that Picander's libretto was written specifically for Bach, citing Arnold Schering's essay on the St. Mark Passion written in 1939.⁵ Schering also had noted the similarities between Bach's treatment of the Matthew and Mark narratives, especially the *turba* movements and the significant words of Christ at the Last Supper and on the cross. Smend offered convincing evidence that the Marcan movement No. 61(25b), sung by "Testes" in Picander's printed libretto, is a turba chorus: "Wir haben gehöret, dass er sagete: Ich will den Tempel, der mit Händen gemachet ist, abbrechen" (We have heard that he said, I will destroy the temple that is made with hands). The previous verse, Mk. 14:57, No. 60(25a), says: "Und Etliche standen auf, und gaben falsch Zeugniß wider ihm, und sprachen" (And some arose and bare false witness against him, saying). Smend pointed out that the "Etliche" ("some" or "certain") are the "Testes" as found in the Peranda St. Mark Passion and also in Picander's published text. Further, the "Etliche" clearly is the chorus in Bach's treatment, No. 5(2d) and No. 122(41b), identified from the previous verses, from the following: No. 4(2c), Evangelist, "Da waren *Etliche* die wurden unwillig und sprachen: [No. 5(2d), Chorus] Was soll doch dieser Unrat?" (And there were some that were indignant, and said: Why was this waste of the ointment made?), and No. 121(41a), "Und Etliche, die dabei standen, da sie das höreten, sprachen sie: [No. 122(41b), Chorus]

Siehe, er rufet dem Elias." (And some of them that stood by, when they heard it, said, Behold, he calleth Elijah).

Smend examined the single inconsistency in Picander's heading, involving No. 19(6c), "Bin ich's?" ("Is it I?"), cited by Dürr above. He reproduced it on an unnumbered page, following page 4, from the original printed Picander text:

[18(6b)] Evang. Und sie wurden traurig, und sagten zu ihm, einer nach dem andern: Bin ich's?

[19(6c)] Evang. Und der andere: Bin ich's?

The passage is translated in English as No. 18(6b), "And they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him, one by one, Is it I? [No. 19(6c)] and another said, Is it I?" Smend noted that both "Bin ich's?" ("Is it I?") are in the larger typeface otherwise employed only for the interpolations. Smend failed to point out the unnecessary repetition of the heading "Evang." (between the two "Bin ich's?"), which is redundant. These two peculiarities notwithstanding, Smend said that he could "draw another conclusion that it is the entire [Bible] verse, [Mk. 14:]19 [Nos. 18(6b) and 19(6c)], which the Evangelist sings.

Therewith Bach also departed from tradition."

Smend supported his argument that Picander fashioned his text expressly for Bach=s particular needs by noting that Bach was departing from the all-too-literal "traditional compositional treatment" by other composers. Bach, according to Smend, was evolving a musical style of treatment to fit the biblical words. In the *St. Matthew Passion* of 1727, Bach retained literal character portrayals, that is, solos for individuals, choruses for crowds. In the *St. Mark Passion* of 1731, said Smend, Bach began to show

more freedom from tradition, as shown in the example, above. In the *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248, of 1734 (text attributed to Picander), says Smend, Bach consigned to the Evangelist alone (No. 50) the passage involving "all the chief priests and the scribes with the people" (Mt. 2:4-6). Bach made another, more pronounced departure, said Smend. He varied his narrative accompaniment in the scene of the Angels at Christ's birth (Luke 2:10 ff., Nos. 13-16), which has a bass arioso (No. 14) and tenor aria (No. 15) in the middle; the first part of the narrative (No 13) is accompanied by strings and second part (No. 16) after the interpolation is for basso continuo only.

For the narrative portion of his Passion, Bach probably began with the selection and adaptation of the twelve *turbae*, using the narrative layout of his *St. Matthew Passion* as his model. The equivalent double choruses from Matthew, all written for Christ=s antagonists (Chief Priests and Scribes, and Crucifixion crowds), might have been borrowed from the single-chorus "Weimar" Passion, or, more likely, from Bach sacred works having the same affect. Christ's protagonists (the Disciples and "they that stood by") are represented by single choruses in the *St. Matthew Passion*, which would be suitable for partial parodying with similar texts in Mark.

As for the overall treatment of the crowd choruses, C. S. Terry suggests that Bach would have had to provide no more than ninety bars of music for the twelve brief outbursts.⁸ The music would be for four-part single chorus with an orchestra of oboes and strings and sometimes perhaps flutes, plus *basso continuo*.

A summary of the twelve *turbae* (below) shows that Bach could have taken some materials directly from the *St. Matthew Passion* and adapted them to the *St. Mark*

Passion: four corresponding, equivalent four-voice *turbae* -- Nos. 5(2d), 13(6b), 85(31b), and 122(41b). The remaining eight, which are double choruses in the *St. Matthew Passion*, required other resources. Four choruses could have been used later in the *Christmas Oratorio* as Nos. 61(25b), 101(33b), 105 (33d), and 114(39b). Three choruses could have come from the opening choruses of sacred cantatas, Nos. 3(2b), 108(35b), and 116(39d). The two-word chorus, 75(29b), could substitute the music of "Barrabam" for "Weissage uns!" The original sources of these eight choruses involve four that possibly originated in the "Weimar" Passion and later were parodied in the *Christmas Oratorio*: Nos. 26, 21 (two choruses in one), and 45. Three choruses may have come from Cantatas BWV 102, 187, and 179, which were parodied again in the Lutheran short Masses, BWV 233-6. I believe the *turba* "Weissage uns!" could parody the one-word cry "Barrabam," from Matthew, No. 54(45a).9

BWV 247/Title	In BWV 244	BWV Source	Title
3(2b) Ja nicht auf das Fest 5(2d) Was soll doch dieser Unrat? 13(6b) Wo willst du, das wir hingehen 61(25b) Wir haben gehöret 75(29b) Weissage uns! (Prophesy) 85(31b) Wahrlich, du bist der einer 101(33b) Kreuzige ihn! (Crucify him) 105(33d) Kreuzige ihn! (Crucify him) 108(35b) Gegrüßest seist du, der Juden 114(39b) Pfui dich, wie fein 116(39d) Er hat andern geholfen 122(41b) Siehe, er rufet dem Elias	double chorus single chorus chs. AT duet double chorus single chorus double chorus double chorus double chorus double chorus double chorus double chorus single chorus single chorus	102/1 [4 mm] 244/7(4d) 244/14(9b) 248/26 [15 mm] 244/54(45a) 244/45(38b) 248/21 [8 mm] 248/21 [24 mm] 187/1 [6 mm] 248/45 [16 mm] 179/1 [37 mm] 244/71(61d)	Herr, deine Augen sehen Wozu diener dieser Unrat Wo willst du, das wir dir Lasset uns nun gehen gen Barrabam! Wahrlich, du bist auch Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe Es wartet alles auf dich Wo ist die neugeborne Siehe zu, daß deine Der rufet den Elias!

Of Bachs *turba* genre, Bach authorities Schweitzer and Smend give special praise to those in the *Christmas Oratorio*. Schweitzer calls the three action choruses "supremely beautiful."¹⁰ Smend singles out "Pfui dich" as "not inferior to the original surviving four-voiced *turba* settings" in John and Matthew.¹¹

Bach"s St. Mark narrative also was influenced by the *turbae* in the *St. John*Passion. There, Bach repeated *turba* chorus music, with new biblical texts in various degrees of parody from partial to radical changing of text. The musical treatment advances the plot dramatically, to give the work a stronger structure of symmetry and musical similarity.

Most notably, Bach employed parodied thematic and rhythmic repetition from "Jesum vom Nazareth," Nos. 3(2b) and 5(2d), according to Steinitz and Schweitzer. 12 Steinitz observes that "...the basic material of these four bars, No. 3 (2b), especially the flute/violin pattern and the basso continuo, is used in four later" *turbae* with the same basic music set to different *texts*: No. 5(2d), No. 25(16d), "Wir dürfen niemend" (It is not lawful); No. 29(18b), "Nicht diesen sondern Barrabam" (Not this man but Barabbas); and No. 46(23f), "Wir haben keinen König denn den Kaiser" (We have no King but Caesar). Schweitzer points out that the same music also is found in these same movements as well as No. 23(16d), "Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter" (If he were not a malefactor).

Eric Chafe notices a further Passion connection involving these five *turba* parody usages of "Jesum vom Nazareth" from *the St. John Passion*. He says that because their basic melodic material symbolizes Jesus' kingship, it is again used as double parody in the kingship *turbae* in the *St. Mark Passion* and the *Christmas Oratorio*, the choruses "Pfui dich" and "Wo ist" (see above).¹³

Steinitz and Schweitzer offer three other examples of parodied *turbae*, all in John's highly dramatic scene of the trial before Pilate. The *turba* No. 36(21d),

"Kreuzige@" (Crucify"), is parodied in No. 44(23d), "Weg, weg mit dem, kreuzige ihn" (Away with him, crucify him); No. 38(21f), "Wir haben ein Gesetz" ("We have a law), is parodied in No. 42(23b), "Lässest du diesen los" (If thou let this man go); and 34(21b), "Sei gegrüßet" (We greet thee) is parodied in No. 50(25b), "Schreibe nicht" (Write not).¹⁴

The *turba* choruses in Keiser"s *St. Mark Passion* probably had some early, initial general influence on Bach. Keiser's eight choruses, primarily in the old motet style, are concise, except during the Crucifixion, Nos. 16a and 24. There he mixes homophonic with polyphonic proclamation and uses other contrasting devices such as "antiquated" *Alla Breve* and "modern" *Presto* markings.

Bach's internal parody of *turba* chorus music within the *St. John Passion* gave the work greater structural unity. His parody of brief *turba* choruses from Matthew to Mark recycled pleasing music. Parody did not simply minimize the effort to compose new music; indeed, Bach had sufficient time to compose original music. There are other examples of Bach parody that took more effort than original composition, most notably the Agnus Dei in the *Mass in B minor*. It seems likely that Bach in using parody was employing an established and challenging practice. In the straightforward Marcan narrative treatment, Bach was free of the structural constraints of his previous Passions, enabling him to reuse materials.

In addition to the choruses, it is quite conceivable that Bach also parodied portions of the solo narrative in the *St. Mark Passion* from corresponding passages in the *St. Matthew Passion*. Half of the overall Gospel text is virtually identical, with a much

higher percentage comparable in Christ's passion scene in the Garden of Gethsemane. Further, a surprising portion of Bach's parodied vocal works, about twenty percent or some twenty-six of 136, are recitatives; the reminder are arias and choruses, according to my calculations. The rhythmic notation in the Evangelist's narrative, so consistent and straightforward in the *St. Matthew Passion*, would be very predictable. There would be one note per syllable, with the accented syllable falling on the rhythmic beat or subdivision. In fact, the narration can easily be annotated rhythmically, given established Baroque practice, and could be accepted with little fundamental disagreement by Bach scholars.

The treatment of the solo narrative in Bach's *St. Mark Passion* would have been similar to that in Matthew. The accompaniment is simple *secco*, basso continuo with organ, cello, and violone. The same voice types probably could be used: Evangelist, tenor; Jesus, Peter, Judas, the High Priest, and Pilate, basses; and the two maids, "Ancilla," sopranos.

As an alternative to the material in Matthew, or when no equivalent text exists in Matthew, it is possible to use comparable narrative recitative passages from Keiser's *St. Mark Passion*. Keiser's treatment is similar to Bach's, with emphasis on brevity and simplicity. Keiser's treatment of the narrator also is straightforward and objective, while the other roles have distinct, almost operatic qualities. His use of tonality, especially with frequent chromaticism, ranges from the "home" opening and closing key of G minor through E-Flat and C Minor to C Major and the sharp keys of G and D Major.

In their recent realizations of the *St. Mark Passion*, both Heighes and Gomme relied on Keiser's narrative setting to complete their versions. Both point out the striking similarities between Keiser's and Bach's treatment of similarly-worded passages in the Passion story. Keiser's recitatives, Heighes says,

...had a decisive impact on the recitatives in his [Bach's] own *St. Matthew Passion*, which, like Keiser, employs a "halo" of strings to accompany the words of Christ and follows Keiser's melodic style closely in those passages where the two Evangelists' narratives actually coincide.¹⁶

Gomme says,

Keiser was renowned in his own day for his recitative, and indeed it can be shown that in preparing his own *St. Matthew*, Bach made a special study of Keiser's *St. Mark*. More indeed than a study: at points in the Gospel narrative where the words of the two evangelists are identical or nearly so, Bach sometimes helps himself to several bars without bothering to change anything but the key; elsewhere he takes over Keiser's *accompagnati* and makes a characteristically personal variation on them.¹⁷

While Keiser's treatment of the narrative recitative is rarely faulted by scholars, his treatment of the arioso, particularly those involving Jesus, is criticized. One example is Jesus' arioso (No. 4), "Meine Seele ist betrübt" (My soul is exceedingly sorrowful), at the beginning of Christ's actual passion in the Garden of Gethsemane. Steinitz compares this scene to the same scene in Bach=s *St. Matthew Passion*, noting that "the throbbing strings at the end vividly express the emotion." He observes:

Keiser's setting is far less moving in its impact than Bach's, however; it includes one rather empty sequence, and his use of the well-worn descending chromatic bass does not produce anything unexpected.¹⁸

Bach's compositional process in the *St. Mark Passion* involved three initial steps. First, he selected the overall structural plan of the musical movements, both narrative and

lyrical, with the *St. Matthew Passion* as his model, as has been demonstrated in Chapter 3. Then he chose all of the musical materials to be parodied, as explained in Chapters 1 and 4. Next, Bach would have commissioned Picander to write the parodied madrigalesque texts and perhaps Pastor Weiß to select the appropriate chorale stanzas.

The actual "composition" of the "new" Passion proceeded with Bach inserting the lyric arias and chorale melodies with their fixed tonalities into the overall narrative. Then he chose the appropriate parody materials for his *turbae*, recitatives, and ariosi. Finally, Bach ordered the tonality of the narrative movements so that they would relate closely to the surrounding lyrical music.

Perhaps with the textual transcription assistance of Picander and the musical transcription help of some of his students, Bach utilized brief, appropriate *turba* choruses from the score of his *St. Matthew Passion*. He selected similar, single-chorus material to be parodied from other vocal works, all with related tonalities. As was his practice with the parodied lyrcial movements in the *St. Mark Passion*, he probably retained the original tonalities of the *turbae*.

Bach probably laid out the *turbae* in the *St. Mark Passion* and then assembled the rest of the narration. As he would do in the *Christmas Oratorio*, Bach placed the *turbae* first in order to establish the tonal integrity of the larger narrative section. Considerable research conducted in the 20th century has found *turbae* sources in other Bach works, most notably in the *Christmas Oratorio* and other Bach sacred cantatas. It is quite possible that the *St. Matthew Passion* contains *turbae* that were recycled later in the *St. Mark Passion*.

In summary, the narration in Bach's *St. Mark Passion* could very well be based entirely on models from other music by Bach, with a few from Keiser. All of the postulated surviving lyrical music uses substitute text. John Butt's observations concerning Bach's *Mass in B Minor*, BWV 232 (1733-1749) could also apply equally well to the parody in the *St. Mark Passion*:

[The Mass] consists of music abstracted from the local, functional repertoire, molded and refined into a single work that seems to have outgrown its historical context. Using precisely the technique which later generations distrusted -- parody -- Bach created a work which has gained far more repute than much of his more "legitimate" (i.e. "original") music, such as the three extant cycles of cantatas.¹⁹

Bach's motivation for using parody in the *St. Mark Passion* might have been that it enabled him to achieve increasing narrative freedom in his oratorios as he put the narratives into less-literal musical portrayals. Bach's path took him toward greater freedom of treatment. This is particularly apparent in the pronounced use of *turba* parody in the *St. John Passion*, as well as *turba* parody found from the *St. Mark Passion* to the *Christmas Oratorio*. Given this practice in two of the three extant Passions, John and Mark, the consistent recycling of similarly-worded *turbae* from Matthew seems quite conceivable. It also seems possible that Bach recycled music from cantata choruses. Bach could easily have imitated this practices in the recitatives. He could have semi-parodied passages using similarly-worded texts, as well as fully-parodied passages using substitute texts possible. This possibility is confirmed through an examination of individual narrative movements in Mark, realized from parallel materials in Matthew. As

recitatives in Mark, from the comparable passages, using semi or partial parody involving similar words and, in a few cases, new-text parody of passages lacking an equivalent in Matthew.

CHAPTER 6

ST. MARK PASSION: SELECTED EXAMPLES OF NARRATIVE PARODY

The methods of "parody" adaptation in the *St. Mark Passion* are quite varied in both the *turbae* and the solo recitatives and ariosi. This is because the parody involves fluid biblical texts of narration instead of lyric poetry with set meter, rhyme scheme, and rhyme endings. This method of parody can be called "free" parody. The best examples of this type of parody are found in the pallindromic *tubae* of the *St. John Passion*, discussed above in Chapter 4.

I believe Bach's basic procedure for narrative textual adaptation involved three fundamental steps: 1) a synoptic comparison of the Matthew and Mark texts; 2) the fitting of notes to similar words, with the splitting or combining of notes where necessary with different words; and 3) where necessary, adjustment of line length where there are fewer or more words between the Gospel texts. Because the Matthew narrative often has a few more details -- that is, words -- not found in Mark, parts of measures can be eliminated or condensed.

Much of the narrative realization process used in the adaptation from the *St. Matthew Passion* to the *St. Mark Passion* involves what can be called Asemi, @ or partial, parody since about half the words are the same. In the more intimate scenes, especially the Last Supper and the Garden of Gethsemane, which have no *turbae*, about two thirds of the words are the same. Where the wording is different, the note values would have to be adjusted. For example, an eighth note could be split into two sixteenth notes or two sixteenth notes could be combined into one eight note; taking text accentuation into

consideration, this "parody" process is similar to adapting the language of the original text to another language, adjusting the notes to fit the text.

There are only a few passages in Mark without equivalent texts in Matthew. These could require substituting parody of lines of similar length and *affect* found in nearby passages in Matthew not used in Mark. As an alternative, the comparable setting in Keiser's *St. Mark Passion* could have been the model. A few extended narrative passages containing recitatives, ariosi, and *turbae* would require more careful parody adaptation of the text and music. Beyond lengthening or shortening the line, some phrases would need to be inserted or truncated.

In assembling the narration, a consideration would have been the need for tonal integrity throughout the Passion setting. The through-composed recitative narrative sections would have to begin and end in a key compatible with the adjacent lyric movements. To assure this, Bach or his students would have had to adapt the narrative material, usually a recitative, through tonal transposition or modulation, or both, in extended passages.

Examples of Turba Choruses

Bach=s *turbae* choices have several common characteristics. Besides being rooted in one key and style, usually polyphonic, the choruses have brevity, closed instead of through-composed settings, and vigorous orchestral accompaniment. All but one *turba* occur within a much longer narrative section. That one exception is "Crucify him," which is followed by the commentary aria, "Pleasing Murder-Cry," No. 106 (31).

To be stylistically consistent, Bach's *turbae* were set in *stile antico* or old style, as perfected by Schütz. There were two basic types. The first has homophonic texture and was usually used for brief proclamation, such as "Jesum vom Nazareth" from the *St. John Passion*. The second, in polyphonic texture, uses imitative counterpoint. Often, these texts deal with points of law or prophecy, such as the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem.

Bach used the *turbae* of his *St. Matthew Passion* as the model for placement and stylistic treatment of his St. Mark *turbae*. Of the twelve narrative choruses existing in the *St. Mark Passion*, all but one have textual equivalents in Matthew. Three in Matthew are proclamation, and the remainder are commentary or prophecy. The equivalent, brief, homophonic proclamatory *turbae* in Mark are: the first *turba*, "Ja nicht auf das Fest," No. 3 (2b); "Wahrlich, du bist der einer," No. 85 (31b); and the closing *turba*, "Siehe, er rufet den Elias," No. 122 (41b).

There are twelve *turba* chorus movements lacking music in the *St. Mark Passion*. I have found that the music could come from three sources: the *St. Matthew Passion*, the *Christmas Oratorio*, and various cantatas. I will offer examples first of *turbae*, organized around sources, with consideration of their related parody techniques Bach most likely would have used. For the forces, the abbreviation, for example, "SATB, 2 fl, 2 ob, str, bc," stands for soprano, alto, tenor, bass, flute, oboe, strings, and basso continuo.

Initially, Bach found four compatible, four-voiced choruses of the protagonists in the *St. Matthew Passion*, where the texts were quite similar. With a minimum of semi-

parody adaptation, they could easily be transferred into the appropriate places in the *St. Mark Passion*.

Here is one example:

No. 5(2d), Some of the Disciples, AWas soll doch dieser Unrat? ...und dasselbe den Armen geben@ (Why was this waste of the ointment made? ...and have been given to the poor); forces (BWV 244/7 [4d]): SATB, 2 fl, 2 ob, str, bc.; 11 measures.

 Matthew
 Wozu die net dieser Unrat?
 Die _ ses _ Wasser hat- te mo- gen

 Mark
 Was_ soll doch dieser Unrat?
 Man könnte das Wasser mehr_ denn um

 Matthew
 teu- er
 verkauft _ und den Ar men ge ge ben werden.

 Mark
 drei Hundert Groschen verkauft haben, und das sel be den Ar men geben.

Because the Mark text has more total syllables, adjustments are required in the polyphonic treatment. The major difference is that in Mark the ointment has a specific value of "drei Hundert Groschen" (three-hundred pence). A notation in Matthew can be doubled in Mark. Eighth notes are subdivided into sixteenths in Example A.

It is assumed that Bach utilized other vocal works besides the *St. Matthew Passion*. His resources probably would have been those that were readily adaptable, of similar brevity and *affect*, and in Bach"s later, so-called "mature" style. He may have borrowed material from funeral works, other sacred occasional cantatas, and a group of sacred church year cantatas that he parodied in his oratorios and Mass settings in the 1730s. Bach also may have been able to salvage *turbae* from the lost, so-called "Weimar" Passion.¹

The origin of the four Marcan *turbae* also found later in the *Christmas Oratorio* has not been determined. These polyphonic *turbae*, which are the only ones in the entire work, could have been composed by Bach originally for the *St. Mark Passion* or they





could have come from earlier sources. While similar musical *affect* and text meaning are important in many of Bach's parodies, especially the choruses and arias in the *Mass in B minor*, the *turbae* in the *Christmas Oratorio* are quite different from their Marcan counterparts. Sung by Christ's protagonists, they reflect Christ's birth, not his death. Their style, however, is very typical of Bach's later *turbae*. The test among Bach scholars for possible parody has been to show signs of similar text and line length, as well as examples of faulty declamation in the substituted text.

Here is an example of uncertain origin:

No. 114(39b), Crowd, "Pfui dich, wie fein zerbrichst..." (Ah! thou that destroyest...); forces (BWV 248/45): SATB, 2 fl, 2 ob, str, bc; 16 measures.

Mark

Pfui dich, wie fein zer-brichst _ du _ den Tem-pel! und bauest ihn in drei- en Tag-en.

Wo ist der neu ge- bor ne Kö-nig der Ju-den? Wir haben sei-nen Stern ge-seh-en

Mark

Hilf dir sel-ber und steig her-ab vom Kreuz _ _ im Mor-gen-lan-de und sind kom-men, ihn anzubeter.

The corresponding chorus in the St. Matthew Passion, No. 67(58b), is for double chorus and has twelve measures. This *turba*, sung by the wise men from the East in the *Christmas Oratorio*, generally has been accepted by Bach scholars. Example B is from Otto Büsing's recent adaptation, for full forces, based on Freiesleben's 1916 findings.²

Here is an example from a cantata:

No. 3(2b), Chief Priests and Scribes, "Ja nicht auf das Fest, daß nicht ein Aufruhr im Volk werde" (Not on the feast day, lest there be an uproar of the people); forces (BWV 102/1;mm26-29): SATB, 2 fl, 2 ob, str, bc; 4 measures.

St. Mark Passion Cantata No. 102 Christmas Oratorio

Ja nicht auf das Fest, Herr, deine Augen Lasset uns nungehen gen Betlehem, und die daß nicht ein Aufruhr in Volk werde. Sehen nach dem Glauben Geschichte sehen, die da geschen ist,

die uns der Herr kundgetan hat.

Holst believes Bach may have parodied this from the opening chorus of Cantata BWV 102, "Herr, deine Augen sehen nach dem Glauben."³ It could be from the initial, repeated full chorus statement, measures 26-29. The movement was parodied as the *Kvrie* in the Lutheran or "Short" Mass in G Minor, BWV 235. about 1735. The parodied turba chorus (BWV 187/1), movement No. 108(35b) below, also was parodied as the Cum sancto spiritu in the same Mass. Theill argues that the Christmas Oratorio turba, "Lasset uns nun gehen," was used here, not later to the text "Wir haben gehoret," No. 61(25b), as first promulgated by Holst. Theill reversed the order, placing Holst's selection, the material from the cantata opening chorus, "Herr, deine Augen," as No. 61(25b).⁴ The comparable double chorus in the St. Matthew Passion, No. 5(4b), has six measures. According to Steinitz, it is a "vivid picture" with a "swirling figure" and "tremendous upward-driving scale at the end, both expressing 'uproar' (Aufruhr) of the people."⁵ The parodied passage from BWV 102/1 in Example C is appropriately somber in tone and has sufficient energy, especially with the double oboe and string figures typical of the accompaniment in Bach's turbae.

This with text only, below, also comes from a cantata:

No. 116(39d), Chief Priests and Scribes, "Er hat andern geholfen" (He saved others); forces: SATB, str, bc; BWV 179/1 is 37 measures. No musical example.

Cantata No. 179

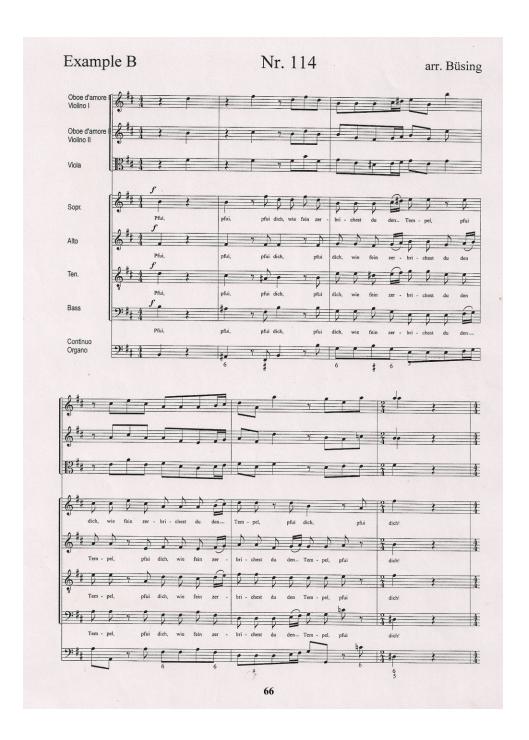
Siehe zu, daß deine Gottesfurcht nicht Heuchelei sei, und deine Gott nicht mit falschem Herzen. Trauer-Ode

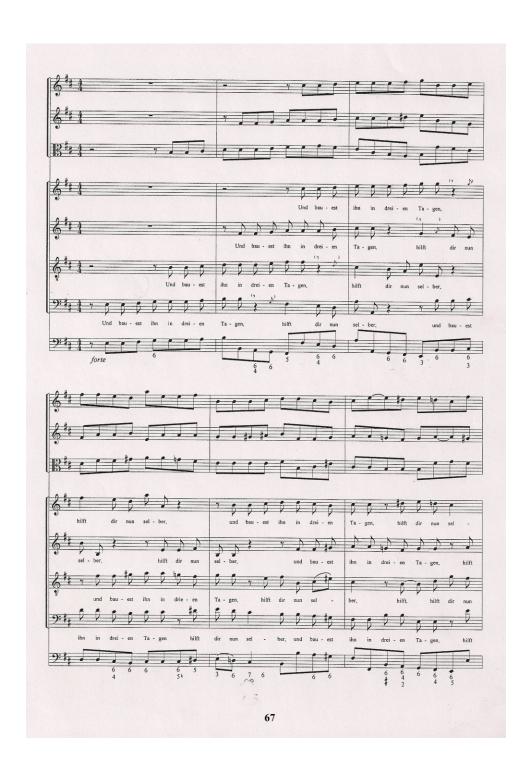
An dir du vorbild großer frauen, an dir, erhabe Königin, an dir, du Glaubensflegerin, war dieser Großmut Bild und schauen.

St. Mark Passion

Er hat andern geholfen, und kann ihm selber nicht helfen. Ist er Christus und König in Israel so steig er nun vom Kreuze(e) das wir sehen und glauben.

The comparable *turba* in the *St. Matthew Passion*, No. 67 (58d), is for double chorus and has additional text not found in Mark. Holst believes that Bach may have parodied the opening chorus of Cantata BWV 179.⁶ It was eventually parodied as the *Kyrie* in the Lutheran Mass in G Major, BWV 236, presented about 1735. Theill believes that the parody source is the motet chorus "An die du Vorbild" (Ah, Thou, Very Model), the only other madrigalian movement in the Trauer-Ode (1727) not otherwise parodied in the *St. Mark Passion*.⁷ While the text length is comparable to the Marcan passage, the overall mood in this poignant music of two fugal expositions and an interlude does not reflect the mood of the crowd's cynicism directed at Christ in Mark's text. Further, the original text is a celebration of the "magnanimity" (Großmut) of its subject, the deceased Queen of Poland, Christiane Eberhardine. In Theill's defense, it must be mentioned that the source is a funeral work and that "An die du Vorbild" may be a parody from an earlier source, based on faulty declamation.







Examples of Recitatives and Ariosi

In the narrative of the *St. Mark Passion*, there are sixty-four brief movements of recitative of the Evangelist and thirty-four short ariosi of the characters, primarily Jesus and Pilate. Most of the material could have come from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, with the possibility of a few passages from Keiser's *St. Mark Passion*. Bach's treatment of the recitatives and ariosi in the *St. Matthew Passion* is considered his finest, as the biblical narration in Handel's *Messiah* is considered among that composer's finest. The *St. Matthew Passion* narration is the exemplar of Bach's treatment of the Passion story as found in the synoptic Gospels.

The techniques of parody adaptation of the recitatives from Matthew to Mark are the same as the corresponding *turbae*. These involve partial parody where a significant portion of the comparable text is the same, as well as full parody with pervasive substitution of words. The central challenge is to ensure that because the recitative is framed in a larger narrative scale, leading to the ariosi and *turbae*, then the treatment has tonal integrity and compatibility. Care must be taken with transposition of the original declamatory vocal line to keep it within the range of the singer, primarily the established, traditional Evangelist tenor role.

Thematic repetition is a unifying element in Bach's Passion narrations. In the *St. Matthew Passion*, Bach uses a soaring victory theme three times, while Picander's libretto of the *St. Mark Passion* also has the same three passages with similar texts, which can be partially parodied. In Matthew, the theme first appears when Christ announces the new Gospel at No. 8 (4c); the same passages is found initially in Mark at No. 9 (4), ALet

her alone. . . this also that she hath done. . . . @ The theme is repeated twice in Matthew. The first repeat, No. 17 (11) with the promise of the new covenant (testament) in blood during the institution, is found in Mark, No. 26 (8), and again is found when Christ announces his betrayal is at hand, in Matthew, No. 32(26), the equivalent passage in Mark being No. 48(16).

Here is an example of a partial parody:

No. 26(8), Narrative, Arioso, Jesus, "Das ist mein Blut. . . . ich es neu trinke in dem Reich Gottes." (This is my blood. . . . I drink it new in the Kingdom of God.); forces: B, str, bc; 14 measures.

The "victory" theme is stated and elaborated to its fullest by Christ during the Last Supper, with the promise of the new covenant (testament) in blood during the institution. Mark's narration that "they all drank of it" is instead in Matthew a command at the beginning of Christ's institution of the wine: "Trinket alle daraus" (Drink ye all of it), set to two measures of music similar to "Take, eat: this is my body," followed by his pronouncement and new covenant, which is virtually identical in both Gospels. In Example D, the only important difference in this arioso is when Christ in Mark says that his blood "is shed for many," Matthew adds "zur vergebung der Sünden" (for the remission of sins).

Full parody is required in a few instances in the *St. Mark Passion* where there is no equivalent narrative text in Matthew. Here, a passage of text of similar *affect* but not found in Mark can be substituted. For example, No. 113(39a) in Mark, "And the scripture was fulfilled which saith: And he was numbered with the transgressors," could come from No. 67 (58a) in Matthew, "They parted their garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots," the Old Testament prophecy, Psalm 22:15.

Example D Arioso Str. 71

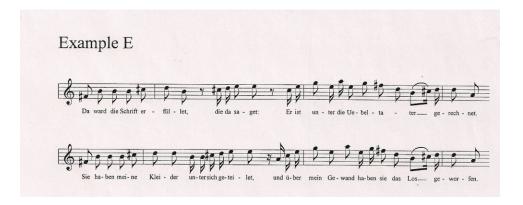


Here is an example of full parody:

No. 113(39a), Narrative, Recitative, Evangelist, "Und es war um die dritte Stunde, da sie ihn kreuzigten.... und schütelten ihre Haupter, und sprachen:" (And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.... and wagging their heads and saying,); forces: T, bc; 15 measures.

The Matthew text is similar except for one major omission, found in Mark, which is the scripture prophecy from Isaiah 53:12: "Da ward die Schrift erfüllet, die da sag(e)t: Er ist unter die Uebeltater gerechnet" (Then the scripture was fulfilled which saith: He was numbered among the transgressors). Serendipitous are the three measures of the prophecy in the *St. Mathew Passion*, No. 67 (58a) found in No. 111(37), which fit almost perfectly in full parody. Here in Example E, the rhythm and syntax of the two divergent texts are comparable.

Example E. Full Parody of Different Texts



The words of two *turba* choruses in the *St. Matthew Passion* are sung by soloists in the *St. Mark Passion*. At No. 128(43), the proclamation of the Centurion, "Truly this man was the son of God," could be parodied from Christ's words of institution in the *St. Matthew Passion* arioso, No 17 (11), mm 25-6, "Drink ye all of it," not found in Mark. Earlier in the Crucifixion, another soldier ("Miles"), taunts the crowd, No. 124(41c), "Let alone, let us see whether Elias will come to take him down"). This could be semi-

parodied as a solo from the comparable *turbae*, sung by a group of soldiers, in Matthew, No. 71 (61d).

Here is a consideration of the first of the two possible adaptations of solo music:

No. 128(43), Narrative, Recitative, Centurion, "Wahrlich, dieser Mensch ist Gottes Sohn gewesen." (Truly this man was the Son of God.); forces: B, str, bc; 2 measures.

In the comparable passage in the *St. Matthew Passion*, No. 73(63b, *turba*, soldiers' chorus), says Steinitz:

In the setting of the words which they speak, "Truly this was the Son of God" (Wahrlich, dieser ist Gottes Sohn gewesen), Bach has created perhaps the two most impressive bars of music that can be found in his whole output. . . . All this together with the sudden change of key which immediately precedes these two bars. . .[becomes] a tremendous affirmation of faith. Treated thus, the passage becomes the overwhelming climax to an overwhelming work.⁸

It is assumed that in the *St. Mark Passion*, Bach would emphasize brevity and beauty through arioso treatment of the Centurion's solo. Keiser treats it as a simple, two--measure recitative for alto voice. Bach may have used the comparable Matthew *turba* for four voices, arranging it for one voice, but this seems unlikely since there are no examples in Bach's vocal music of his rearranging a four-voice chorus for a single voice with instrumental accompaniment. It is possible that Bach borrowed a short, moving ariosi phrase from Matthew which does not exist in Mark. There is only one instance in the *St. Matthew Passion* at Christ's institution of the wine at the Last Supper, No. 17(11) when he speaks the two-measure preface, "Trinket alle daraus;" (Drink you all of it), followed by the common words of institution in Matthew and Mark: "das ist mein Blut" (this is my blood).

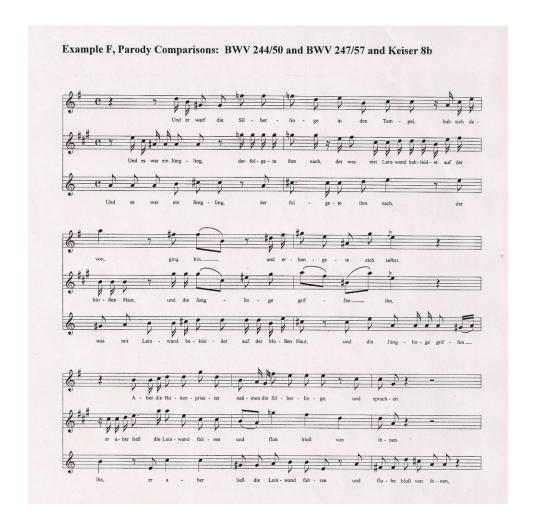
Finally, while parodied possibilities for all the Marcan passages with no Matthew equivalent can be found in other passages with no Marcan equivalent, Bach had extensive experience with the Keiser *St. Mark Passion*. It not only influenced his overall approach

to writing Passion narration, but it also directly influenced both Matthew and Mark, as has been shown above.

Here are two examples, one of a complete scene, the ending of Part 1, and the other, a crucial sentence in Christ's Trial before the High Priest:

No. 57(22), Narrative Recitative, Evangelist, "Und die Jünger verließen ihn alle. . . . Er aber ließ die Leinwand fahren und floh(e) bloß von ihnen." (And they all forsook him, and fled. . . . And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.); forces: T, bc; 9 measures.

The first sentence of two measures in both the Matthew and Mark Passions, when the disciples abandon Jesus, is comparable. The remaining text is found only in Mark. A narrative passage of similar textual length and *affect* in the *St. Matthew Passion*, BWV 244/50 (41c), not used in Mark, occurs when Judas commits suicide, and lasts seven measures. The comparable passage in Keiser's *St. Mark Passion*, in No. 8b, also takes seven measures. The Biblical text, which has some variants elsewhere in the two Marcan settings, is virtually alike here in Example F, word for word. Bach could have borrowed Keiser's straightforward setting, altering only the final cadence to prepare for the tonality of the chorale.

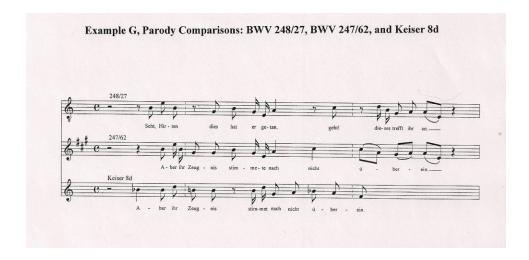


No. 62(25c), Narrative, Recitative, Evangelist, "Aber ihr Zeugniß stimmet(e) (noch) nicht überein." (But neither so did their witness agree together.); forces: T, bc; 3 measures.

There is no corresponding passage in Matthew. However, the Shepherd *turba* from the *Christmas Oratorio* is followed by a bass recitative, a Biblical paraphrase of delivery. This ends, mm. 5-8, with the injunction: "Seht, Hirten! dies hat er getan, geht! dieses trefft ihn an" (Behold, shepherds, this has He done, go, this is what you will find!). This sequence is reminiscent of the Passions, with

similar, appropriate music that Bach may have parodied. Bach also could have used the comparable passage in Keiser, No. 8d, two measures with almost identical text, transposing the music and altering the cadence to prepare the chorale, as shows in Example G.

Example G, Parody Comparisons: BWV 248/27, BWV 247/62, and Keiser 8d



In summary, I believe Bach engaged in a through parody process to assemble the narration of his *St. Mark Passion*. To utilized the music, Bach had to alter few words. With the comparable narrative of his *St. Matthew Passion* as his exemplar, he took entire passages and adapted them to fit the text of Mark=s account. Consequently, he could have tailored vast portions of the Matthew narrative to fit the more concise, compact dimensions of the Marcan version. For the rest Bach used previously-existing vocal works.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In the past four decades, the slow process of discovery and realization of Bach's *St. Mark Passion* have borne much fruit. Various "realizations" have diligently sought to recover the entire work. For the crucial narration, a hallmark of Bach's oratorio Passion endeavors, some editors have used original music in the appropriate style; others, pastiches of Bach music. In the past decade, while there have been no major discoveries, the mood to accept Bach's parody works, lead by the realization that the *B Minor Mass* is a substantial parody, has enabled Bach scholarship to venture into previously uncharted regions.

In summary, a complete realization of the *St. Mark Passion* is demonstrable, and its characteristics are apparent. Most of the work has been found, that is, three of the four types of Passion music: sixteen chorales, six lyric arias, and the opening and closing choruses. All are based on parodied music. The musical treatment of the narrative is concise, brief, and unadorned, based upon the character of the biblical narration as well as on Bach's essentially simple structure for his Passion musical account.

Rather than composing an entirely new setting of many passages with similar words, it is quite conceivable that Bach parodied the Mark narration from the *St. Matthew Passion*. The latter is recognized as having exemplary musical treatment of the Passion narrative. The circumstances and motivations for parody were favorable.

Bach's motives for composing the *St. Mark Passion* were numerous and varied. He was required to present a musical account of the Passion annually on Good Friday

afternoon in Leipzig. Between 1724 and 1730, Bach had presented Passion settings of all four evangelists. The Leipzig cantor's sole treatment of Mark's story of the Passion was his final original Passion effort, as part of his "well-regulated" music. Bach produced an entire work using the long-standing technique of parody, in this case, self-parody. He recycled some fine music. Further, instead of giving the work the flavor of an opera by using numerous arias and ariosi for commentary, Bach employed sixteen chorales instead of many arias in order to give the work more of the character of a church setting.

Bach's employment of parody in the lyric movements left him the task of composing original music for only the chorale harmonizations and the passages of the solo biblical narrative of the Evangelist, Jesus, and the other figures in the Passion story. Bach's reasons for substantial reliance on parody may have involved various factors: the desire to create a legacy of parodied works; the availability of suitable quality madrigalesque music from which to parody, notably the Funeral Ode; and frustration with civil authority. By 1731 Bach, who had already composed most of his original music, was weary of complaints and restrictions from Leipzig authorities.

With such a skilled text adapter as Picander and such talented music students as C. P. E. Bach and Meißner, Bach could have relied on them to help produce the narration. In the practice of parody, he would have been following a tradition common since the Renaissance of overseeing the process of utilizing pre-existing works.

The Keiser *St. Mark Passion* is increasingly recognized for its influences on Bach in both Matthew and Mark. The significance of this model could be even greater than thought, because Bach performed it complete in 1712 and 1725, as well as for a hybrid

Passion performance in the 1740s, interspersing seven arias from Handel's *Brockes*Passion. It is also possible that Bach followed this procedure in 1717 with his "Weimar"

Passion, presenting on short notice a hybrid of his lyrical music interspersed with the full

Keiser work.

Substantial original narrative material in Bach's St. Mark Passion has been recovered or, I believe, convincingly proposed. When this Passion is considered in its totality with Bach's two complete, extant oratorio Passions, his complete treatment of Mark can be realized and understood effectively.

A comparison of all three Passions, by analogy, can be made to large houses or mansions, occupying several stories, with special features (movements). There are large public meeting rooms for different group activities (the choruses) as well as large private gathering rooms (arias), some with adjoining anterooms (ariosi), and bedrooms (chorales). One common, special feature are the large central hallways (narrative recitatives) with elaborate stairways (crowd choruses) -- all connected to the various rooms. The floor plans or specific designs vary among the three edifices.

John's three stories are highly-structured, symmetrically laid out in mirroring shapes, which appear to be palindromic (reversible) or chiastic (cross-like). There are two large public rooms, seven private rooms, including two anterooms, and twelve bedrooms, all connected to elaborate stairways that are strategically placed along the imposing hallways. The surfaces have vivid ornamentation, with certain motives that are developed from room to room. The furniture is in related styles contemporaneous to the

period. John underwent major renovation of several rooms but eventually was restored to its original appearance.

Matthew's structure is complex: three stories with overlapping, interwoven levels and special, extended features such as indoor and outdoor balcony levels of combinations of rooms. There are three great rooms, fifteen smaller rooms, eleven of which are connected to ante-rooms, and twelve bedrooms. A sense of unity (uniformity) is achieved through complexity, diversity, and contrast of the ornamentation and furniture. Matthew underwent minor renovation of one room.

Mark, which had been gutted by neglect, still stands. It has two large, simple stories, with eight large rooms (no anterooms) and sixteen bedrooms, alternating along the hallways. Six of the eight rooms have been fully restored, including mostly authentic furniture and vivid ornamentation with few replicas. Half of the twelve stairways have been restored, as well as the walls of the hallways, which are similar in configuration to those in Matthew.

We have the entire blueprint for Mark in the hand of the architect, Picander. It shows in exact detail all the features of the house. The contractor probably was the Lutheran pastor Christian Weiss. The primary builder was Bach, assisted by Picander, Weiss, and Bach's students. All of them may have been involved in Matthew, although not so intensively. All of the surviving materials and furniture came from previous homes built by Bach. The bedrooms (chorales) are quite distinctive and are the hallmark of the house. There are two structured areas inside the house, symmetrical in layout, one on each floor. They are linked with stairways and have large rooms alternating with

bedrooms. The hallways, which various renovators have sought to reconstruct, were a challenging but manageable task involving this collaboration. There was a clear blueprint and more than sufficient materials already on hand.

The *St. Mark Passion* was Bach's gateway to the culmination of his art in the parodied Latin *Mass in B Minor*, BWV 232, composed between 1733 and 1749, and the parodied German historias, the oratorios composed in 1734-35 for Christmas, Easter, Ascension, and (possibly) Pentecost, respectively, BWV 248, 249, 11, and *deest*. Bach's composition of original vocal works between 1730 and 1735 was confined to the occasional sacred chorale cantata for his Leipzig churches and secular congratulatory cantatas for the Dresden Court. Many arias and choruses from the latter cantatas were parodied in the historias (from BWV 213, 214, 215, Anh. 18, and Anh. 196).

In retrospect, there seems to be little major speculation about the inherent characteristics of the *St. Mark Passion* and its "lost" narration. As revealed in the various reconstructions, the whole work is assumed to be a consistently unpretentious, simple, concise Passion. Its structure of narration and interpolated lyric music clearly is modeled after the *St. Matthew Passion*. In Mark, Bach probably broke no new ground, nor did he likely seek to carry the oratorio Passion form, particularly its narration, to greater perfection.

The Book of Revelation may have influenced the *St. Mark Passion* not only in the alternating of narration and hymns but also in Bach's production of his last Passion. The Book of Revelation developed from interest found in the Gospels about so-called "last things" involving definitive judgment. This concern, or field of study, is known as

eschatology. Although the term eschatology did not enter the vocabulary until the mid 19th century, Bach and his Lutheran associates understood and applied the theological principle of the "last things." One of the most significant symbols of the last things was the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Just before the beginning of Christ's Passion story in Mark, in Chapter 13:4, four disciples ask Jesus about a sign of the last things, of the coming of the messianic age. Jesus foretells the destruction of the Temple, which the Disciples interpret as one sign of the last things. It is significant that Bach took the event of the Earthquake from Matthew and placed it in his *St. John Passion* so that it would occur in all three of his extant Passions. Further, in Mark, Chapter 13, Jesus equips the Disciples to confront trial and tribulation, leading to the last things. It seems that in the parodied *St. Mark Passion*, Bach equipped himself for the summation of his Passion endeavors by exploiting and reusing his previous Passion music for one of Bach's "last things."

Recognizing and considering both Bach's motives and his practices, the Bach *St. Mark Passion* can realize full restoration. Then it can take its rightful place beside

Matthew and John as a complete, unified whole -- an impressive and satisfying structure,
an edifice of similar stature and significance with its own harmony. The work no longer
is an orphan, but a full-fledged member of the family of Bach's Passion music.

REFERENCES

Endnotes

Chapter 1, Introduction

¹ For the titles of the narrative movements, I have chosen Henry S. Drinker's singable translation. For discussion of full passages in this thesis, I have used the King James version of the Bible, which has literary qualities similar to Luther's German translation

Chapter 2, Recovery and Reconstruction of St. Mark Music

¹ C. L. Hilgenfeldt, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Wirken und Werke: ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister, 1850), 113f: "...die Partitur von der nach dem Marcus ist bis jetzt nich nocht wieder aufgefunden, dar über indess, dass sie existirt habe, soll gleich der Nachweis geliefert werden."

² See Bach's "Nekrology" or "Obituary " of 1754, published by C. P. E. Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola, and translated in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel eds., *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, rev. Christoph Wolff (New York: Norton, 1998), 304. The list of Bach's unpublished works includes five annual cantata cycles and "Five Passions, of which one is for double chorus," BWV 244. Only three complete cantata cycles and three original Passions are extant. Bach's fourth, incomplete cycle is usually thought to be the so-called "Picander Cycle" of c.1727-29 with published texts for seventy cantatas, only nine found set to music. Of the fifth cycle, Alfred Dürr ("Wo bleib Bachs fünfter Kantatenjahrgang?," *Bach-Jahrbuch 1982*: 151-52) suggests a skeletal double cantata cycle linked with the first cycle, involving cantatas presented before and after the sermon during 1723-24. Thus, two Bach cycles and two Passions remain conjectural.

³ Hilgenfeldt's sources of information included conversations Carl Zelter, conductor of the Berlin Singakademie, had with the C. P. E. Bach circle in Hamburg in the 1790s, as well as C. P. E. Bach's Estate Catalog of 1790. These are cited in Christoph Wolf, "Bach's St. John Passion: An Introduction," Archive recording 2710 027 (West Germany: Polydor, 1979), 6-7, and Peter Wollny's article on Zelter in *Oxford Composer Companions: J. S. Bach* series, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), 533.

⁴ Rust, Preface to *Johann Sebastian Bachs Werke* 20/2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873): viii-x.

⁵ The first number in the movement numbering is from the original Wolfgang Schmieder Catalogue, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Joh. Seb. Bach. Bach Werke Verzeichnis (BWV)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1950), 363-4; the number in parenthesis is the cataloging as established by Charles Sanford Terry in *Bach, the Passions* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 2:67-74, and found in Alfred Dürr, Markus-Passion (BWV 247), in *Neue Bach-Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke -- Kritische Berichte* II/5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter and Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974): 248-59.

- ⁹ Dürr, Markus-Passion, 248-65. A history of the recovery has been outlined by Alfred Dürr in his critical remarks on Bach's *St. Mark Passion*. This essay has a two-page summary, the Picander text, an analysis of each movement with parodied texts, and a closing credit page.
- ¹⁰ A presumed copy of the score of the *St. Mark Passion* was destroyed in a fire caused by Allied bombing in Darmstadt on February 1, 1945. The copy had been made by Franz Hauser (1794-1870), a noted Bach collector who also possessed the autograph score (partly scribed by Bach though not composed by him) of the apocryphal *St. Luke Passion*, according to Andreas Glöckner, "in Bach and the Passion Music of His Contemporaries," *Musical Times* 116(1975): 613-6.
- Listed in the first edition of the Schmieder (1950), 363-4. The cited source is Gerhard Freiesleben, AEin neuer Beitrag zur Enstehungsgeschichte von J.S. Bach's Weinachtsoratorium, @ *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 83(1916): 237-38.
- ¹² In Introduction, Diethard Hellmann, ed., *Markuspassion*, English translation by Catherine Gerke, (Stuttgart-Hohenheim: Hänssler-Verlag, 1964), xii.
- ¹³ Holst, "Turba-Chöre des Weinachts-Oratoriums und der Markuspassion," *Musik und Kirche* 38(1968): 229-33.
- ¹⁴ Dürr, "Markus-Passion," 248, ". . .darstelle, eine Hypothese, die, wenngleich letzlich nicht beweisbar, dennoch überzeugt."
- ¹⁵ Dürr, "Markus-Passion," 259: "Allzu offensichtlich mußte hier Die Gewissenhatfigkeit des Philogen zurücktreten hinter dem Wunsch, ein aufführbares Ganzes zu erhalten."

⁶ Cited in Schmieder, 441.

⁷ Terry, 2:66-74

⁸ Smend, "Bachs Markus-Passion," Bach-Jahrbuch 1940-48: 19-26.

¹⁶ Daniel R. Melamed and Michael Marissen, in *An Introduction to Bach Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 121, call Theill's work "an overly optimistic view of the possibility of reconstructing the work." They caution: "All 'reconstructions,' whether by putative parodies, the use of music from Reinhard Keiser's setting, or free composition by the reconstruction, should be treated with caution." See Gustav Adolph Theill, *Die Markuspassion von Joh. Seb. Bach*, score (Bonn: Forberg-Verlag, 1980).

¹⁷ Terry, 2:73.

Chapter 3, The German Passion Narrative Tradition and Bach's Passions

¹ Passionmusiken nach den Evangelisten Matthaus, Lukas, Johannes, und Markus, manuscript facsimile from Dresden Hofkapelle c. 1695 (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat DDR, 1981), 5. Ottrum Landmann in a brief historic survey "Musik der Hofkapelle," notes that this library also contained music by Vivaldi, Fux, Caldara, and Lotti, which Bach adapted and performed in Leipzig.

² Bach's five-stage efforts to create Passion music can be compared to the five stages or elements in the Lutheran sermon, as defined by early Lutheran theologians. The five respective sermon and Passion stages are: *exordium* (introduction), Mühlhausen; *proposito* (key statement), Weimar Passion; *tractatio* (investigation of the *proposito*), *St. John Passion*, Leipzig; *applicato* (application), *St. Matthew Passion*; and *conclusio* (final statement), *St. Mark Passion*. These stages in the extant Matthew and John Passions are discussed in detail in Robin A. Leaver, "J. S. Bach as Preacher: His Passions and Music in Worship," Church Music Pamphlet Series (St. Louis: Concordia, 1982), 27-35. Leaver emphasizes, like other Bach scholars, that Bach's vocal church works, usually presented just before the sermon in the service, are musical sermons.

³ Stephen Daw, *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Choral Music* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 1981), 27-28.

⁴ The special orchestration of BWV 106, involving two recorders (*Blockflöten*) and two *violas da gamba*, is similar to that in the *St. Mark Passion*, where Bach uses pairs of transverse flutes and viols.

⁵ Bach did not repeat the early cantatas because of their old style, no longer acceptable, and because they were not appropriate for the church year in Leipzig, according to Christoph Wolff in "Bach' s Pre-Leipzig Cantatas," from *The World of the Bach Cantatas*, ed. Wolff (New York: Norton, 1997), 8. Wolff cites a letter Bach wrote in 1730 (David and Mendel, 149) that describes Bach' s early works as in the "former style of music."

- ⁶ David and Mendel, 57. The best understanding of the Lutheran calling is portrayed in Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "The Place of Responsibility: Vocation," in *Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 254-62.
- ⁷ Hans Bergmann, "Vorwort," to Reinhard Keiser, *Passio secundum Marcum*, score (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1997), iv-vii.
- ⁸ Andreas Glöckner, *St. John Passion*, "The Concrete Forms Given to a Musical Conception -- the Versions of the St. John Passion by Joh. Seb. Bach," recording program notes, CD 98.170 (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1997), 11.
- ⁹ Eric Chafe, "J. S. Bach' s *St. Matthew Passion*: Aspects of Planning, Structure, and Chronology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1982): 69.
 - ¹⁰ According to Bergmann, vi-vii.
- ¹¹ Friedrich Chrysander, *Händel Ausgabe* 9 (Leipzig: German Handel Society, 1860): preface; Paul Steinitz, *Bach's Passions* (New York: Scribner's Books, 1978), 29; and Bernard Baselt, *Bach and Handel* (Halle: Martin Luther University, 1975), 58-66.
- ¹² Steinitz, 29, 99; and Walter Serauky, "Die 'Johannes Passion' von Joh. Seb. Bach und ihr Vorbild," *Bach-Jahrbuch 1954:* 9-35.
- ¹³ Andreas Glöckner, "Neuen Spüren zu Bachs 'Weimarer Passion,' in *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* 1 (1995): 33-34. Cited in Glöckner's chapter "Stages of Bach's Life and Activities," *The World of the Bach Cantatas*, ed. Christoph Wolff (New York: Norton, 1997), 66-67.
- ¹⁴ Christoph Wolf and Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Bach Compendium: Analytisch-bibliographisches Repertorium der Werke Joh. Seb. Bachs (BC)* (Leipzig and Frankfurt: C. F. Peters, 1985-89). The listing in "Passions," Volume D, "Weimar Passion" catalogued as D-1, accepts five madrigalian choruses and arias plus a chorale.

Chapter 4, Bach's Leipzig Passions: Common Features

- ¹ Robin A Leaver, "J. S. Bach as Preacher: His Passions and Music in Worship," 35; and Daw, 145-148.
- ² The focal point in the St. John Passion is the chorale, No. 40 (22), "Durch dein Gefängis, Gottes Sohn" (Through Thy captivity, O Son of God), in the trial before Pilate. The focal point in the St. Matthew Passion is the *turba* chorus, No. 73 (63b), "Wahrlich, dieser ist Gottes Sohn gewesen" (Truly, this was the Son of God), at Christ's death. These are according to Leaver, AJ. S. Bach as Preacher, @ 32, 34, and Steinitz, 54, 94.

³ The numbering of individual movements is found in the so-called Schmieder Catalogue, abbreviated as BWV, *Bach Werke Verzeichnis*, 1990 edition. The number following in parenthesis is from the original 1950 edition.

⁴The Book of Revelation may have influenced the *St. Mark Passion* not only in the alternation of narration and hymns but also in Bach's production of his last Passion. The Book of Revelation emphasizes the interest initially found in the Gospels about the so-called "last things," involving definitive judgement. This interest is called eschatology, or the study of last things. Although the term eschatology did not enter the vocabulary until the mid 19th century, Bach and his Lutheran associates understood and applied the theological principle of the final or "last things." A comprehensive understanding of eschatology is found in the final chapters of Robert J. Marshall's *The Mighty Acts of God: An Overview of Scripture* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990), 233-48.

⁶ The Keiser and Postel Passions, dating from the first decade of the 18th century and each lasting one hour, are both, coincidentally, in the key of G minor, with few excursions beyond the closely-related keys of F and B-flat Major. It should be noted that Bach's St. Mark Passion is listed and labeled as a "Passions-Cantate" in the 1764 Breitkopf Catalogue. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, Bach-Dokumente III: Dokumente zum Lebensgeshichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750-1800 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), listing 711, p.165.

¹⁰ As Eric Chafe, "St. Matthew Passion" 54, observes: "The many parodied movements in . . . the *St. Mark Passion* not only lightened the composer's immediate creative burden but also provided him with concrete material around which to design the structure." This statement fosters the often-repeated idea that Bach parodied works in order to save time and "creative" energy. Although I believe this was not Bach's prime motivation for using parody in the *St. Mark Passion*, the fact is that he composed very few "original" works for the church year after 1729.

Chapter 5, Mark as Parody: An Overview

⁵ Steinitz, 36-37.

⁷ Terry, 2:20.

⁸ Smend, 2-6.

⁹ Dr. Timothy F. Lull (Academic Dean and Professor of Systematic Theology, Pacific Lutheran Seminary, Berkeley, CA), Discipleship and the Gospel of Mark," Lenten Spiritual Life Series presentations (Albuquerque, NM; March 9-10, 1991).

¹These struggles are recounted in the following: David and Mendel, 144-52; Christoph Wolff, *The New Grove Bach Family*, The Composer Biography Series (New York: Norton, 1983), 93-96; and Boyd, 148-151.

⁴Dürr, Markus-Passion, 259: Ausdrücklich sei jedoch derauf hingewiesen, daß die graphische Anordung der Sätze im Textdruck Picenders keine Gewähr für deren gleichartige Behandlung bei Bach bietet. So schient es uns z.B. (entgegen Smend) ungewiß, ob Bach die Worte "Bin ichs" in Satz 6c tatsächlich dem Evangelisten oder nicht doch vielleicht dem Chor zugewiesen hat. . . .@

⁵ Smend, 2-4, citing Schering's essay, "Zur Markuspassion und zur 'vierten' Passion," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1939: 24-26.

⁶ Smend, 4: "...einen anderen Schluß ziehen, als daß der ganze Vers 19 vom Evangelisten, gesungen wurde. Damit durchbricht Bach auch hier die Traition." Smend also points out that Schering believed that the first "Bin ich's?" in Bach's treatment was "not a crowd chorus, that the printed text... does not cite a sequence of choruses." ("... keine Turba war, da er es in seinem Textadruck (Schering, 14) nicht in der Reihe der Chöre anführt."

² These activities are recounted in David and Mendel, 104-08.

³ The opening page of Picander's printed text, in facsimile, is reproduced in Dürr, "Markus-Passion," 249. A comparison with the title page of the *St. Matthew Passion*, 73, published in 1729, shows that the latter carries only the texts for the choruses, arias, and ariosi, the last called "Recit." Steinitz suggests: The fact that these were published separately, that is, not with the biblical narrative and chorales, may indicate that Bach himself selected the latter and indeed may have influenced the writings of his librettist. [©] See Steinitz, 62.

⁷ Smend, 4.

⁸ Terry, 2:75.

⁹ These *turbae* that may have survived as parodies in the *Christmas Oratorio*, according to Holst (cited in Durr, "Markuspassion," 259, and Theill, 60), are cited in the *St. Mark Passion* listings in Wolff and Schulze, *Bach Compendium*, D-4, and the Schmieder Catalogue, BWV 247 (1990 ed.).

¹⁰ Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, trans. Ernest Newman (London: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1911), 2:305.

 $^{^{11}}$ Smend, 2: ". . . in nichts den im Original erhalten vierstimmigen Turba-sätzen. . . ."

- ¹⁵ William Hoffman, "Bach's Parodied Recitatives -- A Close Examination" (unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Chapter, American Musicological Society, Salt Lake City, UT, April 20, 1995), 9.
- ¹⁶ Heighes, "Markus Passion," recording notes Musica Oscura 070970 (London: Column Classics, 1996), 14.
 - ¹⁷ Gomme, "St. Mark Passion," recording notes (London: ASV, 1999), np.
 - ¹⁸ Steinitz, 75.
- ¹⁹ Butt, *Bach: Mass in B Minor*, Cambridge Music Handbooks (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 42-43 and endnote, Chapter 4, No. 3. Butt cautions that "a recent attack has been made on parody hunters in general, by one of the most renowned and influential Bach scholars, Alfred Dürr." Butt cites two Dürr articles: *Joh. Seb. Bach: Seine Handschrift --Abbild seines Schaffens* (Wiesbaden, 1984), 46-8, 72; and "Schriftcharakter und Werkchronologie bei Joh. Seb. Bach," *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR* (Leipzig, 1988), 283-9.

Chapter 6, St. Mark Passion: Selected Examples of Narrative Parody

¹ Of two hundred thirty-eight Bach vocal parodies listed by Werner Neumann, thirty-eight were parodied twice. *Handbuch der Kantaten Joh. Seb. Bachs*, 5th ed. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1984), 294-302.

¹² Steinitz, 38; Schweitzer, 2:177, footnote (no number).

¹³ Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1991), 297.

¹⁴ Schweitzer, 2:177, footnote; and Steinitz, 38-40.

² Büsing, 72-74.

³ Cited in Dürr, "Markuspassion," 259.

⁴ Theill 44, and, cited in Dürr, "Markuspassion," 259.

⁵ Steinitz, 69.

⁶ Cited in Dürr, "Markuspassion," 259.

⁷ Theill, 44.

⁸ Steinitz, 94.

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