

THE RISE OF LYRICISM AND THE DECLINE OF BIBLICAL NARRATION
IN THE LATE LITURGICAL PASSIONS OF GEORG PHILIPP TELEMANN

by

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Jason Benjamin Grant, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2005

My dissertation focuses on the rise of lyricism and the decline of biblical narration in the late liturgical Passions by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767). During his forty-six-year career as the Cantor of the Johanneum (St. John's School) and *Director musices* (director of music) of Hamburg's five main churches, Telemann composed a total of forty-six liturgical Passions. Although based on the traditional biblical narration and chorales which made these works suitable for liturgical use, the Passions also contain poetic interpolations drawn from the operatic and oratorio traditions. These poetic and narrative procedures changed significantly over the years, some of the most important of which took place during the last decade or so of Telemann's life. It has been claimed that these changes are linked to developments in the non-liturgical Passions and other oratorios, intended for concert performances, which Telemann cultivated between 1755 and 1765. I test the extent to which the lyric and narrative processes of the liturgical Passions are dependent on their non-liturgical counterparts. I also argue that these processes, especially in the late works, developed independently within the repertory of liturgical Passions themselves.

The dissertation begins with an overview of Telemann's Hamburg career and the several vocal repertories he cultivated there, followed by a discussion of the liturgical Passions themselves, which I divide into three main groups: early (1722-36), middle (1737-54), and late

(1755-67). The study continues with detailed discussions of lyric content and narrative reprocessing in the late Passions, including case studies of the 1764 St. Luke and 1765 St. John Passions. My conclusions take up the broader implications of Telemann's lyric and narrative procedures, including reception issues and the overall development of the liturgical Passion in Hamburg.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1) Vocal and instrumental designations in the musical examples:

S = Soprano

A = Alto

T = Tenor

B = Bass

F1 = Flute 1 (transverse)

F2 = Flute 2 (transverse)

O1 = Oboe 1

O2 = Oboe 2

Bsn = Bassoon

V1 = Violin 1

V2 = Violin 2

Va = Viola

BC = Basso continuo

2) Library sigla:

B-Bc Brussels, Conservatoire Royal, Bibliothèque

D-Bsb Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz

D-Hs Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky

D-SWl Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Musiksammlung

PL-Kj Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska

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1. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

My dissertation focuses on the rise of lyricism and the decline of biblical narration in the late liturgical Passions by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767). During his forty-six-year career as the Cantor of the Johanneum (St. John's School) and *Director musices* (director of music) of Hamburg's five main churches, Telemann composed a total of forty-six liturgical Passions. Although based on the traditional biblical narration and chorales which made these works suitable for liturgical use, the Passions also contain poetic interpolations drawn from the operatic and oratorio traditions. These poetic and narrative procedures changed significantly over the years, some of the most important of which took place during the last decade or so of Telemann's life. It has been claimed that these changes are linked to developments in the non-liturgical Passions and other oratorios, intended for concert performances, which Telemann cultivated between 1755 and 1765.¹ I test the extent to which the lyric and narrative processes of the liturgical Passions are dependent on their non-liturgical counterparts. I also argue that these processes, especially in the late works, developed independently within the repertory of liturgical Passions themselves.

¹ See Hans Hörner, *Gg. Ph. Telemanns Passionsmusiken*, etc. (Borna-Leipzig, 1933; originally PhD diss., Kiel, 1930); also Carsten Lange, liner notes to Telemann, *Matthäuspassion 1758 TWV 5:43*, Michael Scholl, dir., Amati ami 9902/2 (2 CDs).

1.2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

My main research question is about the relationship between the lyric and narrative procedures in the late Passions, and that repertory's relationship to its non-liturgical counterpart. By "lyric," I refer throughout this dissertation to the concept of lyricism as expounded by eighteenth-century aestheticians, whereby events in an oratorio or similar genre are depicted in poetry rather than through prose or traditional dramatic scenes.² The term "lyricism" is also used by musicologists when referring to such poetic procedures found in oratorios and other musical works by Telemann and his contemporaries.³ To refine the term "lyric" even further, I refer to the poetic depictions of events (especially when they replace or could conceivably replace prose depictions) in Telemann's late vocal works as "lyric reportage," following the usage of Peter John Czornyj.⁴

To date, the only explanation offered by scholars for the increase of lyric procedures in Telemann's late Passions has been to suggest a relationship to his late Passion oratorios, especially *Der Tod Jesu*, composed in 1755 on a text by Karl Wilhelm Ramler (1725-98). I use "suggestion" deliberately, for it has been little more than that. For the most part, the liturgical Passions in general have long been "terra incognita," at least since Hörner's dissertation. Even he only barely touched upon the similarity between the late Passions and their non-liturgical counterparts.⁵ He also noted that the last few Passions contain unusual features, such as expanded "expositions," but did not go beyond a few cursory observations.

² See Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste. in einzelnen, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter aufeinanderfolgenden, Artikeln abgehandelt*, 2nd edition (facsimile reprint) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970; orig. Leipzig: in der Weidmannschen Buchhandlung, 1792).

³ See, for example, Ute Poetzsch's discussion of *Lyrik* in Telemann's own libretto for his oratorio *Seliges Erwägen* (1722) in the foreword to Telemann, *Das Selige Erwägen*, ed. Ute Poetzsch, Georg Philipp Telemann Musikalische Werke 33 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 2001).

⁴ See Peter John Czornyj, "Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767): His Relationship to Carl Heinrich Graun and the Berlin Circle" (PhD diss., University of Hull, 1988), 75.

⁵ Hörner, 82-83, mentions the similarity between the texts of an expanded *accompanato* in the *Markuspassion 1763* (the music for this work is no longer extant) and a movement from the oratorio *Der Tod Jesu* of 1755. Hörner also observed: "In den letzten Passionen ist anscheinend auf den Aufbau der Expositionen besonderes Gewicht gelegt:

In recent years, however, Telemann's late concert oratorios have received much-deserved attention. Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch refers to this series of vocal works as Telemann's last great compositional period.⁶ Interestingly, Reipsch does not even mention the liturgical Passions in his discussion of the late vocal works; rather, he explicitly restricts his discussion to the works written for the concert stages of Hamburg. Carsten Lange has devoted more attention to the liturgical works, though the concert oratorios remain an important yardstick by which to measure them. In his discussion of the *Matthäuspassion* 1758, Carsten Lange commented that Telemann's liturgical Passions of that stage of his career (late 1750s) bore an affinity toward his great "passionsoratorischen Spätwerken."⁷ While this is a tantalizing observation, it is important to go beyond casual commentary and explore the relationship between the liturgical and non-liturgical Passions in more detail. I construct a model, based on Hörner's and Lange's suggestions, by which to compare the lyric and narrative procedures in the late Passions. I devise, test, and revise the model throughout the course of Chapters 2-5.

1.3. CHAPTER OUTLINE

My dissertation comprises a general introduction, five chapters, and several appendices. Chapter 1, "Background to the Study," offers a rationale for the study and surveys the state of current research. Chapter 2, "Hamburg Repertories and Telemann's Late Profile," is an overview of Telemann's Hamburg vocal repertories. I will show that the lyric and narrative processes of the late Passions are a product of the general compositional profile of Telemann in his later years.

Diese nehmen an Ausdehnung zu, fast immer wird Christus redend eingeführt, und stets haben sie eine geschlossene Form." See Hörner, 83. This comment seems restricted to the structure and content of the "Exposition," or *exordium*.

⁶ Reipsch, liner notes to Telemann, *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, Hermann Max, dir., Capriccio 10 596 (CD recording); also "Telemanns Rezitativtechnik: Untersuchungen am vokalen Spätwerk," In *Musik als Text: Bericht über den Internationalen Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Freiburg im Breisgau 1993*, vol. 2, *Freie Referate*, edited by Hermann Danuser and Tobias Pleblich (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 285.

Chapter 3, "Lyric and Narrative Problems in the Late Liturgical Passions," surveys the history of Hamburg Passion music in general and Telemann's liturgical Passions in particular, which I divide into three main groups. I give an overview of the problematic features of the late Passions, especially the lyric expansiveness that is often mentioned by scholars but seldom discussed in detail, as well as the issues surrounding the narrative techniques of the last few Passions. In the first part of Chapter 4, "Two Lyric Models: Klopstock and Ramler," I feature a hitherto neglected liturgical Passion, from the middle period of Telemann's career, which seems to be related to the poetic innovations of Friedrich Gottfried Klopstock (1724-1803), which were adopted and adapted by Ramler in his oratorios. In the second part of Chapter 4, I discuss Ramler's landmark concert oratorio *Der Tod Jesu*, in terms of its lyric accompagnati and lyric chorales, and liturgical Passions of the same period. Taken together, I will show that it is necessary to take a longer view on lyricism in the late Passions than has previously been attempted. In Chapter 5, "Lyricism in the Late Liturgical Passions," I focus on the rise of lyricism in the *Lukaspassion 1764* and *Johannespassion 1765*, two of the important late works that survive in partial autograph scores. In Chapter 6, "Narrative Reprocessing in the 1764 and 1765 Passions," I discuss the decline of the *narratio* in the same two works, focusing on Telemann's compositional and compilational methods that we can trace in the partial autograph scores. Finally, in Chapter 7, "Conclusions," I discuss some of the long-term consequences of the rise of lyricism and the decline of *narratio*, and I assess Telemann's role in the development of the Hamburg Passion.

⁷ Lange, liner notes to Telemann, *Matthäuspassion 1758*.

1.4. LITERATURE REVIEW

In her article "Telemann Research since 1975," written in 1990 and published in 1992, Jeanne Swack observed, "The past fifteen years have witnessed a long-overdue surge of interest in the music of Georg Philipp Telemann, a composer who must certainly rank as one of the most influential figures in the first half of the eighteenth century."⁸ Swack went on to list various catalysts behind the increased scholarly interest in Telemann's music, including the Early Music movement and the activities of the Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und -Forschung in Magdeburg.

Swack lamented, however, that "[d]espite the increase in the amount of Telemann-related research in the last few years, significant lacunae remain."⁹ This statement is as valid in the year 2005 as it was in 1990. One of the greatest lacunae can be found in the *Telemann Auswahlausgabe* (hereafter *TA*), the selected edition of Telemann's works. Swack noted that relatively few vocal works were represented in this edition, and that it was crucial that a wider selection of such works be made available.

At the time of Swack's writing, only the *Lukaspassion 1728* had appeared in the *TA*.¹⁰ Wolfgang Hirschmann's edition of the *Johannespassion 1745* has since been published.¹¹ Regrettably, of the twenty-two extant Passions by Telemann, the two mentioned above are the only editions available in the *TA*.¹² Of Telemann's non-liturgical Passions, or passion-oratorios, only

⁸ Jeanne Swack, "Telemann Research since 1975," *Acta Musicologica* 64 (1992): 139.

⁹ Swack, 140.

¹⁰ Telemann, *Lukaspassion 1728*, edited by Hans Hörner and Martin Ruhnke, *TA* 15 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1964).

¹¹ Swack cited the expected edition as vol. 16, edited by Hans Hörner and Martin Ruhnke (Swack, 140). The actual edition, edited by Wolfgang Hirschmann and published in 1996, appeared as vol. 29.

¹² Hörner, *Gg. Ph. Telemanns Passionsmusiken*, lists 23 extant Passions at 66-69, 145-57, and his thematic catalogue. Hirschmann notes that the *Markuspassion 1723* has been lost since the end of World War II, reducing the total to 22. See Hirschmann, ed., preface to *Johannespassion 1745 "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld," TWV 5:30; TA* 29 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1996), viii, n. 3.

Seliges Erwägen, edited by Ute Poetzsch, is currently available in the TA. Ursula and Wolf Hobohm have edited *Der Tod Jesu*, but it is available only in their handwritten score.¹³

Since Swack's article there has been a surge in the production of materials and performances related to Telemann's music in general and his Passions in particular, which softens somewhat the bleak situation described by Swack. Johannes Pausch, a Cantor in Hamburg, founded the Telemann-Projekt in 1991, the goal of which is to perform all twenty-two extant Passions at the rate of one each year, and to make scholarly-practical editions of these works. The scores, most of which are co-edited by Stefan Möhle, are a valuable contribution to the study of Telemann's Passions, but they suffer from scholarly and practical limitations. The scores are not readily available to the public, though copies are now available at the University of Pittsburgh. Practitioners will most likely not relish Pausch's decision to keep the old clefs, and scholars will be dissatisfied with the lack of scholarly apparatus (the promised Kritischer Bericht is still forthcoming) and some sloppy editing. Pausch is also in the process of making recordings of these works, though to date only two are commercially available.¹⁴

¹³ See Ursula and Wolf Hobohm, ed., *Der Tod Jesu*, TWV 5:6. Magdeburg: Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und – Forschung, 1977.

¹⁴ The following products of Pausch's Telemann-Projekt are now available in score: *Johannes-Passion 1757*, edited by Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthuemer 28 (Hamburg: Edition Musik-Landschaften, 2001); *Marcus-Passion 1759*, edited by Johannes Pausch, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthümer 2 (Hamburg: Edition Musik-Landschaften), 2001; *Lucas-Passion 1760*, edited by Johannes Pausch, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthümer 3 (Hamburg: Edition Musik-Landschaften, 1992); *Cantaten vom Leiden und Sterben Jesu Christi: Johannes-Passion 1761*, edited by Stefan Möhle and Johannes Pausch (Hamburg: [J. Pausch], 1993); *Matthäus-Passion 1762*, edited by Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthümer 11 (Hamburg: [J. Pausch/S. Möhle], 1994); *Lucas-Passion 1760* [sic; should be 1764], edited by Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthümer 12 (Hamburg: Edition Musik-Landschaften, 1996); *Johannes-Passion 1765*, edited by Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthuemer 13 (Hamburg: [J. Pausch/S. Möhle], 1997); *Matthäus-Passion 1766*, edited by Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthümer 14 (Hamburg: [J. Pausch/S. Möhle], 1998); and *Marcus-Passion 1767*, edited by Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle, Sammlung Hamburgischer Musik-Alterthümer 15 (Hamburg: Edition Musik-Landschaften, 1999). The only two commercially available CD recordings of these works are *Johannes-Passion 1765*, Johannes Pausch, dir., Edition AI Segno, AS 2021 2, and *Matthäus-Passion 1766*, Johannes Pausch, dir., Edition AI Segno, AS 2027.

Scholars and performers of Telemann's music are indebted to the ongoing efforts of the Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und –Forschung in Magdeburg. The editing projects of Wolf Hobohm, Carsten Lange, Ute Poetzsch-Seban, Brit Reipsch, and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch, as well as those of other contributing editors associated with the *TA*, have been actively bringing Telemann's vocal music to wider attention through the preparation of editions in the *TA* that are of high scholarly and practical value.¹⁵

Turning to recent literature, Swack observed that a few dissertations and smaller studies have treated the topic of Telemann's vocal works, "though much work needs to be done."¹⁶ Aside from the obvious lack of modern editions, especially scholarly ones, Swack noted that while Hans Hörner's 1933 dissertation provides a basic study of Telemann's surviving Passions, in-depth studies of individual works would be welcome.¹⁷ Of particular interest to me in Swack's essay is the following observation:

One of the most puzzling aspects of the current state of Telemann research is the almost total lack of interest in the subject on the part of English-speaking scholars. The field has been concentrated in the hands of German scholars, especially East German scholars whose work was subject to political scrutiny. There are no book-length studies on Telemann in English, aside from a translation of R[ichard] Petzoldt's outdated biography, very few articles, and only a handful of dissertations.¹⁸

For the most part, these comments hold true even at present with regard to work in the English language on Telemann's Passions in particular and his music in general. Since 1990, no book-length studies and no articles on the Passions have appeared. Mine is the only new

¹⁵ Of particular interest to scholars of Telemann's non-liturgical passions and concert oratorios are some forthcoming volumes of the *TA*. These include vol. 31, the long-awaited *Der Tod Jesu. Die Betrachtung der 9. Stunde. TVWV 5:6/5:5*, edited by Wolf Hobohm (2005); vol. 34, *Brockes-Passionsoratorium TVWV 5:1*, edited by Carsten Lange (2006); and vol. 37, *Zwei Auszüge aus „Der Messias“ TVWV 6:4*, edited by Wolf Hobohm and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch (2007).

¹⁶ Swack, 142.

¹⁷ Swack, 142, n. 9.

¹⁸ Swack, 141.

dissertation on the Passions; there is a recent dissertation on the instrumental music, joining those of Swack and Zohn.¹⁹ The situation is hardly more encouraging when one considers studies in the German language, though Wolfgang Hirschmann has contributed an important interpretive essay on the *Johannespassion 1745*.²⁰ Gerhard Poppe has written what could be considered a "kleiner Beitrag" on Telemann's recitative techniques in the liturgical Passions.²¹ The lack of interest in producing significant work in the English language on Telemann in general and his Passions in particular remains in force. My dissertation makes a much-needed contribution toward understanding a repertory that Pausch characterized as *terra incognita*.

The only book-length study of all the Telemann Passions remains Hörner's *G. Ph. Telemanns Passionsmusiken*. It is an important work, since all new research on the topic relies and depends on it. Hörner's study is divided into two main parts. The first part is an overview of the history of Passion music in Hamburg before Telemann's cantorate, and a discussion of Telemann's musical activities in the city. In the second part, Hörner outlines the construction of Telemann's Passions, in terms of both the texts and of the music; he organizes the texts of Telemann's Passions into five groups,²² he discusses four innovations in Telemann's Passions,²³ he

¹⁹ Karen M. Trinkle, "The Assimilation of National Styles and Genres in the Orchestral Suites of Georg Philipp Telemann" (PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis, [2004]).

²⁰ Hirschmann, "'Glück zu, o Erlöser, du hast es vollbracht.' Quellenphilologische und analytisch-interpretatorische Bemerkungen zur Johannespassion 1745 von Georg Philipp Telemann und Joachim Daniel Zimmermann," in *Auf der gezeigten Spur: Beiträge zur Telemannforschung*, edited by Wolfgang Hirschmann, Wolf Hohohm, and Carsten Lange (Oschersleben: Dr. Zietzen Verlag, 1994), 36-66.

²¹ See Gerhard Poppe, "Zu Telemanns Passionsrezitativ," in *Zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Vokalmusik Georg Philipp Telemanns – ein Beitrag zum 225. Todestag: Konferenzbericht der XX. Wissenschaftlichen Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 19. bis 21. Juni 1992*, Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts 46 (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein Institut für Aufführungspraxis der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts, 1995), 130-36.

²² Hörner's groups are: first, the use of arias from the poetry of Brookes, etc. (1722-25); second, the search for new forms (1728, 1735); third, parodies (1726/1738 and 1741/1749); fourth, large opening and/or closing choruses; and fifth, the dissolution of the strict Passion form with too many interpolations and a shortened Gospel text. See Hörner, 68.

²³ First was the use of allegorical characters (Die gläubige Seele, die Andacht, die Geschichte, etc.), which introduced elements of the oratorio into the Passion genre. Second was the use of arioso recitatives, or "Soliloquien" (such as in the *Matthäuspassion 1730*). Third was the use of large da capo arias. Fourth was the elimination of the old-fashioned chorale aria. See Hörner, 68. The last of these claims is partly erroneous. In the *conclusio* of the *Johannespassion 1765*, there are two strophes of new poetry by the librettist, which Telemann set to the chorale melody

surveys the instrumentation, types of choruses, chorales, recitatives, and arias; he also discusses the reception of Telemann's Passions after his death. Hörner wished to resurrect Telemann's Passion music to new life in the public sphere, and to set his efforts in a larger historical context. In his own words:

Die musikwissenschaftliche Forschung wird nicht umhin können, Telemann den Platz in der Geschichte einzuräumen, den er, dem Charakter seiner bedeutenden Werke entsprechend, verdient: er ist der Antipode Bachs (mit der Blickrichtung auf die Klassik), ohne dessen Kenntnis eine richtige Beurteilung des musikalischen 18. Jahrhunderts nicht möglich ist.²⁴

1.5. NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

I carried out research on the original manuscript sources of Telemann's Passions in January 2001 and in April 2003, at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (D-Bsb). I conducted additional research on filmed sources during residence at the University of Pittsburgh. Aside from the usual secondary literature, sources include autograph scores, copied performing parts, printed libretti, some of the Telemann correspondence, as well as modern-day editions and recordings of Passion music. All translations from the German are my own, unless otherwise noted.

Throughout this dissertation, in my citations of scores and libretti of Telemann's Passions, I preserve one peculiarity of mid-eighteenth-century Hamburg orthography. Especially in the printed libretti, the words "Jesus" (and its variants), and "Herr" (and its variants) are most often rendered "JEsus" and "HErr." This unusual spelling practice catches the eye immediately

"O Welt, ich muss dich lassen." Hörner's thematic catalog (p. 114) includes the first aria but not the second, and fails to account for the chorale melody. I will discuss Telemann's synthesis of new poetic texts with the archaic form of the chorale aria below, in Chapter 5.

²⁴Hörner, 143.

when examining the printed sources, and I have adopted the practice to give the reader a glimpse of what Telemann's audiences would have experienced.

2. HAMBURG REPERTORIES AND TELEMANN'S LATE PROFILE

I provide here a discussion of Telemann's arrival in Hamburg to contextualize the compositions he had to write as part of his cantoral duties. I follow with an overview of many of the vocal repertoires composed by Telemann in Hamburg: cantatas for ordinary and extraordinary occasions, Passions, Kapitaïnsmusiken, Trauermusiken, other music for the emperor and civic occasions, as well as operas. The overall aim of this chapter is to set the scene, to build a contextual framework to discuss the late Passions and their "companion" pieces, the concert oratorios, which had such a strong influence on them. I cannot discuss in full here all the Hamburg vocal repertoires. This chapter can only serve as a broad overview of the many genres that Telemann cultivated. I aim to construct an overall "profile" of Telemann's compositional tendencies in the vocal music of the 1750s-1760s.

2.1. TELEMANN'S ARRIVAL IN HAMBURG

In 1721, Telemann moved to Hamburg from Frankfurt (am Main), where he had served since 1712 as the music director of the Barfüsserkerche (Barefoot Friars Church). In his new surroundings, Telemann became the Cantor of the Johanneum (St. John's School) and the *Director musices* (Director of Music) of Hamburg's five Hauptkirchen (principal churches): St. Petri, St. Nikolai, St. Catharinen, St. Jakobi and St. Michaelis (St. Peter, St. Nicholas, St. Katherine, St. James and St. Michael).

His musical duties for school, church and city were many and various. At the Johanneum, he was responsible for teaching voice lessons, music theory, and music history to the boys of various grades, in keeping with the ancient tradition of readying them for singing in the church. It would appear that Telemann did not himself perform the additional duty, according to tradition and mandate, of teaching Latin, but rather left this to a deputy.²⁵

It is unlikely that the cantorate and directorate were what drew Telemann's attention to Hamburg, as he had been performing similar duties all along in Frankfurt, which earned him quite a comfortable salary.²⁶ More likely it was the opportunity to perform operas in an established venue that prompted Telemann to seek the new municipal appointment.²⁷ A move to Hamburg may also have been a viable means of escaping his troublesome Frankfurt in-laws.²⁸ As for the state of opera in Hamburg, in the years shortly preceding the beginning of Telemann's cantorate, the city as a whole was becoming more and more in favor of the genre, though Telemann's predecessor, Joachim Gerstenbüttel, remained in opposition. He pursued church music, though not as prolifically or in as modern a style as the city fathers desired.²⁹

²⁵ In deputizing his academic teaching duty, Telemann acted as Bach did in Leipzig. Both Telemann and Bach were qualified to lecture in Latin as a result of their own educational backgrounds. On 16 October 1721, upon his installation as Cantor and Director of Music, Telemann gave an oration in Latin, *De excellentia musicae in ecclesia* (Of the Excellence of Music in the Church), as a response to the oration by the Senior Petrus Theodor Seelmann, *De origine et dignitate musicae in genera* (Of the Origin and Dignity of Music in General). The Senior was the ranking faculty member of the Johanneum. The orations were received with great applause ("mit grossem applausu"), according to the newspaper *Correspondent* [*Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des holsteinischen unpa[r]theyischen Correspondent*] 51 (21 October 1721). See Joachim Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 43 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1995; orig. PhD diss., University of Kiel, 1995), 135-36; the *Correspondent* report is quoted in n. 319.

²⁶ Telemann later expressed regret that he had left Frankfurt to take the Hamburg position.

²⁷ Frankfurt had no permanent (German) opera house at the time; roving Italian troupes provided the city with operatic music until late in the eighteenth century. See Richard Petzoldt, *Georg Philipp Telemann*, translated by Horace Fitzpatrick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 32; orig. *Georg Philipp Telemann: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1967). Telemann may also have been attracted to Leipzig as a venue for performing operas; see Annemarie Clostermann, *Das Hamburger Musikleben und Georg Philipp Telemanns Wirken in den Jahren 1721 bis 1730* (Reinbek: Clostermann, 2000), 23.

²⁸ Clostermann, 23.

²⁹ See Kremer, *Joachim Gerstenbüttel (1647-1721) im Spannungsfeld von Oper und Kirche: ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte Hamburgs*, *Musik der frühen Neuzeit* 1 (Hamburg: von Bockel, 1997), 209-11; cited by Clostermann, 27.

His opera *Der geduldige Socrates*, with libretto by Johann Ulrich von König, had been staged at the Gänsemarktoper (Goose Market Opera House) on 5 February 1721; the performance was advertised in the *Relations-Courier* of 31 January 1721, which billed it as the premiere performance in Hamburg.³⁰ Old Gerstenbüttel died in April 1721; Telemann petitioned the Frankfurt city council for release from his duties on 21 July 1721.³¹ Having accepted the Hamburg offer, Telemann began work as the city church music director on 17 September, and was installed as the Cantor of the Johanneum on 16 October.³²

Telemann secured the appointment to the Hamburg cantorate largely through the recommendations of Pastor Erdmann Neumeister and the poet Barthold Heinrich Brockes.³³ In her discussion of the method of voting for Telemann as Cantor, Clostermann mentions an important change in the relationship between the Cantor and the Senate. After Gerstenbüttel's death, the Senate was restructured so that the Scholarchat became the patrons of the Cantor, and

³⁰ For more on Telemann's first Hamburg opera, see Telemann, *Der geduldige Socrates: Hamburg 1721: musikalisches Lustspiel in drei Akten nach einem Libretto von Johann Ulrich von König*, edited by Bernd Baselt, TA 20 (Kassel, New York: Bärenreiter, 1967).

³¹ It is unknown who served as the interim Cantor between April and September 1721; see Clostermann, 37-39.

³² Petzoldt incorrectly gave 28 January 1721 as the date of the Hamburg premiere performance of *Der geduldige Socrates*. Furthermore, he assumed that Telemann would have been in Hamburg to supervise rehearsals and to conduct the premiere performance from the harpsichord; this assumption (his own words, p. 41, at least according to Fitzpatrick's translation) has often gone unexamined and has become a cited "fact." Clostermann cites Petzoldt's assumption and its perpetuation even by Telemann scholars such as Hirschmann, and has found no evidence for Telemann's presence in Hamburg before September 1721. Clostermann also refutes the idea that there was no active Kapellmeister at the opera after Reinhard Keiser's departure; she notes that a Matthias Christoph Wideburg was very active. Extrapolating from Clostermann's scenario, Telemann may have sent the opera to be performed, likely to gain musical exposure in the city, perhaps keeping in the back of his mind the option to seek the post of Cantor once old Gerstenbüttel had finally died. For the revised date for the premiere performance of *Der geduldige Socrates*, Telemann's arrival in Hamburg, Wideburg's activity at the Gänsemarktoper, and the citation from the *Relations-Courier*, see Clostermann, 29-31. Telemann's personal debut in Hamburg, on 17 September 1721, was to direct the music at St. Catherine; see Clostermann, 43.

³³ Clostermann, 34. Apparently Telemann never sought the Hamburg post of his own accord; his recommenders made the first move; see Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 128. Both Neumeister and Brockes were members of the Hamburg Senate. Brockes knew Telemann as one of the composers who had set his Passion oratorio *Der für die Sünde der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus*, the libretto of which was published in 1712.

thereby became Telemann's direct link to the broader Senate.³⁴ Interestingly, it would appear that Telemann was elected by a majority vote, but it was not overwhelming.³⁵

The lack of a large majority vote is a sign of the Senate's rather equivocal support of Telemann in the early days of his cantorate. This less-than-unanimous backing may have prompted Telemann to apply for the Leipzig cantorate in the summer of 1722. Clostermann explores Telemann's motives for doing so, and his ultimate decision to stay in Hamburg. For Telemann, the idea of moving was more than merely a wish to increase his economic well-being; Telemann met with significant opposition and even "Feindseligkeit" in his first few months in Hamburg. The application to Leipzig was meant to send a signal to his patrons as well as to advance his own career and the economic and social well-being of his family. In the end, Telemann was able to hold his own in Hamburg, no matter what job-related strife he found himself involved in. By the end of the 1720s he had won for himself a significant audience of "Liebhabern" (musical amateurs) with his operas, instrumental concerts (mostly chamber music in private settings), performances of oratorios in public concert halls, and music publications, all of which were projects that lay beyond the bounds of his official duties.³⁶ Early in his career, Telemann enjoyed a rich, though unofficial, musical life in Hamburg. This love for activities unrelated to his duties would have a strong impact on his compositional career in general and his late compositional tendencies in particular. For now, let us consider the vocal repertoires themselves that occupied so much of Telemann's time and energy for 46 years.

³⁴ The Scholarchat, or more properly the *Collegium scholarchale*, was a Senate body that not only oversaw the cantorate itself, but also had complete power over and control of the scholastic institutions of Hamburg, namely, the Johanneum, the Gymnasium, and the city library. Their power over Telemann's office derived from his being the Cantor of the Johanneum. See Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 116-17.

³⁵ Clostermann, 34-35.

³⁶ See Clostermann, esp. 40-42 and 67.

2.2. LITURGICAL MUSIC FOR ORDINARY OCCASIONS

For the city churches, Telemann composed and directed for both "ordinary" and "extraordinary" occasions ("ordentlich" and "außerordentlich"). Ordinary music included cantatas for the Sunday services (and Vespers), the principal festivals of the ecclesiastical year,³⁷ and the annual Passion. Telemann's cantata output for Hamburg is worthy of special notice, as he was required to provide two complete works for each Sunday service; one was performed before the sermon, and the second was performed after the sermon. The service concluded with even more music, often an aria followed by a chorale.³⁸ While in Hamburg, Telemann published four complete cantata cycles and published arias from a fifth. These works represent but a small portion of Telemann's vast output of sacred cantatas over his entire career as a composer (not just in Hamburg); he wrote at least 20 complete annual cycles, of which twelve survive more or less intact. He also wrote many other cantatas which may have been patchworks of old and new compositions. All together, there are about 1700 cantatas for which Telemann's authorship is fairly certain, of which about 1400 are extant. Figure 2.1 lists the published cycles, their titles (if any) and their basic contents.

³⁷ In Hamburg, the church year was divided into quarters, marked by the festivals of Easter (March), St. John's Day (June), St. Michael's Day (September), and Christmas (December). The cantatas composed for these occasions were called Quartalmusik. Furthermore, the director's salary was paid quarterly, according to this schedule. See Stephen L. Clark, "The Occasional Choral Works of C. P. E. Bach" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984), 152-53, n. 254, who refers to Heinrich Miesner, *Philipp Emanuel Bach in Hamburg: Beiträge zu seiner Biographie und zur Musikgeschichte seiner Zeit* (Heide: Buchdruckerei Heider Buchhandlung Emil Sund, 1929; reprint, Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1969), 16.

³⁸ See Steven Zohn, "Telemann, Georg Philipp," *Grove Music Online*, edited by Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed February 26, 2004). Clostermann cites the *Gottesdienst-Ordnung* of 1699 that specifies the three places where concerted music was to be inserted: before and after the sermon seem to be mandatory, but the third, after the blessing, was optional ("stehet dem Cantor frey zu musizieren"). Clostermann stops short of providing a detailed overview of how exactly Telemann followed the *Gottesdienst-Ordnung* in his first decade in Hamburg, in terms of how many new compositions he provided each week. The full title of the *Gottesdienst-Ordnung* is *Abgefassete (Beliebte) Ordnung, wie es so wol mit denen Vespren an Sonn- und anderen Feyertagen=Abend; Imgleichen mit dem Gottes=Dienst [sic] an Sonn- und anderen Feyertagen allhier in Hamburg zu halten*, 1699. D-Ha, Signatur X 620/12, Kapsel 1, Nr. 75. Cited by Clostermann, 144, n. 287. At least from 1721-29, Telemann seems to have composed new music on a regular basis for all three places in the service. These might have been three unrelated pieces, but often the pre- and post-sermon pieces, mostly cantatas, were related. See Clostermann, 144-45.

Year/s	Title	Librettist	Contents
1725/1726	<i>Harmonischer Gottesdienst, oder Geistliche Cantaten zum allgemeinen Gebrauch</i>	[M. Wilkens?]	72 Post-Sermon Cantatas ³⁹
1727	<i>Auszug der jenigen musicalischen und auf die gewöhnlichen Evangelien gerichteten Arien</i>	J.F. Helbig	Arias from Pre-Sermon Cantatas, 1726/1727 ⁴⁰
1731/1732	<i>Fortsetzung des Harmonischen Gottesdienst</i>	T.H. Schubart	72 Post-Sermon Cantatas ⁴¹
1744	<i>Musicalisches Lob Gottes in der Gemeinde des Herrn</i>	E. Neumeister	Written by 1741/42
1748/1749	[Untitled]	D. Stoppe	

Figure 2.1: Telemann's Cantata Cycles Published in Hamburg

It would appear that Telemann worked rather closely with his cantata librettists when he had the opportunity. In planning his cantata cycle of 1728-29, Telemann chose as his librettist a long-time collaborator, Matthäus Arnold Wilkens (1704-59). Telemann wrote an interesting letter to Wilkens, dated 26 July 1728, expressing his intention to publish a series of festival cantatas to make suggestions for the number and type of movements in each work. Telemann begins by praising the librettist, then goes on to offer his suggestions:

"[E]s mache niemand in der Welt bessere Verse zur Music, als *Sie*. Solchemnach melde, daß ich aufgemuntert worden bin, folgende Fest-Musiken heraus zu geben, als:

aufs Evangel. am	
1.sten Weihnachts-Tage,	1.sten Pfingst-Tage,
Neu-Jahrs-Tage,	<i>Johannis</i> -Tage,
1.sten Oster-Tage,	<i>Michaëlis</i> -Tage,
Himmelfahrts-Tage,	1.sten <i>Advents</i> -Tage.

³⁹ The alternative title was *Geistliche Cantaten zum allgemeinen Gebrauch*. Scored for voice, melody instrument and continuo, these cantatas contain two da capo arias separated by a recitative. This collection could be used in churches with small music programs and in private homes. These cantatas appear in the *TA*, vols. 2-5.

⁴⁰ These arias are arranged for voice and continuo, with the bass part rewritten to incorporate thematic material played originally by strings.

⁴¹ This cycle differs from *Harmonischer Gottesdienst* in its scoring, calling for two melody instruments rather than only one.

Wollten demnach Ew. HochEdl. mich hiezu mit *Dero* schönen Poesis versehen, so erlangete ich das, was ich wünsche, und würde mich *Ihnen* dadurch von neuem aufs höchste verpflichtet finden.

Die Eintheilung der Stücke könnte etwa so seyn:

Ein kurzer bibl. Spruch,
Eine Arie,
Ein Recitativ, aber kurz, so viel mögl.,
Ein Choral,
Eine Arie,
Obiger Spruch."⁴²

From this letter, we learn that Telemann considered Wilkens to be the best librettist in the world, if we can indeed take the composer's words at face value and not as mere epistolary flattery. Telemann had already set at least two of Wilkens's Passion libretti, resulting in the *Matthäuspassion* 1726 and *Lukaspassion* 1728, the latter having been performed just a few months before the date of the letter. (Wilkens would go on to be the librettist for *Harmonischer Gottesdienst*.) We see firsthand the composer's preferences for the the types and order of movements for the intended "Fest-Musiken."⁴³ Especially interesting is Telemann's demand that the recitative be as short as possible. Telemann's opinion must have changed for good by the mid-1750s, given the number and length of the poetic recitatives that appeared regularly in the concert oratorios and late liturgical Passions!

This letter also contains signs of one of Telemann's interesting personality traits, "Eigenmächtigkeit" (high-handedness or unauthorized behavior or, to put it more positively, a

⁴² See Telemann, *Briefwechsel, Sämtliche erreichbare Briefe von und an Telemann*, edited by Hans Grosse and Hans Rudolf Jung (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1972), 141-42 (Doc. 51). Unfortunately, Wilkens's reply is not extant.

⁴³ One significant aspect of the movement plan outlined in Telemann's letter is the repetition of the opening "kurzer bibl. Spruch" at the end of the work. This technique is found in other early church music by Telemann. See the cantata "Herr, ich habe lieb die Stätte deines Hauses," TWV 2:2, which Telemann may have composed around 1704, according to Brit Reipsch (see liner notes for CD recording *cpo* 999 500-2, pp. 13-15.)

strong independent streak).⁴⁴ Telemann had no qualms about making his own suggestions to one who supposedly wrote the best libretti in the world. This character trait manifested itself in other ways: for example, on several occasions Telemann set a libretto according to his own wishes, even if he contradicted the apparent intent of the librettist. I identify this behavior as Telemann's tendency to go "off book."⁴⁵ Moreover, on occasion, Telemann applied to leave or actually left his post to others while he journeyed elsewhere to pursue what he probably considered to be more interesting projects than his Hamburg duties afforded him.⁴⁶

Telemann's compositional habits changed considerably from the beginning of his Hamburg cantorate in 1721 until his death in 1767. When he first arrived in the city, he was praised for the number of new church pieces he composed for the Sundays and principal feast days of the year, to be performed in the five principal churches and several subordinate churches. The general practice for the normal Sunday services was to perform a cantata in each of the principal churches, from oldest to youngest, once every five weeks – by this means, a cantata would be performed at St. Petri one week, then the next week at St. Nikolai, the next week at St. Katharinen, the next at St. Jakobi, followed by St. Michaelis, then starting the performance cycle over again the next week at St. Petri. This tendency to compose new music for these occasions was in stark contrast to the tendency of his predecessor, Gerstenbüttel, who would perform the same cantata for five weeks in succession, once at each principal church, before introducing (or reviving) another work for a five-week period. Such repetition was possible with cantatas that

⁴⁴ I borrow the term "Eigenmächtigkeit" from Clostermann, 48-50. She used it specifically with regard to Telemann's insistence on performing his passion oratorio *Seliges Erwägen* in some of the subordinate churches, despite the unease it caused his superiors in the Hamburg Senate. What really got him into trouble was when he tried to mount a performance of the piece at St. Michaelis in 1748, with a female soprano. For more on this controversy (one of many concerning *Seliges Erwägen*), see Telemann's letter to Pastor Wagner of St. Michaelis, in *Briefwechsel*, 34-35 (Doc. 10).

⁴⁵ Perhaps the most controversial example of Telemann's going "off book" was his fight with Pastor Goeze of St. Katharinen in 1764 over the chorales in the 1759/1764 Pentecost cantata. I discuss this issue further in Chapter 5.

fell into the "de tempore" category, works that were suitable for any occasion on the basis of their texts.

Telemann at first avoided relying on "de tempore" cantatas to meet his obligations, preferring instead to compose new works each week. He did not keep up this compositional vigor for the entirety of his cantorate, however. By about 1750, he reverted more and more to his predecessor's practice of composing a "de tempore" cantata to be performed over five weeks, or reviving an older work, even for major festivals. It was noted with no small regret that Telemann had resorted in his old age to the repetition and revival practiced by his predecessor. It appears that the Hamburg Senate and the Ministerium preferred new compositions to repeated ones.

An additional observation illustrates the difficulties and frustrations he faced in the course of his duties. While the Passions may have been categorized as ordinary church music, the arrangements that Telemann had to make to perform and be paid for them were on the extraordinary side. Aside from the demanding performance schedule, Telemann was not simply paid by the Senate for his troubles; he had to submit invoices to each church to be paid for each performance, and the churches were not always forthcoming with the funds. This problem persisted into Telemann's last years, even when he was no longer conducting the performances himself.⁴⁷

2.3. VOCAL MUSIC FOR EXTRAORDINARY OCCASIONS

Telemann wrote a large body of liturgical vocal music for extraordinary occasions. These include cantatas for the installation of pastors, dedications or rededications of churches, and Trauermusik

⁴⁶ I am thinking here of two instances: 1) the trip to Paris in 1738, and 2) his intent, whether or not he actually went, to conduct his own music at a festival in Altona in 1760.

(mourning or funeral music) for the deaths of public figures, especially the Holy Roman Emperor.

I make special note of one extraordinary work in particular. The newest of Hamburg's five principal churches, St. Michaelis, originally built between 1641 and 1669, was destroyed by lightning in 1750. The new church building was dedicated in October 1762. In his last appearance as a conductor in Hamburg, Telemann conducted his "Festmusik" (festival cantata) *Komm wieder, Herr*, to a text by Joachim Johann Daniel Zimmermann (1710-67). It would appear that Telemann's legs were in such bad shape that he could not walk or stand for very long at all. After this, Telemann delegated his conducting duties to others, primarily his grandson Georg Michael Telemann (1748-1831) and Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein (1704-87), Telemann's long-standing alto, later copyist and assistant director.⁴⁸

2.4. ORDINARY AND EXTRAORDINARY CIVIC VOCAL MUSIC

It should be kept in mind that Telemann's cantoral and directorial appointments issued from the Hamburg city authorities, and not from the church authorities. It is no surprise, therefore, that Telemann was bound to provide music for civic occasions from time to time. As with the church music, there were ordinary and extraordinary municipal occasions. Ordinary occasions included municipal festivals such as the "Petri- und Matthäimahl" and the gatherings of the captains of the

⁴⁷ See *Briefwechsel*, 72-73, n. 63 (referring to the letter, Doc. 19, pp. 47-48), for references to surviving Passion invoices submitted to two of the principal churches. Telemann submitted copies of the invoices to the Hamburg Senate as part of a complaint that those churches were not paying him in a timely fashion for services rendered.

⁴⁸ Schieferlein and G. M. Telemann took over the duties of the Hamburg *Director musices* during the 8-month vacancy between Telemann's death and the beginning of C. P. E. Bach's cantorate. Schieferlein may have composed a wedding cantata found in the Hamburg manuscript *ND VI 81g:4*; see Jürgen Neubacher, "Unbekannte Kompositionen Georg Philipp Telemanns in der wieder zugänglichen Musikhandschrift ND VI 81g:4 der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg: Ein quellenkundlicher Beitrag zur Telemann-Forschung," in *50 Jahre Musikwissenschaftliches Institut in Hamburg: Bestandsaufnahme – aktuelle Forschung – Ausblick*, edited by Peter Petersen and Helmut Rösing,; Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft 16 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999): 399-400.

militia and the admiralty.⁴⁹ Extraordinary occasions included the weddings and deaths of Hamburg mayors and other prominent citizens. Especially when the mayor of Hamburg was being honored, the pieces written for these occasions were considered "representative" music, because the public figure was seen as the personification of the city itself. This kind of representation took on theological as well as civic significance.⁵⁰

The most well-known of the ordinary occasions were the frequent, if not strictly annual, feasts given for and by the leaders of the Hamburg militia. An integral part of these feasts was the performance of theatrical vocal music, of which there are many extant examples by Telemann. Representative of this type of music are the so-called "Kapitänsmusiken" (Captain's Music), which comprised an oratorio and a serenade (serenata).⁵¹

Telemann also provided cantatas and other music for "extraordinary" municipal events such as the inauguration of burgomasters (mayors), as well as the weddings and deaths of members of the Hamburg Senate and other prominent citizens of the city.⁵² Other extraordinary occasions were related to political entities outside of Hamburg that affected that city in general and Telemann's musical life in particular. I will discuss two of these entities, the Kingdom of Denmark and the Holy Roman Empire, and how they elicited music from the Hamburg *Director musices*.

⁴⁹ The Petri- und Matthäimahl was a banquet given by the Hamburg Senate in February of each year, in honor of the senators as well as ambassadors and other dignitaries. In addition to the rich food and the concluding ball, this event featured vocal and instrumental music that was commissioned to Telemann and other composers in Hamburg. See Petzoldt, 55.

⁵⁰ Clostermann, 66; the Landesherr was the highest ranked individual in Hamburg. He had the power to deal directly with the Cantor if necessary. Telemann swore his oath of office to the Landesherr as he, in his person and office, represented the entire city; see Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 115.

⁵¹ A detailed treatment of the "Kapitänsmusiken" (also spelled "Kapitainsmusiken") is Willi Maertens, *Georg Philipp Telemanns sogenannte Hamburgische Kapitainsmusiken (1723-1765)*, Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte 21 (Wilhelmshaven: ["Heinrichshofen-Bücher"] Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1988).

⁵² Music for weddings and other occasions was strictly regulated by the Hamburg authorities.

For centuries, Hamburg had been subject to raids, invasion and subjugation by its northern and eastern neighbors, the Danes and Slavs, respectively. Finally, in 1510, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I granted Hamburg the status of Imperial Free City, of which its citizens were quite proud. This status meant that Hamburg was formally responsible only to the Holy Roman Emperor, not to a territorial prince or duke, and was at least in part intended to ease some of the pressure exerted by the nearby and powerful Danes.⁵³

The domain of the Emperor, however, was vast, and his ability to protect Hamburg, with financial and military aid, from its neighbors was limited. The Danes were a constant threat, and Hamburg was often subject to raids, sieges and other forms of attack during various wars of succession.⁵⁴ At times, during the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, Hamburg was directly under Danish sovereignty. In 1686, King Christian V sent 18,000 soldiers to capture the city, but the Hamburg citizenry stood firm and successfully defended the city. It was due to these military threats that Hamburg developed its own militia, since it could not rely upon the mostly nominal protection of the emperor. Even when the military threat to Hamburg was kept at bay, the Danes were able to exert considerable economic pressure in the form of trade barriers and tariffs. Only in 1768, the year after Telemann's death, did Denmark grant full and official recognition of Hamburg's status as a Free Imperial City.⁵⁵

During Telemann's lifetime, the Danish King ruled over Denmark, Norway, and those parts of Schleswig-Holstein immediately outside Hamburg's city gates. This included the city of Altona, home to an important Latin school called the Christianeum, founded by King Christian

⁵³ See <http://worldfacts.us/Germany-Hamburg.htm> (accessed May 21, 2004).

⁵⁴ The modern-day German state (Bundesland) of Schleswig-Holstein, which Hamburg abuts, was often a duchy of the King of Denmark in Telemann's lifetime, so the immediate threat of the Danish presence is understandable.

⁵⁵ See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamburg> (Accessed May 21, 2004).

IV (reigned 1588-1648).⁵⁶ Things had been relatively stable between Hamburg and the Danish territories since the Peace of Frederiksborg in 1720.⁵⁷ In fact, the co-existence was friendly enough that in March of 1757, when the Christianeum hosted a celebration of the birthday of King Frederick V (reigned 1746-66), the musical commission was granted not to a local Danish composer, but to the famous Telemann. The result of this commission was the cantata "De Danske, Norske og Tydske Undersaaters Glaede" ("The Joy of the Danish, Norwegian and German Citizenry"), TWV 12:10, set to a polyglot text by Salomon von Haven, pastor in Odense.⁵⁸ This was not the first commission Telemann had received from a Danish-ruled city. In 1746, he composed a Trauermusik, no longer extant, on the death of the Danish King Christian VI (reigned 1730-46), to be performed in the city of Wilster by its cantor, Christian Urban Traumann.⁵⁹

The only real impact the Emperor had on Hamburg's affairs and on Telemann's musical output was when he died. The death of the Emperor prompted the city to pay tribute to their nominal patron and protector. Part of this tribute included assigning Telemann to write a Trauermusik. Two Emperors who died during Telemann's cantorate, resulting in extraordinary musical efforts on Telemann's part, were Charles VII (reigned 1742-45) and Francis I (reigned

⁵⁶ Altona had been under Danish rule since 1640. Today, Altona is part of the city of Hamburg, annexed as a result of the 1937 Greater Hamburg Act (Das Groß-Hamburg-Gesetz von 1937); see *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 25 and 26 June 2002.

⁵⁷ Perhaps this is one reason why Telemann waited to go to Hamburg until 1721, one year after the Peace. Maybe he wanted to go only when things had achieved stability, as the Peace seemed to bring about.

⁵⁸ The movements of this cantata are variously in Danish, Norwegian, German, and Latin; the first three of these languages represent those spoken in the King's several territories. Latin represents the *lingua franca* of the realm, as well as the language taught at the Christianeum.

⁵⁹ Letter from Telemann to Traumann, dated 14 September 1746. The letter deals mainly with issues of instrumentation and continuo. Telemann recommended doubled 1st violin, a single 2nd violin [no mention of a viola], organ and a bass instrument, presumably a 'cello. Telemann noted that a harpsichord was an acceptable continuo instrument if an organ were not available to Traumann. See *Briefwechsel*, 192 (Doc. 66). This letter provides important evidence for historically informed performances of Telemann's vocal works, i.e., organ and not harpsichord continuo. We should consider, however, that the letter may reflect concerns and conditions peculiar to Wilster, and may not necessarily reflect what Telemann preferred for performances of his Hamburg vocal works.

1745-65). The first died at about the midpoint of Telemann's Hamburg cantorate, and the other two years before Telemann's death.

Emperor Charles VII died on 20 January 1745. As was customary, the Hamburg Senate decreed a four-week period of mourning (Trauerzeit), from 14 February (Septuagesima Sunday, three Sundays before the beginning of Lent) to 14 March (Reminiscere Sunday, the second in Lent). During this time, public music-making, both in the city and in the churches, was expressly forbidden. As a result, any performances that Telemann had planned during that time had to be cancelled or postponed until after the mourning period. For example, the cantata for the dedication of the church of St. Job's Hospital (Kirche des St. Hiob-Hospitals), TWV 2:5, had to be cancelled as the dedication was to have taken place on 16 February.⁶⁰ Also, the performance run of the annual Passion had to be delayed. According to the normal schedule, the first performance would have been on 7 March (Quadragesima/Invocavit), but this fell during the mourning period. By decree of the Hamburg Senate, the first performance was postponed until 16 March (Tuesday after Reminiscere); the performances were held according to a modified schedule, in the customary churches (the order of performances in the principal churches remained the same, at any rate), with the last on Good Friday at St. Georg.

A complicating factor in the Passion schedule of that year, aside from the two-week ban that delayed the start of the performance run, was the performance of Telemann's passion-oratorio *Seliges Erwägen*. Allowed only in the Nebenkirchen, this work enjoyed extra performances in venues not included in the standard Passion schedule, and sometimes it *replaced*

⁶⁰ The dedication of the church went ahead, rescheduled to Monday 15 February, but without any concerted music or organ playing. By custom, however, the congregational chorales were not included in the ban on musical performances; they continued to be sung, presumably without any instrumental accompaniment. See Hirschmann, foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xi, especially n. 19.

the performance of the liturgical Passion. In Figure 2.2 I give the modified 1745 Passion schedule, including the extra and substitute performances of *Seliges Erwägen*.⁶¹

16 March	Tuesday after Reminiscere	St. Petri
25 March	Thursday after Oculi	St. Nikolai
28 March	Laetare	St. Katharinen
31 March	Wednesday after Laetare	Zuchthauskirche (<i>Seliges Erwägen</i> , extra)
4 April	Judica	St. Jakobi
7 April	Wednesday after Judica	Waisenhauskirche (<i>Sel. Er.</i> , extra)
8 April	Thursday after Judica	Klein St. Michaelis
9 April	Friday after Judica	Heilig Geist (<i>Sel. Er.</i> , substitute)
10 April	Saturday after Judica	St. Johannis
11 April	Palmarum	St. Michaelis
12 April	Monday of Holy Week	St. Maria-Magdalenen
13 April	Tuesday of Holy Week	St. Gertruden
14 April	Wednesday of Holy Week	Pesthofkirche (<i>Sel. Er.</i> , substitute)
15 April	Maundy Thursday	St. Pauli
16 April	Good Friday	St. Georg

Figure 2.2: Modified Passion performance schedule of 1745

Though these cancellations and postponements may seem at first glance to have provided Telemann with a brief holiday, the mourning period resulted in much additional, and presumably stressful, activity. To commemorate the death of the Emperor, Telemann was assigned to compose a Trauermusik for performance on Reminiscere Sunday, the end of the mourning period, in all five principal churches *simultaneously*. In addition to the additional composing, Telemann had to organize the performances for each venue, which included hiring all the necessary vocal and instrumental personnel.⁶²

⁶¹ The modified schedule is reproduced in Hirschmann, foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xii. Ute Poetzsch, in the foreword to her edition of *Seliges Erwägen*, discusses the often controversial circumstances surrounding ecclesiastical performances of that oratorio.

⁶² The Trauermusik for 1745 was *Ich hoffete aufs Licht*, TWV 4:13, ed. Willi Maertens (Magdeburg: Telemann-Zentrum, 1983), set to a text by J. J. D. Zimmermann, who was also the librettist for the *Johannespassion 1745* and the (non-liturgical) passion-oratorio *Die Betrachtung der 9. Stunde* of 1755. See Hirschmann, foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xi.

Emperor Francis I died twenty years later, on 18 August 1765. His death had no effect on that year's Passion performance schedule, but it did cause Telemann no small amount of frustration. While I know of no direct record of Telemann's feelings concerning the added compositional and organizational responsibilities thrust upon him in 1745, we have epistolary evidence of his feelings about these issues in 1765. As with the death of Charles VII, Telemann had to compose and organize performances of a Trauermusik to mourn Francis I. The composer had no end of trouble in hiring, retaining, and paying the necessary singers and instrumentalists for the performances. In a letter to the Hamburg Senate, written after 7 October 1765, Telemann wrote at some length about a host of frustrating circumstances: churches that wanted to back out of paying him, singers who never responded to the invitation to sing, singers who said they would sing but backed out at the last minute, his own singers who had too much to sing already or who did not want to do anything extra, and instrumentalists whose greed could not be sated. There was even a singer from Altona who agreed to perform, arrived a few days later and asked for a large advance payment! Telemann tried to strike a deal with this fellow, but refused to relay any more details in the letter. The letter ends with the oft-quoted invocation, "God protect my successors from such business that leads to despair!"⁶³

So far I have provided but a glimpse of Telemann's busy schedule as a music teacher, director, and composer of music for ordinary and extraordinary occasions in the life of the church and of the city. In the midst of these activities, Telemann also had to worry about copying parts, running rehearsals, negotiating with singers and instrumentalists about their fees,

⁶³ "Gott behüte meine Nachfolger für dergleichen zur Verzweiflung leitenden Geschäften!" The entire letter is transcribed in *Briefwechsel*, 47-48 (Doc. 19). Curiously, the letter as transcribed bears no date, no formal greeting and no closing with Telemann's signature. The *terminus post quem* of the letter is derived from the bills to the churches of St. James and St. Peter, included with the letter. These documents were apparently submitted to the Hamburg Senate as a group, but the letter, which seems to start in the middle of a tirade, has not survived in its complete form.

and submitting bills to the proper authorities, not to mention dealing with a host of organizational and financial problems that arose due to extra performances.

2.5. UNOFFICIAL VOCAL MUSIC

Apart from his busy schedule of composing and performing pieces for church and city by "contractual obligation," Telemann was also busy doing composing and performing "on the side." Where the vocal works are concerned, Telemann had a fruitful career during the early part of his cantorate, composing for, and for many years directing, the Goose Market Opera (Gänsemarktoper), Hamburg's public opera house. As I have shown, it may well have been the opportunities offered by the city opera that drew Telemann to move to Hamburg in the first place. He was also active as a composer of non-liturgical sacred vocal music that he performed both in theaters and in some of Hamburg's subordinate churches.

2.5.1. Operatic Music

In 1722, within a year of his arrival in Hamburg, Telemann was named the musical director of the Goose Market opera, a position he held until 1738, when the opera closed its doors for good. If we can trust Telemann's own statements on the matter, he wrote about 50 operas throughout his career, for Hamburg and for other centers. He also mounted operas by other important composers, including Handel. Documentary evidence exists for at least 29, though only nine complete works are extant.⁶⁴ As far as Hamburg is concerned, Telemann claimed to have composed 35 operas for the Goose Market stage. There is evidence for 18 such works, seven have survived, and there are individual pieces from six additional ones. Figure 2.3 provides a list of the known Hamburg operas (either composed for the Goose Market or performed there):

Title	Performance Date
<i>Der geduldige Socrates</i>	5 February 1721
<i>Sieg der Schönheit</i>	13 July 1722
<i>Belsazar, oder das Ende der babylonischen Monarchie</i>	19 July 1723
<i>Omphale</i>	24 April 1724
<i>Der neumodische Liebhaber Damon</i> ⁶⁵	30 August 1724
<i>Pimpinone, oder Die ungleiche Heirat, oder Die herrschsüchtige Cammer-Mädgen</i>	27 September 1725
<i>La capriziosa e il credulo</i>	1725
[<i>Die geliebte Eigensinnige und der leichtgläubige Liebhaber</i>]	1725
<i>Orpheus, oder Die wunderbare Beständigkeit der Liebe</i>	9 March 1726
<i>Buffonet und Alga, oder Die Mans-Tolle alter Jungfer</i>	14 June 1727
<i>Calypso, oder Sieg der Weisheit über die Liebe</i>	18 August 1727
<i>Die Amours der Vespetta, oder Der Galan in der Kiste</i>	1 October 1727
<i>Sancio, oder Die siegende Grossmuth</i>	6 October 1727
<i>Adelheid, oder Die ungezwungene Liebe</i> ⁶⁶	1728
<i>Die verkehrte Welt</i>	1728
<i>Miriways</i>	26 May 1728
<i>Emma und Eginhard, oder Die Last-tragende Liebe</i>	12 November 1728
<i>Aesopus bei Hofe</i>	28 February 1729
<i>Der Weiseste in Sidon, oder Abdolonimus</i>	10 October 1729 (?) ⁶⁷
<i>Flavius Bertaridus, König der Longobarden</i>	23 November 1729
<i>Margaretha, Königin von Castilien</i>	10 August 1730
<i>Don Quichotte auf der Hochzeit des Comacho</i>	3 November 1761 ⁶⁸

Figure 2.3: Telemann's operas composed for and performed at the Goose Market

2.6. PROFILE OF TELEMANN IN HIS LATER YEARS

After a survey of the principal vocal repertoires that Telemann cultivated during his Hamburg cantorate, a profile of the aged Telemann begins to emerge. From about 1750 on, he composed fewer and fewer new works, and turned more and more to the “de tempore” practice of his predecessor Gerstenbüttel, that of repeating a single work over the five-week performance cycle

⁶⁴ Brian D. Stewart, "Telemann, Georg Philipp," *Grove Music Online*, edited by Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed January 17, 2005).

⁶⁵ Originally *Die Satyren in Arcadien* [Damon], written for Leipzig in 1719. Telemann wrote the libretto, after P. Pariati, as well as the music, and revised the work for Hamburg.

⁶⁶ Originally for Bayreuth, 1725.

⁶⁷ The premiere performance may have taken place 4 February 1733, or this may have been the revival.

⁶⁸ This was Telemann's first operatic venture since the closing of the Goose Market opera in 1738. *Don Quichotte*, classified as a serenade in one movement, was mounted as a concert performance in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp.

in the principal churches.⁶⁹ When writing new obligatory works, particularly the annual Passion, he tended more and more to appropriate and recompose music from older compositions when setting recurring biblical texts. Telemann seemed to enjoy, perhaps even to prefer, fulfilling commissions from outside Hamburg. He also was not afraid to take liberties with the libretti he set, whether they were for ordinary or extraordinary compositions.⁷⁰ All of these instances, coupled with his advanced age and declining health in the 1760s, suggest a tendency on Telemann's part toward expediency; to avoid new composition and to embrace other strategies as much as possible to fulfill his duties.

We have seen, however, that the elder Telemann seemed to have unflagging compositional energy when it came to setting the new lyric libretti of Ramler and his circle in the form of concert oratorios. The majority of present-day scholarship that pays any attention at all to Telemann's late vocal music has been devoted to the concert oratorios; short shrift, on the other hand, has been given to the liturgical Passions (the contributions of Carsten Lange and Wolfgang Hirschmann are notable exceptions). Did Telemann feel the same way? That is, did he prefer his extra-official activities, such as writing concert oratorios, over his official duties, such as writing the annual liturgical Passion? I now provide testimony from various sources in an attempt to discern Telemann's position on his official duties, particularly the compositional ones, as the Hamburg cantor. I begin with some of Telemann's own words, written at various times during his Hamburg career, which give us tantalizing glimpses into his compositional activities, as well as his characteristic sense of humor. Second, a remembrance by Telemann's grandson, written late

⁶⁹ There is a wistful reminiscence of the abundance of new music in Hamburg prior to 1750, and a regretful observation on the tendency to repeat music in the subsequent decades, in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (1821), Sp. 781, cited by Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 199. Telemann's late tendency to avoid composing new church pieces and embrace repeating them in 5-week cycles, seems to have been the basis for C. P. E. Bach's avoidance of original composition so early on in his cantorate. See Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 203.

⁷⁰ Telemann's penchant for going "off-book" was characteristic of his entire career. It manifested itself in important and dramatic ways late in his career, which is why I include it in this section.

in his life, provides some valuable insight into Telemann's working methods. Third and last, a recently rediscovered manuscript is not only a fascinating compilation in its own right, but is also a useful summary of Telemann's late compositional tendencies that I have described thus far.

2.6.1. Telemann's Own Words

The first of Telemann's own observations of his compositional activity comes from the only extant prefatory material he ever produced for a liturgical Passion. On the title page of a set of revised arias for the *Matthäuspasion* 1762, Telemann wrote this amusing little poem:⁷¹

Mit Dinte, deren Fluß zu stark,
Mit Federn, die nur pappicht Quark,
Bey blöden Augen, finstern Wetter,
Bey einer Lampe, schwach vom Licht,
Verfasst ich diese saubern Blätter;
Man schelte mich deswegen nicht.
T.⁷²

Among the extant manuscript sources of Telemann's Passions, these revised arias are the only alternate settings of aria texts (they are not so much revisions as completely independent settings) and contain the only poetic motto attached to Passion materials by the composer. The circumstances surrounding the production of these altered arias are beyond the scope of my discussion; I am interested for now in the poem and its humorous content. It is indicative of what Johannes Pausch and Stefan Möhle have called Telemann's "characteristic sarcasm" (*eigentümlichen Sarkasmus*).⁷³ Telemann offered a self-effacing "apology" for the "Geänderte Arien" in particular and perhaps for the 1762 Passion in general – the ink was runny, the quills produced nothing but Quark, his eyes were fading, the weather was dark, and the lamp gave little

⁷¹ See title page of "Geänderte Arien in der Passion, 1762," D-Bsb, *Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann* 12.

⁷² Telemann had earlier complained about his eyes in the inscription on the ms. to the Trauermusik "Bleibe, lieber König, leben" and "Liebster König, du bist tot" (two cantatas?) for England's George II: "Meistens des nachts, bei blöden Augen geschrieben;" see Eckart Klessmann, *Telemann in Hamburg: 1721-1767* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1980), 133. Telemann's physical health was clearly deteriorating in his later years. This may well have had an impact on how often Telemann composed new works, conducted his own music or music by other composers, or carried out the other duties of his office.

light. He hoped that the reader would remember those adversities and pardon the contents of the manuscript.

At the age of eighty-one, Telemann's eyes were indeed fading, judging from the appearance of the handwriting in the 1762 autograph score.⁷⁴ It was not just the specific circumstances surrounding the production of this manuscript that gave rise to the motto. Such self-effacing humor seems to have been typical of Telemann's flippant attitude in his old age toward his compositional prowess. About a decade earlier, in a letter to his younger Berlin colleague Carl Heinrich Graun (1703/4-59), who also composed a setting of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* in 1755, Telemann described himself as a washed up tunesmith who had copied from himself a thousand times, as had other composers along with him. "Ich habe mich nun von so vielen Jahren her ganz marode melodirt, und etliche Tausendmal selbst [copirt] wie andere mit mir, mithin also draus geschlossen: Ist in der Melodie nichts Neues zu finden, so muß man es in der Harmonie suchen."⁷⁵ Telemann's real point, using self-effacement as a humorous device, was that when a composer could not find invention in writing melodies, he must then search for it in harmony.

Telemann's humorous comment to Graun is embedded within the larger context of the letter and can be interpreted accordingly. What about the motto in the 1762 Passion? Though we might take it at face value, that is, as a bit of sarcastic humor on the composer's part, we might wonder if it is at all indicative of Telemann's opinion of the Passion music he was obligated to write. Did he really think it was just a bunch of Quark? Was he apologizing sarcastically for the genre as well as his own abilities?

⁷³ Pausch and Möhle, ed., *Matthäus-Passion 1762*, Vorwort.

⁷⁴ For the condition of Telemann's "Greisenhandschrift," see Werner Menke, *Das Vokalwerke Georg Philipp Telemanns*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1942), 26.

⁷⁵ Letter from Telemann to Graun, Hamburg, 15 December 1751, quoted in *Briefwechsel*, 284-85.

Obviously the poetic motto alone cannot tell us directly whether or not Telemann liked to write Passions in particular or enjoyed fulfilling his cantoral duties in general. Epistolary evidence from much earlier in Telemann's Hamburg career can help us discern, if only indirectly, where his compositional preferences lay. Telemann maintained a long-standing correspondence with a former colleague in Frankfurt, the poet Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach. Telemann had set several of Uffenbach's texts during his Frankfurt cantorate, and through their correspondence, the composer and poet kept each other abreast of the goings-on in Hamburg and Frankfurt, respectively.⁷⁶ In a letter of 31 July 1723, Telemann reported enthusiastically to Uffenbach about the lively musical environment in Hamburg, in comparison with the less attractive situation he had left behind in Frankfurt. This letter is notable in that Telemann discusses only his *public* musical activity, i.e., the public concerts which he put on and for which he composed a great deal of music, and the Goose Market Opera, of which he was the director. His ecclesiastical and civic duties are conspicuous by their absence from the letter. In Telemann's own words:

Was inzwischen die *Music* dort Bergunter gehet, das klettert sie hier hinauf; und glaube ich nicht, daß irgendwo ein solcher Ort, als Hamburg, zu finden. der den Geist eines in dieser Wissenschaft Arbeitenden mehr aufmuntern kann. Hierzu trägt ein großes bey, daß, außer den anwesenden vielen Standes=Personen, auch die ersten Männer der Stadt, ja das ganze Rahts=*Collegium*, sich den öffentlichen *Concerts* nicht entziehen; *item* die vernünftigen Urtheile so vieler Kenner und kluger Leute geben Gelegenheit darzu; nicht weniger die *Opera*, welche itzo im höchsten Flor ist; und endlich der *nervus rerum gerendarum* [the nerve of all things = money], der hier bey den Liebhabern nicht fest angewachsen ist.⁷⁷

Telemann strikes a note of enthusiasm in this letter, extolling the opportunities for public music-making in the city of Hamburg, but does not once mention the music he composed and

⁷⁶ See *Briefwechsel*, 206-12.

performed as a result of his positions as Cantor of the Johanneum and the civic *Director musices*. Perhaps Telemann did not address ecclesiastical or civic music in the letter because he may have been replying directly to Uffenbach about the opportunities for public music in Hamburg.

Whatever the case may be, the few glimpses we do get into Telemann's views on his official duties in Hamburg come from a comment he made in the mid-1750s, and from two letters written by the composer in the early 1760s, around the time when he penned the wry motto on the title page of the *Matthäuspassion* 1762. As for the comment, he had complained in 1757 that he mistakenly left a higher-paid position in Frankfurt for his dissatisfactory Hamburg post. In the letters, Telemann reports on and complains about the professional difficulties and frustrations he suffered during the very last years of his life.

In the first letter, dated 7 April 1763 and addressed to the Proto-Scholarcha (the head of the *collegium scholarchale*, thereby the chief overseer of the Johanneum and Gymnasium), Telemann announced that he had at last discovered a suitable tenor for his choir, and that he had to dismiss another less able singer:

Da, Ew.r Hochweisheiten persönlich meine unterhänige Aufwartung zu machen, durch die zunehmende Schwäche meiner Beine verhindert werde, so habe hiermit gehosamst anzeigen sollen, daß ich endlich einen tüchtigen Tenorsänger entdeckt, und ihm bey hiesiger Kirchenmusik einen Platz eingeräumer, dagegen aber einen andern zu verabschieden habe. . . .⁷⁸

The tone of the letter suggests that Telemann had difficulty procuring singers for the performances of the church music required of him, at least for the occasional performances.

Finally, to revisit a letter discussed above, when writing to the Hamburg City Council after 7 October 1765 (on the occasion of the Kayserl. Trauermusic), Telemann complained about the seemingly endless problems he had with singers and the apparent greed of the

⁷⁷ *Briefwechsel*, 213-14 (Doc. 68).

instrumentalists he had to hire for performances.⁷⁹ Considering the extraordinary arrangements that he had to make, at the age of 84, for the simultaneous performance of a Trauermusik in the five Hauptkirchen, it is understandable that Telemann might have harbored some anger and frustration about the state of music and musicians in Hamburg. Taken together, these two letters suggest that Telemann may have felt, at best, indifference toward and, at worst, despair about his ecclesiastical duties; they do not, however, indicate how he felt about the actual compositions – regular and occasional cantatas, Passions, and so on.⁸⁰

2.6.2. G. M. Telemann's Remembrance of his Grandfather

We can form a clearer idea of Telemann's attitude toward his official duties, and even toward his compositions from Georg Michael Telemann (hereafter Georg Michael), who was in an excellent position to observe his grandfather's activities and his working habits. Georg Michael was orphaned at an early age and went to live in Hamburg with his grandfather in 1755. Telemann's young ward soon became a member of his compositional workshop. Georg Michael's teenaged hand appears in the autograph of the *Matthäuspassion* 1762, and becomes an increasingly important hand in the partial autographs of the *Lukaspassion* 1764 and *Johannespassion* 1765.⁸¹ Georg Michael's engagement with his grandfather's music did not end in the copy shop, however. It appears that Telemann handed over a portion of his directing duties, due to worsening eyesight and other health problems brought on by his advanced age, to

⁷⁸ *Briefwechsel*, 45 (Doc. 17); for more on "occasional" and "regular" works, see Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, and Clark, "Occasional Choral Works of C. P. E. Bach."

⁷⁹ *Briefwechsel*, 47-48 (Doc. 19).

⁸⁰ The letter expresses Telemann's frustration about getting a group together for an *occasional* performance (Trauermusik), not a *regular* one (Passion, cantata, etc.). I know of no comments from Telemann's hand about any difficulty he had in arranging for the multiple performances of the annual passions.

⁸¹ It is important to note that Georg Michael's role in his grandfather's workshop was restricted to that of copyist; all compositional activity was the domain of Telemann alone.

his grandson.⁸² Additionally, between the death of Telemann in 1767 and the arrival of C. P. E. Bach in Hamburg to take over his godfather's position, Georg Michael acted as the interim Cantor (*director musices*) and corresponded with C. P. E. Bach on several issues concerning the duties and expectations of the position.⁸³

Georg Michael went on from Hamburg to become Cantor in Riga, and he took many of his grandfather's compositions with him. For decades, Telemann's Passions were heard in Riga, but not in their original state as performed in Hamburg. Georg Michael revised them according to contemporary taste and fashion.⁸⁴ Georg Michael did not merely "improve" the music of his grandfather and other composers; he also wrote extensive notes and commentaries on his activities.⁸⁵ In the year 1815, nearly fifty years after his grandfather's death, Georg Michael made a rather candid observation and telling assessment of the late Hamburg Cantor's compositional activity, all in the course of defending his "improvements" of his grandfather's music for performance in Riga:

Der sel. Kapellmeister G. Phil. Telemann, von dessen Composition fürwahr der ganze Vorrath der in diesem Schranke enthaltenen Musikalien ist, pflegte schnell zu arbeiten; u. da er auf keine Weise in seine Arbeiten verliebt, auch wol durch anderweitige Geschäfte verhindert war, sein Manuscript, ja so gar die ausgeschriebenen Stim[m]en, jenes oft gar nicht wieder, u. diese ebenfalls entweder

⁸² Georg Michael is listed as director and keyboardist ("Telemann *jun.* Dirigent u. Clavirist") for the performance of the Kayserl. Trauermusik in a bill dated 7 October 1765, signed by Telemann and housed in St. Jacobi. See *Briefwechsel*, 72-73, n. 63. As I have shown, Telemann had not conducted his own music in public since 1762.

⁸³ See Clark, "The Letters from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach to Georg Michael Telemann," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 177-95; for more letters by C. P. E. Bach, see *The Letters of C. P. E. Bach*, edited and translated by Stephen L. Clark (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁸⁴ The manner in which he effected his "improvements" – overwriting in the autographs, probably to save on paper and likely with no inkling of a subsequent age's concern for "authentic performance practice" – have proven to be the bane of Telemann scholars. It is curious, however, that Georg Michael felt the need to write extended prefaces to explain his alterations of his grandfather's music. Was it the product of a guilty conscience?

⁸⁵ See the preface to the performance parts of the substantially revised *Matthäuspassion 1766* in D-Bsb Mus. ms. 21706.

gar nicht, oder doch nicht mit genugsamer Aufmerksamkeit, durchzusehen; mithin auch selten daran zu bessern.⁸⁶

Assuming that Georg Michael was a reliable witness, this comment establishes the following: first, that Telemann worked quickly ("pflegte schnell zu arbeiten"); second, that he was not in love with his work ("da er auf keine Weise in seine Arbeiten verliebt"); and third, that he prepared his scores and parts hastily, without looking them through thoroughly, and without usually going back to improve them. Telemann's failure to revise his scores and parts was thus due to his being prevented by the wide range of his duties ("auch wol durch anderweitige Geschäfte verhindert war"). While we learn some valuable details about Telemann's hasty working method and messy manuscript preparation (the sources are indeed quite often difficult to read), Georg Michael's real purpose in writing the comment was to apologize, in the classical sense of making "a formal defense or justification in writing," for the "improvements" that he effected on so many of his grandfather's and other composers' works.

Whatever Georg Michael's purpose may have been in writing the comment, his tantalizing observations support my position that Telemann preferred not to expend any more compositional energy on his official duties than necessary. The first of Georg Michael's observations, that Telemann worked quickly, may seem not so important at first glance. As we shall see in Chapter 6, however, it may be that this tendency played a part in some of Telemann's compositional decisions in the late Passions, especially with regard to narrative appropriation and reprocessing.⁸⁷ The tendency to work quickly and not to go back to correct and revise his

⁸⁶ Georg Michael Telemann, *Zur Nachricht* (Riga, 1815), in: Bruchstücke aus Gesang- und Instrumentalkompositionen. Darin einige Blatt mit G. M. Telemann, Cantor gezeichnet (D-Bsb, Musikabt., Mus. ms. autogr. Telemann, G. Ph. 134). Quoted in Christine Klein, *Dokumente zur Telemann-Rezeption 1767 bis 1907*, Schriftenreihe zur mitteldeutschen Musikgeschichte 2:1 (Oschersleben: Ziethen, 1998), 97-98 (Dok. 102).

⁸⁷ Presumably, the lost *Markuspassion* 1763 also had reprocessed music. Pausch argues that Telemann used reprocessed music ("Recycling-Technik") for reasons of "Arbeitsökonomie." The loss of the 1763 Passion was indeed unfortunate. The parts had been auctioned off after Telemann's death; before he left Hamburg for Riga,

scores and parts were due both to the sheer workload that Telemann had ("anderweitige Geschäfte," duties in addition to composing) and to the fact that he had no great love for his duties as Cantor. Georg Michael is silent as to whether Telemann's neglect of his scores and parts was restricted to his obligatory compositions (cantatas, Passions, etc.) or whether it extended also to his extra-official activities (concert oratorios, operas, commissions from outside Hamburg, etc.). Of course, I cannot claim, on the basis of Georg Michael's comment alone, that because Telemann was not in love with his duties, he *was* enamored of his extra-official activities, such as setting the lyric libretti of Ramler and his circle. All I can do here is gather evidence that Telemann carried out his cantoral duties out of necessity and often in haste, and that some of the problems in the late Passions bear the marks of his interest in expediency.

Taking his letters and his grandson's observation together, we can formulate an important aspect of the profile of Telemann, composer and cantor in Hamburg. I have already suggested that Telemann indicated his preference for his extra-official activities by talking about them to the exclusion of his obligatory works, such as in his 1723 letter to Uffenbach. Telemann's frustration with his "Arbeiten" may well have increased significantly from the time the Goose Market opera had closed its doors in 1738. He had served as the director of and composed a long run of works for that company from 1722 until its closing. The end of his tenure as opera director and composer marked the passing of the very opportunities that had drawn Telemann to Hamburg in the first place. Performances of *Seliges Erwägen* continued on a regular basis, but it seems that Telemann had not composed any new concert oratorios since *Die Gekreuzigte Liebe* (1731), or that new texts were not available to him. Though Georg Michael did not comment on it directly – he was born ten years after the Goose Market opera had closed – it may have been

Georg Michael had lent the score to a Hannoverian musician named Hesse, never to get it back. See Georg Michael's letter to Poelchau, dated 30 September 1816, quoted in Klein, *Dokumente zur Telemann-Rezeption*, 98-99

Telemann's "other life" as an opera composer that was his grandfather's first vocational love during the early part of his Hamburg career. Making ends meet by writing cantatas and Passions, the performance of which was a job requirement, may not have satisfied the old man – already fifty-seven years of age at the end of his career as an opera director/composer – as much as composing dramatic music had.

Telemann may have had his chance for lyric as well as dramatic composition in the early part of his Hamburg career. What about during his later years? For nearly twenty years, between 1738 and 1755, Telemann's productivity was in decline.⁸⁸ Composition of new vocal works was limited to the "Arbeiten." Around 1755, however, the arrival of new poetic texts in Hamburg from the Berlin Circle (Ramler, Klopstock, et al.) appears to have given Telemann – then seventy-four years of age – a new compositional lease on life, so to speak. At the very least, such texts gave him the chance to set something other than the same biblical texts that had formed the core of the liturgical Passions for so many years.

It would have been the settings of the oratorios of the "Berlin Circle" that Georg Michael most likely would have remembered from his youth in the 1750s and 1760s. This fruitful activity was to continue for a decade, and may have held Telemann's attention and interest more than his obligatory productions.

2.6.3. The Testimony of a Rediscovered Manuscript

A fascinating piece of evidence for Telemann's activities during his later years is D-Hs, Musikhandschrift *ND VI 81g:4* (hereafter *Hamburg 81*), a recently rediscovered manuscript

(Dok. 103).

⁸⁸ The decline in productivity had much to do with the closing of the opera, but also with another significant circumstance. On 17 October 1740, Telemann offered for sale the plates of all of his editions of his works that he had self-published in Hamburg. Thus ended his long and successful career as a publisher of his own music, a career which had begun in 1715, and which encompassed forty-six publications. See Swack, "The Solo Sonatas of Georg Philipp Telemann: A Study of the Sources and Musical Style," PhD diss., Yale University, 1988.

collection (not autograph) of regular and occasional works by Telemann and other composers. The works found in this collection had been previously unknown, or known only by their text but without their music. The rediscovery is certainly a great boon to Telemann scholarship in general. I will discuss this manuscript and its contents here mainly as a useful compendium of Telemann's compositional tendencies in his later years: the repetition of entire works over several weeks, the revival of entire cantata cycles, the appropriation of movements from earlier works, the insertion of chorales where none are indicated in the libretto, the performance of music by other composers, and the acceptance of commissions from outside Hamburg. The manuscript is indeed a useful informant in generating our profile of the elder Telemann in general and increasing our understanding, if by indirect means, of the late liturgical Passions in particular.

Hamburg 81 contains Telemann's pre-sermon Easter cantata from 1757, "Christus hat ausgezogen die Fürstentümer," TWV 1:139.⁸⁹ This work was performed five times that year: Easter Sunday, Easter Monday, and the second, third, and fourth Sundays of Easter (Quasimodogeniti, Misericordias and Jubilate). This work provides evidence of Telemann's tendency to perform a single work over a five-week period in each of Hamburg's principal churches. This cantata does not, however, fall under the category of "de tempore" works. It is clearly conceived for the Easter festival, but since that observance lasts for seven weeks, Telemann saw fit to repeat the work five times. It must have been general enough, however, that it would fit with the appointed Scriptural lessons for each day it was performed.

Hamburg 81 points to Telemann's practice of reviving a work from a much earlier cantata cycle, in this case a previously unknown post-sermon cantata for the first Sunday of Advent

⁸⁹ Neubacher, 397. This is a copied score, though not the only source for this cantata. The parts, written by the important Hamburg Copyist A, are housed in D-Bsb.

1755, "In deinem Wort und Sacrament" TVWV 1:931, to a text by Neumeister, from the 1743 *Lieder-Andachten* cycle.⁹⁰ I am not sure whether the entire 1743-44 cycle was revived in 1755-56. This cantata is also interesting for Telemann's use of a stanza of the chorale "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland," not specified by Neumeister. This is yet another example of Telemann's strong "Eigenmächtigkeit" when it came to setting a text – the tendency in this case to insert a chorale when not directed to by the libretto.

Hamburg 81 contains a "Jubel-Musik von 1760" ("Festival Music of 1760") entitled "Die dicken Wolken scheiden sich" ("The thick clouds part"). It is a festival cantata, in two parts (to be performed before and after the sermon, most likely), performed 16 October 1760 at Altona's Christianeum, honoring the Danish King Frederick V (reigned 1746-66).

Neubacher suggests that Telemann appropriated at least one of the choruses of this cantata from an older composition.⁹¹ The final chorus, "Amen, Lob und Ehre und Weisheit und Dank" has a text taken from Rev. 7:12, which Telemann used in a cantata for the installation of Pastor Julius Gustav Alberti in 1755. Since the music for the 1755 cantata is no longer extant (there are 55 installation cantatas for which only the texts survive), it remains a speculation that Telemann appropriated the music five years later for the festival cantata. If he did indeed borrow the chorus in 1760, however, this would indicate a longer-standing and more wide-ranging practice of appropriation, at least in the late vocal music, than I had previously thought. Only two years later, beginning with the *Matthäuspassion* 1762, Telemann began to appropriate the *narratio* from earlier works on a regular basis. We can only speculate on whether he appropriated any music, aside from the reprocessed *narratio*, in the late Passions.

⁹⁰ See Neubacher, 394-96. Telemann continued the practice of reviving older works in his late years. A good example from the festival cantata repertory is the 1759 Pentecost cantata, which Telemann revived in 1764 with the substitution of Klopstock's chorale paraphrases for Luther's originals. This, of course, brings up the issue of "Eigenmächtigkeit" once again, as well as the famous battle with Pastor Goeze.

Another feature of the 1760 festival cantata, as it stands in the manuscript, is the use of the German performance markings "gel." and "st." ("gelinde" = soft; "stark" = loud) instead of the Italian "p" and "f."⁹² Telemann's use of German performance indications (including time words and "V.A." ["Vom Anfang"] instead of "D.C." at the ends of da capo arias) is well-established in the late vocal works, as can be seen in all the autograph manuscripts of the late Passions. They are also found in a work for Altona, suggesting that the use of German performance markings was not peculiar to Hamburg, but extended beyond the city walls.⁹³ It is important to note that Telemann used German performance indications from about 1733.⁹⁴ As we will see, the switch to German markings from Italian happened just three years before the shortening of the *narratio* (elimination of the the Last Supper and Burial) in Telemann's liturgical Passions. Is this indicative of a wider reform of church music in Hamburg?

Neubacher suggests that the copyist and compiler of *Hamburg 81* might have been a woman by the name of Schulz (her given name is unknown), one of Telemann's composition students. She composed at least part of a church cantata performed at St. Jakobi on 31 May 1753, under Telemann's direction. Interestingly, the sermon was given by the 83-year old Neumeister.⁹⁵ I include this as part of Telemann's "Hamburg profile" because it suggests that Telemann did not always perform and/or conduct his own music in Hamburg. In this case, Schulz may have composed the entire work, or it might have been a collaborative composition with Telemann.

⁹¹ Neubacher, 390.

⁹² Neubacher, 388.

⁹³ Of course, it is possible that a Hamburg copyist prepared the manuscript collection and used the German markings; it might not be indicative of what was common to Altona performance indications.

⁹⁴ Neubacher, 388, n. 13, citing Bernd Baselt, "Deutsche Vortragsbezeichnungen bei Georg Philipp Telemann," in *Zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Vokalmusik Georg Philipp Telemanns – ein Beitrag zum 225. Todestag. Konferenzbericht der XX. Wissenschaftlichen Arbeitstagung Michaelstein 1992*, edited by Eitelfriedrich Thom; *Studien zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts* 46 (Michaelstein, 1995), 86-93.

⁹⁵ Neubacher, 400. The information about the performance comes from a diary entry (presumably dated on or around 31 May 1753) of Christlob Mylius, journalist and "Naturkundler."

As far as Telemann's collaborations and engagement with the music of other composers are concerned, we know that in his opera days, Telemann contributed new arias and other numbers to works by other composers. We know from the late Passion manuscripts that Telemann collaborated with Georg Michael as far as the copying and compilation were concerned; all of the music, as far as we know, was by Telemann himself. Sharing *compositional* duties, however, would be a new idea altogether. The more likely scenario would be that Telemann simply conducted the music of another composer rather than carried out the compositional activity himself. This would fit the profile that in his later years, as Gerstenbüttel had done before him, Telemann resorted to performing other people's music and repeating his own compositions, rather than devoting his compositional energies to new works. All of this indicates that Telemann's decision to appropriate music in his liturgical Passions, beginning with the *Matthäuspassion* 1762, is best seen within a longer-standing tendency to avoid writing new music when there were more expedient solutions available to him.

The festival cantata of 1760, discussed above, described in an Altona newspaper, as "an especially beautiful piece" ("eine vorzüglich schöne Musik"), was performed during the divine service at the city's principal Lutheran church.⁹⁶ Though not mentioned by title or composer, we can reasonably conclude that the newspaper report referred to the Telemann cantata.⁹⁷

Telemann's acceptance of a compositional commission from Altona did not sit well with his employers in Hamburg. He received a reprimand from the Hamburg Senate, not only for his devotion of compositional energy to an extra-official project, but requesting a leave from his post

⁹⁶ *Altonaische Mercurius* (no. 171, 24 October 1760): 6-7. Quoted in Neubacher, 388.

⁹⁷ On the second day of the festival, there was an oration by Henrici, professor at the Christianeum. The *Mercurius* mentioned the performance of a Latin cantata, "vor und nach der Rede." See Neubacher, 389. It is interesting to see an indication that, at least in Altona, as two-part church cantatas were performed before and after sermons, so were two-part Latin vocal works performed before and after orations. *Hamburg 81* contains a Latin two-part motet, "Nunc auspicato sidera," which Telemann appears to have composed for an event held in Altona, specifically, the tricentennial of the regency of the house of Oldenburg, 28-30 October 1749. See Neubacher, 392-94.

to conduct the work at the festival. The Senate noted with justifiable annoyance that Telemann was to earn his bread in Hamburg, not Altona.⁹⁸

2.7. SUMMARY

We have seen that throughout his Hamburg career, Telemann cultivated a wide variety of official and extra-official vocal genres. We have also seen the significant ebb of his compositional output, especially for the week-to-week services of the church, beginning around 1750. Telemann's affinity for the concert oratorio in the 1750s and 1760s did not spring *ex nihilo*; rather, this genre offered a breath of fresh air in a career that saw flagging interest in the composition of music for regular church performances. Furthermore, he seems to have been interested more in "extra-official" projects than in fulfilling his duties as Cantor and *Director musices*. This interest may even have resulted in a degree of professional neglect, whereby he failed to revise or even correct errors in the scores and parts of his obligatory compositions. Could this tendency toward expediency be at least a partial explanation for the narrative appropriation and reprocessing in the liturgical Passions of 1762-67? Could the appearance of Ramler's oratorios help to explain the rise of lyricism in the late Passions? Chapter 3 will continue the discussion of the issues of lyricism and narrative reprocessing with an overview of those procedures in Telemann's Hamburg Passions in general.

⁹⁸ Neubacher, 395.

3. OVERVIEW OF TELEMANN'S LITURGICAL PASSIONS

As I discussed in the Introduction, scholars such as Hörner, Poppe, and Lange have noted, however briefly, the lyric and narrative characteristics of Telemann's late Passions. Hörner and Lange in particular have connected the lyric aspects of the late Passions to oratorios of the period, especially *Der Tod Jesu* (1755). In this chapter, I provide the necessary background for this discussion. I first give a brief overview of the Hamburg liturgical Passion in general, including its history, classification, and the performance schedule in the main and secondary churches (Haupt- und Nebenkirchen). Turning to Telemann's Passions in particular, I provide an overview of the entire repertory, dividing them into three main groups (early, middle, and late). I identify the basic characteristics of each group, and pay particular attention to the lyric and narrative peculiarities of the late group.

3.1. PASSION MUSIC IN HAMBURG

The annual performance of Passion music in Hamburg can be traced back to 1609, during the cantorate of Erasmus Sartorius.⁹⁹ These early Passions, performed in the secondary churches, were classified as extraordinary ("außerordentlich") rather than ordinary ("ordentlich") church music. The Passion gained in prominence throughout the course of the seventeenth century; a

⁹⁹ Sartorius was Cantor of the Johanneum and *Director musices* of the city's main churches from 1605-37. The passions of 1609-11 were at first purely choral works (*musica choralis*); instruments were used for the first time in 1612 (*musica figuralis*). See Martin Ruhnke and Dorothea Schröder, "Sartorius, Erasmus," *Grove Music Online*,

few by Thomas Selle, who was Cantor from 1641-63, are extant.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, for the period 1645-76 (most of Selle's cantorate and the entirety of Christoph Bernhard's), there are no surviving texts or music, so we do not know if the Passion performances were continuous then. Happily, the record resumes, at least in part, during Joachim Gerstenbüttel's cantorate, 1676-1721. While no music survives, we know that Gerstenbüttel performed, if not composed, a Passion each year.¹⁰¹ Though it was controversial, the Passion was at last designated an "Ordentliche Kirchencereemonie."¹⁰²

The liturgical Passion was performed thirteen times annually in the five main churches as well as in eight of the secondary churches, according to an established schedule. The schedule of church music performances was published in the annual *Hamburger Schreib=Calender*.¹⁰³ The performances in the principal churches were held according to seniority (St. Petri being the oldest church, St. Michaeli the newest) according to the following rule: St. Petri, the first Sunday in Lent (Quadragesima or Invocavit); St. Nicolai, the second Sunday in Lent (Reminiscere); St. Katherinen, the fourth Sunday in Lent (Laetare); St. Jakobi, the fifth Sunday in Lent (Judica); and St. Michaelis, Palm Sunday (Palmarum).¹⁰⁴ Performances in the subordinate churches began

edited by Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed February 13, 2005). See also Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 67, esp. n. 299.

¹⁰⁰ Selle's extant passions include *Passio in dialogo secundum Matthaeum* (1642), *Passio secundum Johannem cum intermediis* (1643), and *Passio secundum Johannem, sine intermediis* (after 1643). See Werner Braun and Jürgen Neubacher, "Selle, Thomas," *Grove Music Online*, edited by Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed 13 February 2005).

¹⁰¹ See Kremer, *Joachim Gerstenbüttel*.

¹⁰² Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 158.

¹⁰³ For more on the *Schreib=Calender*, see Hirschmann, ed., foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xi. Hirschmann gives credit for the discovery of the *Schreib=Calender* to Johannes Pausch, director of the ongoing Telemann-Projekt. Pausch lists only twelve performances of the *Johannespassion 1765*; see his note accompanying the facsimile libretto, *Die Leidens= und Sterbens=Geschichte JESU Christi*. . . (Hamburg: Piscator, 1765; Hamburg: Altona, 1997), [17].

¹⁰⁴ There were no Passion performances on the third Sunday in Lent (Oculi), because that Sunday was reserved for the performance of installation music ("Juraten-Einführungsmusik") at St. Michaelis; see Barbara Wiermann, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Gottesdienstmusiken," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs Geistliche Musik, Bericht über das Internationale Symposium (Teil 1) vom 12. bis 16. März 1998 in Frankfurt (Oder)*, edited by Ulrich Leisinger and Hans-Günther Ottenberg (Frankfurt/Oder: Konzerthalle "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach," 2000), 90-91; cited by Ulrich Leisinger, ed., *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Matthäuspassion 1789* (Packard Humanities Institute), ix, n. 3.

on weekdays during the fifth week of Lent, culminating with the performance at St. Georg on Good Friday. I give below (Figure 3.1) the annual "Normalordnung" of the Passion performances, as Wolfgang Hirschmann reconstructs from the Hamburg "Schreib-Calender."¹⁰⁵

Quadragesima	St. Petri
Reminiscere	St. Nikolai
Laetare	St. Katharinen
Judica	St. Jakobi
Thursday after Judica	Klein St. Michaelis (Nebenkirche)
Friday after Judica	Heilig Geist
Saturday after Judica	St. Johannis
Palmarum	St. Michaelis (Hauptkirche)
Monday of Holy Week	St. Maria-Magdalenen
Tuesday of Holy Week	St. Gertruden
Wednesday of Holy Week	Pesthofkirche
Maundy Thursday	St. Pauli (Hamburger Berg)
Good Friday	St. Georg

Figure 3.1: Normal order of Hamburg Passion performances

3.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF TELEMANN'S PASSION REPERTORY

Telemann's liturgical Passions are a formidable body of work. From 1722-67, he wrote one each year for a total of forty-six complete Passions during his Hamburg cantorate. Of these, twenty-two are extant.¹⁰⁶ Below I provide a list (Figure 3.2) of Telemann's extant Passions with librettist, if known, and the primary source material:

¹⁰⁵ Hirschmann, ed., foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xi.

¹⁰⁶ Of the twenty-two extant Passions, only one is a parody: the *Johannespassion 1749* parodies the *Johannespassion 1741*. I do not know why Telemann saw the need to resort to parody. Of the non-extant Passions, it appears that the *Matthäuspassion 1738* was a parody of the *Matthäuspassion 1726*. The librettist for each seems to have been Wilkens; see Hörner, 61-63. The need for a parody in 1738 was clear, as that was when Telemann made his months-long trip to Paris, so he was unable to compose, produce, and mount a wholly original Passion.

Year	Evangelist	Librettist	Source
1728	Luke	Wilkens	D-Bsb, Autogr. 18
1730	Matthew	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21714
1733	John	?	B-Bc, No. 963
1737	John	?	B-Bc, No. 964
1741	John	?	D-Bsb, Autogr. 16
1744	Luke	?	D-SWl, K. 5377/1
1745	John	Zimmermann	B-Bc, No. 962
1746	Matthew	?	D-SWl, K. 5377/2
1748	Luke	?	D-Bsb, Autogr. 20
1749	John	?	D-Bsb, Autogr. 17
1750	Matthew	?	D-Bsb, Autogr. 21
1755	Mark	?	PL-Kj, Autogr. 14
1757	John	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21702
1758	Matthew	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21708/21713
1759	Mark	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21703
1760	Luke	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21704
1761	John	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21705
1762	Matthew	M. Pitiscus	D-Bsb, Autogr. 12/13
1764	Luke	?	D-Bsb, Autogr. 19
1765	John	?	D-Bsb, Autogr. 11
1766	Matthew	?	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21706
1767	Mark	J. Rist	D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21707

Figure 3.2: Telemann's extant liturgical Passions

All of Telemann's liturgical Passions have some fundamental things in common: they are based on the biblical narration of the Passion and death of Jesus Christ (hereafter *narratio*), as recounted in the four canonical Gospels.¹⁰⁷ This text is broken up by a number of lyric (poetic) interpolations, including chorales, arias, various types of recitatives, and choruses. Usually a chorus or chorale, or a sequence of such ensemble movements, is found at the beginning and end

¹⁰⁷ In classical rhetoric, *narratio* refers to the history or statement of facts that provides relevant background to a discourse. If the Passion as a whole is seen as a discourse, then the Evangelist's text (the *narratio*), provides the historical background for the meditation (the *meditatio*) on the events of Jesus' suffering and death, provided by the interpolations.

of each Passion, forming the *exordium* and *conclusio*.¹⁰⁸ Wolfgang Hirschmann provides a useful summary statement on the basic textual content of the Passions:

In a four-year rotation, the core biblical text of these Passions was formed by one of the Passion narratives of the four Evangelists (in the order Matthew, Mark, Luke, John), so that every fifth year the Gospel text was repeated. . . The Evangelist's text was thus repeated in a regular rotation; the entire Passion libretto always contained an individualized Text through new poetic interpolations. . . During his long Hamburg career, Telemann produced 46 liturgical Passions; the series began in 1722 with a Passion according to Matthew and ended in 1767 with a Mark Passion. Of this corpus, according to the present state of research, 22 Passions are preserved."¹⁰⁹

The *narratio* was the foundation and primary component of the liturgical Passion in Hamburg. It comprises the Evangelist's narration, dialogues between the *dramatis personae*, e.g. Jesus, Peter, Pilate, etc; and the outcries of the various groups of people, e.g. priests, the disciples, "the Jews," etc., all of which, especially the latter, are often lumped together under the term "crowds" or *turbae*. The practice of drawing the *narratio* verbatim from a single Gospel goes back at least as far as Selle's cantorate (1641-63), while the four-year cycle of following the canonical order of the Evangelists began in the 1690s, during Gerstenbüttel's cantorate (1676-1721). The annual liturgical Passion's strict adherence to a single Gospel text is in stark contrast

¹⁰⁸ *Exordium* (opening argument) and *conclusio* (closing argument; also known as *peroratio*) are also drawn from classical rhetoric. See "Silva Rhetoricae," <http://www.rhetoric.byu.edu> (accessed February 14, 2005). I follow Howard E. Smither in using *exordium* and *conclusio* as convenient terms for the opening and closing sections of the Passion. See Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 2, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 3. The use of a polyphonic *exordium* and *conclusio* in German Passion music can be traced to the mid-sixteenth century. The *conclusio* usually took the form of a song of thanksgiving, such as "Dank sei unserem Herren." See Kurt von Fischer and Werner Braun, "Passion," in *Grove Music Online*, edited by Laura Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com> (accessed March 8, 2005). As we will see, the *conclusio* movements of many Telemann Passions are songs of thanksgiving, and they can best be seen as developments of the sixteenth-century practice.

¹⁰⁹ "Die biblische Textgrundlage dieser Passionen bildete in vierjährig wiederkehrender Folge eine der Passionserzählungen der vier Evangelisten (in der Abfolge Matthäus, Markus, Lukas, Johannes), so dass sich in jedem fünften Jahr das zugrundeliegende Evangelium wiederholte....So wiederholten sich zwar in regelmässiger Folge die Evangelientexte; das gesamte Passionslibretto stellte jedoch stets einen durch neue poetische Interpolationen individualisierten Text dar....In Telemanns langer Hamburgischer Amtszeit entstanden so insgesamt 46 liturgische Passionen; die Reihe wurde 1722 mit einer Passion nach Mätthaus eröffnet und schloss 1767 mit einer Markuspassion. Von diesem Korpus sind nach heutigem Kenntnisstand Notenquellen zu 22 Passionen erhalten geblieben." See Hirschmann, ed., *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, viii.

to the non-liturgical Passions, which tended to draw from all four Gospels, in the tradition of the *Passionsharmonie*, and the text was often versified or paraphrased.¹¹⁰ The *narratio* of Telemann's Passions was not typically divided according to the classic *actus* structure.¹¹¹

Telemann's Passions have, in general, rather modest vocal and instrumental scoring. The vocal forces consisted of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass soloists, as well as a four-part choir.¹¹² The soloists of course sang the arias and other poetic interpolations assigned to solo voices, and the role of the Evangelist was assigned mostly to the tenor.¹¹³ The core of the orchestral forces consisted of strings and a continuo group, augmented by wind players who doubled on flutes (both transverse and recorders) and oboes. Telemann often wrote parts for one or two bassoons in his Passion scores; occasionally he wrote horn parts, as well as the rare solo trumpet part.¹¹⁴

Telemann's Passions have norms insofar as there are three main layers of text: the *narratio*, the chorales, and all manner of poetic interpolations, often sung by allegorical characters. It is important to understand, however, that there are no standard procedures; no one arrangement of these basic elements can be applied to the repertory as a whole, or even to Passions composed within a few years of each other.

¹¹⁰ The blending of the four Gospel accounts of the suffering and death of Jesus into a *Passionsharmonie* is a tradition that can be traced back to the *Historia des Lydendes unde Upstandige unses Heren Jesu Christi: uth den veer Euangelisten* by Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558). Portions of this text were read during the Good Friday Vespers in many Lutheran churches, though this was apparently not the case in Hamburg, where the preference was for the presentation of a single Gospel text.

¹¹¹ The Passion account was traditionally divided, following Bugenhagen's *Passionsharmonie*, into five *actus*: 1. Hortus (Garden of Gethsemane); 2. Pontifices (Trial before the High Priest); 3. Pilatus (Trial before Pilate); 4. Crux (Crucifixion); 5. Sepulcrum (Burial in the tomb). The narration of the Last Supper, not included in an actual *actus*, was considered the "Vorbereitung zum Leiden" (Preface to the Suffering [of Jesus]).

¹¹² According to Ulrich Leisinger, the *director musices* "had at his disposal no more than eight church singers as well as the *Ratsmusiker* (city musicians) and their assistants, that is, around fifteen instrumentalists." See Leisinger, ed., *Matthäuspension 1789*, x. See also Reginald L. Sanders, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Liturgical Music at the Hamburg Principal Churches from 1768 to 1788" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2001).

¹¹³ Beginning with the *Matthäuspension 1758*, the Evangelist's role was assigned to a bass soloist. In the partial autograph score of the *Johannespassion 1765*, the Evangelist is to be sung by a "2. Cantus." On the CD recording by Johannes Pausch, *Johannes-Passion 1765*, the role is sung by a male alto.

¹¹⁴ The only trumpet parts I know of are found in the chorus "Glück zu, o Erlöser, du hast es vollbracht" in the *Johannespassion 1745*, and the aria "So hauchen der Würger Trompeten" in the *Matthäuspension 1766*.

3.2.1. The Early, Middle, and Late Groups of Passions

I divide Telemann's liturgical Passion repertory into three major periods, based on important developments in the history of the genre. The first period comprises the "early" works, composed 1722-36. These Passions include the full scope of the *narratio* (Vorbereitung and five *acti*). Of the fifteen works that Telemann composed in this period, only three are extant (3/15, 20%): the 1728 St. Luke, 1730 St. Matthew, and 1733 St. John. It is difficult to discuss norms and exceptions during this period when only three of these fifteen Passions are extant. Even so, based on the repertory as a whole, we can identify the 1730 St. Matthew as the "norm," and the 1728 St. Luke as the exception.

The second period comprises the "middle" works, composed 1737-54. These works use the (mostly) reduced *narratio* (minus the Vorbereitung and the *actus sepulcrum*). Of the eighteen Passions Telemann composed during this period, sixteen were totally original works, and two were parodies: the 1738 St. Matthew was a parody of the 1726 St. Matthew (neither is extant), and the 1749 St. John is a parody of the 1741 St. John. Eight works are extant from this period (8/18, about 44.4%): the 1737 St. John, 1741 St. John, 1744 St. Luke, 1745 St. John, 1746 St. Matthew, 1748 St. Luke, 1749 St. John, and 1750 St. Matthew. Outstanding among these are the 1745 St. John and the 1748 St. Luke, for reasons I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4. "Typical" works worthy of comment include the 1744 St. Luke, 1746 St. Matthew, and the two parodies.

During the second period, the narrative structure of the liturgical Passion underwent a significant change. After 1736, the narration of the Last Supper and of the Burial of Jesus was eliminated, leaving Gethsemane and Golgotha as the narrative bookends, the primary loci of the Passion story. The reduction of narration allowed the expansion of the poetic interpolations (chorales, arias, recitatives, and choruses), especially in the *exordium* and *conclusio*. Often these

expanded sections contained a *meditatio* on aspects of the Last Supper, the Burial, and perhaps even allusions to the Resurrection, events not recounted in the *narratio*.

The third period comprises the "late" works, composed 1755-67. Of the thirteen works Telemann composed during this period, eleven are extant (11/13, about 84.6%), the only lost works being the 1756 St. Luke and the 1763 St. Mark. Based on the percentage of surviving works alone, the late Passions invite a detailed study that allows for the comparison of several works. These Passions were composed in the wake of the great influx of concert oratorios, typified by their avoidance of *narratio*. Obviously the liturgical Passions could not do away with the *narratio*, but the impact of the new oratorios was strong indeed. These Passions typically include the expanded *exordium* and *conclusio*, extended chorale sequences (I define "chorale sequence" as a series of chorale movements, usually based on the same tune, often separated by a chorus or other poetic interpolation), poetic depiction of events, large *accompagnati*, and reprocessed *narratio* in the last few works.

I will provide a few representative examples from the first and second periods, to illustrate some of their distinguishing characteristics. Anything more than this is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The bulk of my discussion will focus on the works from the third period, which I will take up in detail in Chapter 5.

3.2.2. Early Contrasts: *Lukaspassion 1728* and *Matthäuspassion 1730*

Simply put, the *Lukaspassion 1728* is unlike any other Passion composed by Telemann, both in the early period and in the entire repertory. It has a unique structure and design, with the *narratio* divided into five parts ("Abteilungen"). Each of these parts is prefaced by a typological preamble ("Vorbereitung") drawn from the Old Testament,¹¹⁵ followed by a moral/theological *applicatio*

¹¹⁵ Typology is the theological study of figures, events, or symbols in the Bible believed to be divinely ordained prefigurements of things to come. The type is the prefigurement; the antitype is the person or thing that is

("Gläubige Anwendung").¹¹⁶ Each section of the *narratio* is interspersed with appropriate chorales that serve as meditations on the events of the story. The 1728 Passion as a whole could be said to be a series of five mini-oratorios. Though innovative and even experimental, Telemann and his librettists would never again arrange the *narratio* and poetic interpolations in such a manner. To get an idea of the content and structure of each of these sections, the chart below (Figure 3.3) outlines the Preamble to the First Part, the *applicatio*, and the First Part of the *narratio*.

- I. *Vorbereitung zur ersten Abteilung: Der verkaufte Joseph* (Joseph Sold [into Slavery])
 - A. Accompagnato sung by Joseph (Suffering in bondage, sold by his brothers)
 - B. Aria (G minor, common time, marked *Andante*, bass voice), sung by Joseph
- II. *Die gläubige Anwendung*
 - A. Accompagnato for tenor (As with Joseph, Jesus was betrayed by his friend and disciple; prayer that the believer might not continue to betray Jesus out of greed)
 - B. Aria (G minor, 3/8) for tenor
- III. *Erste Abteilung*
 - A. Luke 22:1-20 (Last Supper)
 - B. Chorale
 - C. Luke 22:21-48 (Prediction of Betrayal; Discourse to Disciples; Agony in the Garden; Judas's Kiss)
 - D. Chorale
 - E. Luke 22:49-53 (Peter cuts off servant's ear; Jesus heals servant; Jesus rebukes the crowd for arresting him as a criminal during the hour of darkness)
 - F. Chorale

Figure 3.3: Outline of opening section of *Lukaspassion 1728*

prefigured. Usually types are identified in the Old Testament as the foreshadowing of antitypes in the New Testament. Types are sometimes identified within biblical passages. One of the most important of these is at Romans 5:12, where Adam is identified as a type of Jesus (conversely, Jesus is the antitype of Adam). Whereas Adam's sin condemned humanity to death, Jesus' righteousness was to restore all humanity to life. Typology is a frequently used device in the libretti of Telemann's Passions. In the *Lukaspassion 1728*, each of the five sections contains a type/antitype: first, Joseph's being sold into slavery by his brothers is the type of Jesus' betrayal by Judas; second, the prophet Micah's being slapped by Zedekiah is the type of Jesus' being mocked and beaten by his captors; third, Absalom's rebellion against his father King David is the type of the rejection and condemnation of Jesus by the crowds in Jerusalem; fourth, Samson's death by pulling down the pillars of Dagon's temple, which destroyed the Philistine host, is the type of Jesus' death by crucifixion, which conquered death itself; fifth, Jonah's survival after a three-day imprisonment in the belly of the great fish is the type of Jesus' burial in the tomb and his resurrection on the third day.

¹¹⁶ The *applicatio* is the practical application of the biblical lesson to everyday life. In the case of the *Lukaspassion 1728*, the *applicatio* refers back to the Old Testament type and ahead to the New Testament antitype.

Another important aspect of the *Lukaspassion* 1728 is the lack of any original music for the *narratio*; all of it is appropriated from the *Lukaspassion* 1724, which is no longer extant. Telemann did not write out the borrowed music into his autograph score; he entrusted that task entirely to a copyist.¹¹⁷ While this kind of appropriation is a singular occurrence in the early liturgical Passions, Telemann would eventually develop large-scale, complex processes of appropriation and musical reprocessing of the *narratio* in the 1760s. I will discuss these processes in detail below, in Chapter 6.

The *Matthäuspassion* 1730 is more conventional in its structure and disposition of the biblical and poetic texts. Its parameters might be likened to J. S. Bach's own *Matthäuspassion*, and it represents the manner in which Telemann cultivated the Passion genre prior to the narrative reduction in the mid-1730s. I outline below (Figure 3.4) the *Vorbereitung* of the 1730 Passion, in which the *narratio*, chorales, and poetic interpolations are more integrated than in the *Lukaspassion* 1728:

1. Chorale "Wenn meine Sünd' mich kränken"
2. *Narratio* (Matt. 26:1-16; through the promise of thirty silver pieces to Judas)
3. Aria (Gläubige Seele) "Höchst unsel'ges Unterfangen"
4. *Narratio* (Matt. 26:17-29; through Jesus' refusal to drink any more wine until he drinks it new with his disciples in his Father's Kingdom)
5. Aria (Gläubige Seele) "Ach Heiland, wie nähret"
6. Chorale "Ach, wie hungert mein Gemüte"
7. *Narratio* (Matt. 26:30-38; through Jesus' cry "Meine Seele ist betrübt bis in den Tod; bleibet hier und wachet mit mir!")¹¹⁸
8. *Soliloquio* [accompagnato] (Gläubige Seele) "Bis in den Tod, ach ew'ges Leben"
9. Chorale "Was ist doch wohl die Ursach' solcher Plagen?"
10. Aria (Gläubige Seele) "Meine wehmutvolle Seele"
11. Chorale "Du Nacht voll Angst und herbem Seelenleiden"

Figure 3.4: Outline of the *Vorbereitung* of the *Matthäuspassion* 1730

¹¹⁷ See Hörner and Ruhnke, ed., *Lukaspassion* 1728, TA 15, x.

¹¹⁸ This is an example of how Telemann's passions generally do not observe the *actus* structure. The *Vorbereitung* traditionally ends at Matt. 26:35, "Desgleichen sagten alle Jünger," when the disciples vow that they would not deny Jesus. Telemann's librettist, however, carries on through v. 38 in order to interpolate a four-movement *meditatio* on Jesus' anguish about his imminent death and the believer's sadness and compassion for the suffering of the Savior.

3.2.3. Works of the Middle Period

Typically, the Passions that Telemann composed from 1737-54, the middle period, carried on more or less in the same way as those of the early period, except for the reduced *narratio* (minus the *Vorbereitung* and *actus sepulcrum*). The *Johannespassion 1745* is an exceptional work from this period. It is unique in that it was published under Telemann's authority, and restored the *narratio* to its full length, to name but two of its outstanding features. It is one of the few Passions by Telemann that is available to the scholarly community and the general public, through a critical edition and a fine recording on the Eufoda label.¹¹⁹ Another significant work from this period is the *Lukaspassion 1748*, notable for its unusual lyric-narrative procedures. This Passion, on the other hand, is not generally available, as it survives only in the autograph score and has not been edited or recorded.

I will comment briefly on the significance of the 1745 St. John, but reserve detailed discussion of the 1748 St. Luke Passion until Chapter 4. The *Johannespassion 1745* stands out among Telemann's 22 extant liturgical Passions. It too has unique characteristics, though quite different from the *Lukaspassion 1728*. First, it was the only Passion published during Telemann's lifetime, by Schmid of Nuremberg, and indeed the publication was authorized and overseen by the composer.¹²⁰ Second, the librettist, J. J. D. Zimmermann, restored the *narratio* to its full length, with the High Priestly Prayer from John 17, instead of the Last Supper from the Synoptic Gospels, at the beginning and the burial of Jesus at the end.

The structure and content of the *Johannespassion 1745* are quite expansive in comparison with its earlier brethren. It has an extended *exordium* and *conclusio* (Figure 3.5) and has several

¹¹⁹ Hirschmann, ed., *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29; the CD recording is *Johannespassie*, Patrick Peire, dir., Eufoda 1224 – 1226.

long *accompagnati*. John Passions prior to 1745, such as the 1737, did have poetic recitatives, but they tended to be very short. Zimmermann's recitatives in the 1745 St. John are quite extensive.

Exordium:

- No. 1. Chorale "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld"
- No. 2. Arienmäßig [Jesus] "Mein Vater! Hier sind nun die Stunden"
- No. 3 [Accompagnato. Jesus] "Bis hieher ist dein Werk vollbracht"
- No. 4. Aria [Jesus] "Erhöre, Vater, dies Verlangen"

Conclusio:

- No. 60. Aria "Verscharre dann, o Heiland meiner Seele"
- No. 61. [Accompagnato] "Ja, ja, du wirst es tun"
- No. 62. Chorus "Weisheit und Stärke samt Reichtum und Ehre"
- No. 63. Chorale "Darum wolln wir loben"

Figure 3.5: *Exordium* and *conclusio* of the *Johannespassion* 1745

The opening set of this work is quite remarkable. The opening chorale, "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld," would by itself function as a true *exordium*, but is followed immediately by three more movements (*arioso*, *accompagnato*, *aria*). That there are four poetic movements prior to the *narratio* would classify the whole set as an *exordium*, but the chorale alone can function as such, while the three subsequent movements could be classified as a separate subset, a poetic trope of what might otherwise have been the *verbatim* rendering of John 17. These movements are not lyric, but rather are dramatic, all sung by Jesus, here portrayed as one of the *dramatis personae*. These poetic movements are an interesting blend of (quite operatic) drama and a paraphrase of John 17, the so-called High Priestly Prayer.

Other notable works from the middle period that have become available to scholars, performers, and listeners include the 1744 St. Luke, 1746 St. Matthew, and 1750 St. Matthew.

¹²⁰ Telemann had ceased publishing his own music by 1738, but supervised several publishing projects. For details of his collaboration with Schmid on the publication of the *Johannespassion* 1745, see Hirschmann, foreword to

Each of these works follows Telemann's "typical" procedure from these years. Four-part congregational chorales at the beginning and at the end frame the whole Passion; the interpolated arias, choruses, and chorales serve as commentary and meditations on the ongoing Passion narrative. Occasionally the *dramatis personae*, such as Jesus in the 1744 St. Luke, Peter in the 1746 St. Matthew, and Judas in the 1750 St. Matthew, are assigned arias of considerable dramatic weight and power. These interpolations go beyond the liturgical function of the *meditatio* and take on the function of a dramatic soliloquy, such as would be found in an opera.

3.2.4. Works of the Late Period

The Passions of the late period (1755-67) are similar to those of the early and middle periods in two important respects: they retain the *exordium*, the *narratio* which is broken up by poetic interpolations and chorales, and the *conclusio*; and the *narratio* remains in the shortened form (minus Vorbereitung and Burial *acti*). The late Passions stand out from the early and middle works in that the *exordium* and *conclusio* are often quite large, consisting of as many as four movements each, as Hörner observed – though strictly speaking, his description pertains only to the *Johannespassion 1761*. To one degree or another, Telemann's late liturgical Passions contain several examples of the lyric style, often with striking similarity to passages in *Der Tod Jesu*. This is especially true with regard to the enlarged *exordium* and *conclusio*, expansive accompagnati, and extended chorale sequences in which Telemann employs both the standard four-part congregational format and various types of chorale arias and fantasias. An important result or consequence of the increasingly prominent lyric interpolations is the decline of the *narratio*. This decline manifested itself most significantly in the Passions of 1762-67, in which Telemann either appropriated or reprocessed the music for the *narratio* from older works. This tension between the narrative and poetic aspects of the Passion would ultimately have important

Johannespassion 1745, TA 29, viii-x.

consequences for the genre. I will return to the details of the lyric and narrative processes in the late Passions (especially the 1764 and 1765 case studies) in Chapters 5 and 6.

3.3. SUMMARY

In this chapter I have provided a brief overview of Telemann's Passion repertory, which I have divided into the early, middle, and late periods. Each group tends to adhere to certain narrative and poetic conventions, though there is a significant anomaly with regard to the occurrence of lyricism in the manner of Ramler. While this kind of lyricism is “supposed” to be restricted to the late group, I have identified what appears to be Ramler-style lyricism in a work from the middle group, the *Lukaspassion* 1748. There appears to have been something lyric in the air seven years before the arrival of Ramler's oratorios in Hamburg. It is important to note that Ramler's poetic model was the work of Friedrich Gottfried Klopstock. That poet's *magnum opus* was the epic *Der Messias*, the first three cantos of which were published in 1748. Klopstock's epic may have served as a lyric model for Telemann's 1748 St. Luke Passion, as Ramler's oratorio served as the model for the late Passions. I will discuss the two lyric models, represented by Klopstock and *Der Messias*, and Ramler and *Der Tod Jesu*, in Chapter 4.

4. TWO LYRIC MODELS: KLOPSTOCK AND RAMLER

My initial suspicion that something lyric was afoot in the pre-1755 works was corroborated when I examined the autograph score of the *Matthäuspassion* 1750 in the spring of 2004, in preparation for the North American premiere performance of that work.¹²¹ The presence of chorales not taken from the Hamburg chorale book (hereafter *Gesangbuch*),¹²² whether or not they are actually lyric chorales, brought to mind the chorale sequences of the 1759, 1760, 1764, 1765, and 1766 Passions. That initial suspicion led me to go even further back in the repertory, where unexpected riches lay waiting.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, there are two liturgical Passions from the middle group with lyric content: the *Johannespassion* 1745, and the *Lukaspassion* 1748. Only the latter contains many features of what Hörner and Lange would classify as Ramlerian lyricism; this would be rather unremarkable, except that the Ramlerian style is not "supposed" to have appeared until *Der Tod Jesu* of 1755. Therefore, we must expand our model of lyricism to consider sources other than Telemann's later concert oratorios. In this chapter I consider *two* models of lyricism, one that accounts for what we see as lyricism in the middle group of

¹²¹ The North American premiere performance was given on 28 March 2004 by the Bach and Baroque Ensemble, University of Pittsburgh, under the direction of Don O. Franklin.

¹²² The full title of the *Gesangbuch*, in use throughout Telemann's Hamburg career, is *Neu-vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch zum heiligen Gebrauche des öffentlichen Gottes-Dienstes / Als auch derer Hauß-Andachten* (1st ed: Hamburgischen Ministerio, 1710). The *Gesangbuch* was continuously updated, revised, and expanded every few years. Extant editions issued during Telemann's cantorate survive from 1735, 1737, 1745, 1750, 1753, 1754, 1758-61 (inclusive), 1763, 1766, and 1767. See Herwarth von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen: Eine Hamburgische Gesangbuchgeschichte*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte Hamburgs* 20 (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz), 194-203.

Passions, and the other for the lyricism of the late Passions. I propose that the 1748 St. Luke Passion was influenced by the poetry of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, of whom Ramler was a disciple.

I discuss the general content of the 1748 St. Luke Passion in Section 4.1. In Sections 4.2 and 4.3, my discussion will suggest the possible connections between the persons of Telemann and Klopstock, as well as the possible connections between their work, most importantly the nearly simultaneous publication of cantos I-III of Klopstock's epic *Der Messias* in April 1748, and the performance of Telemann's *Lukaspassion 1748*. I discuss in detail the lyric content of the 1748 St. Luke Passion in Section 4.4.

In Sections 4.5 to 4.8, I explore the second model of lyricism: Ramler's concert oratorios in general and *Der Tod Jesu* in particular. In Section 4.9 I consider the relationship between *Der Tod Jesu* and the *Lukaspassion 1760*. At the end of this chapter, I will provide an assessment and reevaluation of the "common wisdom" regarding the nature of Telemann's post-1755 Passions, in light of the two models of lyricism, represented by Klopstock and Ramler.

4.1. SUMMARY OF THE 1748 ST. LUKE PASSION

The *Lukaspassion 1748* stands quite apart from the Passions of the middle group. In general, it behaves like the "conventional" Passions of this period, in that it has an *exordium* and *conclusio* which frame the truncated *narratio* (Gethsemane to Golgotha, rather than the entire story from Last Supper to Burial). Upon closer inspection, however, it has lyric features that would place it stylistically among the Passions of 1755-67. These features include: 1) the multi-movement *exordium* and *conclusio*; 2) the abundance, length and heightened drama of the *accompagnati*; and 3) the number of chorales that are not found in the Hamburg *Gesangbuch*. Concerning the

third of these features, the 1748 Passion is the first of the extant Passions that contains chorales not drawn from the Hamburg *Gesangbuch*. Moreover, these non-Hamburg chorales may not be actual chorale texts at all, but rather new poems, in the manner of the chorale, by the Passion librettist. If this is indeed the case, then these "lyric" chorales would be the only examples of their kind prior to those that Ramler wrote for the oratorio *Der Tod Jesu* of 1755.

How can we account for the "Ramlerian" features of a liturgical Passion that was composed and performed seven years before Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* reached Telemann in Hamburg? I turn to poetry of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, who injected fresh life into German poetry with the composition and publication of his epic *Der Messias*, and served as a strong influence on other German poets, particularly Ramler.

4.2. ROOTS OF LYRICISM: KLOPSTOCK'S *DER MESSIAS*

Klopstock conceived and drafted the plan for an epic poem, *Der Messias*, by the age of 17. At this time he was a student at the classical school of Schulpforta, where he studied Greek and Latin versification, and began writing idylls and odes in German which adopted classical verse structure. He left Schulpforta in 1745, having given a "Valedictory Address on Epic Poetry, Elaborated through Cultural and Literary History" ("Abschiedsrede über die epische Poesie, kultur- und literargeschichtlich erläutert"). He went on to study theology in 1745-46, first in Jena, where he elaborated on cantos I-III of *Der Messias* in prose. Being dissatisfied with university life, he moved to Leipzig in the summer of 1746. There he came into contact with the literati of the "Bremer Beiträge," a literary society that published a journal of the same name, whose members were impressed with the young student's attempt at an epic poem. The literati took it upon themselves to publish the first three cantos of *Der Messias* in their journal in April

1748.¹²³ After its publication, Klopstock broke off his theological studies and became a teacher-in-residence at the home of a distant relative in the spa town of Langensalza. The writing and publication of all 20 cantos of *Der Messias* would occupy Klopstock for the next 25 years, and he considered it his first career ("erster Beruf").

Der Messias follows the typology and the story of the biblical account of the crucifixion, resurrection and ascension of Jesus, but adds a host of further citations and allusions.¹²⁴ These scriptural references, especially from Revelation and the prefigurative Old Testament texts, point to the eternal significance of the Messiah, while the "plot" takes place over about 40 days.

Klopstock's poem is an example of high epic, a vehicle in which the poet "wrestles with" the ancients, especially Homer. Since it is a christological epic, it necessarily blends the classical tradition and sacred scriptures. Klopstock could pay homage to, and at the same time depart from, both Homer and the biblical authors. The overall structural theme of the epic is "die graduelle Vereinigung der Schöpfung mit Gott durch die Mittlerschaft Christi" (the gradual reconciliation of creation with God through the mediation of Christ). To get some idea of the scope of the plan of *Der Messias*, Figure 4.1 outlines the content of each canto:

¹²³ Full title, *Neue Beyträge zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und Witzes*, vol. 4, pts 4 and 5 (Bremen and Leipzig: Nathanael Saurmann, 1748). See Hurlebusch, *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock*, 29-30. There seems to have been a handwritten copy in 1747. Could this have circulated and been known in Hamburg, perhaps through the agency of von Hagedorn, who was so impressed with Klopstock and who knew Telemann?

¹²⁴ My summary of the structural, lyrical, and theological significance of *Der Messias* depends largely on Katrin Kohl, *Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock*, Sammlung Metzler 325 (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 2000), 69-83.

I-III	Exposition (heaven, hell, earth)
IV	Betrayal, Last Supper
V	Gethsemane
VI	Arrest
VII	Trial before Pilate
VIII	Way of the Cross and Crucifixion
IX	Suffering on the Cross
X	Death
XI	Resurrection of the Saints
XII	Burial
XIII	Resurrection
XIV-XV	Jesus and the risen ones appear on earth
XVI-XVII	first Judgement, appearances
XVIII-XIX	Adam's visions of Doomsday
XIX	Ascension
XX	Triumphal march to the Throne of God

Figure 4.1: Topical chart of cantos I-XX of *Der Messias*

4.2.1. Klopstock's Lyricism

We can observe some general characteristics about Klopstock's approach to poetry in his epic *Der Messias*. The overall guiding principle seems to be the elevation of poetic language over "cold," rational prose. His approach would have a great influence on Ramler in the development of his *Der Tod Jesu*, and we can see evidence of this elevation of poetry over prose in Telemann's *Lukaspassion 1748*.

Three important facets of Klopstock's poetic (lyric) language include: 1) allusion and typology, 2) poetic reportage, and 3) grammatical experiments with verbs, adverbs, and adjectives. As for the first of these, allusion and typology, the text of *Der Messias* is rife with large- and small-scale allusions to the Bible. Down to the smallest motives (stone, palm, wind), Klopstock's poetry is in constant intertextual dialogue with the Scriptures. Typology is common, such as in canto IX, in which Isaac's near-death by sacrifice is a prefiguration of Christ's death on Golgotha. Poetic or lyric reportage is a key facet of Klopstock's work, one that abounds

throughout *Der Messias*. Narrative description is avoided in this work; things that "happen" are represented in prayers, songs of mourning, hymns and "Wechselgesang" (dialogue songs). By seeing the suffering of Jesus through the evocative feelings of another, such as through the tragic Abbadona (a fallen angel who regrets joining Lucifer's rebellion, mourns Jesus' death, and is eventually welcomed back into heaven), one can experience it as it would hardly be possible with mere narration.¹²⁵

Not only are characters given the chance to witness the suffering and death of Jesus, but the poet himself is a witness of the events. By having the poet speak with such immediacy about what is happening to Jesus, Klopstock departs from the classical perspective of the epic, in which the narrator assumes temporal and spatial distance from the events. A variation on the lone poet or character is the use of alternating speakers to report on a scene, thereby avoiding narration. A good example is the arrest of Jesus, as told by the archangel Gabriel and the seraph Eloa, in the form of outcries and dialogue with each other, the crowd, and Judas himself (Canto VI, 27-34).¹²⁶

Klopstock's experiments with grammar and word forms imparted a vibrancy to his language on which Ramler would later capitalize in his oratorios. Among Klopstock's experiments are methods of shortening (composites, elimination of articles, inversion), unusual verbs, and anti-prosaic words of exceptional power. Other important language devices are the formation of composite verbs with adverbs and adjectives, the use of dynamic participles, the sparing use of plain adjectives, and unusual verb forms.

¹²⁵ This observation paraphrases a letter from Klopstock to Cramer, 4 February 1791, cited in Klopstock, *Briefe* 8:232.

¹²⁶ Dialogues such as this one may be a background for such scenes as the Two Believers on the Mount of Olives in movements 1-4 of the *Lukaspassion* 1764.

The emphasis on poetic language and rhetoric is of supreme importance throughout *Der Messias*. Klopstock's approach to language constitutes the kind of lyricism, especially in the development of non-narrative reportage, which moves away from prose to a different plane of rhetoric, which can account for the expanded poetic recitatives of the 1748 Passion, Ramler's oratorios, and the post-1755 Passions of Telemann.

4.2.2. Klopstock's Hybrid Theology

As expressed in *Der Messias*, Klopstock's theology is complex, intertextual, and unorthodox, combining elements of pietism, neo-platonism and neology. Klopstock pretty much stands on his own ground, not entirely in the Neologie camp, as Ramler appears to have been. Figure 4.2 summarizes the characteristics of Klopstock's "theology" of *Der Messias*, with comments on what each movement was for and against:

	<u>Orthodoxy</u>
	Set against Pietist Christocentrism, Neo-Platonism, and the minimizing of sin
	<u>Pietism</u>
For:	Christocentric "Blut- und Wundenkult"; Christ as "Vorbild" (man's self-improvement)
Against:	minimizing of eschatology
	<u>Neologie</u>
For:	Humans perfect themselves toward God; man separated from God not so much through sin as through the mere fact of mortality, the burden of earthly life
Against:	Christocentrism
	<u>Neo-Platonism</u>
For:	"Aufwärtsbewegung"; man gets a taste of God on earth; the poet has the highest calling on earth, to draw men's minds toward the eternal
Against:	Christocentrism and blood-wound cult

Figure 4.2: Theological categories of *Der Messias*

4.3. CONNECTIONS BETWEEN KLOPSTOCK AND TELEMANN

We have seen that Telemann knew and was influenced by Klopstock's work, as witnessed by his setting of portions of *Der Messias* in 1759. Moreover, it seems likely that the composer and poet knew each other personally. Did Klopstock, then, lie behind the astonishing new design and content of the *Lukaspassion 1748*? I may be able to do little more than to suggest the possibility of a relationship between the 1748 St. Luke Passion and the pioneering poetic achievements of Klopstock. The very possibilities are worthy of exploration, and help to shine some new light on the liturgical Passions. The new structural expansiveness (large *exordium* and *conclusio*) and poetic freedom (large *accompagnati*) of the 1748 liturgical Passion appear reminiscent of the epic style evident in *Der Messias*. This Passion may not have a precise counterpart among its pre-1755 brethren, but it bears the major characteristics that are found in many of the post-1755 Passions, works that trace their influences to Ramler, who in turn had been influenced by Klopstock. The crux of this matter is that lyricism in the late vocal works of Telemann does not begin with the concert oratorio à la Ramler in 1755, but with the liturgical Passions as early as 1748.

With regard to Telemann and Klopstock in general, and the relationship between the *Lukaspassion 1748* and *Der Messias* in particular, a tantalizing question can be raised: could Telemann and/or his librettist have had direct knowledge of the text of *Der Messias* and been influenced by it? We may look at the historical data for both works and consider the possibilities. Klopstock's *Der Messias* (cantos I-III) was published anonymously in the *Bremer Beiträge* in April 1748, and a handwritten copy seems to have been finished and circulated in 1747. The first performance of the *Lukaspassion 1748* would have taken place on Invocavit Sunday, 3 March 1748. Could the Hamburg poet Friedrich von Hagedorn (1708-1754), a member of the *Bremer Beiträge*, have been a conduit through which Klopstock's text came into the hands of Telemann

and/or his librettist? It is not certain that Telemann and von Hagedorn knew each other personally, but Telemann did set texts by von Hagedorn in his song collection *Theils ernsthafte, theils scherzende Oden* of 1741. I raise these speculations merely to suggest possible links between Telemann and Klopstock through their mutual contacts with the literary circle responsible for the "Bremer Beiträge."

As for contact between Telemann and Klopstock after 1748, there are strong associations with *Der Messias*. Telemann set portions of the first and tenth cantos in the manner of a cantata, entitled *Der Messias*, TVWV 6:4, which was first performed in March 1759 in the Hamburg Drillhaus.¹²⁷ Did the two know each other personally? Klopstock made several trips to Hamburg beginning in 1751 and spent time with people who were in Telemann's circle, including von Hagedorn and J.D.D. Zimmermann. Klopstock visited several times in 1759. In 1764, Telemann composed a setting, likely at Klopstock's request, of the "Triumphgesang" from the twentieth canto of *Der Messias*; unfortunately, this work is no longer extant.¹²⁸

4.4. LYRICISM IN THE *LUKASPASSION* 1748

Here I will discuss the small-scale (local) and large-scale (structural) lyricism in the *Lukaspassion* 1748. Lyricism in this work manifests itself at the local level, such as in the content of individual *accompagnati* or lyric chorales (poetic chorales that replace the liturgical chorales from the Hamburg *Gesangbuch*). At the structural level, lyricism manifests itself in the multi-movement design of the framing sets, the *exordium* and the *conclusio*. I will provide

¹²⁷ The performance took place on 20 March 1759, as advertised in the *Hamburger Correspondent*. The "cantata" *Der Messias* was in two parts, but not performed consecutively in the concert. The program was as follows, according to the advertisement: "1.) The beginning of the first canto of the poem *Der Messias*; 2.) *Die Donner-Ode*; 3) from the tenth canto of *Der Messias*, from line 27 on, etc.; 4.) *Das befreite Israel*." All the works on this program were settings of texts by Klopstock and other members of the "Bremer Beiträge."

summaries or a basic sense of the textual content of each movement, since I have had to rely on a film of the autograph score, in which the hand of Telemann, then about sixty-seven years old, is very difficult to decipher. Unfortunately, a copy of the libretto was not available to me.

Beginning at the local level, I will discuss the lyric content of three important movement types: the *accompagnato*, the chorus, and the chorale. I will include movements found in the framing sets as well as the body of the Passion. In the next section, in which I discuss lyricism at the structural level, I may address some of these same movements, but in the context of the overall design and structure of the framing sets themselves, as well as the relationship between the framing sets, and the relationship, if any, between the framing sets and the body of the Passion.

4.4.1. Lyricism at the Local Level

The three principal movement types in the Passions in which lyricism is generally found are: 1) the *accompagnato*, 2) the chorus, and 3) the chorale (mostly beginning in 1755). The 1748 St. Luke Passion is rich in each of these movement types, and I will discuss each of them in turn. There are five *accompagnati*, summarized as follows (Table 4.1):

Table 4.1: Summary of *Accompagnati* of *Lukaspassion 1748*

No.	First line	Length (no. of bars)
3	Wer leidet dort	24
14	Frohlocke nur	34
35	Unedler Spott	24
49	Du ewig Heiliger	7
52	Jetzt, da du bald	18

In terms of sheer quantity, the *Lukaspassion 1748* contains more *accompagnati* (5) than any Passion which precedes it, except for the *Lukaspassion 1728*, which contains ten, and the

¹²⁸ Klessmann does not mention this composition in the entry for 1764 in "Telemann-Chronik 1721-1767" (a

Johannespassion 1745, which contains six. The 1728 St. Luke and 1745 St. John, however, are in many respects anomalous; they are not trend-setting in the way that the 1748 St. Luke is, and must remain outside any general discussion of the late Passions. Except for no. 49, each of the *accompagnati* in the 1748 St. Luke Passion is rather long – the average length is 21.4 bars. The general function of each of these movements is to provide a period of poetic meditation that steps out from the traditional, past-tense dramatic reporting of events typical of the Evangelist's *narratio*. Instead, the text of a lyric *accompagnato* is told from the perspective of an unnamed observer who tells about, or rather alludes to, events in the present tense. This type of poetic reportage at once lends an immediacy to the narrative framework of the Passion, and provides an opportunity to the librettist to depart somewhat from the strict tradition of the biblical story.

I will comment only on the first of the five, no. 3, "Wer leidet dort?" assigned to a soprano. As the third movement of the *exordium*, this *accompagnato* is significant in and of itself as a lyric movement, and as part of the larger design of the introductory framing set. Though rather fragmentary, I provide here as much of the text as I could decipher: "Wer leidet dort? ... Wer seufzet ... Spott voll ... Wer ists? Der ... erhöhte (?) Jesus, Gott! Weisst ihr (?) ... mit der Gottheit hohe ... auf ihn ... trauriger? Ihr Sünder! ... trauriger Zärtlichkeit (?) ... !" The very first line of text indicates the presence of an unnamed, all-seeing observer, who wonders who is suffering and sighing ("leidet" and "seufzet") in an unnamed location, presumably Gethsemane.¹²⁹ The general structure of this *accompagnato* seems to be: 1) the unnamed observer notices that someone is suffering, and wonders who it is, 2) the observer realizes that

chronicle of Telemann's career and compositions), in *Telemann in Hamburg: 1721-1767*, 181-233, at 231.

¹²⁹ All of the *accompagnati* and arias in this Passion are sung by unnamed personages; unlike many of Telemann's Passions, the librettist does not assign these movements to allegorical personages. As for the location of the suffering, sighing one, it is presumed to be Gethsemane; since the 1730s, the Passion narrative began with the garden of Gethsemane, the Last Supper having been cut from the *narratio*. In some Passions, however, the Last Supper is mentioned by way of allusion in the *exordium*, but that does not seem to be the case in the *Lukaspassion* 1748.

the suffering one is none other than Jesus, 3) further observation of the deep sadness of the present situation, and 4) a kind of commentary to sinning humanity ("Ihr Sünder!").

4.4.2. The Question of Structural Lyricism

It is difficult to discuss lyricism with regard to the structural innovations of the late Passions. Specifically, these structural innovations are found in the expanded opening and closing sets of movements, what I refer to as the *exordium* and *conclusio*, respectively. These multi-movement sets are prevalent in the Passions composed between 1755 and 1767, but they also constitute an important feature of the *Lukaspassion* 1748. While individual movements in these opening and closing sets, as well as the body of the Passions, may be rife with lyricism, the actual design and structure of the multi-movement sets may not be precisely lyric (strictly speaking, the poetic rendition of or allusion to biblical events, rather than the traditional Evangelist's account, reserved for the *narratio*).

We may speak of structural lyricism – an entire sequence of movements devoted to the poetic rendition of a Passion event, e.g. the opening four-movement set of the *Lukaspassion* 1764 – but structural lyricism can also refer to a heightened interest in a more extended architectural framework for the Passion. This is especially seen in the long-range relationships between the opening and closing sections, and the relationship of those sections to the content of the body of the Passion. Two Passions, surviving in autograph scores, that contain such long-range structures include the 1764 St. Luke and 1765 St. John; other examples would be the *Lukaspassion* 1760 (though this has a more modest *exordium*), the *Matthäuspassion* 1766, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the *Markuspassion* 1767. Both at the level of the individual movement and at the level of a sequence of movements, these Passions owe a great deal to the small- and large-scale structure and design of the Ramler-Telemann oratorio *Der Tod Jesu* of

1755. If these works are indeed dependent on that oratorio for their lyric content, what then of that outstanding pre-1755 work, the *Lukaspassion 1748*? How do we account for its extended opening and closing sets, as well as several other features that we might otherwise attribute to the lyric influence of the Ramlerian oratorio?

4.4.3. The *Exordium* and *Conclusio*

The *exordium* of the 1748 St. Luke Passion has four movements: chorus, aria, accompagnato and chorale. Right away we can see that the order of these movements is unusual for a liturgical Passion (aria before accompagnato, rather than the other way around). Furthermore, the use of an aria and accompagnato in the *exordium* is very unusual.¹³⁰ As for the unusual order, the aria is best grouped with the opening chorus, a movement pair that explores the inability to gain salvation through worldly possessions; salvation instead comes from the blood of Jesus. The accompagnato can be interpreted to stand more or less alone, as the poetic meditation on an event about to be narrated: the agony in the Garden, wherein the first mention of the blood of Jesus takes place.¹³¹ Finally, the chorale functions more or less in the traditional sense of the *exordium*, an introduction to the story by summing up the salvatory nature of Jesus' suffering and death. In this case, the chorale, "Nun ich danke dir von Herzen" is an enumeration of Jesus' wounds and pains.

¹³⁰ The 1745 St. John has the arioso, accompagnato and aria after the opening chorale. In thinking more about those three movements, however, I interpret them not so much as exordial in the strict sense. If they were truly exordial, they would serve as a kind of prelude to the narration of the High Priestly Prayer in the body of the Passion. These movements, however, stand as poetic "tropes" of the *narratio*, without their strictly narrative counterparts. Admittedly, later Passions contain movements that I've comfortably identified as exordial, which are tropes of events not otherwise recounted in the Passion – mostly the Last Supper. The risk here is downplaying what goes on in the 1745 Passion to build a better case for the 1748. The explanation may be rather simple, however. The *exordium* of the 1745 Passion may have been a way for Zimmermann and Telemann to include the High Priestly Prayer (poetic substitution) and still begin the *narratio* where it had been customary to begin it since the early 1730s, "Da Jesus solches geredet hatte."

¹³¹ The bloody sweat of Jesus. This phenomenon occurs only in Luke's Gospel.

As a unit, the *exordium* functions in a way that can be likened somewhat to one of the five major divisions of the *Lukaspassion 1728*. In the earlier Passion, each major division has the following structure (Figure 4.3):

Vorbereitung (OT "mini-oratorio") → Gläubige Anwendung (didactic *applicatio*)
 → Abtheilung (*narratio* and chorales)

Figure 4.3: Structural Chart of *Lukaspassion 1728*

In the 1748 St. Luke Passion, the first two movements (chorus and aria) function as a sort of Gläubige Anwendung, or *applicatio*; the *accompagnato*, with lyric reportage instead of *narratio*, functions as a mini-Abtheilung, or pseudo-*narratio* with the chorale at the end to sum things up. The chorale, in fact, seems to give the most direct portrayal of Jesus' suffering and its salvatory effect on the believer. Interpreted this way, the structure can be diagrammed as follows (Figure 4.4):

Applicatio (chorus and aria) → Pseudo-*narratio* (lyric *accompagnato*) → Chorale
 (congregational meditation on Jesus' suffering)

Figure 4.4: Structural chart of exordium of *Lukaspassion 1748*

Whether or not the *exordium* of the 1748 St. Luke Passion bears any affinity toward or relationship to the unusual structure of the 1728 St. Luke Passion, on its own it can be interpreted as a kind of mini-oratorio, a rather theatrical (though not dramatic in the strict sense) opening to the story about to be recounted. The order of movements is odd at first glance (chorus, aria, *accompagnato*, chorale), but the opening movement remains choral, according to the prevailing convention in Telemann's Passions. Sixteen years later, in 1764, Telemann wrote another St. Luke Passion, rife with lyricism, with an even more unusual order of movements: *accompagnato*,

chorus, accompagnato, aria. I will discuss the lyric content and structure of this work in fuller detail in chapter 5.¹³²

4.4.4. Juxtaposition of Lyric Meditation and *Narratio*

The four movements of the *exordium* in the 1748 St. Luke Passion bear a striking relationship to the body of the Passion. This is especially true of the third movement of the opening set, the accompagnato "Wer leidet dort," discussed above. In that movement, we have a poetic meditation on the agony of Jesus, characterized as suffering and sighing by the unnamed observer, in the garden of Gethsemane on the Mount of Olives. Following this accompagnato is the fourth and final movement of the *exordium*, the chorale "Nun ich danke dir von Herzen," which is often found in Telemann's Passions. It is a song of thanks for the pain and suffering Jesus endured to save humankind. The opening set is followed by the first portion of the *narratio*, beginning with Luke 22:39, "Und er ging hinaus nach seiner Gewohnheit an den Oelberg."

The juxtaposition of a poetic meditation and narrative report on the same event is unusual. What we have here is Jesus' agony in the Garden told from two quite different perspectives: the lyric reportage of the unnamed observer in no. 3, and the straightforward account of the Evangelist in no. 5, separated by the chorale strophe, no. 4. I believe this is the first such juxtaposition of the lyric and narrative perspectives in the extant Passions by Telemann; moreover, we have here what I believe to be the first example of the lyric portrayal's having priority, at least in order of occurrence.¹³³ Thus already toward the beginning of the Passion do we find the two "sides" of the "conflict" inherent in the Hamburg liturgical Passion:

¹³² The chorus in the *exordium* of the *Lukaspassion 1764* is marked as a duet in the libretto. Telemann's tendency to go "off-book" is an important one and occurs in various genres.

the combination/juxtaposition of the liturgical *historia* (*narratio* and chorales) and the poetic style of the oratorio (arias, choruses, *accompagnati*), positioned in such a way that the poetic seems to be gaining the ascendancy over the narrated.

In previous Passions, a section of narration might be replaced by a poetic meditation or paraphrase, but not juxtaposed with the actual *narratio*. This kind of poetic "troping" is quite prominent in the *Johannespassion* 1745, in which the second through fourth movements of the opening set (arioso, *accompagnato*, aria) are a poetic paraphrase of the High Priestly Prayer from John 17. In the *Lukaspassion* 1748, we might have expected the *accompagnato*, no. 3, to replace the narration of Jesus in the Garden, but no Hamburg Passions eliminate that section of the *narratio*.¹³⁴ It is conceivable that the first three movements could be eliminated entirely, leaving the chorale strophe to function as the *exordium*.¹³⁵ As it stands, however, the four-movement *exordium* (chorus, aria, *accompagnato*, chorale) appears to function as a kind of mini-oratorio prior to the onset of the biblical narration. The juxtaposition of poetry and narration seems to emphasize the hybrid nature of the liturgical Passion in a way that we do not see in the extant works prior to 1748. This juxtaposition is developed even further in the *Lukaspassion* 1764, which I will discuss in depth in Chapter 5.

¹³³ The *Lukaspassion* 1728 follows quite a different model: the five sections of narration are preceded by a "Vorbereitung" (Old Testament typology) and "Gläubige Anwendung" (basically a moral *applicatio* of the Passion account about to be narrated).

¹³⁴ Since the early 1730s, the *narratio* of liturgical Passions began in Gethsemane and ended on Golgotha, the two primary *loci* of the Passion account.

¹³⁵ Ten Passions begin with a single chorale strophe, then proceed directly to the *narratio*: the 1730 St. Matthew, 1737 St. John, 1741 St. John, 1744 St. Luke, 1746 St. Matthew, 1749 St. John (parody of 1741 St. John), 1750 St. Matthew, 1759 St. Mark, 1762 St. Matthew, and 1767 St. Mark.

4.5. THE SECOND LYRIC MODEL: RAMLER'S *DER TOD JESU*

While Klopstock's *Der Messias* may help to explain the lyric anomalies of the middle group of Passions (1737-54), we must now turn to the second model of lyricism to explain the regular appearance of lyricism in the late group of Passions (1755-67), the concert oratorio. For the remainder of this chapter I will discuss the concert oratorio repertory in general, and then provide a detailed discussion of the lyric aspects of those works, especially Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*, and that work's relationship to its counterparts in the liturgical Passion repertory.

4.6. OVERVIEW OF THE CONCERT ORATORIOS

The concert oratorios form a significant body of Telemann's extra-official music, and constitute a repertory parallel to the liturgical Passions. I consider them parallel repertories because, though separate and distinct from one another, they can be said to have co-existed in the concert life of Hamburg. While the liturgical Passions were performed solely in ecclesiastical venues, in the five principal churches as well as in several of the subordinate churches, the concert oratorios were performed primarily in public spaces, if not actual theaters, such as the famous Drill Hall (Drill-Haus), where the Hamburg militia practiced their maneuvers, and later in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp, which opened in the winter of 1761.¹³⁶ These oratorios, especially the passion-oratorios, were also to some extent permitted in the subordinate churches, and were even allowed to take the place of the normal liturgical Passion.

The non-liturgical oratorios from the early part of Telemann's Hamburg cantorate are perhaps most famously represented by the passion-oratorio *Das Selige Erwägen* of 1722. This

¹³⁶ The Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp was an attractive venue, particularly during the winter months, because it was heated. The first performance there of Telemann's music, in March 1761, was of a portion of *Der Messias*; the main work was Graun's setting of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*. Two days later there was a Telemann concert, featuring his oratorios *Der Tod Jesu*, *Betrachtung der neunten Stunde*, and *Die Donner-Ode*. See Klessmann, 132.

work remained in vogue for a long time, being performed regularly throughout Telemann's lifetime and beyond. With a revised libretto, it was even performed during the cantorate of Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke (1767-1822), the successor to Telemann's own successor, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.¹³⁷ Another important passion-oratorio (non-liturgical) was *Die Gekreuzigte Liebe*, with a libretto by Johann Ulrich von König (1688-1744), of 1731. Just as Telemann sometimes mounted operas by other composers at the Goose Market opera house, so too did he conduct concert performances of oratorios by other composers. For example, in December 1725 at the Drillhaus, Telemann conducted a performance of the oratorio *Der unglückliche Überwinder Jephta* by Johann Christian Schiefferdecker (1679-1732), successor to Buxtehude at the Marienkirche in Lübeck.¹³⁸

From 1755 until 1765, Telemann composed a remarkable series of non-liturgical Passions, oratorios, cantatas, and even a piece classified as a pastorale or idyll. Beginning in 1761, these works, which I place under the broad heading of “concert oratorios,” were performed in the Konzertsaal auf dem Kamp. Figure 4.5 gives some idea of the extent of this significant repertory:

¹³⁷ For a thorough essay on *Seliges Erwägen*, see Ute Poetzsch's foreword in Telemann, *Das Selige Erwägen*, ed. Ute Poetzsch, TA 33 (2001).

¹³⁸ Clostermann, 109. Based on my own research at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, I suggest that fragments of this oratorio may survive among some of Georg Michael's copied parts for his grandfather's late concert oratorios. It appears that Georg Michael used the reverse of many old performing parts to write out new parts for the Riga revivals of Hamburg works.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Librettist</u>
1722	<i>Seliges Erwägen</i>	G. P. Telemann
1731	<i>Die gekreuzigte Liebe</i>	J. U. von König
1755	<i>Der Tod Jesu</i>	K. W. Ramler
1755	<i>Die Betrachtung der 9. Stunde</i>	J. J. D. Zimmermann
1756/60	<i>Die Donnerode</i>	J. A. Cramer
1757	<i>Die Tageszeiten</i>	F. W. Zachariae
1759	<i>Der Messias</i>	F. G. Klopstock
1759	<i>Das befreite Israel</i>	F. W. Zachariae
1759	<i>Die Hirten bei der Krippe zu Bethlehem</i> ¹³⁹	K. W. Ramler
1760	<i>Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu</i>	K. W. Ramler
1760	<i>Der Mai</i>	K. W. Ramler
1761	<i>Die Auferstehung</i>	F. W. Zachariae
1762	<i>Der Tag des Gerichts</i>	C. W. Alers
1765	<i>Ino</i>	K. W. Ramler

Figure 4.5: Telemann's concert oratorios, 1722-65

Telemann's late concert oratorios were held in high esteem in musical circles. Christian Gottfried Krause (1719-70), the Berlin lawyer, composer, and writer on music, wrote on 31 May 1760 to Karl Wilhelm Ramler, when he examined Telemann's setting of Ramler's *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu*, "I tell you, it is totally incomparable, Telemann has shown us in his 80th year, that he can do everything" ("Ich sage Ihnen, es ist ganz unvergleichlich, Telemann hat in seinem 80ten Jahr gezeigt, daß er alles kann.").¹⁴⁰

On 17 March 1762, the oratorio *Der Tag des Gerichts* received its premiere performance, presumably in the new theater "auf dem Kamp." According to Kleßmann, it is "a work that stands musically well on the edge of Classicism" ("ein Werk, das musikalisch schon auf der Schwelle zur Klassik steht.")¹⁴¹ This is in reference to the progressive style that Telemann tended to cultivate in the 1760s. We might perhaps discern that the "new" style is more prevalent in the

¹³⁹ Hobohm calls this a Christmas cantata; see his preface in *TA* 30; Hobohm also gives a good summary of the importance of Ramler as a poet, and of Telemann's search for good texts.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Krause to Ramler, 31 May 1760. See Klessmann, 134.

theatrical works, especially the concert oratorios, than in the liturgical works, such as the Passions. We will see, however, that the new style figures prominently in the late Passions. However, the clarity, emphasis on lyrical melodies, and clearly articulated structural units, stylistic traits we identify with the *galant* or other “pre-Classical” idioms, are no stranger to Telemann’s music as far back as the 1740s, 1730s, and even the 1720s. This is not, however, the proper forum in which to discuss the development of Telemann’s musical style over his entire Hamburg career. I wish to delineate, as nobody else has done before, the musical and textual relationships between the various vocal repertoires of Telemann’s last years in Hamburg, especially that between the liturgical Passions and the concert oratorios. Taken together, we can see at least some traces of the blurring of the stylistic boundaries between the “official” and “unofficial” facets of Telemann’s compositional activities during his Hamburg cantorate.

4.7. RAMLER'S CONCERT ORATORIO LIBRETTI

After the series of non-liturgical Passions of the 1710s to the 1730s,¹⁴² the next important stage in the development of the lyric oratorio was Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* of 1755. Thus began the regular production, over the period of a decade, of theatrical works based on libretti by several promising poets. Ramler stands as the poet whose works Telemann set most often in his last years. Aside from *Der Tod Jesu*, he composed settings of the Christmas oratorio *Die Hirten bey der Krippe zu Bethlehem* (1759), the Easter oratorio *Die Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt Jesu* (1760), the idyll *Der Mai* (1760?), and the cantata *Ino* (1765). In this section I will focus my discussion on the importance of Ramler for Telemann's last compositional period, the last decade or so of his life, which is most commonly identified with the remarkable theatrical oratorios that

¹⁴¹ Klessmann, 135.

were a mainstay of the concert life in Hamburg. I will provide basic definitions and discussions of two primary concepts that have been identified in Ramler's works: first, lyricism, by which biblical narration gives way to a poetic retelling of events; second, evidence of a theological movement, much *en vogue* in Berlin, called "Neologie," which would prove to cause some problems for Telemann in what was still the rather orthodox theological climate in Hamburg.

4.7.1. Ramler's Lyricism

Ramler was known as the "German Horace" for his interest in odes and other Classical Greek and Roman genres. It was this interest in the lyricism of the ancients that led him to develop his lyric oratorios. By the mid-1750s, the dramatic style that still held sway in the oratorios, both liturgical and non-liturgical, gave way to lyricism in both arenas. The preference for lyricism over drama is attested to in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*. Writing the article "Oratorium" for Sulzer's collection, Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747-1800) defined that genre as "a spiritual, but altogether lyric and short, drama performed with music for liturgical use on high feast days." He uses "lyric drama" to distinguish it from theatrical drama. The point of this drama is "die Herzen der Zuhörer mit ähnlichen Empfindungen zu durchdringen."¹⁴³ Another aspect of the new style, not always observed by Ramler, has been noted by Willi Maertens: "In einer ganzen Anzahl seiner Spätwerke vermag sich Telemann also durch die dichterischen Leistungen eines Klopstock und ihm nachfolgender sowie befreundeter Männer weitgehend vom Schema der Dacapo-Arie zu lösen."¹⁴⁴ In fact, Ramler was fairly conservative when it came to the form of his oratorios. He often continued to

¹⁴² The "Brookes" Passion (1716), *Seliges Erwägen* (1722) and *Gekreuzigte Liebe* (1731).

¹⁴³ Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, "Oratorium," in Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* 3, 610b-614b, at 610b.

¹⁴⁴ Maertens, *Kapitainsmusiken*, 145.

write *da capo* arias. This formal conservatism would prove to be very important for Telemann and his liturgical Passions.

Schulz seems to emphasize that the emotions of the character are openly expressed. It can be lyric throughout, "weil hier weder Dialog, noch Erzählungen, noch Nachrichten von dem, was vorgeht, nöthig sind."¹⁴⁵ After all, it was assumed that the audience would be well-versed in the birth, life, suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus, to name the primary subjects of oratorios, so yet another dramatic portrayal of these events was deemed superfluous. I should point out Schulz's claim that the lyric oratorio was used liturgically. While such pieces were not permitted in the Hauptkirchen, they were allowed from time to time in the Nebenkirchen, so the article is factually correct as far as it goes.¹⁴⁶

4.7.2. Lyric Reportage

Lyricism offered an alternative approach to telling the quite familiar Passion story by doing away with the *narratio* in favor of what I call "lyric reportage," based on Czornyj's usage.¹⁴⁷ Found mostly in expansive *accompagnati*, lyric reportage effectively liberated the recitative from its old role of plot development. No longer were events portrayed by means of extensive dialogues and past-tense accounts by the Evangelist; instead, present-tense poetic allusions by a (usually) anonymous observer became the norm. Ramler's "lyric reportage" is found in several of the *accompagnati* in *Der Tod Jesu*, the main characteristics of which are as follows:

1. Unnamed, omniscient observer (not a named character or personified virtue)
2. Present-tense portrayal of events
3. Recurring structure of direct address and scriptural allusion/citation
4. Events always observed, no dialogues

¹⁴⁵ Schulz, in Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie* 3, 610b.

¹⁴⁶ On performances of *Seliges Erwägen* in the Hamburg Nebenkirchen during and after Telemann's lifetime, through the year 1806 during the cantorate of Schwenke, see Poetzsch, ed., foreword to *Seliges Erwägen*, TA 33, xiii-xv. For other performances after Telemann's death, in Hamburg and elsewhere, see Klein, *Dokumente zur Telemann-Rezeption*, docs. 23, 35, 43, and 88.

¹⁴⁷ Czornyj, 75.

Schulz wrote that conventional dialogue had no place in oratorios and should not be set to music because they do not portray any concepts, thoughts or emotions. He considered it distasteful to hear such speech "wie man noch bisweilen im Oratorium hört: 'Da sprach die Magd zu Petrus, auch du bist einer von ihnen – Petrus antwortete – Nein ich kenne ihn nicht;' in musikalischen Tönen vorzutragen." Indeed, as noted above, the very goal of the oratorio, according to Schulz, was to penetrate the heart of the auditor with the same emotions as the characters in the drama.

4.7.3. Neologie

Ramler's religious poetry was influenced by the philosophical and religious movements of the German Enlightenment which had Berlin as its center, under the sponsorship of Frederick II of Prussia. In particular, Ramler's libretti reveal the influence of what came to be called "Neologie" (a Germanic compound of "neo" and "Theologie," or put simply, "new theology") an approach taken by such Lutheran theologians as Reimarus and Sack, who sought to redefine biblical scholarship and the interpretation of the relationship between Jesus and humankind.¹⁴⁸

The core doctrine of Neologie can be summarized as a "religious anthropology," in which people were to seek to understand their faith rationally. The Christian was to live a virtuous life, and was charged with individual responsibility toward his or her human environment and all humanity. Neologie also involved a historical-critical approach to biblical scholarship and interpretation, which according to Martin Greschat, "suchte zwischen Bibeltext und Wort Gottes zu unterscheiden. Die Trinitätslehre, Christologie und Soteriologie traten in den Schatten, die

¹⁴⁸ My discussion of Neologie is drawn primarily from Herbert Lölkes, *Ramlers 'Der Tod Jesu' in den Vertonungen von Graun und Telemann: Kontext, Werkgestalt, Rezeption*, Marburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 8 (Kassel, etc.: Bärenreiter, 1999).

Aussagen hierzu blieben schwebend und unbestimmt."¹⁴⁹ This new theology treats the account of the death of Jesus by emphasizing not so much the salvation or reconciliation gained through his death, but rather his human nature, detailed accounts of his suffering, and his being a model of virtue for the conduct of humankind.

The lyric *accompagnato* of *Der Tod Jesu* represented a distinct departure from the language and theology of the Hunold-Menantes and Brockes models. Ramler's *accompagnati* tended to be more prose than verse, which for him allowed for greater expressivity. Czornyj characterizes the theological departure as a movement from Pietist sensationalism to Enlightenment reason. In the Brockes Passion, Jesus' suffering, bleeding and dying was the basis of faith, and its portrayal aimed to inspire repentance and personal devotion to God. Ramler, on the other hand, under the influence of Enlightenment theologians, shied away from such dogmatism. His Jesus, even when suffering for the sins of the world, is not so much the Son of God as he is "bester aller Menschen-Kinder." Jesus is the paragon of virtuous human conduct rather than "the Christ" anointed to reconcile human sinners to God. In short, Ramler's language is steeped in a religion of natural reason rather than scriptural doctrine.¹⁵⁰

Through its lyricism and Neologie, Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* offered a compelling alternative to the devotional texts of old. The immediacy and freshness of lyricism opened up for Telemann a whole new sound-world that was not confined to the secular theater, but also found a place in the sacred spaces (at least in the Nebenkirchen) of Hamburg.

¹⁴⁹ Martin Greschat, ed., *Die Aufklärung*. Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte 8 (Stuttgart, etc.: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1983), 34; quoted in Lölkes, 53.

¹⁵⁰ Czornyj, 158-66.

4.8. STRUCTURE AND DESIGN OF *DER TOD JESU*

It is useful to survey and examine the large-scale features of *Der Tod Jesu* before delving into the particulars of its lyric content. The work, whether one chooses to call it an oratorio or a cantata,¹⁵¹ is divided into two parts in some sources, which could well allude to the liturgical practice of placing each half of a large-scale work on either side of the sermon. It is unlikely that *Der Tod Jesu* was so performed at its Hamburg premiere on 19 March 1755, as it was presented at the Drill-Haus, which served as a civic theater.¹⁵² Ramler's revised text of 1760 does not indicate a two-part structure.¹⁵³ Leaving aside the discussion of whether or not this should be treated as a bipartite work, I turn to its discernible internal divisions. It opens with a 3-movement "exordium," consisting of an instrumental chorale fantasy based on the tune "Wenn meine Sünd mich kränken," a four-part chorale, and chorus. This opening section leads into the "body" of the work, which comprises primarily the five *accompagnati* and two recitatives, each of which is paired with an aria or aria-like passage. It is on these *accompagnati* and recitatives that a discussion of lyricism will focus. Also of great significance is the concluding section of the work, an eight-movement *conclusio*, which might be identified as an extended chorale sequence. I will discuss this section below in more detail. Throughout the body of the work, chorales are interspersed, recalling the traditional design of liturgical Passions.

4.8.1. *Accompagnati*: Opening and Closing Lines

I turn now to the structural features of the Ramlerian *accompagnato*, which I will identify as the "Ramler model." Several *accompagnati* in *Der Tod Jesu* share the design features of 1) an

¹⁵¹ Ramler referred to *Der Tod Jesu* as a cantata in a letter to Gleim, dated 13 July 1754.

¹⁵² It would be interesting to examine D-Bsb, Mus. ms. 21694 and Mus. ms. 21722, for any evidence of bipartite performances.

¹⁵³ See text of *Der Tod Jesu* in *Karl Wilhelm Ramlers Geistliche Kantaten* (Berlin: Ch. Fr. Voß, 1760), [reprint] ed. Wolf Hohohm and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch (Magdeburg: [s.n.], 1992), 13-36.

opening poetic line or lines consisting of direct address, and 2) a closing Scriptural citation or paraphrase. Figure 4.6 illustrates this phenomenon:

<u>No.</u>	<u>Opening Address</u>	<u>Biblical Citation/Paraphrase</u>
4	Gethsemane! Gethsemane!	Betrübt ist meine Seele bis in den Tod (end)
7	Ach mein Immanuel!	Der Geist ist willig, nur der Leib ist schwach; Auch du bist nicht mehr wach? O wacht und betet, meine Brüder! (end)
9	N/A	Jesus wendet sich und blickt ihn an. Er fühlt den Blick, er geht zurück und weinet bitterlich. (end)
13	Jerusalem	Sein Blut komm über uns und über unsere Söhn und Töchter (beginning); Ihr Töchter Zions, weinet nicht! (end)
18	Unschuldiger! Gerechter! (near beginning)	Mein Vater, ach, vergib es ihnen. Sie tun unwissend, was sie tun.
20	Maria (near beginning)	O Jüngling! Das ist deine Mutter!; Ich sage dir, du wirst noch heute mit mir im Paradiese sein! (end)
24	N/A	Mein Gott, mein Gott! Wie hast du mich verlassen! (middle); Mich dürstet! (a bit later); Es ist vollbracht! (near end); Und neigt sein Haupt auf seine Brust und stirbt (end).
25	Golgatha! etc.	Er ist nicht mehr! (non-bib.)

Figure 4.6: Opening and closing lines of accompagnati in *Der Tod Jesu*

4.8.2. Lyric Reportage

A fine example of lyric reportage is found in *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 4, "Gethsemane, Gethsemane!" (Figure 4.7) the initial accompagnato:

Gethsemane! Gethsemane!
Wen hören deine Mauern
So bange, so verlassen trauern?
Wer ist der peinlich langsam sterbende? –
Ist das mein Jesus? – Bester aller Menschen-Kinder,
Du zagst, du zitterst, gleich dem Sünder,
Dem man sein Todes-Urfall fällt?
Ach seht! Er sinckt, belastet mit den Missethaten
Von einer gantzen Welt.
Sein Hertz, in Arbeit, fliegt aus seiner Höhle,
Sein Schweiß rollt purpurroth
Die Schläf' herab; er ruft: Betrübt ist meine Seele
Bis an [in] den Tod.¹⁵⁴

Setting us squarely in the opening locus of the Passion story, the observer addresses Gethsemane directly – one might say that Gethsemane and its very walls are personified and take part in the scene as characters. Being familiar with the biblical account, we already know that this is when Jesus suffers the Agony in the Garden. Ramler, however, does not merely dash off a perfunctory report of a past event. Rather, he renders a sensitive, lyrical, emotionally involved, adjective-rich description that gradually unfolds before our mind's eye, in the present tense. The immediacy of this lyric style was meant to stimulate an emotional response to the intense feelings portrayed in the text.

¹⁵⁴ This is the form of the text found in the original libretto of 1755, set by Telemann and Graun. See Lölkes, 279. This movement was no. 3 in Graun's setting and no. 4 in Telemann's, as the latter had an introductory sinfonia.

F1
 F2
 V1
 V2
 Va
 B
 BC

Geth-se-ma-ne! Geth-se-ma-ne! Wen hö-rendei-neMau-ernsoban-ge, so ver-las-sentrau-ern? Weristderpein-lichlang-sam

5
 Ster-ben-de? Ist dasmein Je-sus? Be-ster al-lerMen-schen-kin-der! Du zagst, du zit-terst gleichdem

9
 Sünder, dem man sein To-des-ur-teil fällt? Ach seht! Ersinkt, be-las-tet mit den Mis-se-ta-ten von ei-ner gan-zen

Figure 4.7: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 4

Figure 4.7 (continued)

13

F1

F2

V1

V2

Va

B

BC

Welt. Sein Herz, in Ar-beit, fliegt aus sei-ner Höh-le; sein Schweiss rollt pur-pur-rot die Schläf-her-

16

ab; er ruft: be-trübt ist mei-ne See-le, be-trübt ist mei-ne See-le

p

24

bis in den Tod bis in den Tod.

p

We are very much "in the moment," seeing what the observer sees, as it happens. The present tense reportage is enhanced by the highly charged descriptions of Jesus' agony in the garden, with strong "Neological" overtones. The biblical allusion to the Lucan blood-sweat is graphic and intense, making quite vivid the image of Jesus as the suffering man.

Rather than simply render a report in the past tense, which might have gone something like – 1) the walls of the garden heard some weeping; 2) there was a slowly dying man there; 3) it was Jesus; 4) he suffered greatly – the observer instead draws us into the scene and engages in a "living," present-tense dialogue with not just the listener, but with the personified garden itself. We come across Jesus in "real time," as the observer finds him. The events of the Passion story are happening *now*. In the old narrative style of the Passion account, we hear a "dead" report of events long past; now the present tense of lyric reportage serves to stir up the present emotions of the listener.

Another example of lyric reportage is in the scene of Peter's Denial. Rather than churn out the denial scene in the old dramatic, narrated way, Ramler's lyric observer asks himself, as though pondering it in his heart (from the *accompanato*, no. 9): "Was hör ich hier für Worte schallen? Ach, ist es Petrus, der jetzt spricht: Ich kenne diesen Menschen nicht?"

4.8.3. Composite Gospel Citations/Allusions

An important aspect of the libretto of *Der Tod Jesu*, which seems to have had an impact on the post-1755 liturgical Passions, is its composite Gospel allusions, i.e., it draws its allusions from all four Gospels rather than the single Gospel of the liturgical *narratio*. It may well be that the distinctive blood/sweat imagery of "Gethsemane! Gethsemane!" made its mark on later non-Luke liturgical Passions. In such works as the *Markuspassion 1767*, much is made of the Lucan

blood/sweat device in its single, lengthy accompagnato (no. 6), even though it "should" have clung to its purely Marcan *narratio* without straying to other Gospels for its imagery.

4.8.4. Exordium and Conclusio

The *exordium* in *Der Tod Jesu* is very short indeed, consisting of a single chorale strophe. (Telemann's setting opens with a chorale-based sinfonia, but I do not include it as a proper part of the *exordium*) I provide the translated text below as well as the music (Figure 4.8):

Du, des - sen Au - gen flos - sen, so - bald sie Zi - on sahn,
zur Fre - vel - tat ent - schlos - sen, sich sei - nen Fal - le nahn;
10 wo ist das Tal, die Hoh - le, die, Je - su, dich ver - birgst? Ver -
20 fol - ger sei - ner See - le! Habt ihr ihn schon er - würgt?

You, whose eyes wept,
As soon as they saw Zion,
(Committed to wickedness),
Approach its ruin;
Where is the valley, the hole,
That hides you, Jesus?
Persecutors of his soul,
Have you already killed him?¹⁵⁵

Figure 4.8: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 2

¹⁵⁵ Lölkes, 279. This movement was no. 1 in Graun's setting and no. 2 in Telemann's, due to the introductory sinfonia in the latter setting.

While this strophe is set as a four-part "congregational" chorale, it is not an actual chorale text. Rather, it is a new text composed by Ramler especially for *Der Tod Jesu*. This is an example of a "lyric chorale," a procedure that would be especially prominent in the *conclusio* (see below). The lyricism is not obvious due to the standard 4-part writing; such subtlety would again appear nine years later, in the *Lukaspassion 1764*, though in that case the lyric chorale is embedded in the body of the Passion, making the lyricism even less obvious.

In diagram form, the *conclusio* in Telemann's version is constructed as follows (Figure 4.9; emboldened words are Telemann's, followed by the original indications):

Cavate (*Accompagnement*) ["Er ist nicht mehr!"]
Choral ("O Traurigkeit," new text -- strophe 1)
 Solo ["Weinet nicht!"]
Choral ("O Traurigkeit," new text -- strophe 2)
 Solo ["Weinet nicht!"]
Choral ("O Traurigkeit," new text -- strophe 3)
 Duett (*Solo*) ["Weinet nicht!"]
 Coro à 4 [offering of tears]

Figure 4.9: Conclusio of *Der Tod Jesu*

Ramler's inclusion of a chorale sequence based on "O Traurigkeit" is, on the one hand, a nod to the long-standing liturgical tradition of including this particular chorale; on the other hand, it is also a distinctively lyric (and neological) portrayal of grief, which is such a prominent aspect of his libretto. Specifically, this grief involves the suffering and human sadness of Jesus, as well as the sadness inspired in the believer at witnessing the suffering of the "allerbester Menschenfreund."

Ramler's account of the death of Jesus warrants a close look, primarily for its lyric and neological characteristics. At the end of no. 24 ("Auf einmal fällt der aufgehaltne Schmerz"), the

observer reports the last words of Jesus, "Es ist vollbracht! Empfang, o Vater, meine Seele!" The first part of this expression is a citation of John 19:30; the second, a paraphrase of Luke 23:46. From this passage alone, one can see that Ramler's libretto would have been inappropriate in Hamburg, with its practice of presenting liturgical Passions based on a single Gospel. The *accompagnato* concludes with the observer's lyric report (present tense), in the manner of an Evangelists' narration, "Und neigt das Haupt auf seine Brust und stirbt." This is a biblical paraphrase which most closely resembles John 19:30 ("Und neigte das Haupt"). All four Gospels, in Luther's New Testament, use the word "verschied" to mean "breathed his last" or "gave up the ghost" (Matthew 27:50, Mark 15:37, Luke 23:46, and John 19:30). Ramler, on the other hand, in keeping with his neological theme (Jesus presented more as Friend of Mankind than as Son of God), uses the word "stirbt," so that Jesus simply dies. The lyric reportage of Ramler's oratorio ends right at the moment of Jesus' death, as do the narrative portions of every one of Telemann's post-1736 liturgical Passions, with the exception of the *Johannespassion* 1745.

Ramler's *conclusio* comprises eight movements, a striking series of meditations that expand upon the lyric report of Jesus' death. The movements, according to the 1755 Berlin libretto, used at the premiere performance of Graun's setting, and according to the revised libretto of 1760, are labeled *Accompagnement*, *Choral*, *Solo*, *Choral*, *Solo*, *Choral*, *Solo*, *Schlußchor*. Graun's settings of the chorale are in two, three, and four voices, respectively, resulting in a dramatic "Klangsteigerung," as Lölkes put it.¹⁵⁶ In Telemann's version, these movements are labeled somewhat differently): *Cavate*, *Choral*, *Solo*, *Choral*, *Solo*, *Choral*,

¹⁵⁶ Lölkes, *Ramlers "Der Tod Jesu,"* 137.

Duetto, Coro à 4.¹⁵⁷ Only the "*Cavate*" and the "*Duetto*" indications merit further comment; the difference between "*Schlußchor*" and "*Coro à 4*" is insubstantial.

Ramler/Graun label the first movement of the *conclusio* as an *Accompagnement* to distinguish it from the other seven recitatives, all marked *Recitativ*. Krause points out that the differences between a *secco* recitative and an *accompagnato* have to do not only with the instrumentation but also with the nature of the text.¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, in the Telemann version, the seven recitatives are marked *Accompagnato* and the first movement of the *conclusio* is further distinguished by the label *Cavate*. Lölkes remarks that a *cavata* (German spelling "Cavate") refers mostly to the *arioso* concluding section of a recitative.¹⁵⁹ Five of Telemann's late liturgical Passions, however, contain stand-alone *cavatas*, perhaps indicating a peculiarity of Hamburg practice relating to this movement type.¹⁶⁰ In Telemann's practice, the *cavata* seems to be a very aria-like *accompagnato*, often with a recurring portion of text. The *accompagnato/cavata* of *Der Tod Jesu* contains the recurring text "Er ist nicht mehr!" (Figure 4.10)

¹⁵⁷ For my purpose, "Telemann's version" refers to the handwritten Magdeburg score prepared by Ursula and Wolf Hobohm [Magdeburg: Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege und -Forschung, 1977]. Their work is based mainly on DB, *Mus. ms. 21722 and 21722/2* (score and parts, copied by Georg Michael and anonymous copyists c. 1770 and c. 1760, respectively). See Lölkes, 117, n. 41.

¹⁵⁸ Krause, *Poesie*, 133. See Lölkes, *Ramlers "Der Tod Jesu,"* 78, including the citation of Krause in n. 166.

¹⁵⁹ "*Cavate* [ist ein] Begriff, der meist für die ariose Schlußpartie eines Rezitativs angewandt wird." See Lölkes, 78, n. 165.

¹⁶⁰ The 1758 St. Matthew and 1767 St. Mark Passions both contain a solo *cavata* each; the 1760 St. Luke Passion contains a duet *cavata*; the 1762 St. Matthew Passion contains two solo *cavatas*; and the 1761 Passion contains two solo *cavatas* and a *cavatille* (a mini-*cavata*, akin to an *arietta*'s being a mini-aria).

Figure 4.10: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 24, mm. 1-16

The cavata (to use the indication in Telemann's version) is followed by three strophes of a chorale, presented *alternatim* with a repeated line of text (the *Solo* of the 1755 libretto). The chorale strophes, newly written by Ramler (as was the opening chorale), are modeled on Johann Rist's "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid." The choice of this chorale, found in many Protestant Passion settings, illustrates Ramler's dependence on an especially old Passion tradition, and his ability to "lyricize" that tradition. Ramler's three strophes share the opening words "Ihr Augen weint! Der Menschenfreund," while the *Solo* text "Weinet nicht! Es hat überwunden der Löwe vom Stamm Juda!" (based on Rev. 5:5) remains exactly the same each time.¹⁶¹ The first strophe (no. 25) is sung by the choir as a standard congregational chorale (Figure 4.11).

The image shows a musical score for two systems. The first system is for Soprano/Alto (S/V1/O1 and A/V2/O2) and Tenor/Bass/Chorus (T/Va and B/BC). The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "Ihr Au - gen weint! Der Men - schen - freund ver - lässt sein teu - res". The second system starts at measure 10 and continues the melody and harmony. The lyrics are: "Le - ben. Künf - tig wird sein Mund uns nicht Leh - ren Got - tes ge - ben." The score uses a variety of note values including half notes, quarter notes, and eighth notes, with some measures containing rests.

Figure 4.11: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 25

The second strophe (no. 27) is in the style of a chorale aria, though here the alto sings an independent line and the obbligato oboe cites the chorale tune (Figure 4.12). The third strophe

¹⁶¹ The chorale strophes, with their references to weeping ("Ihr Augen weint!") seem to be a "lyric" adaptation of Rev. 5:4, which begins "Und ich weinte sehr." In a way, the *conclusio* as a whole is a "lyricization" of Rev. 5:4f (weeping followed by the exhortation to stop weeping).

(no. 29) reverses the procedure of the second; the obbligato flute plays the countermelody and the soprano sings a decorated version of the chorale tune¹⁶² (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.12 shows a musical score for "Der Tod Jesu, no. 27". It is written for Oboe (OI), Alto (A), and Bass/Contralto (BC) voices. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are: "Ihr Au-gen weint!... Au-gen weint! Der Men-schenfreund sinkt, sinkt un-ter tau-send Pla-gen. Konn-te sei-ne sanf-te Brust so viel Schmerz er-tra-gen, so-viel Schmerz er-tra-gen." The Oboe part is marked "pizz." and the Bass/Contralto part is marked "arco".

Figure 4.12: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 27

Figure 4.13 shows a musical score for "Der Tod Jesu, no. 29". It is written for Flute (FI), Soprano (S), and Bass/Contralto (BC) voices. The music is in 3/4 time and B-flat major. The lyrics are: "Ihr Au-gen weint!... Der Men-schenfreund... der Ed-le, der Ge-recht-te, wird ver-ach-tet, wird verschmäht, stirbt den Tod der Knech-te." The Flute part is marked "pizz." and the Bass/Contralto part is marked "arco".

Figure 4.13: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 29

The mournful, tear-laden poetry of the chorale strophes, quite neological in tone, contrasts sharply with the repeated "Weinet nicht!" text (nos. 26, 28, and 30). While the text of the solo line remains the same, Telemann sets this brief, recurring exclamation mostly the same

¹⁶² The settings of the chorale strophes, 1) four-part 2) solo and 3) solo, seems to go against Ramler's intentions. He creates a very different effect than Graun's "Klangsteigerung." See Lölkes, *Ramlers "Der Tod Jesu,"* 139.

each time. The text-setting in no. 29 is slightly varied, and no. 31 is a duet for two basses.¹⁶³ I provide no. 26 (Figure 4.14) to illustrate the contrast of style and mood with the chorale strophes.

Figure 4.14: *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 26

The oratorio concludes with an expressive, grief-stricken chorus (no. 32) that recalls the language of no. 7. Words such as "tiefgebückt" and "Staub" refer back to Jesus' having bent low

¹⁶³ According to Lölkes, 117, n. 41, Ursula and Wolf Hobohm changed the original bass/bass duet to a tenor/bass duet in their edition for practical performance reasons (obviating the need for a second bass). Both the 1755 and 1760 versions of *Der Tod Jesu*, however, contain no *Duett* indication. It would appear that Telemann is taking a significant liberty with the libretto. While it is possible that the second voice was added by Georg Michael Telemann (he made a career out of "improving" his grandfather's music), the evidence of autograph manuscripts indicates that Telemann himself certainly did not shy away from "improving" what was given to him in a libretto, even in a liturgical Passion (*Lukaspassion 1764* springs to mind – the duet *versus* turned into a full chorus) when it suited his own preferences.

in the dust; now it is we who mourn his death. The *conclusio* is in a "closed form" that would have fit nicely with Hörner's description of the expositions of Telemann's late Passions.¹⁶⁴

4.8.5. Ramler's Formal Conservatism

Perhaps the conservatism of Ramler's libretto of *Der Tod Jesu* (lyric, yet with many of the older conventions such as chorales, *exordium* and *conclusio*, biblical "citations," and the same outer parameters of the events of the Passion – Gethsemane and Golgotha – as the liturgical Passions) that made it a suitable model for the late liturgical Passions, which of course were even more conservative (biblical narration, *turba* choruses, etc.). The Ramler model proved to be viable between 1755-67, more so than the older *Seliges Erwägen* could ever have been, due to the structural conservatism that lay behind its lyrical innovations.

4.9. COMPARISON OF *DER TOD JESU* TO *LUKASPASSION 1760*

It might be useful at this point to offer a case study to test Lange's statement that the liturgical Passions bore an affinity to the "passionsoratorischen Spätwerken."¹⁶⁵ Specifically, I will compare *Der Tod Jesu* to the *Lukaspassion 1760*. I begin by comparing the accompagnato "Gethsemane! Gethsemane!" from *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 4, to the accompagnato "Welt! Welt!" from the *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 8. There is a "superficial" formal similarity between the two movements: the opening doubled call or form of address. In *Der Tod Jesu*, the call "Gethsemane! Gethsemane!" identifies the locus of the initial scene, and the personification of the garden. In the 1760 Passion, "Welt! Welt!" addresses the world of sinners. Note also the double imperative "weine, weine!" at the end. There is also the change of texture and text type at

¹⁶⁴ See Hörner, *Passionsmusiken*, 83.

¹⁶⁵ Lange, liner notes to *Matthäuspasion 1758 TWV 5:43* (CD recording).

the end of each movement (citation of Jesuwort in *Der Tod Jesu*; an arioso passage in the 1760 Passion).

Both movements have the imagery of blood and sweat, which can be seen below in the comparative chart of the two texts. While the blood imagery is one of several images drawn from the composite Gospel references in *Der Tod Jesu*, the librettist of the 1760 Passion develops it quite thoroughly, in the *exordium*, several interpolations, and the *conclusio*. Such imagery would normally not occur in Matthew, Mark and John Passions, because the blood/sweat imagery is unique to Luke's Gospel. The first accompagnato of the 1760 Passion focuses on the sweat of blood ("Blut schwitzt dein Bürge, Blut!") and calls for the weeping of the sinners (sweat of blood → stream of tears) as the first congregational participation in the work. The 1760 librettist may well have used Ramler as a model. The opening accompagnato of *Der Tod Jesu* contains the vivid line "sein Schweiß rollt purpurrot die Schläf' herab" without actually mentioning the word "Blut," in lyric fashion.

Another important image shared by the two works is that of Jesus bearing the sin of the world. In *Der Tod Jesu*, "Ach seht! er sinkt, belastet von den Missetaten einer ganzen Welt." Ramler uses "Missetaten" rather than "Sünden," which connotes "misdeed" or "misdemeanor" in an ethical sense, an offense against a fellow human being, rather than outright "sin" in a theological sense, an offense against God and Christ. This is a neological reading of the Agnus Dei, in that Ramler seems to imply that the quite human Jesus is burdened with sorrow at the failings of humankind, rather than treating him as a sacrificial lamb to wipe away sin. Ramler does use the word "Sünder" in the line "Du zagst, du zitterst, gleich dem Sünder, dem man sein Todesurteil fällt." Here, Ramler likens Jesus to the human sinner, in his fear and trembling. The

librettist of the 1760 St. Luke Passion elaborates on the trembling and the burden which Jesus suffered, referring much more explicitly to "Sünden."

Figure 4.15 illustrates the parallels between the initial *accompagnati* of *Der Tod Jesu* and the 1760 Passion. The 1760 librettist did not follow slavishly Ramler's sequence of ideas; rather, he used Ramler as a model and developed the ideas as he saw fit. The parallels and similarities are quite striking, to an extent suggesting that the 1760 version is an imaginative paraphrase of the 1755 text, one that adapts Ramler's lyricism to the liturgical parameters of the Hamburg Passion and to the themes specific to the Lucan Passion account.¹⁶⁶

1755

Gethsemane! Gethsemane!
Wen hören deine Mauern
so bange, so verlassen trauern?
Du zagst, du zitterst,
gleich dem Sünder, dem man
sein Todesurteil fällt!

Ach seht! Er sinkt,
belastet von den Missetaten
einer ganzen Welt.

Sein Herz, in Arbeit,
fliegt aus seiner Höhle;
sein Schweiß rollt purpurrot
die Schläf' herab
[E]r ruft: Betrübt ist meine Seele
bis in den Tod.

1760

Welt! Welt! vernimms!

Sie, Sünder, Sünden Gräul
und ihre volle Wut!
O sie zermahlen sein Gebein!

Ach! Eine Sünde nur,
nur der geringsten Eine,
wie stürmt die auf das Herz
mit wilden Stößen los!
Nun aller Uebelthäter Schmerz,
wie quälend muß der seyn, wie groß!
Den Schmerz trägt Jesus, er alleine!
Du Volk der Sünder, weine, weine!
Blut schwitzt dein Bürge, Blut!

Entsetzen! Jammer! ach! wie bebt
des Heiligen gerechte Sele,
in welche Belial
den Grim der Hölle gräbt!

Figure 4.15: Texts of *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 4 and *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 8

¹⁶⁶ In Chapter 5, I develop further the idea of the liturgical Passion as a paraphrase of *Der Tod Jesu*, in my discussion of the *exordium* of the *Lukaspassion 1764*.

The musical style of the expressive *accompagnato*, a hallmark of the lyric oratorio, continued to make its mark in the liturgical Passion. The contemplative nature of the piece is made rather obvious by the assignment of this piece to the allegorical, personified virtue *Betrachtung* (Contemplation).

Aside from *Betrachtung's* "Welt! Welt!", do any of the other *accompagnati* in the 1760 St. Luke Passion have such close relationships with the *accompagnati* of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*? Peter gets to sing an extended *accompagnato*, "Ach! welche Finsterniße decken dies Herz!" (No. 19, Pausch). It does not fall so much into the lyric oratorio category, as into the operatic category. Such pieces, i.e., soliloquies/*accompagnati* or arias sung by the biblical characters, were present in much earlier Passions, notably Judas' remorseful soliloquy in the *Matthäuspassion* 1730 and Jesus' rage aria in the *Lukaspassion* 1744. In lyric oratorios, especially *Der Tod Jesu*, we do not find Biblical character singing for themselves. I do not find structural parallels with any of Ramler's *accompagnati* in *Der Tod Jesu*, though the vivid, descriptive idiom of the language and music may well bear the influence of the lyric style.

Wahrheit's (Truth's) "Die Wahrheit sieht mit freyem Blicke" (no. 35, Pausch edition) comes closer to the "Ramler model." It lacks the opening direct address, but it has a closing arioso, the lesson to the Christian (the Ramler model's citation/paraphrase maintained a connection with the biblical narration; this is adapted and altered in the liturgical Passion, since the biblical narration is already present in force). The arioso is quite neological (and lyric in its forms of address), in that Wisdom urges the mortal to emulate the silence of the wise one, and to show compassion to "Thoren" (evildoers).

Religion's "Bewundert hier den Weisen und den Held" (no. 47, Pausch edition) is similar in structure to the preceding *accompagnato*, with the closing arioso (paraphrase of Jesus' homily

to the women) but no initial direct address. Religion has just extolled Jesus, who has forgotten his own suffering and has comforted the weeping daughters of Jerusalem.

It is interesting to note that in Pausch's score, the *accompagnato* (no. 47) has no string parts. Pausch does label the movement "[*Accompagnato*]," indicating that no string lines are contained in the surviving parts. Unfortunately, the autograph score of the 1760 Passion is no longer extant. The surviving Hamburg parts (Violin 1 and 2) in the hand of Copyist A would indicate the original nature of this movement and any subsequent changes. The autograph score of the *Lukaspassion 1764* indicates that the recitative "Umsonst, ihr Lästler!" (no. 38) was to be a full-fledged *accompagnato*, but Telemann crossed out the string parts.

Religion's aria "Braußt gegen einander, empörete Winde" (no. 48) is a turbulent storm aria only loosely connected to the preceding *accompagnato*. The point of contact between the *accompagnato* and aria is found in the last two lines, "So stark bey eigener, so weich bey fremder Pein, / konnt Christus nur, kann nur der Christe seyn." The Christian stands strong and fearless in the face of storms, which represent death and the end of the world.

The aria bears some resemblance to the tenor aria "So stehet ein Berg Gottes," no. 14 of *Der Tod Jesu*, which also follows a paraphrase of Jesus' exchange with the daughters of Zion ("Ihr Töchter Zions, weinet nicht!", *accompagnato*, no. 13). The Hero of Canaan (Jesus) stands as a mountain of God, with storms at its base. Death, floods and earthquakes may come against it, but the wise man looks on undisturbed. Figure 4.16 illustrates the resemblance between the 1755 and 1760 texts:

Der Tod Jesu, no. 14

So stehet ein Berg Gottes,
den Fuß in Ungewittern, etc.

Der Tod mag auf den Blitzen eilen,
er mag aus hohlen Fluten heulen,

er mag der Erde Rund zersplittern,
der Weise sieht in heiter an.

Lukaspassion 1760, no. 48

Braußt gegen einander, empörete Winde. . .
und lasset den Erdkreis vergehn.

Der Christe, den sein Glaube hält,
kann seinen Tod, den Sturz der Welt,
mit unerschrockner Stirne sehn.

Figure 4.16: Texts of *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 14, and *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 48

Having suggested a second instance of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* being used as a model for the libretto of the 1760 St. Luke Passion, I will again state that, as in the case of "Welt! Welt!," the 1760 librettist does not follow his model slavishly. In the Luke Passion, neither the mountain of God nor Jesus is mentioned; the focus is now on the individual Christian. The A section of the aria is filled with the storm imagery mentioned only in passing in the Ramler. The B sections of both arias resemble each other more closely, though in the Luke Passion, the librettist refers specifically to the Christian, whereas Ramler refers to the wise man (he also refers to Jesus as the Hero of Canaan in the A section). Once again, the 1760 librettist adapts and revises Ramler's lyric/neological style to the parameters of the liturgical Passion.

4.10. SUMMARY

It has been my aim in this chapter to revise the generally accepted "Ramler model" for the influence of lyricism in the late liturgical Passions. According to that model, the content and design of the post-1755 liturgical Passions were influenced by the concert oratorios of 1755-65. These works, beginning with the 1755 setting of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*, and ending with the 1765 setting of Ramler's *Ino*, represent Telemann's full and enthusiastic embrace of the new lyric

style of poetry in the German oratorio. The poets writing in this style, among them Ramler, Cramer, Zachariä, and Zimmermann, owed a great stylistic debt to Klopstock. In the “Ramler model,” the lyric style of these late concert works, with their eschewment of biblical narration, emphasis on extended, vividly descriptive recitatives, and lyric reportage, influenced the liturgical Passions in significant ways beginning in 1755.¹⁶⁷ The most significant agent of influence according to this way of thinking is Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*.

I have shown that we must account not only for one, but for two models of lyricism in Telemann's Passions. The first is Klopstock's *Der Messias* (cantos I-III published 1748), which not only was influential on Ramler and other poets of his circle, but also appears to have been the source of the lyric innovations of the middle group of liturgical Passions, especially the *Lukaspassion* 1748. Indeed, the liturgical Passion was a field for lyric innovation, in which Telemann and his librettist adapted directly the developments in the poetic world without the intermediary of the oratorio.¹⁶⁸ The second model is Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* of 1755, source of the systematic lyricism of the late group of Passions, 1755-67. Chapter 5 will take the two models into account to discuss the rise of lyricism in Telemann's late Passions in detail, with an overview of lyric procedures in the Passions of the late group, followed by two case studies.

¹⁶⁷ Hörner, Reipsch, and Lange provide only brief comments on the connections between the lyricism of Ramler and the liturgical Passions of Telemann.

¹⁶⁸ The path of influence in the old Ramler model could be diagrammed: Poetic innovation (Klopstock) → lyric oratorio (Ramler) → liturgical Passion (Telemann). The revised model could look like this: Poetic innovation (Klopstock) → liturgical Passion (1748 St. Luke). The intermediary genre, the oratorio, is omitted in my revision of the model.

5. LYRICISM IN THE LATE LITURGICAL PASSIONS

5.1. UNUSUAL LYRIC PROCESSES OF THE LATE PASSIONS

In the process of surveying Telemann's liturgical Passions, I noticed many unusual features in the works he wrote during the late 1750s and 1760s (the third period, 1755-67). This is the same time period that Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch has identified as the "letzte grosse Schaffensperiode," and in which, according to Lange, the liturgical Passions have several things in common with the "passionsoratorische Spätwerken." I have organized these processes into two main categories: processes that are typical of the late works, and those that are unusual. The typical processes are either developments of those which Telemann had cultivated in the early and middle periods, or those found fairly systematically throughout the late period. The unusual processes are those which have little or no precedent in the early and middle periods, and many of them seem to be a result of the influence of the concert oratorios, especially *Der Tod Jesu*. Figure 5.1 summarizes both the "typical" and "unusual" processes of the late Passions:

Typical Processes

Lyric reportage (a development of the *meditatio*)
Structural lyricism (thematic or structural connections across the entire work)
Mixing of Gospels (straying from the confines of the appointed Evangelist)
Allusions to sections not included in *narratio* (*Vorbereitung* and *sepulcrum*, typically)
Citations of Scriptural passages in choral movements

Unusual Processes

Chorale sequences (1759, 1760, [1762], 1764, 1765, 1766)
Lyric-narrative reversal (1761, 1764 [roots in 1748?])
Genre-blending (chorale arias of 1765 and 1766, for example)
Liberties taken with libretto (1764, 1767)
Narrative Appropriation and Reprocessing (1762, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767)

Figure 5.1: Typical and Unusual Processes in Telemann's Late Passions

Focusing for now on the unusual processes, among the most striking features of the late Passions are the chorale sequences, employing techniques not heard or seen before in Telemann's Passions. In my assessment, these sequences (or sometimes single movements) are among the most significant aspects not only of the late Passions, but of the entire repertory. Other unusual techniques include the reversal of the usual order of narrative reporting and lyric contemplation, whereby poetic descriptions of events are followed by the straightforward *narratio*; the blending of genres, usually involving chorales; and significant liberties that are taken with the indications in the libretti. Finally, narrative appropriation and reprocessing are techniques that do not appear to be directly influenced by *Der Tod Jesu*, but arose as a result of the lyric-narrative tensions within the Passion genre itself. Not every late Passion contains all of the above features, but the frequency of their occurrence merits my treating them in some detail here. I will discuss the background of narrative reprocessing separately, in Chapter 6.

5.1.1. Chorale Sequences, 1759-66

While studying the 1765 *Johannespassion*, I was rather puzzled when I examined no. 78, which I give in full below (Figure 5.2):

B

BC

Er hat sein Haupt ge - nei - get; nun schweigt, ihr Läst - rer

9

schwei - get! Hört auf, wie sei - ne Pein. Es zit - tern,

17

die ihn has - sen, den Leich - nam zu um - fas - sen,

25

sie schreck sein hei - li - ges Ge - bein.

Figure 5.2: *Johannespassion* 1765, No. 78

As I listened, I heard an undecorated chorale tune that I recognized almost immediately as "O Welt ich muss dich lassen." Based on the aural evidence alone, I tentatively classified it as a chorale aria, a seventeenth-century genre that would have been considered terribly old-fashioned in 1765. My puzzlement only increased when I turned to what little has been published on Telemann's Passions. Scholars and editors have variously called it a "chorale aria" or simply an aria, without further comment.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Hörner, 68, and thematic catalog, p. 114. It is worth noting that this "chorale" (tune, but new poetic text) bears a striking resemblance, in its scoring and style, to the chorale "Wenn ich soll einmal scheiden," for alto and basso continuo, in J. S. Bach's arrangement of Keiser's *Markuspassion* (1713 version, performed in Weimar). Andreas Glöckner hints at the possibility that it was composed and added to the Keiser score by Bach: "Bei einer genaueren Analyse dieses Choralatzes muss man tatsächlich fragen, ob hier nicht eine Bearbeitung oder ein speziell für diese Fassung der Passion neu angefertigter Satz eines anderen Komponisten vorliegt. Die Art der Bassführung sowie die

Looking at the primary sources made it even more difficult, at first, to determine exactly what Telemann was up to in this Passion. The libretto does not indicate the genre of this piece, but it does indicate that it is to be sung by an allegorical character named "Der Glaube" (Faith). As far as any scholar can determine, the text is not a verse taken from a genuine chorale, but is a poem written by the anonymous librettist.

The *conclusio* of the *Johannespassion* 1765 comprises four movements: a three-movement chorale sequence followed by a congregational chorale. I illustrate this structure in Figure 5.3:

Glaube (lyric chorale, strophe 1, new text, tune "O Welt")
Alle (Chorus, Psalm 16 paraphrase)
Zwo Stimmen (lyric chorale, strophe 2, new text, tune "O Welt")
Choral. Nr. 117, 8 (different tune than the lyric chorale set)

Figure 5.3: *Conclusio* of the *Johannespassion* 1765

Various kinds of chorale sequences, such as the use of traditional chorale tunes with newly composed texts, as well as the use of chorale tune citations, both instrumental and vocal, are found in the *exordium*, *conclusio*, or even the body of Passions composed from 1759-66. As usual, Telemann hardly ever uses the same procedure more than once. I will resume the

für Bach typische Fassung der Chormelodie könnte diese Annahme bestärken," in "Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungen zeitgenössischer Passionsmusiken," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 63 (1977): 75-119, at 81. It does not appear to be the case, however, that Bach could have written the chorale for or added it to the Keiser materials. In their discussion of the several added chorales in the Keiser Mark Passion, Daniel R. Melamed and Reginald L. Sanders write, "Der dritte zugefügte Choral für Alt und Basso continuo, eine Vertonung von zwei Strophen von "Herzlich tut mich verlangen," ist in dem Hamburger Libretto [1707] zwar nicht vorhanden, aber durch sein Vorkommen in der Göttinger Partitur, die nicht auf Bachs Materialien zurückgehen kann, wird die Möglichkeit, daß der Choral von Bach selbst zugefügt worden ist, ausgeschlossen. Dieser Choral stammt offensichtlich aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle, ebenso wie vermutlich die Sinfonien, von denen zwei ebenfalls in der Göttinger Partitur erscheinen," in "Zum Text und Kontext der 'Keiser'-Markuspassion," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 85 (1999): 35-50, at 42-43. Could the "gemeinsamen Quelle" (common source) for both the Weimar parts of Bach and the Göttingen score have come from Hamburg, where the chorale aria was cultivated prior to Telemann's cantorate? If Telemann was indeed alluding to that tradition, it is indeed a striking archaism, since such a setting would have sounded at least fifty or more years old in the mid-1760s.

discussion of the 1765 chorale sequence in more detail below, in Chapter 5. For now, I will summarize the significant chorale sequences in the 1759, 1760, 1762, and 1766 Passions.

Figure 5.4 summarizes the form of the chorale sequence in the *conclusio* of the *Markuspassion 1759*.¹⁷⁰

(Ketten=Arie zum Beschluß)
Die Stimme Gottes (instrumental chorale tune "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich")
Zween Engel (no chorale citation)
Die Religion (instrumental citation of "Lobt Gott")
Chor der Menschen (no chorale citation)
[Chorale] 117, 8 (congregational response to the Ketten-Arie)

Figure 5.4: *Conclusio* of the *Markuspassion 1759*

Of the five movements of the *conclusio* of this liturgical Passion (nos. 59-63), four of them form an unusual "Ketten-Arie zum Beschluß" (concluding chain-aria). Each of these movements is sung by different member of the divine hierarchy, in descending order of importance: Die Stimme Gottes (Voice of God), Zween Engel (Two Angels), Religion, and Chor der Menschen (Chorus of People). An instrumental chorale citation occurs in the two solo movements (nos. 59 and 61); the duet and the chorus (nos. 60 and 62) contain no chorale citation. Taken together, these movements compose a kind of *alternatim* setting that had not appeared in any of Telemann's liturgical Passions until after 1755.

In no. 59 (Figure 5.5), the Voice of God provides the initial commentary on the death of Jesus that has just been reported by the Evangelist in the preceding portion of *narratio*, Mark 15:37 ("Aber Jesus schrie laut, und verschied.").

¹⁷⁰ Basil Smallman noticed the chorale citation in the "Stimme Gottes" portion but not in the "Religion" portion of the Ketten-Arie. See Smallman, *Background of Passion Music: J. S. Bach and his Predecessors*, 2nd rev. and enl. ed. (New York: Dover Publications, 1970; orig. London: SCM Press, 1957), 167.

Figure 5.5: *Markuspassion 1759, no. 59*

While the personage of God proclaims the reconciliation of God and man by the blood of his Son Jesus, the first and second violins cite the melody of "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen allzugleich," a Christmas chorale written in 1560 by Nikolaus Herman (text and tune). It is indeed an imaginative stroke on the part of the librettist and/or the composer to include such a citation. The librettist may have had the chorale in mind when writing the text. Interestingly, the meter of the text of the aria is 8 6 8 6, identical to the meter of Herman's chorale tune. It is doubtful that this match was merely coincidental. While Telemann might have chosen to assign the chorale tune to the Voice of God, this would have been an unsatisfactory solution. It would seem rather silly for God to praise himself, effectively, by singing the tune to "Lobt Gott." Telemann's solution of freeing the chorale from its liturgical restraints by writing a free line for the voice and the chorale citation for

the instruments, allows the personage of God to announce the salutary effect of Jesus' sacrifice, and to receive simultaneously praise from his subjects, represented by the instrumental line.

In response to God's announcement, two angels sing a duet (no. 60), praising God for the reconciliation by blood, but without a chorale citation. Interestingly, God is portrayed in a very Zeus-like way, as an angry god who lays aside his thunderbolts once he is appeased by his Son's sacrifice: "Alleluia, thanks and songs, / for men are freed, / and now blessed, our brothers. / Alleluia, thanks and songs, / to our God from age to age. / He puts down the shattering thunderbolt, / his gracious countenance shines on us again / with godly cheerful friendliness."

In the third movement of the Ketten-Arie, no. 61 (Figure 5.6), Religion announces the happiness of men, to be taken up in the following chorus, that the hero cried out on Golgotha and all is now accomplished.¹⁷¹

Figure 5.6: *Markuspasion 1759*, no. 61, mm. 1-5

¹⁷¹ The text "Es ist vollbracht" alludes to John 19:30 and is indicative of the several instances of "Gospel-mixing" that occur in the late Passions.

Once again, Telemann cites the "Lobt Gott" tune, though the textual meter this time is 8 4 8 6 5 (as far as I can tell), which is not at all close to the chorale meter. Telemann once again uses a free vocal line and instrumental chorale citation. The librettist may not have intended to write an *alternatim* set after all; it may be another example of Telemann's taking liberties with the libretto to suit his own compositional and structural ideas.

The Choir of Men conclude the chain-aria (no. 62) by thanking and praising the Lord for the act of reconciliation by blood ("the bleeding suffering"), which has given us the new law (of love? Is this another Johannine reference?). The Blood of Jesus, which figured prominently in the *exordium* in the context of the allusion to the Eucharist, also is prominent in the first (God) and last (Men) sections of the *conclusio*. The parties who are reconciled to each other by Jesus are the ones who sing about the Blood, the element of reconciliation. As in the duet of the angels, this movement contains no chorale citation.

The Ketten-Arie, though outstanding for its manifestations and procedures of lyricism, remains textually orthodox in that the death of Jesus brings about the saving of mankind from sin and the reconciliation of the world and God. It is notable for its dramatic use of named personages, both biblical and allegorical. Especially in the third section, sung by the allegorical personage Religion, the result is a striking blend of allegorical drama (named personages), orthodox theology (the saving power of Jesus' blood), a liturgical component (chorale tune) and lyric procedure (the blending of chorale and free poetry).

The concluding chorale, no. 63, is the congregational response to the Ketten-Arie, and is a list of the sufferings that Jesus endured, for which the congregation is deeply thankful: "Now I thank thee from the heart / Jesus, for all the suffering, / for the wounds, for the pains, / for the sharp, bitter death, / for your trembling, for your quaking, / for your thousandfold plagues, / for your aching and

deep pangs / will I be ever thankful." This chorale is altogether different from the lyricized "Lobt Gott" chorale used in the Ketten-Arie, and is very much in keeping with the "summing up" chorale traditionally associated with liturgical Passions.

In Figure 5.7 I list the lyricized chorales in the *exordium* of the *Lukaspassion 1760*, as well as two of the long-range structural consequences of those chorales:

Religion (no. 1, chorale fantasy on tune "Straf mich nicht" with new text)
Chor der Menschen (no. 2, "congregational chorale" on same tune)
 [Congregational chorale, no. 9, response to *Religion*, no. 2, and *Betrachtung*, no. 8]
 [Schluß Chöre, no. 60, part 3, alludes to the texture and "blood motif" of *Religion*, no. 1]

Figure 5.7: *Exordium* and related movements in the *Lukaspassion 1760*

I will now consider the chorale sequence as a lyric procedure in the *Lukaspassion 1760*. In this Passion, Telemann and his librettist are not content with restricting the lyricized chorale to the *conclusio*, with its commentary and meditation on the death of Jesus, as was the case in the *Markuspassion 1759*. Here, composer and librettist have placed the lyricized chorale right at the very beginning of the work, in a two-movement *exordium* that plays a dual role. On the one hand, it is a lyric adaptation of the traditional *exordium*'s announcement of the suffering and death of Jesus, as in the *exordium* of *Der Tod Jesu*. On the other hand, it functions as a kind of "prelude" to textual and musical devices that span the entire Passion.

The first movement, where we would customarily hear a four-part chorale or chorus, is in the style of a chorale fantasia (Figure 5.8). The allegorical character Religion sings a free text to the chorale tune "Straf mich nicht." I note that this is the first instance of explicitly allegorical activity in the *exordium* of a Telemann Passion since the *Lukaspassion 1728*.

V1
 V2
 Va
 S/O
 BC

8
 Wei - che, Feind des Kreu - zes, weich!

15
 flie - het al - le Freu - den! Men - schen

20
 hörs: für euch, fuer euch, will der Gott - mensch lei den.

Figure 5.8: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 1, mm. 1-26

In terms of style, Telemann's knack for text-painting results in a very unusual treatment of the tune. The instrumental introduction presents the initial antecedent-consequent phrase as a *Vorspiel* (prelude), but each section of the phrase is "interrupted," split in half by Lombard-rhythm figures in the first instance, in m. 3, and rushing sixteenth-note figures in the second, in m. 5, both played by the violins.¹⁷² I argue that these interruptions of the chorale tune are deliberate gestures that illustrate Telemann's knack for text-painting. As in the *Vorspiel*, Religion's first line of text, "Weiche, Feind des Kreuzes, weich!" ("Back, foe of the Cross, back!") is interrupted by the Lombard figures, in m. 14 (Telemann allows Religion to get through the whole line to preserve the sense of the words). In the second line, Religion issues another command, "fliehet, eitle Freuden!" ("flee, vain joys!") and is interrupted once again, this time by the rushing sixteenths, played *tutti* in m. 18. For the remainder of the fantasia, Religion sings without interruption. Musically, there are three stages in the musical interruptions of the chorale: 1) each half of the initial antecedent-consequent phrase is split in two by the figuration; 2) both the antecedent and consequent of Religion's entrance are interrupted; and 3) the interruptions disappear altogether. I interpret the figuration as the "Feind" and the "Freuden" mentioned by Religion. The interruptions dominate the *Vorspiel*, not allowing the chorale phrases to be played in full, much as the "Feind des Kreuzes" and "eitle Freuden" prevent man from wholehearted devotion to God. Religion orders these foes to back off, and they do disappear, but not without a "last hurrah" in mm. 14 and 18. Telemann paints a vivid scene here by blending the vocal chorale sung by an allegorical personage, the free text, and the imaginative instrumental figuration that functions as a kind of dramatic character.

¹⁷² Hörner discusses this chorale movement as a "freie Bearbeitung," and more specifically as a "Choralphantasie." See Hörner, 118.

In the second movement, the allegorical "Chor der Menschen" (Chorus of People) sings another free text in the style of a four-part chorale setting, also on the tune "Straf mich nicht" (Figure 5.9). The chorus sings in direct response to Religion, and the two movements are best considered as a unit.

Figure 5.9: *Lukaspassion 1760, no. 2*

Taken together, nos. 1 and 2 are by no means the *alternatim* setting that we saw in the *Markuspassion 1759*; rather, these movements are reminiscent of the opening scene of an *opera seria*, with an allegorical character introducing the theme of what the audience is about to witness, and a response by the chorus. Telemann and his librettist have lyricized the *exordium* of the liturgical Passion by a blend of the liturgical and oratorio traditions, i.e., the congregational chorale with the allegorical aria in the first movement, and the chorale with allegorical chorus in the second movement. These techniques are illustrative of genre-blending, which I discuss below.

It would appear that the *Lukaspassion 1760* also contains another of the unusual procedures I have noted, structural lyricism, whereby a theme or motif introduced in the *exordium* is developed throughout the Passion. In this case, the theme of blood is important in the *exordium*, which, coupled with the lyricized chorale fantasy, has two fascinating large-scale structural consequences: the blood theme in the *exordium* foreshadows the blood theme of the *accompagnato*/chorale set at nos. 8 and 9, and the third of the *Schluss-Chöre* (final choruses), no. 60, "Du heilig Blut vom Opferlamme, / Blut Jesu, dich empfangen wir. / Wer ist, wer ist, der uns verdamme?"¹⁷³ / Verdammen kann uns keiner hier," recalls the texture and text of the chorale fantasy, no. 1.

In no. 1, discussed above, Religion sings in the voice of the people, the chorale, and exhorts men to recall the suffering and bleeding of Jesus. The allegorical congregation, singing a chorale as an earthly congregation would, invokes the flowing blood of Jesus, even as their tears flow. The actual congregation does not respond with another chorale of their own until no. 9. In a preceding recitative, no. 7, the Evangelist has just recounted how Jesus' sweat fell as drops of blood to the earth.¹⁷⁴ This chorale about flowing tears is mediated by no. 8, a highly charged, dramatic *accompagnato* (Figure 5.10) sung by the allegorical character *Betrachtung* (Contemplation). It is an outcry about Jesus' blood, his having to bear the sins of the world, and the call to sinners to weep (recall Religion's exhortation to weep in no. 1). The chorale (Figure 5.11) constitutes the congregational response to the Evangelist's account, to *Betrachtung*'s command in no. 8, mm. 21-23, "Du Volk der Sünder, weine, weine!" ("You people of sin, weep! weep!") and to Religion's original command in no. 1.

¹⁷³ This alludes to John 8:10, from the scene of the woman caught in adultery. Once the woman's accusers have gone, Jesus asks her, "Wo sind sie, Frau? Hat dich niemand verdammt?" ("Woman, where are they? Has no one condemned you?").

13

V1

V2

Va

T

BC

Ach, Ei - ne Sün - de nur, nur der ge - ring - sten ei - ne, wie stürmt die auf das Herz mit wil - den Stös - sen los! Nun... al - ler

17

Ue - bel - thä - ter Schmerz, wie quä - lend muss der seyn, wie gross! Den Schmerz trägt

20

Je - sus, er al - lei - ne. Du Volk der Sün - der, wei - ne, wei - ne!

Figure 5.10: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 8, mm. 13-23

Wein', ach! wein' jetzt um die Wet - te, mei - ner bey - den Au - gen Bach!

o! dass ich gnug Zäh - ren hät - te, zu be - trau - ren mei - ne Schmach,

10

o! dass aus den Thrä - nen Brun - nen, käm ein star - ker Strom ge - ron - nen.

Figure 5.11: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 9

¹⁷⁴ Luke 22:44, “He was in such agony and he prayed so fervently that his sweat became like drops of blood falling on the ground.” This is the first mention of the Blood of Jesus in St. Luke’s Passion account.

The second long-range consequence of the *exordium* is found in the third of the *Schluß-Chöre*, no. 60, mm. 26-39 (Figure 5.12, which includes mm. 26-31). Here, the chorus invokes the Blood of Jesus once again, and explicitly recalls the musical style (especially the tied quarters in the accompaniment), if not the actual chorale tune, of the opening movement. By placing lyricized chorales in the *exordium*, Telemann was able to manipulate the content and structure of the Passion, both on the local and global levels, with increased freedom and flexibility.

Figure 5.12 shows a musical score for the third of the *Schluß-Chöre*, no. 60, mm. 26-31. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It features six staves: Violin I (V1), Viola (Va), Soprano/Oboe I (S/O1), Alto/Oboe II (A/O2), Bass (B), and Bassoon/Contrabass (BC). The vocal parts (S/O1, A/O2, B, BC) have German lyrics. The instrumental parts (V1, Va, S/O1, A/O2, B, BC) feature tied quarter notes in the accompaniment, characteristic of the style mentioned in the text.

Figure 5.12: *Lukaspassion* 1760, no. 60, mm. 26-31

The *Matthäuspassion* 1766 is unique among Telemann's late liturgical Passions, as far as I can tell, in that the chorale experiments are not confined to the *exordium* and the *conclusio*. Such an experiment is also found in the body of the Passion at no. 52, the da capo aria "Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet," sung by the allegorical personage Treue (Loyalty). The first and second lines of this aria are taken directly from the first strophe of Paul Gerhardt's Passion chorale "Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet":

*Sei mir tausendmal begrüßet,
 Der mich je und je geliebt,
 Jesu, der du selbst gebüßet
 Das, womit ich dich betrübt.
 Ach wie ist mir doch so wohl,
 Wenn ich knien und liegen soll
 An dem Kreuze, da du stirbest
 Und um meine Seele wirbest.*

The remaining lines are constructed according to the meter and rhyme scheme of the chorale, but overall these lines constitute a free text. The librettist did not indicate that this text was to be set to a chorale tune; indeed, Telemann did not use a chorale tune here, but set the words to entirely original music. This movement could also be an example of genre-blending (chorale-like text, form of a da capo aria) or of Telemann's taking liberty with the libretto.

I summarize the structure and content of the *conclusio* in the following chart (Figure 5.13):

Sulamith (Aria)
Chor (same or similar text to chorale in *Lukaspassion* 1728, 5te Abtheilung; new music)
Die Dankbarkeit und Freude (new text, tune "Wie schön leuchtet")
Choral. Nr. 563, 8 (different tune than above)

Figure 5.13: *Conclusio* of the *Matthäuspasion* 1766

The *conclusio* contains neither an *alternatim* chorale setting nor a variation thereof, as found in the *Markuspasion* 1759 or the *Johannespasion* 1765. The first three movements of this four-movement section are quite remarkable indeed. Immediately after Jesus' death, the initial commentary comes not from an allegorical character, but from the Sulamith (Shulamite woman), from the Song of Solomon. She mourns her beloved's death in the through-composed aria, no. 69, "Er verschied," recalling the text and music of the preceding recitative, no. 68. This allegorical flight of fancy, with its distinctive allusion to the Song of Solomon, is a subject that I am not able to address in this dissertation. The chorus, no. 70, "Aber den Qualen," follows the

aria, and reminds the mourner that her beloved is free of pain. It ends with the question "who can finish speaking of this thing in a lifetime? who?" This text is drawn from an existing chorale,¹⁷⁵ but Telemann has set it to new music altogether. The libretto is marked "Chor" at this point, so it is unclear whether the librettist intended there to be a chorale tune here, and whether Telemann is once again disregarding his librettist. In any case, I call this movement a lyric chorale, though it is quite the reverse of what we would expect. Usually, a lyric chorale would have a new text and a pre-existing tune; here, Telemann sets a pre-existing (though paraphrased) chorale text to original music. What was originally a liturgical chorale has become a lyric chorus.

The next movement, no. 71 (Figure 5.14), contains the big lyric chorale payoff. This time we have a duet, rather than a single personified virtue. The allegorical personages Dankbarkeit and Freude (Thankfulness and Joy) sing a newly composed text to the familiar chorale tune "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern." The two voices are woven together in an imitative, highly decorated version of the chorale melody. It is a joyous, exuberant movement, with ritornello-like instrumental interludes. It is far removed from the stripped-down, archaic sound of the chorale arias in the *Johannespassion* 1765.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ It is actually a paraphrase of the chorale that Telemann used as the final movement of his *Lukaspassion* 1728.

¹⁷⁶ In Figure 5.14, I have not included the flute parts present in the Pausch/Möhle edition. They survive as parts in the hand of Georg Michael, evidently prepared for a Riga revival. I do not consider them to be part of the original Hamburg version, because they are stylistically unlike the flute parts that Telemann typically includes in his Passions.

The musical score is for a chorale from the *Matthäuspassion* 1766, no. 71, measures 1-26. It is written in 3/8 time. The vocal parts (S2, B, BC) and instrumental parts (V1, V2, Va) are shown. The lyrics are in German. The first part of the score shows a chorus of voices singing 'Wie Da-vids ho-he Har-fe klang...' and the second part shows a solo voice singing 'Soh-ne sang, deme-wig gros sen Soh-ne:'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments.

Figure 5.14: *Matthäuspassion* 1766, no. 71, mm. 1-26

The basic "lesson" of the *conclusio* is as follows. The immediate response to the death of Jesus is the lament of the Shulamite, which is perhaps a play on the women's mourning at the foot of the Cross.¹⁷⁷ It is also an allegory for the mourning of the individual believer. The chorus mediates at this point, giving assurance to the mourner, after which the allegorical virtues sing in the voice of the people, the chorale. This choral commentary, stylistically the polar opposite of the Shulamite's aria, emphasizes that the people should sing with gratitude and joy at the death of Jesus. The congregation does so in the final movement with a four-part chorale.

5.1.2. Reversal of *Narratio* and Lyric Reportage

The most significant reversal of the usual order of *narration* and lyric reportage that I have seen in the late Passions occurs in the *Lukaspassion* 1764. The *exordium*, in essence a four-movement oratorio, contains the lyric portrayal of Jesus' entry into the Garden of Gethsemane. This lyric

reportage is followed by the *narratio* that contains the very same event – the beginning of the *actus hortus*. I will discuss this unusual lyric-narrative juxtaposition in more detail below in my detailed treatment of the 1764 St. Luke Passion.

5.1.3. Genre-Blending

An example of genre-blending occurs in the *Markuspassion 1759*, which contains four extended *accompagnati* in the body of the work. The second of these is no. 14, "Halt, Verräther," sung by Eifer (Zeal). This movement combines elements of the aria and *accompagnato*, making it a set of two rolled into one. Much of it is in the form of a Rache-Arie (rage aria) with the necessary invocations for "Feur von Himmel," "Rache," "Gewalt," and the like. It closes, rather abruptly, with a poetic depiction of the Judas kiss in the style of an *accompagnato* (Figure 5.15), all in the present tense and with intense imagery. The full text is as follows:

Halt, Verräther, halt, Verräther!
Feur vom Himmel, Feur vom Himmel!
Rache, halt, halt!
Heiland: zeige die Gewalt,
die der Ewige Dir gab,
schleudre den Kühnen zum Abgrund hinab!
Trittst Du näher, Missethäter?
JEsus ruht? was muß ich seh'n?
Halt, Verräther, halt, Verräther!
O er küsst! Es ist geschehn!

¹⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that in one of Georg Michael's revivals of this work, he changed the Shulamite to Mary, thus reinforcing the connection between this aria and the women at the foot of the cross.

Figure 5.15: *Markuspassion* 1759, no. 14, mm. 16-20

In most cases, lyric reportage in the late Passions is found in large accompagnati that are often followed by an aria and perhaps a chorale, a technique that we have seen used to great effect in *Der Tod Jesu*. The first set of interpolations in the *Johannespassion* 1761, however (nos. 9-12), follows a rather different course. This set follows the narration of Jesus' dramatic and majestic announcement "Ich bins" and his captors' falling to the ground in astonishment (John 18:5-6). The first meditation is a lyric report of the impending arrest of Jesus, sung by Betrachtung (Contemplation). The twist here is that the lyric report is set not as an accompagnato, the usual form for such a text, but as a *da capo* aria, as follows:

Der Laster Geschwader umringen
 Dich, hohe Tugend, dich zu verschlingen,
 Bald tobend, und bald mit verrätrischem Sinn.
 Bald schleichen sie tückisch u. freundlich herbey,
 Bald wütend, mit rasendem Kriegesgeschrey:
 Dann lachst Du ruhig ihrem Grimme,
 Und sprichst mit sieggewohnter Stimme:
 Wisst, Freche, daß ichs bin!
 Sie taumeln, und fallen, u. stürzen dahin. V.A. [D.C.]

The aria is followed by a more customary accompagnato-aria-chorale set (nos. 10-12), sung by Religion. Though no. 10 takes the form of a lyric accompagnato, and is indeed quite lengthy, I wish to emphasize not its content, but how it comes close to overstepping its Johannine

bounds. The line "Sprich nur ein Allmachtswort, so wirst du alle meiden" may refer ostensibly to the mighty "Ich bins," but it seems to allude to Matt. 26:53, in which Jesus announces that he could well call on the Father for twelve legions of angels to deliver him from his captors. Such mixing of Gospel accounts is a recurring phenomenon in both the "passionsoratorischen Spätwerken" (as we have seen in Chapter 4) and the late liturgical Passions, the subject of the present chapter.

The *exordium* of the *Matthäuspassion* 1766 consists of three movements – two chorales that frame a dialogue aria-chorus. In the aria, no. 2, *Bewunderung* (Astonishment) bemoans the wrath of God and how the heavy burden is laid on the Lamb of God.¹⁷⁸ Interspersed are the lines of the German *Agnus Dei* chorale "Christe, du Lamm Gottes." In the A section, the lines "Christe, Du Lamm Gottes" and "Der Du trägst die Sünde der Welt" are sung by the basses (in unison with the violins and viola) while the tenor (*Bewunderung*) sings his lines (Figure 5.16).¹⁷⁹ The petitions, "Erbarm dich unser!" and "Gieb uns Deinen Frieden!" are set apart, sung in harmony by the choir alone, and bring each section, A and B, respectively, to a close.

¹⁷⁸ The Lamb image of the line "Dennoch blutest Du Lamm Gottes" is juxtaposed with the Hero of Judah in the very next line, "Dennoch kämpfet aus Juda der Held."

¹⁷⁹ In the A section, the chorale lines coincide with *Bewunderung*'s lines "Der mit allem Sturm des Spottes" and "Auf Dich, Sündentilger, fällt." The librettist paid careful attention to the ends of these lines, as "Spottes" and "fällt" rhyme with "Gottes" and "Welt" of the first two lines of the chorale. The B section follows a similar procedure, in that the same chorale lines have end rhyme with the aria lines ""Dennoch blutest Du Lamm Gottes" and "Dennoch kämpfet aus Juda der Held." A further note on Figure 5.16: I include only those parts copied by Hamburg Copyist A, representing the original Hamburg scoring of the 1766 St. Matthew Passion. I do not include the string parts added by Georg Michael Telemann for the Riga revival of 1808. For reasons I am unable to comprehend, given the state of the sources, Johannes Pausch included Georg Michael's viola part in both his score and recording of this Passion.

Figure 5.16: *Matthäuspassion* 1766, no. 2, mm. 1-24

This chorale-aria complex, together with the flanking chorales, is a large-scale meditation on the Agnus Dei, whose suffering is the very theme of the Passion. The Lamb imagery of the *exordium* is carried over into the *conclusio*. Such thematic framing sections are common to many of the late Passions. The chorale procedure of the *exordium* was certainly not new to German Passions (see the opening chorus of J. S. Bach's *Matthäuspassion*), but I do not know of its use in a Telemann Passion prior to 1755. The *Matthäuspassion* 1766 is unique among Telemann's late liturgical Passions in that both the *exordium* and the *conclusio* contain experimental chorales, which I have discussed above. The aria's extended meditation on the suffering of the Lamb/Hero, without once naming Jesus, may also reflect a concern for lyric expression.

5.1.4. Liberties Taken with Libretto

The *Markuspassion* 1767 has only one accompagnato, "Da liegt er," no. 6 (marked "Accompagnement" in the libretto). In the score, two unnamed observers view and comment on the

Agony in the Garden. This is an instance of the composer's taking liberty with the libretto. Telemann split the text between two voices, a baritone and a cantus. The baritone begins (mm. 1-22), the cantus takes over at "Wie zagt" (mm. 23-44), and the bass resumes at "O Gott" (mm. 45-59). It is a long text, highly charged and descriptive in the lyric fashion, and bears a strong affinity to the language of *Der Tod Jesu*. There is a distinct allusion to the bloody sweat of Luke 22:44, a favorite image in the late Passions and highly appropriate to such a lyrically charged *accompanato* (Figure 5.17), though strictly speaking, a Hamburg St. Mark Passion should not contain texts and images unique to another Gospel account. God is portrayed in this movement as a vengeful, wrathful Deity who inflicts pain on Jesus, the one who suffers for the sake of humanity. The sinner is reminded that every bit of suffering happened because of sin; God would destroy us had it not been for Jesus' intervention.

4

V1 *p*

V2 *p*

Va *p*

B *p*

BC

Da liegt er, blu-tig und ent-stellt, und To-des-bläs-se ent-fürbt sein An-ge-sicht. Da ringt er mit dem Tod, und sei-nes Lei-dens Grös-se spricht die be-

9

f *p* *f* *f*

redt-ste Zun-ge nicht. Gott! welch ein An-blick! Ach! die jam-mern-de Ge-ber-de, sie töd-tet mich, was

14

f *f* *f*

seh ich? Blut, mit To-des-schweiss ver-mischt fließt auf der Er-de wie Mor-gen-thau.

Figure 5.17: *Markuspassion* 1767, no. 6, mm. 4-16

In addition to the account of Jesus' bloody sweat, the accompagnato is filled with images of suffering that are especially lyrical, as in the following lines, for example: "Er sinkt, ohnmächtig sinkt / Sein matter Leib zur Erde nieder, / Und ächzt und winselt, windet sich im Staube, / Wie ein getretner Wurm, und ringet mit dem Tod." There seem to be several connections with no. 4 ("Gethsemane! Gethsemane!") and no. 7 ("Ach mein Immanuel!") of *Der Tod Jesu*. It is also a

musical *tour de force*, filled with Telemann's characteristic energy and unbridled creativity in his setting of this vivid text.

I include this movement under "Liberties Taken with Libretto" because Telemann set it for bass and alto, but there are no such indications in the libretto. This does not disrupt or alter the essential content or flow of the libretto; in fact, it is a useful device that Telemann uses to break up such a large portion of text and intensify musical contrasts within the movement. A perhaps more significant occurrence of Telemann's tendency to take liberties with his libretti is found in the *Lukaspassion 1764*, in which a movement assigned in the libretti to two solo voices becomes a four-part chorus. This alteration has consequences not only for the sound of the Passion but also for the large-scale structure and conception of the work.

5.2. LYRICISM IN THE 1764 AND 1765 PASSIONS

I now revisit the 1764 and 1765 Passions to discuss lyricism by means of my revised model. We can no longer simply take Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* as our guide. We must also take a longer view, including works such as Klopstock's *Der Messias* as well as Telemann's own *Lukaspassion 1748*. The 1748 St. Luke Passion represents an important stage in the development of lyricism and decline of *narratio* within the middle group of Passions (1737-54), in that the expanded lyric sections marginalize the narration. Especially in the *exordium*, the poetic reportage of the *accompanato* occurs prior to the narration of the entry into Gethsemane. The conventional order of events is reversed, and the poetic reportage is given priority. Such lyricism would not be seen again until the late group (1755-67); the 1764 and 1765 Passions in particular represent the next important stage in the development of lyricism, in which the *narratio* is no longer a compositional priority on Telemann's part. For the sake of expediency, Telemann appropriated

and reprocessed *narratio* from older Passions, and the lyric sections thereby gained even more prominence. While the 1748 St. Luke Passion cannot inform us about the reprocessing, it does inform us, especially in the 1764 Passion, about the ways in which Telemann and his librettist continued to heighten the importance of poetic reportage and marginalize the *narratio*. These poetic and narrative developments would ultimately have important consequences for the the liturgical Passion in Hamburg.

Before delving into the details of the 1764 and 1765 Passions, a few caveats are in order. The first has to do with the chronological gap in my study. How can we account for jumping ahead from the late 1740s to the mid-1760s in my discussion of Telemann's Passions? Basically, the type of lyricism (à la Klopstock) found in the *Lukaspassion 1748* does not occur again until the "Ramlerian" period of Telemann's Passion compositions, 1755-67. I am unable to account for much of what happened in the meantime, because four of the Passions between 1748 and 1755 are lost. Of the two that do survive, the 1749 St. John is a parody of the 1741 St. John, and the 1750 St. Matthew is really quite conservative.¹⁸⁰ Figure 5.18 summarizes the Passion situation, 1748-54. The apparent anomaly of strong lyricism in the middle group is mitigated by the simple fact that due to the loss of so many works, we cannot know what developments might have taken place between 1750 and 1754.

¹⁸⁰ Is the *Matthäuspassion 1750* a throwback to earlier times? I would say this is not the case. It would seem that until the post-1755 period, St. Matthew passions in Telemann's time *tended* toward conservatism in their lyric components, whereas St. John passions, for example, *tended* toward more expansive lyricism. See Hirschmann, foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xviii.

<u>Work</u>	<u>Source Situation</u>	<u>Comment</u>
<i>Johannespassion 1749</i>	sketchy autograph score ¹⁸¹	parody of <i>Johannespassion 1741</i>
<i>Matthäuspasion 1750</i>	autograph score	quite conventional
<i>Markuspasion 1751</i>	lost	
<i>Lukaspassion 1752</i>	lost	
<i>Johannespassion 1753</i>	lost	
<i>Matthäuspasion 1754</i>	lost	

Figure 5.18: Telemann's Passions, 1749-54

The second caveat concerns my featuring only two works in this section of my study. Eleven of the thirteen Passions composed in 1755-67 do survive, but only two, the 1764 St. Luke and 1765 St. John, are conducive to studying both the rise (ascendancy) of lyricism *and* the decline of biblical narration. Both of these works survive in partial autograph scores, and contain evidence that narrative reprocessing was a compositional decision on Telemann's part. While the *Matthäuspasion 1762* does survive in partial autograph score, the situation is rather messy. Telemann was apparently quite ill, had begun to compose new *narratio*, but had to abandon that course and resort to appropriating *narratio* from the *Matthäuspasion 1758*. There is a bit of "proto-reprocessing," but out of sheer necessity (see above, subsection 2.3.1). The 1763 Passion is unfortunately lost, and there is reprocessing in the 1766 and 1767 Passions, but they survive only in copied parts. Figure 5.19 summarizes the situation of the Passions of 1755-67 and how well they meet the conditions of my study:

Work	Source Situation	Reprocessing	Comment
<i>Markuspassion 1755</i>	autograph score	none	PL-Kj
<i>Lukaspassion 1756</i>	lost	n/a	
<i>Johannespassion 1757</i>	copied parts	none	
<i>Matthäuspassion 1758</i>	copied parts/score	none	
<i>Markuspassion 1759</i>	copied parts	none	
<i>Lukaspassion 1760</i>	copied parts	none	
<i>Johannespassion 1761</i>	copied parts	none	
<i>Matthäuspassion 1762</i>	partial autograph score	“proto-reprocessing”	
<i>Markuspassion 1763</i>	lost	n/a	
<i>Lukaspassion 1764</i>	partial autograph score	yes	based on 1760
<i>Johannespassion 1765</i>	partial autograph score	yes	based on 1757
<i>Matthäuspassion 1766</i>	copied parts	yes	1758/1762
<i>Markuspassion 1767</i>	copied parts	yes	based on 1755

Figure 5.19: Telemann’s Passions, 1755-67

The third and final caveat involves the *Markuspassion 1755*, which I have not been able to examine. It survives in autograph score (*Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann 14*, Berliner Depositum), but is housed in Krakow. Based on the incipits in Hörner's catalog, I have concluded that this Passion does have strong lyric content, but it does not contain any narrative reprocessing. For more details on the lyric *exordium* of this Passion, please refer to the Appendix.

Keeping the above caveats in mind, I now provide a detailed discussion of lyricism in the 1764 and 1765 Passions. These works, surviving in partial autograph scores, bring together many, if not all, of the lyric features of the late group of Passions: expanded *exordium* and *conclusio*, long *accompagnati* rife with lyric reportage, and chorale sequences. I offer these case studies as a way of discussing a key issue in the late Passions in particular and the Passions in general: namely, the heightened tension between narration and poetry. In these late works,

¹⁸¹ Telemann leaves much of the score empty except for important cues. One must refer to the (thankfully) extant autograph score of the *Johannespassion 1741* to fill in the blanks.

biblical narration continued to decline to its eventual obsolescence while lyricism was ever on the rise.

A few further comments on the overall significance of the 1764 Passion are in order here, particularly with regard to the relationship of the *narratio* and poetic interpolations. While the Hamburg liturgical Passion underwent many significant modifications throughout the eighteenth century, the *narratio* remained firmly in place. Furthermore, one principle was generally followed: the biblical narration of events had priority over any lyric reportage of the same events. Telemann's *Lukaspassion 1764*, however, offers a stunning alternative to that principle: the poetry becomes primary and the *narratio* secondary. Twice in the course of the work, lyric reportage *precedes* the narration of the events occurring at the primary loci of the Passion story: the entry of Jesus into Gethsemane and his death on Golgotha. Such a reversal is not unique in Telemann's Passion oeuvre; I showed in Chapter 3 that it was an important component of the *exordium* of the *Lukaspassion 1748*. The 1764 Passion, however, may represent an expanded use of the technique (at both the primary loci, whereas I do not know of any further occurrence of it in the 1748 beyond the *exordium*). The lyric/narrative reversal found in this Passion was a major component of the rise of lyricism, but the techniques of Klopstock and Ramler were modified, as they were in the *Lukaspassion 1748*, to suit liturgical parameters. This lyric modification manifested itself in two important ways: first, lyric reportage is often combined with other techniques to form what I call hybrid reportage; and second, personages in the Passion engage in multiple modes of expression, fulfilling both liturgical and lyric expectations. Furthermore, with regard to lyricism, we will see that especially in the *exordium*, this Passion seems to present a liturgically modified reading of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* (1760 version) and of Klopstock's *Der*

Messias. The influence of Ramler is also evident in the 1764 Passion by the use of Gospel-mixing, whereby non-Lucan narrative elements are incorporated into the poetic interpolations.

As for the 1765 Passion, it is not quite the lyric *tour de force* that the 1764 Passion is, at least in terms of its reportage. Its lyric strength lies in its imaginative blending of genres, especially in the *exordium* and *conclusio*. The chorale sequence in the *conclusio*, as I showed above, is an especially stunning blend of the archaic and the novel, under the strong influence of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*.

In Section 5.3, I provide general comments on and outlines of the content of the 1764 and 1765 Passions, to give a general sense of the scope of each work. I then discuss each work in detail in sections 5.4 and 5.5, focusing on the following features: 1) *Exordium* and *Conclusio*, 2) Lyricism in the *Accompagnati*, and 3) Chorale Sequences. To place my discussion in context, I will use *Der Tod Jesu*, *Der Messias*, and the *Lukaspassion 1748* as points of reference. I reserve my discussion of narrative reprocessing and its compositional implications until Chapter 6.

5.3. GENERAL CONTENT OF THE 1764 AND 1765 PASSIONS

5.3.1. *Lukaspassion 1764*

Title on libretto: *Worte / vom / Leiden und Tode / JESU, / aus dem / heiligen Evangelisten Lucas / genommen, / und / nebst hinzugefügten poetischen Sätzen / zu / den Fastenmusiken / in den / Hamburgischen Kirchen, / 1764, / eingerichtet / von / Telemann.*
(Hamburg: Piscator, 1764)

Title at head of score: *I. N. J. Passion zum 1764ten Jahre.*¹⁸²

(Numbering of movements from the Pausch/Möhle edition)

[Exordium]

1. Accompagnato (Zween Gläubige am Oelberge). "Hier laß uns ruhn, o Theurer!"
2. Chorus. Psalm 89:39, 46. "Ach HErr, nun verstößest Du"
3. Accompagnato (Zween Gläubige). "Hier laß uns ruhn, es einsam überdenken!"
4. Aria (Zween Gläubige). "Von Myrrhen duftet sein Gewand"

[Body of Passion]

5. Recitative. "Und Er ging hinaus"
6. Chorale. "Ist Gott für mich, so trete"
7. Recitative. "Und Er riß sich von ihnen"
8. Aria (Soprano). "O sey willkommen, Engel Gottes!"
9. Recitative. "Und es kam, daß Er mit dem Tode rang"
10. Aria (Bass). "Vom Himmel stieg die Freundschaft nieder"
11. Recitative. "Da aber sahen"
12. Chorus of Disciples. "HErr! sollen wir mit dem Schwerte"
13. Recitative. "Und einer aus ihnen schlug"
14. Chorale. "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld"
15. Recitative. "Petrus aber folgte von Ferne"
16. Accompagnato (Petrus). "Du blickst mich an!"
17. Aria (Petrus). "Wende Dich zu meinem Schmerze"
18. Chorale. "Zeig' mir deine Vaterhuld"
19. Recitative. "Die Männer aber"
20. Chorus of Soldiers. "Weissage!"
21. Recitative. "Und viel andre Lästerungen"
22. Chorus of High Priests and Elders. "Bist Du Christus?"
23. Recitative. "Er aber sprach zu ihnen"
24. Aria (Jesus). "Verblendete Sünder! erstaunet!"
25. Recitative. "Da sprachen sie alle"
26. Chorus of High Priests and Elders. "Bist Du denn Gottes Sohn?"
27. Recitative. "Er aber sprach"

Figure 5.20: Contents of *Lukaspassion 1764*

¹⁸² Jaenecke has "J. N. J." instead of "I. N. J." (IN NOMINE JESU). See Jaenecke, 50.

Figure 5.20 (continued)

28. Chorus of High Priests and Elders. "Was dürfen wir weiter Zeugniß?"
29. Recitative. "Und der ganze Haufe"
30. Chorus of Jews. "Diesen finden wir"
31. Recitative. "Pilatus aber fragte Ihn"
32. Chorus. "Fallt nieder, betet an!"
33. Recitative. "Pilatus sprach"
34. Chorus of Jews. "Er hat das Volk erreget damit"
35. Recitative. "Da aber Pilatus Galiläam hörete"
36. Chorale. "Ich will nicht Haß mit gleichem Haß vergelten"
37. Recitative. "Die Hohenpriester aber"
38. Recitative (Bass). "Umsonst, ihr Lästrer!"
39. Aria (Alto). "Empfange mich, der Freuden Vaterland!"
40. Recitative. "Auf den Tag wurden Pilatus"
41. Chorus of the People. "Hinweg mit diesem"
42. Recitative. "Dieser war um eine Aufruhr"
43. Chorus of the People. "Kreuzige, kreuzige Ihn!"
44. Recitative. "Er sprach aber zum drittenmahl"
45. Aria (Bass). "Es stoßen wilde Wetter"
46. Recitative. "Pilatus aber urteilte"
47. Chorale. "Ist dies der Mensch, mit Gottheit angefüllet?"
48. Recitative [and Accompagnato]. "Und als sie Ihn hinführeten"
49. Aria (Jesus). "Wann Heiligtum und Opfer nicht mehr schimmern"
50. Recitative. "Es wurden auch hingeführet"
51. Chorale. "Gott! eile nicht, sie rächend zu zerschmettern"
52. Recitative. "Und das Volk stund und sahe zu"
53. Chorus of Rulers and the People. "Er hat andern geholfen"
54. Recitative. "Es spotteten Ihn auch die Kriegsknechte"
55. Chorus of Soldiers. "Bist Du der Juden König"
56. Recitative. "Es war auch oben über Ihn geschrieben"
57. Arie (Soprano). "Seht, wie sich Engel niederschwingen"
58. Chorale. "Ach HErr! laß dein' lieb' Engelein"
59. Recitative. "Und es war um die sechste Stunde"
60. Accompagnato (Bass). "O Kreis der Erd'! in welche Dunkelheit"
61. Recitative. "Und Jesus rief, und sprach"
- [Conclusio]**
62. Accompagnato (Tenor). "Er stirbt! – es ist geschehn!"
63. Chorus. Isaiah 44:23. "Jauchzet, ihr Himmel! denn der HErr hats gethan."

5.3.2. *Johannespassion 1765*

Title on libretto: *Die / Leidens= und Sterbens= / Geschichte / JESU Christi, / aus dem / heiligen Evangelisten Lucas [sic] / vorgetragen, / mit / Arien, Recitativen u. Chorälen / begleitet, / und / für die Passions=Musiken / in den / Hamburgischen Kirchen / 1765. / eingerichtet / von / G. P. Telemann.* (Hamburg: Piscator, 1765)

Title at head of score: *I. J. N. Passion zum 1765. Jahre.*¹⁸³

(Numbering of movements from the Pausch/Möhle edition)

[Exordium]

1. Chorale. "Ach Gott und HErr!"
2. Chorus of Sinners and Jesus. "Weh uns Sündern! uns Verlohrnen!"
3. Chorale. "Laß uns in deiner Liebe"

[Body of Passion]

4. Recitative. "Und Jesus ging hinaus"
5. Accompagnato (Die Geschichte, die Andacht). "O Bach! so ging der König"
6. Aria (Geschichte und Andacht). "Verschmäheter David!/Jesus!"
7. Recitative. "Judas aber, der Ihn verriet"
8. Chorus. "Jesum von Nazareth"
9. Recitative. "Jesus spricht zu ihnen"
10. Aria (Tenor). "Gefahren der Christen, ihr schrecktet mich nicht!"
11. Recitative. "Als nun Jesus zu ihnen sprach"
12. Accompagnato (Die Betrachtung). "O schöpferliche Majestät"
13. Aria (Die Betrachtung). "Gleich Oceanen, so brausend"
14. Recitative. "Da fragte Er sie abermal"
15. Chorus. "Jesum von Nazareth"
16. Recitative. "Jesus antwortete"
17. Aria (Jesus). "Sucht ihr denn mich? seht da, die Hände!"
18. Chorale. "Du, auch Du hast ausgestanden"
19. Recitative. "Da hatte Simon Petrus ein Schwert"
20. Aria (Die Geduld). "Laß den Arm des Fleisches sinken"
21. Recitative. "Die Schar aber und die Oberhauptmann"
22. Aria (Die Betrachtung). "Der Arglist Raht, der Bösewichter Toben"
23. Recitative. "Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu"
24. Chorale. "Laß mich kein Lust"
25. Recitative. "Es stunden aber die Knechte"
26. Aria (Die Unschuld und Wahrheit). "Weiser Heiland, lehre mich"
27. Recitative. "Und Hannas sandte Ihn gebunden"
28. Chorus. "Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer?"
29. Recitative. "Er verläugnete aber"

Figure 5.21: Contents of Johannespassion 1765

¹⁸³ Jaenecke has "J. J. N." instead of "I. J. N." (IN JESU NOMINE). see Jaenecke, 38.

Figure 5.21 (continued)

30. Aria (Die Betrachtung). "Der Helden Fall vor schnellen Streichen"
31. Recitative. "Spricht des Hohenpriesters Knechte einer"
32. Accompagnato (Die Wahrheit). "Noch güldet kaum dein erster Morgenstrahl"
33. Aria (De Wahrheit). "So jagen die Winde mit frechem Getümmel"
34. Recitative. "Und sie gingen nicht in das Richthaus"
35. Chorus of Jews. "Wäre dieser nicht ein Uebelthäter"
36. Recitative. "Da sprach Pilatus zu ihnen"
37. Chorus of Jews. "Wie dürfen niemand tödten"
38. Recitative. "Auf daß erfüllet würde das Wort Jesu"
39. [Arietta] (Die Andacht). "Du Gegenbild vom Osterlamme"
40. Recitative [and Accompagnato]. "Da ging Pilatus wieder hinein in das Richthaus"
41. Chorus. "Ja, Jesus herrscht! heb' an, Gesang"
42. Chorale. "Dir dienen"
43. Recitative. "Spricht Pilatus zu Ihm"
44. Chorus of Jews. "Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam"
45. Recitative. "Barrabas aber war ein Mörder"
46. Chorale. "Der Fromme stirbt"
47. Recitative. "Da nahm Pilatus Jesum, und geißelte Ihn"
48. Chorus of Soldiers. "Sey begrüßet"
49. Recitative. "Und gaben Ihm Backenstreiche"
50. Accompagnato (Die Liebe). "Welch eine Schar enthürzet dem Pallast!"
51. Recitative. "Also ging Jesus hinaus"
52. Accompagnato (Die Liebe). "Seht! welch ein Mensch! weicht, Freche, weicht!"
53. Aria (Die Liebe). "Brunn des Heils, von Gott geschlagen!"
54. Chorale. "Dein Blut der edle Saft"
55. Recitative. "Da Ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen"
56. Chorus of High Priests. "Kreuzige, kreuzige!"
57. Recitative. "Pilatus sprach zu ihnen"
58. Chorus of Jews. "Wie haben ein Gesetz"
59. Recitative. "Da Pilatus das hörete"
60. Chorus of Jews. "Lässest du diesen los"
61. Recitative. "Da Pilatus das Wort hörete"
62. Chorus of Jews. "Weg, weg mit dem!"
63. Recitative. "Spricht Pilatus zu ihnen"
64. Chorus of High Priests. "Wir haben keinen König"
65. Recitative. "Da überantwortete er Ihn"
66. Aria (Die Gerechtigkeit) "Die ihr meine Wage führet"
67. Recitative. "Sie nahmen aber Jesum"
68. Chorus of High Priests. "Schreib nicht: der Juden König"
69. Recitative. "Pilatus antwortete"
70. Chorus of Soldiers. "Lasset uns den nicht zertheilen"
71. Recitative. "Auf daß erfüllet würde die Schrift"
72. Accompagnato (Die Andacht). "O Anblick voller Reiz!"
73. Aria (Die Andacht). "Zu euch, ihr meines Mittlers Freunde"
74. Chorale. "Lasst uns zusammen treten"

Figure 5.21 (continued)

75. Recitative. "Da nun Jesus seiner Mutter sahe"

76. Aria (Die Betrachtung). "Freuet euch, ihr edlen Selen"

77. Recitative. "Darnach, als Jesus wußte"

[Conclusio]

78. [Chorale aria] (Der Glaube). "Er hat sein Haupt geneiget; Nun schweigt, ihr Lärer, schweiget"

79. Chorus (Alle). "Sicher wird sein Leichnam ruhn"

80. [Chorale aria] (Zwo Stimmen). " Er hat sein Haupt geneiget; Nun schweigt, ihr Klagen, schweiget"

81. Chorale. "Nun, ich danke dir von Herzen"

5.4. LYRICISM IN THE 1764 ST. LUKE PASSION

5.4.1. *Exordium and Conclusio*

In general, the late liturgical Passions contain multi-movement *exordia* and *conclusii*. The *Lukaspassion 1764* is no exception: the *exordium* comprises four movements, and the *conclusio* two. In the late Passions, much textual and compositional weight is placed on these sets of movements that frame the *narratio* and the interpolations, per Hörner's observation. While this may well have been influenced by *Der Tod Jesu* and the other lyric works I have discussed, the liturgical Passions do not follow any one pattern exclusively.

The *Lukaspassion 1764* stands out among Telemann's last few liturgical Passions for the structure and organization of its *exordium* and *conclusio*. I list the details of the four movements of the *exordium* and the two movements of the *conclusio* below (Figure 5.22).¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ The numbering and movement headings come from Pausch and Möhle, ed., *Lucas-Passion 1760* [sic].

Exordium, 1764

[No. 1.] Zween Gläubige am Oelberge.

(Accompagnato for tenor, baritone, strings, continuo)

[No. 2.] Beyde.¹⁸⁵ Ps. 89:39, 46.

(Four-part chorus with two oboes doubling the cantus and altus, independent strings and continuo)

[No. 3.] Zween Gläubige am Oelberge.

(Accompagnato, same scoring as No. 1)

[No. 4.] Arie. Zween Gläubige am Oelberge.

(Duet aria for tenor, baritone, 2 Traversi,¹⁸⁶ strings and continuo)

Conclusio, 1764:

[No. 62] Accomp. Tenor.

(Accompagnato for tenor, strings and continuo)

[No. 63] Chor.

[4-part chorus with winds and strings *colla parte*]¹⁸⁷

Figure 5.22: *Exordium* and *conclusio* of *Lukaspassion* 1764

The *exordium* and *conclusio* of the *Lukaspassion* 1764 have a complementary structure: the first movement of each of these sections (nos. 1 and 62) is an accompagnato, and the second movement of each (nos. 2 and 63) is a chorus. The choruses themselves are both settings of Old Testament citations (from Psalm 89 and Isaiah 44, respectively) and have complementary structures: each is in two sections with contrasting textures (homophony followed by fugal polyphony).¹⁸⁸

The complementary structure of the framing choruses, devised by Telemann in the score, is not reflected in the libretto. While the Isaiah citation in the *conclusio* is marked "Chor," the

¹⁸⁵ The heading "Beyde" is taken directly from the libretto (Hamburg: Jerem. Conr. Piscator, 1764; copy housed in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin/Preußischer Kulturbesitz, *Mus. Tt 137/9*); Pausch retains it in his edition, even though Telemann clearly sets it for four-part chorus.

¹⁸⁶ In Telemann's orchestra, the oboists doubled on traversi.

¹⁸⁷ In the partial autograph, Telemann uses "Mit Instr." to indicate a *colla parte* texture.

¹⁸⁸ How does this compare, say, with the framing sets of the 1748 St. Luke and *Der Tod Jesu*? Is there something new going on in these last few Passions? I think not only of structural lyricism, which I explore both in the 1748 and 1764 St. Luke, but also "structural virtuosity," particularly with regard to the 1766 St. Matthew, in which Telemann blends aria, chorus, chorale (individual mvts) with the parameters of the framing sets in a way not approached to quite the same degree in any of the other passions I know.

Psalm citation in the *exordium* is marked "Beyde," referring to the Zween Gläubige am Oelberge (Two Believers on the Mount of Olives). The discrepancy between the libretto's indication and Telemann's setting would have been obvious to the congregation, who would have had copies of the libretto in hand, when the Passion was performed.¹⁸⁹ It is likely that the librettist conceived of the entire *exordium* as a duet, and somewhere along the way, the composer departed from the libretto and decided instead to set the Psalm citation as a chorus.

Telemann's decision to include a chorus in the *exordium* was by no means a mere compositional flight of fancy. The composer took a keen and direct interest in the movement plans of his liturgical works, an interest which seems to have extended back to the early days of his Hamburg career. He was interested in the textual as well as the musical structure of the various movements. He even gave advice to poets, which ranged from the general to the specific, as Hörner has described: "Telemann erteilt den Dichtern auch häufig Ratschläge und dringt immer wieder auf kurze und knappe Rezitative. Bis auf den einzelnen Worte untersucht er die Tauglichkeit eines ihm angebotenen Textes und ersetzt schlechte, unsangliche Worte durch geeignetere."¹⁹⁰

Based on the libretto's indications alone, the *exordium* of the *Lukaspassion 1764* would stand out among all of Telemann's liturgical Passions. If Telemann had set the Psalm citation as an actual duet, then this Passion would have been one of only two extant Passions without any choral numbers in the *exordium*. As it is, the only one without such an *exordium* is the

¹⁸⁹ The *Lukaspassion 1764* was first performed 11 March 1764 (Invocavit, or the First Sunday in Lent) at the Hauptkirche St. Petri. See Pausch, *Worte vom Leiden und Tode JESU*, [17]. Hirschmann also mentions Pausch and his use of the *Hamburger Schreib=Calender* to reconstruct when the Passions would have been performed. The *Schreib=Calendern* were pocket-size booklets that gave the dates for performances of church music in Hamburg. See Hirschmann, foreword to *Johannespassion 1745*, TA 29, xi.

¹⁹⁰ See Hörner, 66-67, and n. 43 and 44. See also above, Section 2.2, for my discussion of Telemann's letter to Wilkens.

Lukaspassion 1728, the libretto of which is by Wilkens.¹⁹¹ While it may be difficult if not impossible to establish by means of external evidence (correspondence with librettist, payment records, etc.) why Telemann might have departed from the librettist's intent with regard to the "Beyde" movement, the internal evidence might provide useful clues.¹⁹²

Among the many distinctive features of this Passion is the fact that both the *exordium* and the *conclusio* contain citations drawn from the Old Testament. In fact, it is the only extant liturgical Passion by Telemann containing Biblical citations in both framing sequences.¹⁹³ I provide the full citations below (I have approximated how they appear in the libretto), followed by the English translations from the *New American Bible* (hereafter *NAB*).¹⁹⁴ In the *exordium*, the citation is taken from Psalm 89:39 and 46:

¹⁹¹ See Hörner, 62. See also above, Chapter 3, for my discussion of the *Lukaspassion* 1728.

¹⁹² In his later years, Telemann was not averse to changing libretti and even chorale texts to suit his purposes. This tendency to alter established texts caused a controversy during Pentecost 1764. Johann Melchior Goeze, Hauptpastor of the Katharinenkirche, complained to the Mayor of Hamburg, in a letter dated 14 June 1764, that Telemann had used a different text for the chorale "Kom Heil. Geist Herre Gott" than the one found in the Gesangbuch. The text in question was Klopstock's parody of the traditional Pentecost chorale, and the work in question was the cantata "Komm, Geist des Herrn," TWV 1:999, first performed on Pentecost 1759. Telemann wrote subsequently to the Hamburg City Council, in a letter dated 16 June 1764, asking that printed chorale supplements be distributed to the Hauptkirchen to correspond to the chorales he chose to use in his music. Telemann, of course, was favorably inclined toward the poetry of Klopstock and his circle, which included Ramler; Goeze was an opponent of this poetic movement. For Goeze's complaint, see *Briefwechsel*, 60-61; for Telemann's request, see *Briefwechsel*, 46.

¹⁹³ Only a few other extant liturgical Passions contain Biblical citations in a framing movement or set of movements, in all cases only the *exordium*: the *Matthäuspassion* 1758 (No. 2, Chor der gläubigen Seelen, text cited from Baruch 4:36 [Hörner's thematic catalog, p. 74, has the erroneous citation Bar. 5:1]) and *Johannespassion* 1761 (No. 1, Zion [Chor], text cited from Psalm 20:1). Hörner claims that the opening chorus of the *Johannespassion* 1733 ("Du lässest uns durchs Blut") cites Zechariah 9:11; but as far as I can tell it is not a citation but may be a paraphrase. Hörner also mentions one non-extant Passion, the *Matthäuspassion* 1734, the opening chorus of which ("Der Herr is mein Hirte") cites Psalm 23:1-2. In all these cases, the Biblical quotation is sung by a choir, not by a soloist. I have found two instances in which a Biblical citation is sung by a soloist. In the non-extant *Markuspassion* 1763, the *exordium* consists of a dialogue between God and Jesus, with the cavata form a b c b. Jesus sings the repeated section, a citation of Psalm 40:8-9; see Hörner, 84. Within the accompagnato at the beginning of the *conclusio* of the *Lukaspassion* 1764, the tenor cites Psalm 16:10, the only "internal" citation of which I am aware in an extant Passion. Hörner claims that Psalm 40:8-9 is cited in the opening sections of the 1754 and 1758 Passions; I am unable to substantiate the former, and the latter's citation is from Baruch, not Psalms (see above in this note).

¹⁹⁴ The biblical citations in German, when not directly from the libretto, are taken from *Die Bibel: nach der Übersetzung Martin Luthers mit Apokryphen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1999). The full title of the *NAB* is *New American Bible: Including the Revised Psalms and the Revised New Testament Translated from the Original Languages with Critical Use of All the Ancient Sources* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Ach, Herr! nun verstößest Du, und
verwirfst, und zürnest mit deinem Ge-
salbten! Du verkürzest die Zeit seiner
Jugend, und bedeckst Ihn mit Hohn.

But now you have rejected and spurned,
been enraged at your anointed.
You cut short the days of his youth,
covered him with shame.

The citation in the *conclusio* is from Isaiah 44:23:

Jauchzet, ihr Himmel! denn der HErr
hats gethan. Rufe du, Erde, herunter!
ihr Berge, frohlocket mit Jauchzen, der
Wald, und alle Bäume drinnen! Denn
der HErr hat Jacob erlöset, und ist in
Israel herrlich!

Raise a glad cry, you heavens: the LORD has done this;
shout, you depths of the earth.
Break forth, you mountains, into song,
you forest, with all your trees.
For the LORD has redeemed Jacob,
and shows his glory through Israel.

The librettist's use of Scriptural citations in both the *exordium* and *conclusio* provides a sense of balance to the framing sections of the Passion. An examination of the general theme, content and Biblical context of the citations, followed by an analysis of specific words and phrases, will reveal how they are complementary on a literary level, how they fit the theological framework and argument of the 1764 Passion, and why Telemann chose to depart from the libretto.

Psalm 89, the source of the citation in the *exordium*, concerns the covenant between God and his anointed servant, King David. Near the beginning of this Psalm, the covenant is clearly described in vv. 4-5, in words that the Psalmist attributes directly to God, "Ich habe einen Bund geschlossen mit meinem Auserwählten, / ich habe David, meinem Knechte, geschworen. Ich will

deinem Geschlecht festen Grund geben auf ewig / und deinen Thron bauen für und für" (I have made a covenant with my chosen one; / I have sworn to David my servant: I will make your dynasty stand forever / and establish your throne through all ages). Verse 21 explicitly identifies the other side of the special relationship between God and his anointed servant David, "Ich habe gefunden meinen Knecht David, / ich habe ihn gesalbt mit meinem heiligen Öl" (I have chosen David, my servant; / with my holy oil I have anointed him). By finding and anointing David, God has chosen David especially to sit on the throne of Israel. The Psalm goes on to describe how faithful God has been to his servant, and how his enemies have fallen before him. It even describes, in verse 27, how God and David are like father and son to one another, "Er wird mich nennen: Du bist mein Vater, / mein Gott und Hort, der mir hilft" (He shall cry to me, 'You are my father, / my God, the Rock that brings me victory!'). In vv. 39-52, however, the Psalm becomes a lament for the anointed (David) who has been spurned by God. The two verses chosen by the librettist, vv. 39 and 46, capture the essence of David's rejection: he has been cast off, his days are shortened, and he is covered with shame. In summary, the two main sections of Psalm 89 concern the promise of God to David to establish his kingdom forever and the sudden casting off of the anointed to his apparent death. For the purposes of the libretto, the citation in the *exordium* is concerned only with the anointed one being cast off by God.

In the *conclusio*, the situation has turned around entirely. The Biblical citation (Isaiah 44:23) states that the Lord has redeemed Jacob (the people of Israel) and has glorified himself in Israel. In the preceding verses, Isaiah 44 describes the promise of God to deliver his people Israel from their captivity in Babylon, which had come about as a result of Israel's having rejected God.

The stark contrast between the vocabulary of the two citations is immediately noticeable. The Psalm's "verstößest," "verwirfst," "zürnest," and "verkürzest" are turned upside-down by

Isaiah's "jauchzet," "frohlocket," and "erlöset." The Hamburg church audiences who heard the *Lukaspassion 1764* no doubt discerned the essence of the Passion account in these well-chosen verses: the suffering of Jesus on the one hand, and the consequent redemption of believing Christians on the other.

The Old Testament citations discussed above bear a strong resemblance to important elements of the Evangelists' accounts of Jesus, especially those found in the Gospel according to Luke. The verses of Psalm 89 not included in the Passion, concerning the promise of God to David, are reminiscent of the opening chapter of the Gospel of Luke, in which the birth of Jesus is foretold to Mary by the angel Gabriel. Naturally, this part of Luke's Gospel is not included in a liturgical Passion, but it informs our understanding of the significance of the suffering and death of Jesus, much as the lament at the end of Psalm 89 can be fully appreciated only with knowledge of the preceding verses. In Luke 1:32-33, Gabriel imparts to Mary the promise from God concerning her promised son's inheritance of the kingdom of his ancestor, "Der wird groß sein und Sohn des Höchsten genannt werden; und Gott der Herr wird ihm den Thron seines Vaters David geben, und er wird König sein über das Haus Jakob in Ewigkeit, und sein Reich wird kein Ende haben" ("He will be great and will be called Son of the Most High, and the Lord God will give him the throne of David his father, and he will rule over the house of Jacob forever, and of his kingdom there will be no end.").

Jesus is identified at the outset as the descendant and heir of David and, more significantly, as the "Son of the Most High," or Son of God. Jesus, like David before him, is anointed by God himself to reign over Israel. The language of the Luke citation bears a strong resemblance to that of Psalm 89:4-5, discussed above, which was not likely lost on the librettist of the *Lukaspassion 1764*. Interestingly, the above angelic witness is unique to Luke's Gospel.

Another uniquely Lucan angelic apparition is found in the Passion account at Luke 22:43. The appearance of angels is treated as an important theme throughout the 1764 St. Luke Passion.

The *exordium* is concerned, theologically, with the old covenant, the Law, which in Christian [Lutheran] theology meant death. Only through Christ's death does man gain eternal life, and in this sense the *conclusio* provides the theological turnaround. Immediately following the Evangelist's account of the death of Jesus at Luke 23:46b, "Und als er das gesagt, verschied Er" ("[A]nd when he had said this he breathed his last."), the *conclusio* begins with an *accompagnato* for tenor in which the observer witnesses Jesus' death and announces his impending burial: "Er stirbt! – es ist geschehn! / Das Herz des Mittlers bricht; bald wird die Gruft ihn fassen,"¹⁹⁵ The observer goes on to note, however, that Jesus will not merely lie in the grave and decay as all other human beings must do when they die. This joyous announcement comes in the form of an "internal" Biblical citation, i.e., one that is placed within a poetic interpolation and not set off on its own, as though the observer is quoting the Scriptures as part of his speech to those who might listen.¹⁹⁶ The citation, distinguished by quotation marks in the libretto, "'Du wirst ihn nicht der Höhle lassen, / Es wird der Heilige nicht die Verwesung sehn'" ("You will not abandon my soul to the nether world, / nor will you suffer your holy one to see corruption"), is from Acts 2:27, which itself is quoting the Greek form of Psalm 16:10.¹⁹⁷ The librettist borrows the device used in Acts of utilizing this Psalm verse as a fulfillment citation to show that Jesus' resurrection was foretold in the Old Testament. The observer's proclamation

¹⁹⁵ The only reference/allusion to the burial of Jesus is contained in the line "bald wird die Gruft ihn fassen." The late liturgical Passions did not include the Evangelist's account of the burial.

¹⁹⁶ This device is reminiscent of that used several times in *Der Tod Jesu*. Was it used in the 1748 St. Luke?

¹⁹⁷ The Hebrew version of the Psalm verse would be accurately rendered in English as "For you will not abandon me to Sheol, nor let your faithful servant see *the pit* (emphasis mine)." The Greek Psalter renders "the pit" as "corruption" (In Hebrew, the word *shahath* can be a noun meaning "the pit," a synonym for "Sheol," the underworld; the Greek translation is based on the verb form of *shahath* meaning "to corrupt."), which is the basis for the citation in Acts. See the note on Psalm 16:10 in *New American Bible* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

concludes with a petition that God bend his ear to "unserm Lobgesang" (our song of praise), and the *conclusio* closes with the exuberant choral setting of Isaiah 44:23.

We may never know with certainty what prompted Telemann's decision to turn the *exordium*'s Psalm citation, marked "Beyde" in the libretto, into a four-part chorus. We can, however, discern that by setting the complementary citations (Psalms and Isaiah) as choruses, Telemann provides a clearly audible link between the *exordium* and the *conclusio*. The choruses themselves are complementary in terms of their overall structure and design. Each one contains two main sections, and can be designated as a "prelude and fugue." I will now discuss in some detail the similarities and differences between the two choruses, and will suggest how they provide musico-theological commentary on the overall structure of the libretto.

The chorus, no. 2 (Figure 5.23), is set for 4-part choir (SATB), with oboes doubling the soprano and alto voices, and strings. The music is in E minor, and is in 3/2 meter. The two verses of the Psalm citation might well have suggested the basic idea of a bipartite chorus to Telemann. Verse 39, "Ach, Herr! nun verstößest Du, und verwirfst, und zürnest mit deinem Gesalbten!" is set homophonically (in three subsections), with mostly independent string lines. After a half cadence in m. 7, the texture becomes fugal for the setting of v. 46, "Du verkürzest die Zeit seiner Jugend, und bedeckst Ihn mit Hohn." The voices enter in the order soprano-alto-tenor-bass, while the instruments play *colla parte*. The continuo line is independent until the tenor entrance. This fugue is highly chromatic and has a quirky, syncopated subject. The unsettled rhythm and harmony of the fugue portray effectively the Believers' sadness about the plight of the Anointed.

V1
 V2
 Va
 S/O1
 A/O2
 T
 B
 BC
 S/V1/O1

Ach Herr, ach Herr, nun ver stös - sest Du, und verwirfst, und zür - nest mit dei - nem Ge - salb - ten!
 Ach Herr, ach Herr, nun ver stös - sest Du, und verwirfst, und zür - nest mit dei - nem Ge - salb - ten!
 Ach Herr, ach Herr, nun ver stös - sest Du, und verwirfst, und zür - nest mit dei - nem Ge - salb - ten!
 Ach Herr, ach Herr, nun ver stös - sest Du, und verwirfst, und zür - nest mit dei - nem Ge - salb - ten!
 Du ver - kür - zest die Zeit sei - ner Ju - gend, und be - deckst ihn mit

Figure 5.23: *Lukaspassion 1764, no. 2, mm. 1-12*

The text of the final movement, no. 63, is reminiscent of no. 2 in the *exordium*. It is another chorus based on a Biblical citation, this time the song of praise from Isaiah 44:23. In no. 2, the Lord was wroth with his anointed and shortened his days. Here, in no. 63, Jacob is redeemed. A double meaning seems to be at play here: as Jesus was condemned to die, but was exalted, so too is Israel (a type for Christian believers, the Church) at first condemned to die, but is redeemed by the blood of Jesus.

The music is in common time, in the key of G Major, and marked "Mit Instr." As in no. 2, the chorus begins homophonically, then shifts to a fugal texture at "Denn der Herr hat Jacob erlöset...." This time, Telemann composes in a more fashionable, "Handelian" style, rather than the more archaic motet-style of no. 2 (see Figure 5.24). The parallel structures and complementary meanings of the *exordium* and *conclusio* are reflected in the corresponding

musical settings. The "old style" of no. 2 seems to illustrate the old covenant, death in sin. The "new style" of no. 63 seems to illustrate the new covenant, expressed in the text as God's bringing about salvation for Jacob (people of Israel / Christians of God's Church, the new Israel) by means of Jesus' propitiatory death and subsequent resurrection (hinted at in the *accompagnato*, No. 62) which would be the subject of the imminent feast of Easter Sunday. Telemann in his musical "Eigenmacht" has gone beyond the confines of the libretto to intensify the textual and theological significance of the 1764 Passion libretto.

S/V1/O1
A/V2/O2
T/Va
B
BC

Jauch - zet, ihr Him - mel! denn der HErr hats ge - than. Ru - fe du, Er - de, he - run - ter! Ihr Ber - ge, froh - lok - ket mit

Jauch - zet, ihr Him - mel! denn der HErr hats ge - than. Ru - fe du, Er - de, he - run - ter! Ihr Ber - ge, froh - lok - ket mit

Jauch - zet, ihr Him - mel! denn der HErr hats ge - than. Ru - fe du, Er - de, he - run - ter! Ihr Ber - ge, froh - lok - ket mit

Jauch - zet, ihr Him - mel! denn der HErr hats ge - than. Ru - fe du, Er - de, he - run - ter! Ihr Ber - ge, froh - lok - ket mit

Jauch - zet, ihr Him - mel! denn der HErr hats ge - than. Ru - fe du, Er - de, he - run - ter! Ihr Ber - ge, froh - lok - ket mit

5

Jauch - zen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen! Denn der HErr hat

Jauch - zen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen!

Jauch - zen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen!

Jauch - zen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen!

Jauch - zen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen, der Wald und al - le Bäu - me drin - nen!

10

Ja - cob er - lö - set und ist in Is - ra - el herr - lich, herr - lich, Denn der HErr hat Ja - cob er -

Ja - cob er - lö - set und ist in Is - ra - el herr - lich, herr - lich, Denn der HErr hat Ja - cob er -

Ja - cob er - lö - set und ist in Is - ra - el herr - lich, herr - lich, Denn der HErr hat Ja - cob er -

13

lich, herr - lich, herr - lich, ist in Is - ra - el lö - set, und ist in Is - ra - el herr - lich, Denn der HErr hat

lich, herr - lich, herr - lich, ist in Is - ra - el lö - set, und ist in Is - ra - el herr - lich, Denn der HErr hat

lich, herr - lich, herr - lich, ist in Is - ra - el lö - set, und ist in Is - ra - el herr - lich, Denn der HErr hat

Figure 5.24: *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 63, mm. 1-14

5.4.2. Accompagnati

The 1764 St. Luke Passion is noteworthy if for no other reason than its being the only extant liturgical Passion by Telemann that opens with an *accompagnato*! The opening movement, no. 1 – indeed, the entire *exordium* – is under the heading "Zween Gläubige am Oelberge." The heading is sufficient to explain who the personages are and where the scene takes place. The Believers (Gläubige) waste no time with such exposition; the scene begins *in medias res*. I give the full text of no. 1 below, followed by the music (Figure 5.25):

Zween Gläubige am Oelberge.

1. Hier laß uns ruhn, o Theurer! dessen Geist
Der Schmerz, der meine Brust beklemmt,
Mit Gram und Furcht sie füllt, und ihre Freuden hemmt,
Mit gleicher Heftigkeit zur tieffsten Schwermut reißt!
2. Ja! welch ein Schmerz! den göttlichen Propheten,
Den unsre Seele liebt, nun bald nicht mehr zu sehn!
Du sagst es mir, du ahnungsvoller Schauer!
Die Sünder rüsten sich, den Göttlichen zu tödten.¹⁹⁸

Two Believers on the Mount of Olives

1. Here let us rest, o dear one! [Behold the one] whose spirit
Pain, that weighs upon my breast,
Fills it with grief and fear, and restrains its joys,
Pulls [that one's spirit] with the same violence down to the deepest
melancholy!
2. Yea! what pain! the Divine Prophet,
Whom our soul loves, now soon no more to be seen!
You say it to me, you vengeful shudder!
The sinners arm themselves to kill the Divine One.

¹⁹⁸ *Worte vom Leiden und Tode JESU, aus dem heiligen Evangelisten Lucas genommen, und nebst hinzugefügten poetischen Sätzen zu den Fastenmusiken in den Hamburgischen Kirchen, 1764, eingerichtet von Telemann, Hamburg 1764 (facsimile reprint, Hamburg 1996), [1].*

Ein Gläubiger am Oelberge.

Hier lass uns ruhn, o Theu-rer! des-sen Geist der Schmerz, der mei-ne Brust be-

6

klemmt, mit Gram und Furcht sie füllt, und ih-re Freu-den hemmt, mit glei-cher Hef-tig-keit zur tief-sten Schwer-mut reisst!

11

Ein 2ter Gläubiger am Oelberge.

Ja! welch ein Schmerz! den gött-li-chen Pro-phe-ten, den uns-re Se-le liebt, nun bald nicht mehr zu sehn!

15

Du sagst es mir, du ahn-dungs-vol-ler Schau-er! Die Sün-der rü-sten sich, den Gött-li-chen zu töd-ten.

Figure 5.25: Lukaspassion 1764, no. 1

After calling for a halt, the First Believer describes how the pain in his own breast is like the pain of another individual, so far unidentified. The Second Believer responds, seconding the First's remark on the pain he feels, but now identifies the one for whom they sympathize as the "divine prophet" ("den göttlichen Propheten"). The Second Believer turns the First Believer's attention from himself to the events about to take place, referring to the imminent arrest of Jesus by an armed crowd with the announcement, "Die Sünder rüsten sich, den Göttlichen zu tödten," which alludes to Luke 22:47-53.

This is the first event of the Passion account alluded to via lyric reportage in the *exordium*. It is presented not as a "Betrachtung" (contemplation) of a past event by an omniscient commentator, which offers a theological *applicatio* to the believer, but as a description or report of an ongoing event by an observer.¹⁹⁹ It is as though the Two Believers are passing by and observing the armed crowd on their way to the Mount of Olives, and the Second Believer announces his observation in his fourth line.

This initial report also hints at events that have not yet occurred in the Passion drama. Curiously, in his first and second lines, the Second Believer announces that the Divine Prophet would soon be seen no more ("nun bald nicht mehr zu sehn!"). This passage is not a report in the present tense, as we would expect in the lyric approach to storytelling; rather, it is presented as an expected consequence of the sinners' arming themselves to kill the Divine Prophet. To put it another way, the Two Believers seem to know ahead of time what is in store for Jesus. I will return below to the significance of the Believers' multiple modes of expression and how they function within the parameters of the Passion's *exordium*.

The dialogue of the Two Believers continues with the citation from Psalm 89, which I have discussed above in the context of its relationship to the *conclusio* and to the overall

theological content of the Passion. In terms of the sequence of the *exordium's* dialogue, the Psalm citation functions and would have been understood as a poetic foreshadowing of the suffering and death of Jesus, the "anointed" mentioned in v. 39, even though there has been no mention of the name of Jesus up to this point in the text. It also serves as a "Betrachtung" (contemplation) on the initial *accompagnato*. Even though the libretto indicates "Beyde," Telemann may have been hesitant to set the Psalm citation as a straight duet, given the nature of the dialogue. The opening *accompagnato* is largely a conversation between two characters observing the events of the Passion in "real time," that is, in the temporal stream/framework of the drama; it is not a theological contemplation by omniscient observers. The Scriptural citation is in large part an interruption of the dialogue's flow of events, and involves a shift in perspective from lyric reportage to prophetic psalmody. This shift in perspective may have been an additional factor in Telemann's decision to opt for a choral setting of the Psalm citation; the audible shift in scoring and style underscores the poetic shift.

The librettist's use of citations from Psalms and Isaiah in the *exordium* and *conclusio*, respectively, seems to indicate a recognition of and allusion to a Scriptural device unique to Luke. In the *NAB's* commentary on Luke's version of the resurrection narrative, it states: "A consistent theme throughout the narrative is that the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus were accomplished in fulfillment of Old Testament promises and of Jewish hopes."²⁰⁰ The most telling verse that supports this theme is Luke 24:44, in which Jesus himself explains this fulfillment to his disciples, "These are my words that I spoke to you while I was still with you, that everything written about me in the law of Moses and in the prophets and psalms must be fulfilled." Thus we see that a theme from Luke's Gospel, the suffering and death of Jesus as fulfillment of the Scriptures, is

¹⁹⁹ Please see above, Chapters 2 and 3, for my discussion of lyric reportage.

²⁰⁰ See *NAB*, footnote to Luke 24:1-53.

developed poetically by the librettist and musically by Telemann in the choruses of the *exordium* and the *conclusio*.

The third movement returns to the observations and reportage of the two Believers, to set the stage for coming events. Below is the text of no. 3, followed by the score (Figure 5.26):

1. Hier laß uns ruhn, es einsam überdenken!
Sieh! alles ist, wie wir, voll feyerlicher Trauer!
Von Bäumen dicht bedeckt fließt aus der trüben Quelle,
Still, unsern Thränen gleich, der Kidron hin.
2. Dort rauscht der Oelbaum und die Ceder!
Vernim den Klageton, der unsern Seufzern gleicht!
Der Strahl der Sonne flieht, des Tages Freude weicht
Dem dunkeln Ernst der Nacht, wie unserm Schmerz die Luft.
1. Ach! hier, hier hat Er oft, der Hohepriester Gottes,
Gebetet und geweint.
Ihr, Engel! pflegtet dann entzückt um Ihn zu lauschen,
Und truget sein Gebet
2. Freund! wessen Fußtritt hör ich rauschen? –
Sieh'! es ist Der, Den unsre Seele liebt;
- Beide: Ach! Jesus ist es selbst.²⁰¹
1. Here let us rest, to think it over alone!
See, all is, as we, full of solemn mourning!
From trees thickly covered there flows out of the troubled source,
Silently, like our tears, the Kidron.
2. There rustle the olive tree and the cedar!
Hear the sound of wailing, that is like our sighing!
The ray of the sun flees, the day's joy fades
Into the dark seriousness of night, as into pain our pleasure fades.
1. Ah! here, here how often he, the High Priest of God,
Prayed and wept.
You, angels! Take care then to listen to him with delight
And bear his prayer
2. Friend! whose footstep do I hear approaching? –
See! it is He, Whom our soul loves;
- Both: Ah! It is Jesus himself.

²⁰¹ *Worte vom Leiden und Tode JESU*, [1-2].

1. Gl.

Hier lass uns ruhn, es ein - sam ü - ber - den - ken! Sieh! al - les ist, wie wir, voll fey - er - li - cher Trau - er! Von

5

Bäu - men dicht be - deckt, fließt aus der trü - ben Quel - le, still, un -

7

2. Gl.

- sern Thrä - nen gleich der Ki - dron hin. Dort rauscht der

10

Oel - baum und die Ce - der, Ver - nim den Kla - ge - ton, der un - sern Seuf - zern gleicht! Der

Figure 5.26: Lukaspassion 1764, no. 3

Figure 5.26 (continued)

13

Strahl der Son - ne flieht, des Ta - ges Freu - de weicht dem dun - keln Ernst der Nacht, wie un - serm Schmerz die

16

f *p* *f* *p* *f*

1. Gl.

Ach! hier, hier hat Er oft, der Ho - he - prie - ster Got - tes, ge - be - tet und ge - weint, Ihr En - gel pfleg - tet dann ent

21

p *p* *p* *p* *p* *2. Gl.*

zücht um ihn zu lau - schen, und tru - get sein Ge - bet.... Freund! wes - sen Fuss - tritt hör ich

24

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p* *1. 2.*

rau - schen? Sieh! es ist Der, den uns - re Se - le liebt; Ach! Je - sus ist es selbst.

This text contains more vivid imagery and specific references to the Believers' surroundings on the Mount of Olives. The First Believer reprises his first line from the opening *accompagnato*, "Hier laß uns ruhn," and goes on to liken the troubled waters of the brook Kidron to their (Believers') tears. The Second Believer observes the olive and cedar trees and compares their rustling to the Believers' sighing. Nature and humanity are mourning together in this scene. The description of the trees' mourning in this passage bears a strong resemblance to the opening *accompagnato* of *Der Tod Jesu*, but not to the version that Telemann set in 1755; rather, it more closely resembles the version found in Ramler's revised libretto, published in Berlin in 1760. I provide below the full text of the revised *accompagnato*, allowing for comparison of the two versions:

Ihr Palmen in Gethsemane,
 Wen hört ihr so verlassen trauern?
 Wer ist der ängstlich sterbende? –
 Ist das mein Jesus? – Bester aller Menschenkinder,
 Du zagst, du zitterst, gleich dem Sünder,
 Auf den das Todesurtheil fällt?
 Ach seht! Er sinkt, belastet mit den Missethaten
 Von einer gantzen Welt.
 Sein Herz, in Arbeit, fliegt aus seiner Höhle;
 Sein Schweiß rollt purpurroth
 Die Schläf' herab; er ruft: Betrübt ist meine Seele
 Bis an den Tod. –
 Laß, Vater, diese Stunde . . .
 Laß sie vorüber gehn!
 Nimm weg, nimm weg den bitteren Kelch von meinem Munde! - -
 Du nimmst ihn nicht? - - Wohlan, dein Wille soll geschehn!²⁰²

The line "Gethsemane, Gethsemane!" in the original libretto is now replaced by "Ihr Palmen in Gethsemane." Though arboreal imagery figures prominently in the lyric Passion of 1760 and the liturgical Passion of 1764, the trees do not function identically in each passage, to be sure. The palms in the 1760 *Der Tod Jesu* libretto are addressed directly by the anonymous observer, who

asks them, "Whom do you hear lamenting so alone? Who is the one dying in such agony?" The palms do not answer back, of course; the observer finds Jesus without their direct assistance. In the *Lukaspassion 1764*, the librettist develops the old motif of nature reflecting human suffering, that is, the quiet rustling of the olive and cedar trees is likened to the sighs of the Believers. Might this section of the *exordium* of the *Lukaspassion 1764* be a lyric meditation on the second version of Ramler's libretto, or perhaps even an up-to-date version of the observer's reportage in the 1748 St. Luke?

There is no evidence to indicate that Telemann's librettist actually had Ramler's revised *Der Tod Jesu* in hand when he wrote the *Lukaspassion 1764*, but historical circumstances suggest that such familiarity is likely. First, the revised version circulated in Berlin, as this was the version cited by Schulz in his "Oratorium" article.²⁰³ Second, given Telemann's contacts with the Berlin circle through Graun, and the number of Ramler's texts that he set, the new libretto may well have circulated in Hamburg. While a direct link between the two libretti would be a nice find, such a link is not essential to our understanding of the lyric mode of expression found in liturgical Passions such as the *Lukaspassion 1764*. It can be traced to the double influence of the concert oratorios, exemplified most famously by *Der Tod Jesu*, and to the lyric innovations of the *Lukaspassion 1748*.

The First Believer then turns from observing his own and nature's sorrow to note that the "High Priest of God" ("der Hohepriester Gottes") often came here to weep and pray. He calls on the angel to listen to the prayer of the High Priest. This alludes to Luke 22:43, a passage unique to that Evangelist, "Es erschien Ihm aber ein Engel vom Himmel, und stärkte Ihn" (And to strengthen him an angel from heaven appeared to him.). This is not an instance of lyric reportage; neither is it an example of foreknowledge of a coming event, as we saw in the first movement. Rather, the First

²⁰² Karl Wilhelm Ramler, *Karl Wilhelm Ramlers Geistliche Kantaten* (Berlin: Ch. Fr. Voß (Boß?), 1760; reprint ed. Wolf Hohohm and Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch (Magdeburg: 1992), 14-15.

Believer would appear to shift from the role of observer to participant in the drama, by invoking divine assistance for Jesus. The angelic visitation does indeed occur in the course of the *narratio* of the Passion. On a structural level, the First Believer's invocation introduces one of this Passion's significant motifs, angelic intervention and assistance, that is developed in several poetic interpolations.²⁰⁴

The Second Believer interrupts his friend as he hears approaching footsteps. He goes on to announce the arrival of Jesus, reprising a phrase from the first movement. The recurring "Den unsre Sele liebt" alludes to the Song of Solomon, especially the recurring "den meine Seele liebt" (first occurring at Song 1:7), in which the Shulamite woman enters the garden to seek her beloved. Both Believers then cry out in recognition and mention Jesus' name for the first time in the Passion.

The fourth and final movement of the Two Believers' dialogue is a duet aria, in which they extol the beauty, gentleness and divinity of the anointed one in a series of descriptive statements.

1. 2. Von Myrrhen duftet sein Gewand,
Vom Fette trieft sein Fuß;
Sanft ist der Segen seiner Hand!
Hold seiner Lippen Gruß!
1. Schau', wie aus seinem heitern Blick
Die Pracht der Gottheit strahlt!
2. Wie sich der Wunsch für unser Glück
In iedem Zuge mahlt! –
1. 2. Ach! daß der Schönste so verkannt,
So niedrig wandeln muß! V. A.²⁰⁵
1. 2. His robe smells of myrrh,
His foot drips with oil;
Gentle is the blessing of his hand!
Sweet his lips' greeting!

²⁰³ Schulz cites the "Ihr Palmen" passage as a model of the lyric style in oratorios. See Schulz, 611a.

²⁰⁴ See the soprano arias "O sey willkommen, Engel Gottes!" (no. 8) and "Seht, wie sich Engel niederschwingen" (no. 57), and the chorale "Ach HErr! laß dein lieb' Engelein" (no. 58). This structural lyricism is an important element of the 1748, 1760, and 1764 St. Luke passions.

²⁰⁵ *Worte vom Leiden und Tode JESU*, [2].

1. Behold, how from his cheerful countenance
The splendor of divinity beams!
2. How the wish for our happiness
In every step is painted! –
1. 2. Ah! that the Most Beautiful One so unrecognized,
So low must walk! *D. C.*

Only at the end of the B section do the Believers recognize the severe contrast between the heavenly persona of Jesus with his earthly manifestation as one who walks in low estate toward an ignominious death. In this way the middle section of the aria recalls briefly the mood of the earlier Psalm citation.

The music in this movement could hardly be further removed stylistically from that in the second.²⁰⁶ The overall style is quite galant, with fairly slow harmonic rhythm and an abundance of "sighing" figures in the melody (Figure 5.27). This is quite a shift from the archaic-sounding chorus of the second movement. The stylistic juxtaposition represents, in theological terms, the old covenant giving way to the new at the local level of the *exordium*.

²⁰⁶ This aria is unusual in that the A section does not contain two full statements of the text (4 lines), the second being a variation of the first. Rather, the first part sets the first two lines, containing motives first presented in the ritornello, and the second part sets the third and fourth lines, with *new* material not found in the ritornello.



Figure 5.27: Opening ritornello of *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 4, mm. 1-11

Following the duet aria, the *narratio* begins with the account of Jesus' arrival at the Mount of Olives. It is here that we have the first instance of a lyric/narrative reversal in this Passion. The extended *exordium*, which could almost stand on its own as a short cantata or oratorio, referred lyrically to the arrival of Jesus on the Mount of Olives; except for the listing of the *dramatis personae* as "Zween Gläubige am Oelberge," the locus of the opening events of the Passion is not mentioned at all. It would have been reasonable for this set of movements to have replaced the initial portion of *narratio*. Here, however, instead of the usual sequence of narration followed by poetic meditations, we have lyric (in this case hybrid) reportage followed by narration. From here until close to the end of the Passion, Telemann and his librettist adhere to

the conventional sequence of sections of *narratio* followed by interpolated chorales and arias based on madrigalian verse.

The Two Believers in particular, and the *exordium* in general, appear to function on three levels simultaneously. First, their apparent foreknowledge in the first movement, in which the Divine Prophet was "nun bald nicht mehr zu sehn," satisfies the function of the ancient *exordium*, which declaimed that the ensuing Passion narrative would recount the suffering and death of Jesus.²⁰⁷ Second, they act as observers reporting on events as they happen, in the present tense, in accordance with Ramler-style lyric reportage. Third, they are, to an extent, independent actors in the drama; they seemingly have the power to influence the course of the *narratio* by invoking angelic assistance for Jesus. This multi-layered approach to the *exordium* reflects the dual nature of the liturgical Passion. The 1764 librettist did not adopt the lyric approach entirely, but modified it to fit within the parameters of the liturgical Passion. The result is a sort of "hybrid reportage."

I should also take into account another lyric aspect of this part of the Passion. Taking the libretto at face value, and leaving aside for a moment Telemann's musical alterations, the entire *exordium* is told by the Zween Gläubige. The method of portraying a scene through lyric dialogue is reminiscent not of *Der Tod Jesu* but of Klopstock's *Der Messias* (see the dialogue of the Angels in canto VI).

Thus far I have considered only the events that occur in Gethsemane, the first major locus of the Passion story. Let us now move on to Golgotha, the second locus. In no. 60, the accompagnato "O Kreis der Erd'!" we find the second instance in the *Lukaspassion 1764* of lyric

²⁰⁷ The Lutheran *historia* and its descendants, the oratorio-passion and passion-oratorio, were continuations and further developments of the Roman Catholic tradition of the sung Passion. The exordia and conclusii of such works did not contain the Gospel text but introduced and summed up its content. See Howard E. Smither, *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Protestant Germany and England*, vol. 2 of *A History of the Oratorio* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 3.

reportage preceding the biblical narration of an event. I give the full text of this movement below:

O Kreis der Erd'! in welche Dunkelheit
Liegst du gehüllt! Der Nacht geschwärzter Schleyer
Bedeckt die Mittagssonne. – Furchtsam und zerstreut
Seh' ich die Sünder, die das heil'ge Kreuz umgeben,
Ihr starres Angesicht zum Himmel heben;
Er blickt sie zornig an. – Sie zittern;
Wie bey annahenden Gewittern
Das schuldige Gewissen bebt. – Ihr Blick
Irrt weiter; sieht das Kreuz; und kehrt zur Erden
Beschämt zurück.
Und Jesus Christus neigt itzt sein gequältes Haupt
Allmählig hin zur Brust. – Der Todesengel winkt;
Sein Schwert umflammt das Kreuz. – Seht, immer tiefer sinkt
Des Mittlers Haupt herab! – Der Sonne Strahl verbirgt
Sich immer mehr! – Itzt wird das Lamm erwürgt,
Das Opfer dargebracht, die Welt entsündigt werden.²⁰⁸

O circle of the earth! In what a darkness
Are you wrapped! The blackened veil of night
Covers the midday sun. – Fearful and scattered
I see the sinners who surround the Holy Cross,
Who lift their rigid countenance to heaven;
He looks at them angrily. – They tremble;
As by approaching storms
The guilty conscience quakes. – Their glance
Falters farther; sees the Cross; and turns ashamed
Back to the earth.
And Jesus Christ now bows his wounded head
All the while toward his breast. – The angel of death nods;
His sword flames around the Cross. – Behold, ever lower
The Mediator's head bows down! – The sun's ray hides itself
Ever more! – Now is the lamb strangled,
The sacrifice offered, the world absolved of sin.

This movement occurs immediately after the narration of Luke 23:44-45, "Und es war um die sechste Stunde. Und es ward eine Finsterniß über das ganze Land, bis um die sechste Stunde, und die Sonne verlor ihren Schein; und der Vorhang im Tempel zerriß mitten entzwey" ("It was now about noon and darkness came over the whole land until three in the afternoon

because of an eclipse of the sun. Then the veil of the temple was torn down the middle."). The first half of the *accompagnato* (Figure 5.28) is the observer's lyric reportage of the effects of the three-hour darkness, especially on the host of sinners surrounding the Holy Cross. They gaze up at the heavens, but their guilty consciences cause them to tremble and quake as though they are caught up in a storm. Their gaze strays farther ("irrt weiter"), sees the Cross, and turns to the ground in shame. This bit of reportage contains vocabulary that seems to allude to Luke 23:48, "Und als alles Volk, das dabei war und zuschaute, sah, was da geschah, schlugen sie sich an ihre Brust und kehrten wieder um" ("When all the people who had gathered for this spectacle saw what had happened, they returned home beating their breasts."). This passage occurs shortly after Jesus' death and is therefore not part of the *narratio*. There is no double portrayal of this event, i.e., lyric reportage followed by narration, but just the single lyric allusion.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ *Worte vom Leiden und Tode JESU*, [14].

²⁰⁹ One might argue that this passage does not allude to Luke 23:48. Granted, the reportage here is considerably more expansive than the Luke passage. We have, however, both the turning away of the people ("umkehren" in the Luke passage, "zurückkehren" in the Passion) and their feeling of shame (breast-beating in the Luke passage, "beschämt" in the Passion). I think the allusion is quite strong and the choice of vocabulary is no accident, given the carefully wrought allusions found throughout the *Lukaspassion 1764*.

V1
 V2
 Va
 BC

O Kreis der Erd! in wel-che Dun-ke-l-heit liegst du ge- hüllt! Der Nacht geschwärz-ter Schley-er be-deckt die Mit-tags

5
 son-ne. Furcht-sam und zerstreut seh' ich die Sün-der, die das heil-ge Kreuz um-ge-ben, ihr star-res An-ge-sicht zum Him-mel

9
 he-ben; er blickt sie zor-nig an. Sie zittern, wie bey an-na-hen-den Ge-wit-tern das schul-di-ge Ge-wis-sen

13
 bebt. Ihr Blick irrt wei-ter; sieht das Kreuz; und kehrt zur Er-den be-schämt zu-rück.

Figure 5.28: *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 60, mm. 1-15

The second half of no. 60 (Figure 5.29) contains an intensely lyric portrayal of the death of Jesus, which precedes immediately the biblical narration of the same event. In this section, Jesus gradually bows his head toward his breast, while the angel of death – the anti-type of the angel of comfort invoked by the First Believer in the *exordium* – swings his flaming sword around the Cross. Jesus' head sinks ever lower, the sun's ray hides even more, and finally, "Itzt wird das Lamm erwürgt, / Das Opfer dargebracht, die Welt entsündigt werden." In this passage, the portrayal of Jesus is more in line with orthodox scriptural doctrine than Enlightenment natural religion. He is here named, for the first time in the Passion, "Jesus Christus," and is further identified as the "Lamm" and the "Opfer," denoting the theological implications of his death on the cross. Furthermore, by means of his death, the world is "entsündigt" (freed from sin). Back in the *exordium*, traditional salvation doctrine was hinted at by alluding to Jesus as the High Priest of God or the Divine Prophet. Here, however, Jesus is portrayed quite explicitly as the Son of God rather than the paragon of virtuous human conduct. This is another example of "hybrid reportage," which maintains the form and style of lyricism, but adapts the theology to the Passion's liturgical context.

16

V1

V2

Va

BC

Und Je - sus Chri - stus neigt itzt sein ge - quäl - tes Haupt all - mäh - lig hin zur Brust. Der To - des - en - gel winkt; sein

20

f

p

f

p

Schwert um - flammt das Kreuz. Seht, im - mer tie - fer sinkt des Mitt - lers Haupt he - rab! Der Son - ne Strahl ver - birgt sich im - mer

24

mehr! Itzt wird das Lamm er - würgt, das Op - fer dar - ge - bracht, die Welt ent - sün - digt wer - den.

Figure 5.29: *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 60, mm. 16-28

A striking motif in this passage is Jesus' bowing his head. This image, quite suitable to a lyric portrayal of the death of Jesus, is in fact not drawn from Luke's Gospel; rather, it alludes to John 19:30, "[U]nd neigte das Haupt und verschied." The use of an extra-Lucan motif mixing of Gospel accounts by no means makes the *Lukaspassion 1764* a Passionsharmonie, but it may well be another sign of the influence of *Der Tod Jesu*, with its allusions to all four canonical Gospels. The motif itself is not directly dependent on *Der Tod Jesu*, though it is included in that work.²¹⁰ I know of no such borrowings in Telemann's liturgical Passions composed before 1755; there are several identifiable borrowings in the post-1755 works.²¹¹

Overall, the portrayal of events in Gethsemane and on Golgotha in the *Lukaspassion 1764* produces a strange effect: hearing the biblical narration after the lyric reportage comes across almost as an anticlimax. One might expect that with such lengthy, intense, lyric descriptions of Jesus' arrival at the Mount of Olives and his death on the cross, the biblical narration might have been deemed superfluous and omitted entirely. Why did Telemann and his librettist not go ahead and omit the narration? The replacement (troping) of biblical events by poetic meditations was not unheard of in Telemann's Passions; for example, a portion of the trial before Pilate is recounted only poetically in the *Johannespassion 1737*, the Last Supper is similarly treated in the *Matthäuspassion 1762*, and most of the Passions allude in some way to Jesus' burial and even the Resurrection. In the first instance, however, the trial takes place in the middle of the Passion story; in the others, the Last Supper and Burial had not been included in the official biblical narration of the Passion since 1736, with the sole exception of the

²¹⁰ The last line of *Der Tod Jesu*, no. 24, "Und neigt sein Haupt auf seine Brust, __ und stirbt," is only slightly modified from John 19:30. The paraphrase is less obvious in the *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 60.

²¹¹ An oft-borrowed Lucan motif is Jesus' bloody sweat, unique to Luke 22:44, "Es war aber sein Schweiß wie Blutstropfen, die fielen auf die Erde" ("[A]nd his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground."). This motif occurs, for example, in the *Matthäuspassion 1766*, no. 5 and the *Markuspassion 1767*, no. 6.

Johannespassion 1745. I would suggest that Telemann and his librettist were bound by the Hamburg Ministerium to begin the *narratio* at Gethsemane and end it at Golgotha.²¹²

The *Lukaspassion* 1764 is a remarkable example of experimentation with the parameters and conventions of the Passion genre on the part of both Telemann and his librettist; such experimentation was fueled most immediately, no doubt, by the intense lyricism of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*, especially the revised version, but also by the innovations of the *Lukaspassion* 1748. By explicit juxtaposition of the lyric and narrative portrayals of events, and moreover, by reversing the conventional order of things, Telemann allowed the lyric mode of expression to hold sway. Indeed, the structural Affekt of this reversal is quite striking. Telemann and his librettist seem to have perceived that the Passion story's potential for emotional impact was greatest at the primary loci, Gethsemane and Golgotha. Though they could not simply jettison the narration of those scenes, they could certainly lessen the *narratio*'s impact by subordinating it, in order of appearance, to the corresponding lyric *accompagnati*. The lyric reportage of the events on the Mount of Olives and the Place of the Skull now had the first chance to arouse the emotions of the listener, leaving the *narratio* as a necessary afterthought.

5.4.3. Chorale Sequence

If the *Lukaspassion* 1764 is notable for the rich lyricism of its *accompagnati*, it also has unusually few chorales. There are seven in the body of the Passions, but none in the *exordium* and *conclusio*. The only other Passions without chorales in either the *exordium* or *conclusio* are the 1728 St. Luke and 1733 St. John. A quick glance at the partial autograph score would indicate that the interpolated chorales, no. 36, "Ich will nicht Haß" (Figure 5.30), and no. 51, "Gott, eile nicht, sie rächend zu zerschmettern" (Figure 5.31), are standard congregational

²¹² On the relationship between Telemann and the Hamburg Ministerium, see Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, esp. 205-11.

chorales. Upon closer examination, however, we find that Telemann did not include any Gesangbuch citations (chorale number and verse) as he did with the other interpolated chorales; he did indicate that they were to be sung to the tune "Herzliebster Jesu."

S
A
T
B

Ich will nicht Hass mit glei - chem Hass ver - gel - ten wenn man mich schilt, nicht

11
rä - chend wie - der schel - ten. Du Hei - li - ger, Du,

18
HErr und Haupt der Glie - der! schaltst auch nicht wie - der.

I will not repay hate with the same measure
if one insults me, I will not insult back in a rage
You, Holy One, You, Lord and head of the members!
did not insult back either.

Figure 5.30: *Lukaspassion 1764, no. 36*

The image displays a musical score for a chorale, identified as 'Lukaspassion 1764, no. 51'. It consists of three systems of music. Each system features a vocal part (Soprano and Alto in the first system, Tenor and Bass in the second and third) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal staves. The first system covers measures 1-10, the second system measures 11-17, and the third system measures 18-24. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

S
A
T
B

Gott, ei - le nicht, sie rä - chend zu zer - schmet - tern! Er - bar - me Dich, wenn

11
ei - ner von den Spöt - tern sich spät be - kehrt, und

18
Dich, den er itzt schmä - het, um Gna - de fle - - het!

God! hurry not to destroy them in rage! Have mercy if one of the mockers turns at the last minute, and flees to you, whom he now scorns, for grace!

Figure 5.31: Lukaspassion 1764, no. 51

What can we learn from the libretto? The texts are given in full, with the melody indication ("Herzliebster Jesu") but no Gesangbuch citation. They appear to be new poetic texts set to an existing chorale tune.

No. 36 seems to fulfill the function of a standard congregational chorale: a meditation or commentary by the congregation at the end of or in the midst of a scene in the *narratio*. In this case, it is a kind of theological *applicatio*, in that the congregation learns a lesson from Jesus: do not hurl insults back when being insulted. Jesus' silence in the face of Herod and his other accusers serve as a model of conduct for the believers. While the function appears to be that of a standard congregational chorale, the newly composed (lyric) text is likely modelled after the

opening chorale of *Der Tod Jesu*,²¹³ as is no. 51, though the function of the second chorale is quite different.

The lyricism of no. 51 (and no. 36, for that matter) is subtle – Telemann set it in the four-part "congregational" style rather than as a "chorale aria." Did the congregation sing along with this lyric chorale? I believe they may well have done so, since the melody is indicated in the libretto and there is no indication that it be sung by the choir alone. Congregational singing of the chorales was the norm (text incipit and Gesangbuch citation in the libretto) in Telemann's Passions, though there is a notable exception from the "pre-Ramler" era: the opening chorale of the *Lukaspassion* 1752 bears the remark, "Lied, welches vom musikalischen Chor allein und gelinde zu singen ist."²¹⁴ Indeed, it adds another lyric facet to the work, and may even be another example of the lyric-narrative reversal. The congregation asks God not to rush to destroy the sinners in his rage, and to have mercy when one of the mockers flees to Jesus for grace. In the *narratio* immediately preceding this chorale is a passage unique to Luke's Gospel, in which Jesus prays that God will forgive those who have crucified him (Luke 23:34: "Vater, vergib ihnen! Denn sie wissen nicht, was sie thun."). The chorale also foreshadows the next scene of the *narratio*, in which a significant conversation, also unique to Luke, takes place between Jesus and the Second Criminal (Zweiter Uebelthäter) crucified alongside him (Luke 23:42-43, as it appears in the libretto):

²¹³ To clarify, the opening chorale of *Der Tod Jesu* is a new text by Ramler, "Du, dessen Augen flossen," set to the chorale melody best known as "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" ("Herzlich tut mir verlangen," to be absolutely precise).

²¹⁴ "Song, to be sung by the choir, alone and quietly." See Hörner, 112, n. 148.

Zweeter Uebelthäter. HErr, gedenke an mich, wenn
Du in dein Reich kömmst!
Evang. Und Jesus sprach zu ihm:
Jesus. Wahrlich ich sage dir: Heute wirst du mit mir
im Paradiese seyn.²¹⁵

The chorale, no. 51, like the earlier scenes of the *Zween Gläubige* contains "hybrid reportage." On one level, it provides congregational commentary on the preceding section of *narratio* ("Vater, vergib ihnen"); on another, it contains lyric reportage of the conversation between Jesus and the Second Evildoer; on yet another, the congregation itself acts in the role of a Gläubige, who would "normally" have provided such reportage. The standard procedure for a chorale interpolation at this point in the *narratio* would be to place it *after* the conversation between Jesus and the Second Criminal. The congregation would pray that God would have mercy on *them* when they mock the Lord in the present time. Here, the congregation prays not for themselves, but for a personage in the *narratio*. This intercessory function of the congregation is complementary to that of the Gläubige in the *exordium*. They too are, for the moment, independent actors in the drama of the Passion; as the Gläubige invoked angelic assistance for Jesus, the congregation now appears to influence the course of the *narratio* by invoking mercy for the Uebelthäter.

These "lyric" chorales may well have been sung by the congregation, due to the indication of the melody in both cases. Careful examination and comparison of nos. 36 and 51, however, reveals an important complication. Though both chorales are marked to be sung to "Herzliebster Jesu," the opening phrase of the tune differs considerably in each instance (Figures 5.32 and 5.33).

²¹⁵ *Worte*, [13].



Figure 5.32: Opening melodic phrase of *Lukaspassion* 1764, no. 36



Figure 5.33: Opening melodic phrase of *Lukaspassion* 1764, no. 51

The presence of two significant variants of the melody not only would seem to preclude these chorales' being sung by the congregation, but also raises questions about Telemann's approach: why did he choose variant readings of the melody? Would the written-out text in the libretto have been enough for the congregation to know *not* to sing these chorales? If they did not sing along, then that would reduce the number of congregational chorales from seven to five – quite a low number, indeed. This would certainly support my view that the standard congregational chorale is significantly downplayed in the *Lukaspassion* 1764, while the lyricism, including the two "lyric" chorales, takes center stage.

5.5. LYRICISM IN THE *JOHANNESPASSION* 1765

We now move from the *Lukaspassion* 1764 to its immediate successor, the *Johannespassion* 1765. The 1765 St. John Passion is remarkable not only for its application and modification of Ramlerian/Klopstockian lyric procedures, but also for its stark contrast with the 1764 Passion. Figure 5.34 shows the (mostly) very different approaches taken by Telemann and his librettist/s in the two works:

	<i>Lukaspassion 1764</i>	<i>Johannespassion 1765</i>
Chorales:	none in <i>exordium/conclusio</i> ; 7 in body of Passion (two of which are "lyric")	2 in <i>exordium</i> , 1 in <i>conclusio</i> ; 2 "chorale arias" in <i>conclusio</i> ; 6 in body of Passion
Allegory:	no personified virtues; interpretive	personified virtues; allegory of types
Choruses:	1 in <i>exordium/conclusio</i> ; 1 in body (no. 32)	1 in <i>exordium/conclusio</i> ; 1 in body (no. 41)
Accompagnati:	2 in <i>exordium</i> , 1 prior to <i>conclusio</i> , 1 in <i>conclusio</i>	several acc./aria pairs; 1 independent
Treatment of Biblical text	Citations in <i>exordium</i> and <i>conclusio</i>	Choral paraphrase (<i>exordium</i>)

Figure 5.34: Differences between *Lukaspassion 1764* and *Johannespassion 1765*

I will first address the structure, content and significance of the *exordium* and its structural relationship to the rest of the Passion. Second, I will discuss the lyric content of the accompagnati. Lastly, I will consider the *conclusio*, perhaps the highlight of this work, and its lyric chorale sequence.

5.5.1. *Exordium*

The *exordium* of the *Johannespassion 1765* is a symmetrically structured set of three movements, consisting of a dialogue chorus flanked by chorales. The *conclusio* is nearly as symmetrical: two "chorale arias" flanking a chorus, with a concluding chorale. This complementary structure is similar to that in the *Lukaspassion 1764*. The chart below (Figure 5.35) illustrates the symmetry and complementary structure (numbering is from the Pausch/Möhle edition):

Exordium, 1765

[No. 1.] Choral. No. 314, 1.

(4-part chorale; "mitgesungen" by congregation)

[No. 2.] Chor. Jesus.

(Dialogue chorus based on High Priestly Prayer; chorus is "Mit Instr." [*colla parte*], while Jesus' first two episodes are accompanied by bassoon and continuo, and the third by two oboes and continuo)

[No. 3.] Choral. No. 138, 3.

(4-part chorale; "mitgesungen" by congregation)

Conclusio, 1765:

[No. 78.] Der Glaube. [Aria.]

("Chorale aria" for baritone [Glaube] and continuo)

[No. 79.] Alle.

(4-part chorus, "Mit Instrumenten." Based on Psalm 16)

[No. 80.] Zwo Stimmen.

(Duet "chorale aria" for 2 canti and continuo)

[No. 81.] Choral. No. 117, 8.

(4-part chorale; "mitgesungen" by congregation)

Figure 5.35: *Exordium* and *conclusio* of *Johannespassion* 1765

The framing sets are complementary not only for their "chorale-chorus-chorale" surface structure, but also for the content of the choruses. Both are poetic paraphrases of biblical passages: the dialogue chorus, no. 2, is based on the High Priestly Prayer in John 16 and 17, and the chorus, no. 79, is based on Psalm 16 (through the filter of Acts 2:27 and 13:35). The choral paraphrases of biblical passages in the *Johannespassion* 1765 are a distinct departure from the choral biblical citations of the *Lukaspassion* 1764.

The *exordium*, taken as a whole, is an imaginative paraphrase of the High Priestly Prayer of Jesus, derived from John 16 and 17. The basic trajectory of the *exordium* explores a theological thesis and antithesis contained in these chapters: the thesis is that the believer finds nothing but sadness and despair in the world, and the antithesis is that Jesus overcomes the world and provides comfort that the world can neither give nor take away. This dualism of sorrow and joy is the key component of both the opening and closing set of movements. Not surprisingly, the opening

chorale introduces the thesis, the chorus expands on the thesis and introduces the antithesis, and the second chorale expands on the antithesis. The two congregational chorales thus frame the dialogue chorus quite effectively. The thesis-antithesis is further developed in the *conclusio*.

The opening chorale, no. 314, vs. 1 (Figure 5.36), bemoans the heaviness of sin and despair and that nobody in the whole world can remedy the situation.²¹⁶ The music and translated text follow:

O God and Lord!
how great and heavy
are my past sins!
There is nobody
who can help,
nobody to be found in this world.

Figure 5.36: *Johannespassion 1765*, no. 1

²¹⁶ All chorale and verse numbers in the *Johannespassion 1765* are taken from *Neu=vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang=Buch zum heiligen Gebrauche des öffentlichen Gottes=Dienstes, als auch der Haus=Andachten, herausgegeben von dem Hamburgischen Ministerio* (Hamburg: Piscator, 1763; Landeskirchliche Bibliothek Hamburg, G 396)

This chorale by itself is not an obvious allusion to the High Priestly Prayer, nor indeed to the Passion account. Rather than reflecting on the impending death of Jesus, it is a rather personal expression of the individual sinner's anguish (this expressivity at the level of the individual is heightened by its being an "Ich" chorale). It is only when we go on to the chorus that we discern the import and function of the opening chorale.

The dialogue chorus, no. 2, marked "Chor der Sünder und Jesus" in the libretto, picks up immediately where the chorale left off, but the outlook is even more bleak. I provide the full text, as it appears in the libretto, the better to discern its layout and poetic construction:

Chor der Sünder und Jesus.	
Weh uns Sündern! uns	Glaubet an den Eingebohr=
Verlohrnen!	nen,
Uns vergräbt der Sünden	Der die Sünder selig macht!
Nacht!	
Ach, wo bist Du, süße	
Stimme!	
Rede weiter, schweige	
nicht!	
Wir vergehn vor Gottes	
Stimme,	
Wenn sein Donner mit	Kommt, und seht mein An=
uns spricht.	gesicht!
HErr, Du Leben unsers	
Lebens,	
Was verlangst Du? Blut?	Höret meinen Unterricht!
Wir gebens.	
	Das ist das ewige Leben,
daß sie Dich, daß du allein	
wahrer Gott bist, und den	
Du gesandt hast, Jesum Chri=	
stum, erkennen. ²¹⁷	

Chorus of Sinners and Jesus.	
Woe to us sinners! to us	Believe in the Only-Begotten,
lost ones!	
We are buried in the night	Who makes sinners holy!
of sin!	

²¹⁷ *Die Leidens- und Sterbens- Geschichte JESU Christi . . .* (Piscator: Hamburg, 1765: facsimile reprint: Hamburg: Altona, 1997), [1].

Oh, where are you, sweet voice!	
Speak on, do not be quiet!	
We flee before God's voice,	
When his thunder speaks with us.	Come and see my face!
Lord, life of our life,	
What do you long for? Blood?	Hear my teaching!
We give it.	
	This is eternal life,

that they believe that you alone
are truly God, and in the one
whom you have sent, Jesus Christ.

Taken together, the opening chorale and the first lines of the chorus allude to portions of the High Priestly Prayer, in which Jesus refers to the disciples' experience of sadness and anxiety in the world, followed by the experience of joy when Jesus overcomes the world. Two texts that are representative of this thesis-antithesis are John 16:22, "Und auch ihr habt nun Traurigkeit; aber ich will euch wiedersehen, und euer Herz soll sich freuen, und eure Freude soll niemand von euch nehmen" ("So you also are now in anguish. But I will see you again, and your hearts will rejoice, and no one will take your joy away from you."), and 16:33b, "In der Welt habt ihr Angst; aber seid getrost, ich habe die Welt überwunden" ("In the world you will have trouble, but take courage, I have conquered the world."). Telemann and his librettist picked up on the thesis of sorrow (disciples) and the antithesis of joy (Jesus) when composing the *exordium*, and modified the content to fit the liturgical context. The disciples are replaced by the choir (and congregation) in the opening chorale, and by the "Chor der Sünder" in the dialogue chorus.

After the Sinners' initial outcry, "Weh uns Sündern" ("Woe to us sinners"), Jesus suddenly appears and calls on the sinners to believe in the Only-begotten who makes sinners holy. Hearing the voice of the Lord, the chorus seeks him, calling out all the while, "Oh, where art

thou, sweet voice, speak on, do not fall silent! We flee before God's wrath, when his thunder speaks with us." Jesus urges them on with the invitation, "Come and see my face!"

In the next section (Figure 5.37), the chorus expresses its faith in the Lord, and at the same time asks what he requires of it: "Lord, thou life of our life, what dost thou seek? Blood? We give it." The irony of this passage, to be unfolded in the *narratio*, is that Jesus will turn the chorus's question on its head by giving *his* blood for *them*. For now, though, Jesus proclaims the requirement for eternal life, "Now this is eternal life, that they should know you, the only true God, and the one whom you sent, Jesus Christ." This is a citation of John 17:3, the only explicit reference to the High Priestly Prayer in the *exordium*.

32 Chor der Sünder.

S/V1/O1 HErr, Du Le - ben un - sers Le - bens, un - sers Le - bens, was ver - langst Du? Blut?_

A/V2/O2 HErr, Du Le - ben un - sers Le - bens, un - sers Le - bens, was ver - langst Du?

T/Va HErr, Du Le - ben un - sers Le - bens, un - sers Le - bens, was ver - langst Du? HErr?

B HErr, Du Le - ben un - sers Le - bens, un - sers Le - bens, was ver - langst Du?

BC

37

was ver - langst Du? Blut?_ wir ge - bens, HErr, wir ge - bens.

Blut? was ver - langst Du? Blut? wir ge - bens, wir ge - bens.

Blut? HErr! was ver - langst Du? HErr! Blut? wir ge - bens, wir ge - bens. Jesus.

Blut? was ver - langst Du? Blut? wir ge - bens, wir ge - bens. Hö - ret mei - nen Un - ter - richt!

43

O1

O2

Das ist das e - wi - ge Le - ben, dass sie dich, dass Du al -

48

O1

O2

lein wah - rer Gott bist, und den Du ge - sandt hast, Je - sum Chri - stum er - ken - nen.

Figure 5.37: *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 2, mm. 32-52

In the following chorale, no. 138, vs. 3 (Figure 5.38), the despair of the first movement has dissipated. I provide the music with translated text:

Lass uns in dei - ner Lie - be, und Er - kennt - niss neh - men zu,
 dass wir am Glau - ben blei - ben, und dien'h dir im Geist so, dass
 wir hie mö - gen schme - cken dein Süs - sig - keit im
 Her - zen, und dür - sten stest nach dir.

Let us increase in your love
 and knowledge,
 that we remain in faith,
 and serve you in the Spirit,
 so that we might here taste
 your sweetness in the heart,
 and always thirst for you.

Figure 5.38: *Johannespassion 1765, no. 3*

On its own, the general mood of this chorale serves as the antithesis of the bleak opening chorale. Only when taken together with the preceding movements of the *exordium* can we discern its greater significance. The word "Erkenntniß" (knowledge) in the second line refers back to Jesus' use of "erkennen" in the High Priestly Prayer (John 17:3, and the last section of the dialogue chorus). The third line, "daß wir am Glauben bleiben," may be a loose reference to John

8:31-32, well before the Passion account, that mentions the requirement for discipleship: "Wenn ihr bleiben werdet an meinem Wort, so seid ihr wahrhaftig meine Jünger und werdet die Wahrheit erkennen, und die Wahrheit wird euch frei machen" ("If you remain in my word, you will truly be my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free.") Could the chorale and the allusion to John 8:31-32 be a complement to the High Priestly Prayer's requirement for eternal life? If nothing else, I take note of both passages' use of the words "bleiben" (remain) and "erkennen" (know or acknowledge), which occur quite frequently in John's Gospel. The contrasting moods of despair and hope in the opening chorales frame the dialogue chorus in which the emotional contrast is played out quite dramatically.

The lyricism of the dialogue chorus, along with the framing chorales, lies not in anything as "obvious" as lyric reportage, nor in the fact that it paraphrases (and cites) the High Priestly Prayer. In fact, there is really no lyric reportage – pure, hybrid, or otherwise – to speak of; furthermore, the paraphrased High Priestly Prayer long predates the lyric era.²¹⁸ Rather, the lyricism of this chorus is due to its hybrid genre. As the "chorales" in the *conclusio* of *Der Tod Jesu* combine the aria and the chorale, so here the dialogue chorus is an interesting hybrid of the duet aria of Jesus and the Sinner, found in many pre- and post-1755 Passions,²¹⁹ the choral *exordium* (in this case the Chor der Sünder takes the place of a single sinner, and the paraphrase of the High Priestly Prayer. While the use of

²¹⁸ I will mention here that the *exordium* of the *Johannespassion* 1761 does contain a paraphrase of the High Priestly Prayer (choral citation of Psalm 20:1 alternating with cavatas sung by Jesus, based on portions of John 17). Pre-1755 examples include the *exordium* of the *Johannespassion* 1753, and the 3-movement Jesus-monologue following the opening chorale of the *Johannespassion* 1745 – see Hirschmann, introduction to *Johannespassion* 1745, TA 29, xvii. The tradition goes back to the 17th century, having its origin in the [anonymous] *Johannespassion* 1677, which has a multi-movement setting (citation, not a paraphrase), interspersed with chorale verses, of John 17:1-26. See Hörner, 15-16 and 83.

²¹⁹ Examples of "normal" duet arias (often Jesus und der Sünder) in the post-1755 Passions include: *Markuspassion* 1759, no. 45; *Lukaspassion* 1760, nos. 6 and 58 (the latter is for Jesus und der Gläubige); *Matthäuspasion* 1762, no. 55 (Jesus und der Betende); and *Markuspasion* 1767, no. 39

the paraphrase itself is not surprising, the fact that it is fused with the duet aria (adapted for chorus) indicates a degree of "lyric experimentation" with genre that is typical of the late Passions.²²⁰

5.5.2. **Accompagnati (and paired arias)**

The 1765 St. John Passion is rife with descriptive accompagnati/aria pairs, five in all, some of which are quite lyric. They are Geschichte and Andacht's "O Bach!/Verschmähter David-Jesus!" (nos. 5 and 6), Betrachtung's "O schöpferische Majestät/Gleich Oceanen" (nos. 12 and 13), Wahrheit's "Noch güldet kaum/So jagen die Winde" (nos. 32 and 33), Liebe's "Seht! welch ein Mensch!/Brunn des Heils" (nos. 52 and 53), and Andacht's "O Anblick voller Reiz!/Zu euch" (nos. 72 and 73).

Geschichte and Andacht's pair combine allegorical typology and lyric reportage. Addressing Kidron Brook directly, the two observers describe the similar journeys and persecutions of Jesus and David, the corresponding Old Testament type. The two figures are not equal, however; David's story is told by Geschichte (History), while Jesus' is told by Andacht (Devotion). The journey and persecution of Jesus, the greater David, is the object of Christian devotion, while the Old Testament story is of historical interest. The musical setting indicates the contrast as well. Telemann sets Geschichte's text in the "gestoßen" accompagnato style, then switches to the sustained accompagnato style for Andacht's text.²²¹ In the aria, Telemann constructs a more typical duet, and the allegorical personages achieve greater musical and textual parity.

²²⁰ On Telemann's genre experiments, with regard specifically to sacred cantatas, see Jeanne Swack, "Genre Questions in Telemann's Sacred Cantatas" (Cambridge Bach Colloquium, April 2001). In the late Passions, Telemann's "experiments" are concerned primarily with chorales; the *Johannespassion 1765* takes the experimentation to yet another level.

²²¹ Ralph-Jürgen Reipsch has classified recitatives (drawing on the writings of Scheibe, Krause, and Mattheson) in selected works of Telemann written after 1755, based on how the instruments are used: 1) Recitativo semplice (continuo only, with short or long notes in accompaniment); 2) Recitative accompanied by orchestra: a) Recitativo accompagnato (sustained chords in strings, for gentle, quiet feelings), b) like a) "jedoch stoßen die Instrumente" in full chords (broken, not sustained) for places of particular weight and expression, and c) Recitativo obbligato, a special type of accompagnato, described by Krause, where the instruments engage in special affective play. See Reipsch, "Telemanns Rezitativtechnik," 285. I would note that Reipsch does not so much as even mention the

In nos. 12 and 13, *Betrachtung* sings a rather dramatic meditation on Jesus' "Ich bins." Though these movements do not really employ lyric reportage, the vivid poetry and musical expressiveness are dependent on the lyric style, lending a special intensity to what is essentially a "Rache-Arie" (with *accompagnato* extension). Liebe's pair (nos. 52 and 53) is a meditation on the Man of Sorrows. Also lacking in lyric reportage, this set does display the lyric (and neological) tendency toward emphasizing the human suffering of Jesus. References to salvation are still present, though that aspect of the Passion account is downplayed here. In *Andacht*'s pair (nos. 72 and 73), the *accompagnato* is very brief (only four lines of text) but contains a touch of lyric reportage about the group of believers at the foot of the cross. The aria continues the meditation, but the lyric style was a detail, not a primary component of this set.

The most lyric of the *accompagnato*-aria pairs is *Wahrheit*'s set (nos. 32 and 33). It is a meditation (with foreshadowing) on the scene at Pilate's judgement hall. The librettist's inspiration for the fanciful, lyric report of this scene, from the point of view of the observer addressing the morning sun, seems to have come from the line immediately preceding the *accompagnato*, "und es war frühe." The aria continues this meteorological imagery (with the addition of wind and storms) in the form of an allegory that is only vaguely connected to the biblical narration.

In my estimation, the most lyric of all the interpolations in the 1765 St. John Passion, in terms of both the length of its text and its musical intensity, is Liebe's stand-alone *accompagnato*, no. 50, "Welch eine Schar entstürzt dem Pallast!" (Figure 5.39) The observer comments at length on the wildness of the crowd calling for Jesus' blood. The librettist once again uses ocean imagery to paint the scene before us, while the last two lines contain the lyric report, "Nun fährt man den Gegeisselten daher, / Geschmäht, zerfleischt, vermaladeit von allen." In accordance with the lyric

liturgical Passions in his discussion. For the purposes of his article, Telemann's late vocal works include only those sacred pieces written for the concert halls, not for the churches.

style, Jesus is not named, but called "the Scourged One," and is described with a series of vivid adjectives, "mocked," "flayed," and "condemned."

V1

V2

Va

A

BC

Welch ei-ne Schar ent-stür-zet dem Pal-last! In ie-dem ih-er Blick-ke flammt

5

Wut Wie hä-misch! wie ver-hasst! wie vol-ler Durst nach Blut! wie vol-ler Tük-ke! Seht,

9

wie sie mit den un-zähl-ba-ren Men-gen, die an der Thür sich frü-he drän-gen zu-sam-men flies-sen---

12

wie aus der Mün-dung Strö-me sich in O-ce-a-ne wild er-gies-sen, wie Re-gen-güss ins

Figure 5.39: Johannespassion 1765, no. 50

Figure 5.39 (continued)

The musical score for Figure 5.39 (continued) consists of two systems of staves. The first system covers measures 15 to 17, and the second system covers measure 18. The staves are labeled V1, V2, Va, A, and BC. The lyrics are in German and are written below the vocal staves (A and BC). The music is in a minor key, indicated by the key signature (one flat). The tempo and mood are indicated by the dynamics (p, f) and the text. The lyrics are: "hoch - ge - schwoll - ne Meer mit Mil - li - o - nen Trop - fen fal - len. Nun führt man den ge - geis - sel - ten da - her, ge - schmäht, zer - fleischt, ver - ma - le - deit von al - len."

Throughout the movement, Telemann responds to the highly charged text with appropriately expressive music, in the manner of the lyric oratorio. This is a full-fledged *accompagnato obbligato*, with an ever-changing array of figuration to suit the text. The ocean imagery is particularly well-suited to the composer's text-painting skills (mm. 11-17). Telemann's close attention to the text is apparent in m. 18, beats 3 and 4; he sets the only direct reference to Jesus, "den Gegeisselten," to the movement's only instance of sustained *accompagnato*. Throughout this Passion, the sustained style is reserved for references to Jesus. This *accompagnato* should definitely be classified with Telemann's most significant lyric meditations, from both liturgical and lyric Passions.

5.5.3. Revisiting the Chorale Sequence

The first three movements of the *conclusio* form a lyricized chorale sequence, the outer movements of which are lyric chorale strophes with closely related texts. Sandwiched between the strophes is a chorus based on a paraphrase of Psalm 16:9-10. The fourth and final movement is a congregational chorale, thereby firmly anchoring this Passion in the liturgical tradition. I give the full texts of the *conclusio* in the chart below (Figure 5.40):

Der Glaube. [No. 78, "Chorale aria"]

Er hat sein Haupt geneiget,
Nun schweigt, ihr Lästler, schweiget,
Hört auf, wie seine Pein.
Es zittern, die ihn hassen,
Den Leichnam zu umfassen;
Sie schreck sein heiliges Gebein!

Alle. [No. 79, Chorus]

Sicher wird sein Leichnam ruhn,
Und der Auserwählte Gottes
Wird nie die Verwesung sehn.

Zwo Stimmen. [No. 80, "Chorale aria (2nd verse)"]

Er hat sein Haupt geneiget;
Nun schweigt, ihr Klagen, schweiget;
Lasst ab, wie seine Pein.
Sein Tod, ein Tod zum Leben,
Hat uns den Muht gegeben,
Nun auch im Tode froh zu seyn.

Choral. Nr. 117, 8. [No. 81, Chorale]

Nun, ich danke dir von Herzen,
Jesu! für gesammte Noth,
für die Wunden, für die Schmerzen,
für den herben bittern Tod,
für dein Zittern, für dein Zagen,
für dein tausendfaches Plagen,
für dein Ach und tiefe Pein,
will ich ewig dankbar sein.

Faith

He has bowed his head,
Now keep silent, you sinners, keep silent,
Cease and desist, as his suffering has.
They tremble, those who hate him,
To touch the corpse;
They fear his holy limbs!

All

Safely will his corpse rest,
And the Elect of God
Will never see corruption.

Two Voices

He has bowed his head;
Now keep silent, O wailing, keep silent;
Quiet down, as his suffering has.
His death, a death to life,
Has given us courage,
To be joyful even in death.

Chorale, No. 117, 8

Now I thank you from the heart,
Jesus, for all your suffering,
for the wounds, for the pains,
for the bitter bitter death,
for your trembling, for your anxiety,
for your thousandfold woes,
for your aches and deep sorrow,
will I be ever thankful.

Figure 5.40: Texts of *conclusio* of *Johannespassion* 1765

The first strophe of the lyric chorale, no. 78 (see Figure 5.2 above), is a solo for the allegorical character Glaube, whose six lines of text follow the rhyme scheme *aabccb*. This rhyme scheme, as well as the first line, "Er hat sein Haupt geneiget," recurs in the second strophe; the second line, "Nun schweigt, ihr Lärer, schweiget," is slightly modified in the second strophe by replacing "Lärer" with "Klagen." The libretto gives no further indication about the nature of this movement, other than the assignment to *Der Glaube*. The presence of a named allegorical personage distinguishes this chorale sequence from anything found in the lyric oratorio, which eschewed named characters. Telemann has set this text to a chorale melody that has strong associations with death and departure, the tune known most widely today as "O Welt ich muss dich lassen." Musically, with its undecorated chorale tune accompanied only by basso continuo, this chorale aria is striking for its very plainness.

The chorus, no. 79 (Figure 5.41), marked "Angenehm" in Telemann's autograph score, is a paraphrase of the Greek translation of Psalm 16:9-10, "[A]uch mein Leib wird sicher liegen. Denn du wirst mich nicht dem Tode überlassen und nicht zugeben, dass dein Heiliger verwese." The assertion, "God's Chosen One / will never see corruption," is an allusion to the Resurrection of Jesus that has a very long textual pedigree, going as far back as the Greek Psalter, but not as far back as the Hebrew Psalter.²²² The music, a leisurely 3/2, is akin to a cradle song (Wiegenlied?), perhaps inspired by the opening line, "Sicher wird sein Leichnam ruhn."

²²² See above, note 197.

Angenehm.

S/V1/O1
Si - cher wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er -

A/V2/O2
Si - cher wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er -

T/Va
Si - cher wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er -

B
Si - cher wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er -

BC
Si - cher wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er -

7
wähl - te Got - tes, wird nie, nie die Ver - we - sung sehn; Si - cher
wähl - te Got - tes, wird nie, nie die Ver - we - sung sehn; Si - cher
wähl - te Got - tes, wird nie, nie die Ver - we - sung sehn; Si - cher
wähl - te Got - tes, wird nie, nie die Ver - we - sung sehn; Si - cher

14
wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er - wähl - te
wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er - wähl - te
wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er - wähl - te
wird sein Leich - nam ru - hen, und der Aus - er - wähl - te

20
Got - tes wird nie, nie, nie die Ver - we - sung se - - hen.
Got - tes wird nie, nie, nie die Ver - we - sung se - - hen.
Got - tes wird nie, nie, nie die Ver - we - sung se - - hen.
Got - tes wird nie, nie, nie die Ver - we - sung se - - hen.

Figure 5.41: Johannespassion 1765, no. 79

In the second strophe of the chorale sequence, no. 80 (Figure 5.42) Glaube's single voice of the first strophe now gives way to two voices. The otherwise unnamed Zwo Stimmen sing the "O Welt" tune, in thirds and slightly decorated, and are accompanied by playful figuration in the basso continuo.

S1 Er hat sein Haupt ge - nei - get, nun schweigt, ihr Kla - gen, schwei -

S2 Er hat sein Haupt ge - nei - get, nun schweigt, ihr Kla - gen, schwei -

BC

10 get, lasst ab, wie sei - ne Pein. Sein Tod, ein Tod zum Le -

19 ben, hat uns den Mut ge - ge - - ben,

25 nun auch im To - de froh zu seyn.

Figure 5.42: *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 80

The lesson of the *conclusio*'s chorale sequence as a whole is that 1) Jesus' death at first brings fear to the sinner, 2) his body will not see corruption, and 3) ultimately, Jesus' death is an occasion of joy. The final chorale, "Nun, ich danke dir von Herzen" (found in many a Telemann Passion) is the customary congregational response to the death of Jesus in general, and the commentary of the chorale sequence in particular.

The three-part lyricized chorale sequence of this *conclusio* (lyric chorale, Psalm paraphrase/chorus, lyric chorale; I do not include the final congregational chorale in this sequence) bears a striking structural resemblance to the three-part *exordium* (congregational chorale, dialogue chorus, congregational chorale). While the two chorales in the introductory section of the Passion are congregational, and not lyric in and of themselves, they frame the dialogue chorus quite effectively, and all three movements are best considered as a lyric set. As a whole, I interpret the *exordium* to be a lyricized expansion of the High Priestly Prayer, and the *conclusio* to be a lyricized expansion of Psalm 16 (recall the lyricized form of Revelation 5:5 in the *conclusio* of *Der Tod Jesu*). This concern for the overall lyric arch of the Passion libretto recalls the structural lyricism that was so important to both the 1748 and 1764 St. Luke Passions (and developed by Ramler in his lyric oratorios). The *Johannespassion* 1765 demonstrates how Telemann and his librettist transform, or at least modify, chorales and biblical passages, the core liturgical components of the Passion, into forms of lyric expression not only at the end of a Passion to comment on and sum up transpired events, but at the beginning to set up what is about to take place in the course of the narrative.

5.6. SUMMARY

In this chapter I have provided an overview of unusual lyric procedures in the late Passions, as well as case studies of two late Passions of Telemann to illustrate the richness and variety of lyric procedures which set these works apart from the general Passion repertory. The *Lukaspassion 1764* and *Johannespassion 1765* each contain the expanded *exordium* and *conclusio*, lengthy and expressive *accompagnati*, and lyric chorale sequences, all legacies of the concert oratorio repertory. The ways in which Telemann and his librettist(s) apply these lyric procedures, however, are remarkably different in the two works: the 1764 St. Luke Passion minimizes the presence of the chorale (though there are two non-*Gesangbuch* chorale texts in the libretto) and highlights lyric reportage in remarkable ways; the 1765 St. John is perhaps most remarkable for its blending of genres, such as the dialogue chorus in the *exordium*, and the lyric chorale sequence in the *conclusio*, which synthesizes a newly composed “chorale” text with the archaic genre of the chorale aria. All of these lyric procedures are modified to suit the liturgical parameters of the Hamburg churches in which these works were first performed. The differences in approach to lyric procedures demonstrate that once lyricism had made its way into the liturgical Passion repertory, those Passions did not remain static; rather, they continued to develop in ways that not only paid homage to but also went beyond the scope of their models.

Having said all this, it is well to remember that the late Passions are not entirely lyric; they remained hybrid works with *narratio* at their core. Chapter 5 has accounted for the rise of lyricism in the 1764 and 1765 Passions. In Chapter 6 I will discuss the decline of biblical narration in those works by taking up narrative reprocessing as a compositional method.

6. NARRATIVE REPROCESSING IN THE 1764 AND 1765 PASSIONS

6.1. THE BACKGROUND OF NARRATIVE REPROCESSING

A critical stage of the rise of lyricism and decline of biblical narration in the liturgical Passion developed in the final years of Telemann's life. In the Passions of 1762, 1764, 1765, 1766, and 1767, Telemann opted not to compose anew the narrated portions; instead, he appropriated music from other Passions. The appropriations, most of the time, were not merely copied from the older works, but rather embody a compositional method I call *reprocessing* that Telemann developed over the course of a few years. By contract, Telemann still had to compose, produce, and perform an annual liturgical Passion, which required the *narratio*.²²³ By appropriation and reprocessing, he could include the requisite narrative portions of the genre without having to resort to original composition. He could devote his *compositional* energies to the chorales, arias, free accompagnati, and choruses. The result is a series of Passions that combine composition and compilation.²²⁴

²²³ On the Hamburg cantors and Passion performances, especially the tendency of Gerstenbüttel, Telemann's predecessor, not to compose new Passions, and Telemann's annual "Neukomposition," see Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, esp. 205-11.

²²⁴ Clark discusses, at some length, C. P. E. Bach and compilation (he uses the term "assembling") in "The Occasional Choral Works of C. P. E. Bach," esp. at 5, 79-96, 113-18, and 196-202. Bach assembled not only liturgical Passions, but other occasional works, such as inauguration cantatas. Clark argues quite emphatically that Bach was "devoted" to the Passion genre; I think that while he might have been devoted to the music of his father and godfather that he inserted into the Passions, he was more interested in the income he derived from the sale of the printed libretti. Bach earned the same fee for Passions whether they were original or borrowed compositions. It was a different story with inauguration cantatas: the more original the work, the higher the pay. Bach's "devotion" to a genre seemed based on the remunerative incentive involved. Did the same hold true for Telemann? If he was paid the same whether he used original music or not (after all, the Hamburg cantor was obliged to *perform*, not necessarily *compose*, the annual Passion), he may have indeed chosen the path of compilation over composition for the Passion's biblical narration.

While all the extant Passions composed from 1762-67 contain narrative reprocessing to a certain degree, it is in the partial autograph scores of the *Lukaspassion 1764* and the *Johannespassion 1765* that we can most easily trace Telemann's reliance on reprocessing as a compositional method. We can also discern elements of his working relationship with his grandson Georg Michael, who while but a teenager served as Telemann's primary copyist. For now I will only discuss the background and important features of reprocessing. My detailed discussion of Telemann's compositional and compilational processes can be found below, in Chapter 5.

Aside from Gerhard Poppe's 1996 article,²²⁵ Johannes Pausch was the first to write about Telemann's tendency to "recycle" recitatives and turba choruses in his late liturgical Passions. In the forewords of the recently published editions of the *Lukaspassion 1764*, *Johannespassion 1765*, and *Markuspassion 1767*, as well as in the notes to the facsimile libretti, Pausch identifies Telemann's "Recycling-Verfahren" as a method by which the composer reused and/or modified music from older Passions in newer compositions.²²⁶ Pausch also comments on this technique in the facsimile libretti of the above-mentioned Passions. Pausch and Möhle's score of the *Matthäuspassion 1766* contains no commentary on the "recycling." Neither do they mention it in the commentary in the facsimile libretto nor in the liner notes of the CD recording. Pausch does, however, mention it in passing in the commentary of the facsimile libretto of the *Lukaspassion 1764*.²²⁷ Based on my examination of his scores, libretti and liner notes, it seems that Pausch may not have noticed the "recycling" in the 1762 Passion until he worked on the 1764 Passion.

²²⁵ Gerhard Poppe, "Zu Telemanns Passionsrezitativ," in *Zur Aufführungspraxis und Interpretation der Vokalmusik Georg Philipp Telemanns: Ein Beitrag zum 225. Todestag* (Michaelstein/Blankenburg: Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein Institut für Aufführungspraxis der Musik des 18. Jahrhunderts, 1995), 130-36.

²²⁶ "Dieses 'Recycling'-Verfahren ist bei Telemann sehr selten, in der Regel dürfte ihm die Neukomposition schneller von der Hand gegangen sein." See Johannes Pausch, ed., note in *Worte vom Leide und Tode JESU*.

Though Pausch has identified "recycling" as a compositional technique in Telemann's late Passions, he has not offered any explanations for it beyond that of "Arbeitsökonomie" ("economy of labor," or more simply, "efficiency").

A comment on terminology: while Pausch is fond of using "Recycling-Verfahren," this usage is somewhat off the mark. Carsten Lange has argued against using the term "recycling," which connotes that Telemann had reconditioned the older *turbae* and recitatives and adapted them to a new function.²²⁸ I would agree with Lange, in that Telemann has retained the original function of the reused *narratio*. While it is technically correct to use the term "recycling" when the function of the reused item remains the same,²²⁹ it would be more precise to say that Telemann *reprocessed* the already existing music before reusing it. Telemann reprocessed the music in various ways: he combined several sections of recitative into longer ones, he broke up long sections into smaller pieces, and he recomposed several of the cadential sections. I would note that the *turba* choruses are never musically altered. Clearly, I am using present-day terms to describe eighteenth-century techniques, but it provides a useful means of discussing what is at play in Telemann's last few Passions.

The manuscript sources present several interesting problems – and a few outright obstacles – to research on the late Passions, not the least of which is the issue of narrative reprocessing. While some of the Passions survive only in parts (and a few scores) copied out in other hands, several do survive in partial autograph manuscript scores. These sources are often difficult to decipher as to their "original" condition – that is, what is original to the Hamburg

²²⁷ Pausch lists the following Passions that contain or are the sources of narrative reprocessing: the 1758, 1762, and 1766 St. Matthew Passions; the 1755 and 1767 St. Mark Passions; the 1760 and 1764 St. Luke Passions; and the 1757 and 1765 St. John Passions.

²²⁸ Personal communication with Lange, January 2001. See definition 4b of "recycle," *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed. (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000).

²²⁹ See definition 4a of "recycle," *American Heritage Dictionary*.

performances during Telemann's lifetime. Figure 6.1 provides an overview of narrative reprocessing in the liturgical Passions of 1762-67 (Note: GMT = Georg Michael Telemann; GPT = Georg Philipp Telemann):

- 1762 – 4 new recitatives; remainder are appropriated from 1758
- 1763 – lost
- 1764 – reprocessed from 1760; GMT as copyist; GPT as editor/composer of revisions
- 1765 – reprocessed from 1757; GMT as copyist; GPT as editor/composer of revisions; extended sections of recit. in GPT's hand
- 1766 – reprocessed from 1762/1758; parts in GMT's hand, others
- 1767 – reprocessed from 1755; parts in GMT's hand, others

Figure 6.1: Overview of reprocessing in the liturgical Passions, 1762-67

One question that arises with regard to the compositional process of Telemann's Passions concerns what came first, the harmonic layout of the interpolations, or that of the *narratio*? The autograph sources are a clue to answering this question. It seems that, at least in the late Passions, once the various layers of text were determined (*narratio*, chorales, and poetic interpolations), and once Telemann had devised the overall tonal scheme of the poetic interpolations, he was then able to determine to what extent the *narratio* needed to be reprocessed. The reprocessing in the 1764 St. Luke and 1765 St. John Passions – and to an extent in the 1762 St. Matthew – suggests that the tonal plan of the interpolations was part of the primary layer of Telemann's compositional process, and that the *narratio* (the second layer) was altered to fit that plan.

6.1.1. Illness and Proto-Reprocessing in the *Matthäuspasion* 1762

Telemann did not suddenly abandon entirely original composition in his Passions after the *Johannespassion* 1761. The transition to appropriation and reprocessing came about under adverse conditions in 1762, when Telemann apparently became quite ill. In the *Matthäuspasion*

1762, Telemann began with newly composed biblical narration, but shifted mid-stream to appropriation, and in one notable instance, not to full-blown reprocessing, but to a stop-gap measure that I call "proto-reprocessing." The shift is noticeable in terms of style, and it would seem that the score, at least in the appropriated sections, was compiled and assembled in some haste; even a number of the settings of poetic interpolations were copied out by other hands.²³⁰ This is especially apparent in the hastily conceived and hastily executed modulatory tag, in Telemann's own hand, between a B-flat Major duet (from a section of *narratio*) and an E minor arietta. The hurried approach of 1762 is in stark contrast to the carefully planned approach taken in 1764 and 1765. Even these works, however, do not display an entirely consistent method; it is evident that Telemann was developing a new compositional technique, one that we can trace to a certain extent in the partial autographs.

The *Matthäuspassion* 1762 survives in a manuscript score (D-Bsb, *Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann* 13), only parts of which are autograph. Telemann's handwriting is quite difficult to read and decipher; as Pausch has remarked, "Die Partitur Telemanns ist, wie schon Menke festgestellt hat, von einer altersbedingten Krankheit Telemanns gezeichnet. Die Schriftzüge entsprechen aber durchaus dem Bild einer typischen Greisenschrift."²³¹ Using the numbering from Pausch and Möhle's edition, nos. 1-10 are entirely in Telemann's hand, except for the text of no. 9.²³² Beginning with no. 11, all the recitatives and turbae (except no. 13, partially in Telemann's hand), and several of the interpolated pieces are either entirely or mostly in the hand

²³⁰ The prevailing wisdom is that Telemann dictated some of the arias and other interpolations. But what if Telemann had appropriated music by other composers in 1762? I raise this speculative question based on what we have been finding out about the extent to which C. P. E. Bach appropriated his own and other composers' music in the *Matthäuspassion* 1789 (and presumably other Passions).

²³¹ Pausch and Möhle, ed., *Matthäus-Passion* 1762, vii. See also Menke, *Das Vokalwerk*, 26.

²³² Interestingly, Telemann wrote out the chorale, no. 10, on two staves (keyboard score?) at the bottom of f. 22r, and a copyist wrote it out in full score on f. 22v.

of one or more copyists. Figure 6.2 provides an overview of the hands in the manuscript beyond no. 11.

Number	Type	Hand
12	Aria	Copyist
13	Recitative	Copyist and GPT
14	Ariette	Copyist
19	Cavata	Copyist
20	Chorale	Copyist and GPT
24	Aria	Copyist
28	Aria	Copyist and GPT
33	Ariette	Copyist and GPT
41	Aria	Copyist
45	Aria	Copyist
46	Chorale	GPT
48	Accompagnato	GPT
49	Chorale	GPT
55	Aria à 2	GPT
61	Ariette	GPT
62	Accompagnato	GPT
63	Aria	GPT
64	Chorale	GPT

Note: GPT = Georg Philipp Telemann

Figure 6.2: Pieces and Hands, *Matthäuspassion* 1762

There is no explanation in Pausch and Möhle's edition for the change from Telemann's to copyists' hands after no. 10. In the note accompanying the facsimile libretto, Pausch suggests, "Das Augenleiden ist zwischendurch so stark, daß Telemann Teile der Passion diktiert."²³³ Only in the facsimile libretto for the *Lukaspassion* 1764 does Pausch associate the 1762 work with the "Recycling-Verfahren" common to many of Telemann's late Passions.²³⁴ If this is indeed the case, then the 1762 Passion would be the first of the late Passions containing what I have called

²³³ Pausch, facsimile libretto *Die Geschichte der Versöhnung der sündigen Menschen durch das Blut Jesu Christi* . . . (Hamburg: Piscator, 1762; Hamburg: Druckladen Altona, 1994).

²³⁴ "Immerhin finden wir eine derartige Übernahme auch bei den Passionen nach Matthäus 1758, 1762 and 1766, nach Marcus 1755 und 1767 sowie nach Johannes 1757 und 1765." See note in Pausch, *Worte vom Leiden und Tode Jesu*.

"reprocessing," that is, recitatives written out by a copyist, except for the cadences and seams which are filled in and often recomposed by Telemann, according to the needs of the new disposition of texts and the new tonal plan. In this work, only the earliest stages of reprocessing are discernible; more precisely, this is a case of outright appropriation except for the one instance of "proto-reprocessing," discussed below.

The first four sections of recitative, nos. 3, 5, 7, and 9, in Telemann's hand, are all newly composed, a fact which has heretofore escaped notice. Only from no. 11 (at "Jesus aber sprach zu ihm: Mein Freund, warum bist du kommen?" – Matt. 26:50) onward, when the copyist's hand takes over, do we find recitatives which are indeed appropriated from the *Matthäuspassion* 1758.²³⁵ One reasonable explanation would be that Telemann became too ill to continue composing new recitatives, and instead of dictating new ones to his copyist, he directed him to copy them out from the 1758 St. Matthew. The key difference between the process of appropriation found in the 1762 St. Matthew and that of reprocessing found in the Passions of 1764-67 is that in the former, none of the cadences and seams are reprocessed (revised or recomposed) by Telemann; rather they are left unchanged from the 1758 version, resulting in some rather abrupt transitions.²³⁶

Telemann's hand is not entirely absent in the appropriated 1758 recitatives that are copied out in the 1762 score. Telemann wrote out mm. 10-12 of no. 13, though everything before and

²³⁵ Telemann could not have appropriated 1758 recitatives in the 1762 Passion, because of the different narrative starting points in those Passion libretti. The narration in 1758 begins at Matt. 26:36 ("Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe . . ."); in 1762, it begins at 26:30 ("Und da sie den Lobgesang . . ."). Even had he wanted to appropriate from the start, he would have had to compose new music for six verses of text; as it stands, he composed new music for twenty verses of text. Incidentally, the narration in 1766 begins at the same spot as in 1758, and all three end at 27:50 ("und verschied"), the normal narrative stopping point in the late Passions.

²³⁶ Some recitatives from the 1758 St. Matthew are joined together in the 1762 St. Matthew, and the sudden key changes are left "as is" (1762/15, derived from 1758/12 and 15; Jesus' E-flat Major cadence followed immediately by F Major; 1758/21 and 24 are joined in 1762/23, with a G minor/E-flat → B-flat Major seam left "as is." Furthermore, the keys of some 1758 recitatives are preserved in the 1762 score, regardless of the keys of the new interpolations. 1758/19 ("Petrus aber saß draußen im Palast"), which starts on vii of A minor, was originally

after is in a copyist's hand. The C# minor cadence in m. 12, which comes at the end of the line "Da verliessen Ihn alle Jünger und flohen" (Matt. 26:56), corresponds to the end of no. 9 in the *Matthäuspasion* 1758. One might suppose that Telemann himself took responsibility for writing out mm. 10-12 because he had to revise the cadence. This, however, is not the case. The melody and continuo lines in the 1762 version correspond precisely to the 1758 version. (Perhaps Telemann simply tried to take over and simply could not go on after the cadence. He did write out part of the text beyond the cadence, "Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten," but the music is in the hand of a copyist. Even in the midst of illness Telemann seems to have struggled mightily to collaborate even on merely copying music from his own 1758 *Passion*.) Telemann's hand is also present at the end of the duet of the *Zween falsche Zeugen* (Two False Witnesses), no. 13. All seventeen measures of this duet are in a copyist's hand and correspond precisely to the 1758 version. Unlike the original version, however, the recitative does not continue after the B-flat Major cadence in the 1762 *St. Matthew Passion*. In the new version, the duet is followed by an E minor arietta for the allegorical personage Reue (Regret). Though every other cadence and seam in the appropriated recitatives from the 1758 *St. Matthew* is left intact in the 1762 *St. Matthew*, this time Telemann found it necessary to modulate from B-flat Major to E minor, to avoid a tritone shift between the duet and the ariette. He accomplished this by scrawling out a four-measure tag for continuo alone, mm. 18-21, modulating upward by whole step. This tag is not among the more elegant compositional solutions Telemann ever came up with. Indeed, it is quite jarring and is unrelated, in motive or in character, to the duet that precedes it. It is a hastily executed solution that managed to solve, at least superficially, the problem presented by the tonal

preceded by the C Major turba chorus, "Weissage uns." The corresponding movements in 1762, nos. 18 and 21, are now separated by a G minor arioso and a B-flat Major chorale.

plan of the new work (see Figure 6.3). Telemann avoided this problem in the *Matthäuspassion* 1766 by reverting to the 1758 version.

Zween falsche Zeugen.

S1 und in drey - en Ta - gen den - sel - bi - gen bau - en.

S2 und in drey - en Ta - gen den - sel - bi - gen bau - en.

BC

Figure 6.3: *Matthäuspassion* 1762, no. 13, mm. 13c-21

In nos. 3, 5, 7, and 9 of the *Matthäuspassion* 1762, the words of Jesus are set to traditional secco recitative. There is a bit of arioso in no. 3, mm. 6-9, on the text "Ich werde den Hirten schlagen und die Schafe werden sich zerstreuen" (Matt. 26:31). This is a citation of Zechariah 13:7; it is common in Telemann Passions for prophetic citations to be set in an arioso manner. In no. 7, the words of Jesus and those of the Evangelist are clearly distinguished by the performance markings in the continuo line – the former by "ausgehalten" and the latter by "abgebrochen" or "abgestossen." I do not believe this occurs elsewhere in the Passion; perhaps the sustained continuo line is meant to underscore Jesus' prayer to his Father to let the cup pass from him (Matt. 26:39-46). Arioso figures prominently in the remainder of the recitatives, not only for the words of Jesus or prophetic citations, but also for [Falsche Zeugen] and Pilate's wife – the latter is in the form of a citation, as it was a report to Pilate from his wife.

It would appear that Telemann had intended to compose all-new recitatives for the *Matthäuspassion* 1762, based on the autograph portions of the manuscript score, and he succeeded in doing so through no. 9. Some type of circumstance then intervened, such as an extreme illness, to necessitate deriving the remainder of the recitatives, as well as all the *turba*

choruses, from a pre-existing Passion. Having gone through this process, which allowed him to complete the 1762 Passion even in the midst of illness, he may have recognized the potential value of musical appropriation, as it would obviate the need to compose new recitatives and *turba* choruses in future Passions. After all, he had a ready store of music at hand in the Passions he had composed over the past forty years. Recognizing that the process of appropriation needed considerable refinement, Telemann began to *reprocess* the recitatives, as I have defined above, beginning in the *Lukaspassion 1764* (see below, Chapter 5, for a detailed discussion of reprocessing in that work). He may have used reprocessed recitatives in the *Markuspassion 1763*, but that Passion is unfortunately lost, so we may never know what he decided to do that year.

As I have shown, Telemann turned to appropriating and reprocessing the music for the *narratio* of his liturgical Passions beginning in 1762. What began as a stop-gap measure, as a result of Telemann's 1762 illness, developed by 1764 into a full-fledged compositional procedure. The onset of reprocessing, however, was not concurrent with either the introduction of Klopstockian lyricism in 1748 or the influx of Ramlerian lyricism in the concert oratorio repertory of the 1750s and 1760s. Telemann was leaning toward compositional expediency in general during his last years; the surprise is that it took him so long to begin reprocessing the narrative portions of the Passions in a systematic way. In any event, Telemann seems to have noticed the advantages of appropriation and reprocessing, and developed a compositional method that hastened the decline of the *narratio* in the liturgical Passion, even as lyricism sought to replace it. Having discussed the background of narrative reprocessing in the late Passions, I now identify and define the categories of reprocessing in preparation for my detailed discussion of these techniques in the 1764 St. Luke and 1765 St. John Passions.

6.2. CATEGORIES OF REPROCESSING

When Telemann fell ill in 1762, he and his copyists turned to the *Matthäuspassion* 1758 as the source for the appropriated and reprocessed *narratio*. In the Luke year of 1764 and the John year of 1765, Telemann and his grandson used the *Lukaspassion* 1760 and *Johannespassion* 1757, respectively, as their source materials. I have sorted their methods of reprocessing into six categories: 1) "appropriation," whereby a section of *narratio* is copied out without any changes; 2) "beginning/end filled in," whereby the beginning and/or end of a recitative is in Telemann's hand, and the rest is in Georg Michael's hand, either with or without changes; 3) "GPT overwrites GMT," in which Georg Michael has copied a section of *narratio*, but Telemann went back and made changes by literally crossing out and rewriting the music according to the context of the interpolations; 4) "combination of multiple sections," whereby Telemann avoided clumsy harmonic problems at the "seam" (the point at which the movements were combined into one), by employing reprocessing; 5) "break-up of single section" rendered two new movements in the 1764 Passion from a single source movement in the 1760 Passion. Usually the point at which the old movement was broken in two necessitated a bit of melodic and/or harmonic reprocessing to make the end of the first and beginning of the second new movements complete and sensible. The last category, 6) "GPT's hand only," is self-explanatory but is of little concern to us in the 1764 St. Luke Passion, because only one movement (no. 25) is entirely in Telemann's hand. This category, however, is more significant in the 1765 St. John Passion, as we will see.

Figures 6.4 and 6.5 summarize my findings for the 1764 and 1765 Passions, respectively. In these charts I give the method of reprocessing, the movement or movements from the *Lukaspassion* 1764 corresponding to each category, and the source movement (or section thereof) from the *Lukaspassion* 1760. The numbering of the movements is taken from the Pausch (1760) and Pausch/Möhle (1757, 1764, and 1765) editions.

Method	Mvt #, 1764	Source mvt #, 1760
1) Appropriation	11	12
	12	13
2) Beginning/end filled in		
a) no change	23	26, mm. 1-8
b) change	5	3
	15	18, mm. 4-38 ²³⁷
	31	32, mm. 1-5 ²³⁸
	33	32, mm. 5-10 ²³⁹
	35	34
	37	37, mm. 1-8
	40	37, mm. 9-31
	46	41
	56	57
3) GPT overwrites GMT	7	5
	46	41, mm. 11-17
4) Combination of multiple sections ²⁴⁰	9	7 and 10
	13	14, 16, 18, mm. 1-3
	48	44 and 46 ²⁴¹
	50	49 and 51, mm. 1-3 ²⁴²
5) Break-up of single section	59	59, mm. 1-7 ²⁴³
	61	59, mm. 8-13 ²⁴⁴
6) GPT's hand only	25	26, m. 8

Figure 6.4: Categories of Reprocessing in the *Lukaspassion* 1764

²³⁷ The vocal lines for the Magd, Erster and Zweiter Knecht, (and Petrus?) differ in Pausch's editions of the 1760 and 1764 versions. The parts for the above-named personages are missing in the 1760 version; Pausch recomposed those vocal lines. Georg Michael copied those lines, however, in the 1764 score from the now lost 1760 autograph. In this and other instances, the 1764 version can be used to correct the shortcomings of the 1760 version.

²³⁸ The melodic line in the 1764 version differs from the corresponding line in the 1760 version, m. 3. See n. 231 on using the 1764 score to reconstruct portions of the 1760 original.

²³⁹ Again, see n. 231.

²⁴⁰ In these movements, Telemann reprocesses the cadences at the "seams" for smoother transitions than are found in the appropriated complexes of recitatives in the *Matthäuspassion* 1762.

²⁴¹ Telemann reprocesses the seam (he filled in a blank rather than overwrite Georg Michael's copying) and makes a subtle melodic change. Georg Michael copied out the vocal parts of the original accompagnato (Jesus' sermon to the daughters of Zion, Luke 23:28-31), but Telemann's hand took over, eliminating the upper strings, and changing the continuo a bit.

²⁴² Strikeouts and corrections indicate that Georg Michael was sent off to copy, after which Telemann did some clean-up reprocessing. Telemann sometimes planned the compilation ahead of time, and sometimes resorted to overwriting. In either case, Telemann always maintains *compositional* control over his material.

²⁴³ Telemann altered the opening and changed the original incomplete cadence to a full cadence, since this was originally the first part of a longer recitative.

²⁴⁴ Telemann corrects Georg Michael's "advance preparation" (time sign, heading and initial word) by shifting the opening upbeat to the end of the preceding accompagnato. He also revised the closing cadence, making it more straightforward than the 1760 version. (Might this cadence in the 1760 version be an example of a "Verbesserung" of Telemann's music by Georg Michael? Such an "improvement" would appear in the 1760 parts, if this is indeed the case.)

Method	Mvt, 1765	Source mvt, 1757
1) (No change)	14	9
	27	16
	36	23
	57	37
	59	39
	61	42
	63	44
	69	51
2) GPT filled in beginning/end		
a) no change		
b) change	4	5, mm. 1-4
	11	7, mm. 3-6
	16 (end: g)	11 (end: A) ²⁴⁵
3) GPT overwrites GMT	4	5, mm. 1-4
4) Combination of multiple sections		
a) no change	40	25, mm. 5-23; 27, mm. 1-9
b) change	31 ²⁴⁶	18, 3-10; 21, mm. 1-3
	51 ²⁴⁷	31, mm. 6-9; 35, mm. 1f
	67 ²⁴⁸	46, mm. 3-9; 49, 1-18
	71 ²⁴⁹	53, mm. 1-5; 56, mm. 1-7
	75 ²⁵⁰	56, mm. 7-14; 58, mm. 1f
	77 (d)	58, mm. 2-14; 61, mm. 1f (C)

Figure 6.5: Categories of Reprocessing in the *Johannespassion* 1765

²⁴⁵ This one is changed significantly, beginning in m. 3, to accommodate the arioso's harmonic reprocessing from A Major to G minor (followed by A Major chorale in 1757, G minor aria in 1765).

²⁴⁶ Cadence changed from F Major to C Major (goes on in 1757; acc./aria set in 1765). GMT's hand comes back in this movement, after GPT's run in nos. 21-27. GPT took care of the reprocessed cadence.

²⁴⁷ Beginning of 1765/51 and the seam are a bit different than the source movements, but they end the same.

²⁴⁸ The whole thing appears to be in Georg Michael's hand, even though the music differs from the 1757.

²⁴⁹ Only a slight change at the seam, clearly in Telemann's hand, between the arioso (prophecy of the casting of lots over Jesus' garments, John 19:24) and the following secco recitative. The marking "Recit." at the seam is in Telemann's hand.

²⁵⁰ As in no. 67, this is all in Georg Michael's hand, but the music is different. Did Telemann dictate the changes in these two sections, or did Georg Michael briefly take compositional control?

Figure 6.5 (continued)

5) Break-up of single section

a) no change

7	5, mm. 5-17
9	7, mm. 1ff
34	21, mm. 3-11
43	27, mm. 10-21
45	29, mm. 1f
47 (mel. var.)	29, mm. 2-8
49	31, mm. 1-6
55	35, mm. 2-5

b) change

19	14, mm. 1-9
21 ²⁵¹	14, mm. 9-21
23 (d)	14, mm. 21-36 (F)
25 ²⁵²	14, mm. 36-67
29 ²⁵³	18, mm. 1f
38 (a)	25, mm. 1-4 (e)
65	46, mm. 1ff

6) GPT's hand

21 (mm. 11-14) ²⁵⁴	14, mm. 18-21
23 (text and music)	14, mm. 21-36
25 (text and music)	14, mm. 36-67
27 (text and music) ²⁵⁵	16
51 (music only)	31, mm. 6-9; 35, mm. 1f

6.3. REPROCESSING IN THE *LUKASPASSION 1764*

Let us now consider Telemann's reprocessing techniques in his last two extant (partial) autograph Passions, the *Lukaspassion 1764* and *Johannespassion 1765*. Telemann and Georg Michael collaborated to compose and compile the last few Passions of Telemann's Hamburg career. A study of their hands in both of these scores makes two things clear: first, that Georg Michael's

²⁵¹ Both sections end with A minor cadences, but the 1765 version is different through m. 12.

²⁵² Some minor melodic variants and such; big change is elimination of Jesus' *accompagnato* (played "gestossen"), and corresponding revision in continuo. Curiously, Georg Michael did no preparation on this movement (text, clefs, etc.); all this is in GPT's hand.

²⁵³ Small melodic variant in 1765 (hmm, check film for hand!)

²⁵⁴ Georg Michael added the present mm. 1-10 in a footnote.

²⁵⁵ Telemann even copied out the *turba* chorus, no. 28, "Bist du nicht."

role was strictly that of copyist, writing out the music that could be reproduced note-for-note from older works; second, that all compositional control was in the hands of Telemann.

Telemann developed and refined the process of appropriation considerably between 1762 and 1764, as is evident in the extensive reprocessing of recitatives in the *Lukaspassion 1764*. This work survives in a partial autograph score (D-Bsb, *Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann 19*), in the hands of Telemann and Georg Michael. The recitatives and *turba* choruses are borrowed and/or reprocessed from the *Lukaspassion 1760* (D-Bsb, *Mus. ms. 21704*). Georg Michael copied out the borrowed music, and Telemann edited and reprocessed where necessary. I go through each of the six categories in turn, citing representative examples to illustrate the important aspects of reprocessing as a compositional method.

As a general rule, the notation of the basso continuo lines in the 1760 parts (prepared for the Riga revivals) differs from that found in the 1764 score. In the former, the continuo is in Georg Michael's hand, notated in the "abgestossen" (not held out) style. In the latter, the continuo is notated throughout in the "ausgehalten" (held out) style. This difference is clearly visible in the musical examples. I do not consider this difference in notational conventions to be related to reprocessing, and will not comment further upon it in the following subsections.²⁵⁶

6.3.1. Category 1: Appropriation

Only two movements in the *Lukaspassion 1764*, nos. 11 and 12, are appropriated without change, from nos. 12 and 13 of the *Lukaspassion 1760*. Since there is no actual reprocessing in

²⁵⁶ Unfortunately, the original 'cello (continuo) part from the 1760 St. Luke Passion is no longer extant; the only surviving parts in the hand of Hamburg Copyist A are the Violin 1 and Violin 2. Riga convention may have necessitated Georg Michael's rewriting of the 'cello part to reflect the "abgestossen" style. Presumably the continuo line in the (now lost) Hamburg score (in Telemann's hand) and parts (in A's hand) would have been in the "ausgehalten" style. It is important to note that Hamburg Copyist A's surviving 'cello parts for the 1757, 1758, and 1766 Passions [are all written in the "ausgehalten" style], providing good evidence that this would have been the case in 1760. Why Georg Michael saw the need to write a new 'cello part for the 1760 Passion remains unclear.

these sections, little comment is necessary, except to note that in the new Passion, these are entirely in the hand of Georg Michael.

6.3.2. Category 2: Beginning and/or end changed

With Category 2, we begin to see that the compositional reins are ever in the hands of Telemann. The reprocessing in some cases is as simple as a minor melodic change at the beginning of a movement. The *Lukaspassion* 1764, no. 33, corresponds to the *Lukaspassion* 1760, no. 32, mm. 5-10 (Figures 6.6 and 6.7). The initial line of text, "Pilatus sprach zu den Hohenpriestern und zum Volk," mm. 1-3,²⁵⁷ is in Telemann's hand, with a few minor changes to the vocal line – the contour is smoother than in the original version. Georg Michael's hand takes over in mm. 3-6, though in the continuo line there are strike-outs and corrections in Telemann's hand, mm. 3-4. The melodic contour for Pilatus' line in mm. 3-4, "Ich finde keine Ursache an diesem Menschen," differs considerably from the version found in the 1760 parts. Since the version in the 1764 manuscript is in Georg Michael's hand, I would argue that it represents an authorized copy of the original version, making it a more reliable reading of this line. In the remainder of the movement, the Evangelist's line, underlying harmony, and cadential formula remain unchanged.

Pilatus

Evangelist

BC

Ich fin - de kei - ne Ur - sach an die - sem Men - schen.

Sie a - ber hiel - ten an und spra - chen:

Figure 6.6: *Lukaspassion* 1760, no. 32, mm. 7-10

²⁵⁷ The first measure contains only two beats, and the missing beats are not accounted for elsewhere. This line originally began on m. 5, beat 3 in the 1760 version. Telemann copied it out this way and did not edit the first measure to make it complete.



Figure 6.7: *Lukaspasison* 1764, no. 33, mm. 3-6

Sometimes the end of a movement is reprocessed, both melodically and harmonically. Telemann's attention to textual and musical nuances is quite evident, even in short sections such as these. The text of the *Lukaspasison* 1760, no. 3, and the *Lukaspasison* 1764, no. 5, is from Luke 22:39-40, which appears in the 1764 libretto as follows:²⁵⁸

Evangelist. Und Er ging hinaus, nach seiner Gewohn=
heit, an den Oelberg. Es folgten Ihm aber seine
Jünger nach an denselbigen Ort, und als Er dahin
kam, sprach Er zu ihnen:

Jesus. Betet, auf daß ihr nicht in Anfechtung fallet!

In the 1760 version, this brief recitative begins in D minor, moving immediately away from the F Major of the preceding two-movement *exordium* (see Figures 5.8 and 5.9 above). Telemann articulates the structure of the recitative by closely observing the sentence construction and punctuation of the libretto. The first full stop, still over a D minor harmony, comes at the end of the first sentence, on the word "Oelberg" (m. 2). The second sentence contains two independent clauses; Telemann observes this construction with an incomplete cadence, on F Major, at "denselbigen Ort," and another incomplete cadence on B-flat Major at "sprach Er zu ihnen." Jesus' "Betet" (Figure 6.8 begins here) is emphasized first by the brief minor seventh dissonance between the voice and continuo, resolved quickly by the voice's downward descent by a fifth,

Jesus 

Beh - tet, auf dass ihr nicht in An - fech - tung fal - let.

BC 

Figure 6.8: *Lukaspassion* 1760, no. 3, mm. 6-8

In the 1764 version, no. 5 (f. 5v of the partial autograph score), the music is essentially the same until Jesus' line, mm. 6-8. Overall, the continuo is notated differently in the two Passions. In the 1760 version, it is notated mainly in quarter notes and rests; in the 1764 version, it is notated in the *ausgehalten* style, a marking that Telemann included in the 1762 partial autograph.²⁵⁹ The vocal line at "Betet" retains the downward D-G leap, but the harmonic dissonance has been lessened somewhat by changing the continuo note to B-flat instead of E-flat. The vocal and continuo lines are revised so that the music returns to D minor, instead of modulating to G minor (Figure 6.9). In the score, Georg Michael left a blank for the cadence, which Telemann filled in. At this point, Telemann interpolates a D-minor chorale as the congregational response to Jesus' call to prayer.

Jesus

Be - tet, auf dass ihr nicht in An - fech - tung fal - let.

BC

Figure 6.9: *Lukaspassion* 1764, no. 5, mm. 6-8

²⁵⁸ *Worte vom Leide und Tode JESU*, [2].

²⁵⁹ *Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann 13.*

The text of the *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 5, is entirely in Georg Michael's hand, but it is difficult at first glance to determine from the partial autograph if the hand for the musical notation changes in mm. 6-8 (f. 9r). Upon closer inspection, the note heads and stems in the vocal line do appear to change from the 16-year-old Georg Michael's rounded, firm pen strokes to the 83-year old Telemann's more spidery hand. The continuo line in these measures appears also to be in Telemann's hand, marked especially by the wavery stem of the half note in the final cadence, m. 8.

6.3.3. Category 3: GPT overwrites GMT

The *narratio* in the 1760 St. Luke, no. 5, and the 1764 St. Luke, no. 7, continues with Luke 22:41-43:²⁶⁰

Evang. Und Er riß sich von ihnen, bey einem Stein=
 wurf, kniete nieder, betete, und sprach:
 Jesus. Vater! willst du, so nimm diesen Kelch von
 mir; doch nicht mein, sondern dein Wille, geschehe.
 [Evang.] Es erschien Ihm aber ein Engel vom Himmel, und
 stärkte Ihn.

In the 1764 score (f. 9v), Georg Michael seems to have copied the recitative from the 1760 version, no. 5 (Figure 6.10), right up to the G Major cadence, m. 8, at the end of Jesus' prayer ("sondern dein Wille geschehe"). Telemann's intervention is evident through the end of the recitative. He revised the cadence by striking out the G and replacing it with B in the continuo, perhaps to illustrate the "surprise" of the angel's apparition in m. 9. The continuo does leap up a sixth to G on the third beat of m. 9, but it now underlies the preparation for the B minor cadence in m. 10 (Figure 6.11). Though the vocal and continuo lines are largely the same, and the final cadence is in B minor in both Passions, all the changes are in Telemann's hand. Aside from the ones already mentioned, there is a slight rhythmic change on the words "Es erschien" in m. 8,

²⁶⁰ See *Worte vom Leide und Tode JESU*, [3].

and the cadential F# in m. 10 is now in the upper octave. This latter change is a result of the upper G in the previous measure. The continuo line descends across the barline in a stepwise motion in both Passions – there was no upper G in the 1760 version of m. 9, so the concluding cadence began on the low F#.

Figure 6.10 shows a musical score for the Lukaspassion 1760, no. 5, measures 8-10. The score is in C major, 4/4 time. It features two staves: B (Bass) and BC (Continuo). The B staff has a vocal line for Jesus and Evangelist. The BC staff has a continuo line. The lyrics are: 'sche - he. Es er - schien ihm a - ber ein En - gel vom Him - mel und stár - ke - te ihn.'

Figure 6.10: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 5, mm. 8-10

Figure 6.11 shows a musical score for the Lukaspassion 1764, no. 7. The score is in C major, 4/4 time. It features two staves: B (Bass) and BC (Continuo). The B staff has a vocal line for Jesus and Evangelist. The BC staff has a continuo line. The lyrics are: 'sche - he. Es er - schien ihm a - ber ein En - gel vom Him - mel, und stár - ke - te ihn.'

Figure 6.11: *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 7

6.3.4. Category 4: Combination of multiple sections

The third recitative in the 1764 St. Luke Passion, no. 9, combines two recitatives from the 1760 Passion, nos. 7 and 10. The *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 7 (Figure 6.12), is based on Luke 22:44, which concludes, "Es war aber sein Schweiß wie Blutstropfen, die fielen auf die Erde." This sentence is articulated by an A minor cadence, and is followed by a set of two interpolations (accompagnato, no. 8, and an A minor chorale, no. 9). No. 10 (Figure 6.13) is based on Luke 22:45-48, the final sentence of which is Jesus' question to Judas, who has come to the Garden to betray the Son of Man, "Juda! verrätest du des Menschen Sohn mit einem Kuß?" This recitative begins in C Major and concludes with a "question cadence" in F Major, marked by an ascent in the vocal line and a descending continuo line. This question is "answered" by an F Major aria for the allegorical personage Gelassenheit.

Evangelist.

B

BC

Und es kam, dass er mit dem To-de rang, und be-te-te hef-ti-ger. Es ward a-ber sein Schweiß wie Bluts-trop-fen, die fie-len auf die Er-de.

Figure 6.12: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 7

Evangelist.

B

BC

Und er stund auf von dem Ge-büt und kam zu sei-nen Jün-ger-n, und fand sie schla-fen für Trau-rig-keit, und sprach zu ih-nen: Was schla-fet ihr! ste-het auf und

Evangelist.

B

BC

beh-tet, auf dass ihr nicht in An-fech-tung fäl-let. Da er a-ber noch re-de-te, sie-he die Schaar, und ei-ner von den Zwöl-fen, ge-nannt Ju-das,

Jesus

B

BC

gieng vor ih-nen her, und na-he-te sich zu Je-sum, ihn zu küs-sen. Je-sus a-ber sprach zu ihm: Ju-das, ver-rä-thest du des Men-schen Sohn mit ei-nem Kuss?

Figure 6.13: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 10

Telemann reprocessed both of these cadences in the *Lukaspassion 1764* (Figure 6.14), and those changes are evident in the partial autograph score. The vocal and continuo lines are in Georg Michael's hand through the word "Blutstropfen" in m. 4, then Telemann's hand takes over at "die fielen auf die Erde," mm. 4-5. Telemann extends the continuo D from m. 3, and adds a move to F not present in the 1760 version, and finishes the revision by changing the cadence from the original A minor to C Major, mm. 5-6. This new cadence represents the seam between what were originally two separate recitatives. Georg Michael's hand resumes in m. 6, and continues through "Juda!" in m. 19. Telemann's hand takes over for the remainder of the recitative, changing both the vocal and continuo lines. The original F Major "question cadence" becomes a B Phrygian cadence, which is set up in the continuo by the C which moves down by a

semitone in m. 20. This time the question is followed by a G Major aria, no. 10, "Vom Himmel stieg die Freundschaft nieder."

Evangelist.
 B Und es kam, dass Er mit dem To - de rang, und be - te - te hef - ti - ger. Es war a - ber sein Schweiss wie Bluts - trop - fen, die fie - len auf die Er - de.
 BC

Jesus.
 B Und Erstund auf von dem Ge bet, und kam zu sei - nen Jün - gern, und fand sie schla - fen für Trau - rig - keit, und sprach zu ih - nen: Wasschla - fet ihr! ste - het auf und
 BC

Evangelist.
 B be - tet, auf dass ihr nicht in An - fech - tung fäl - let. Da Er a - ber noch re - de - te, sie - he die Schaar, und ei - ner von den Zwöl - fen, ge - nannt Ju - das,
 BC

Jesus.
 B gieng vor ih - nen her, und na - he - te sich zu Je - su, Ihn zu küs - sen. Je - sus a - bersprach zu ihm: Ju - da! ver - rä - test du des Men - schen Sohn mit ei - nem Kuss?
 BC

Figure 6.14: *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 9

6.3.5. Category 5: Break-up of single section

The *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 59 (Figure 6.15), was split into two new movements in the *Lukaspassion 1764*, nos. 59 and 61 (Figures 6.16 and 6.17). *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 59, corresponds to *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 59, mm. 1-7. The first two measures are in Telemann's hand, as he had to alter the melody and continuo lines. The original harmonic progression in mm. 1-2 of the 1760 version arrived at A Major (first inversion), accounting for the preceding E Major duet aria. In the 1764 version, this section is preceded by a C Major chorale, and the continuo line reaches the first-inversion A harmony only in m. 3, with an intervening A minor (first inversion) in m. 2. Georg Michael's hand takes over in mm. 3-6, and then Telemann's resumes in m. 7 for the final cadence on the text "zerriß mitten entzwey," referring to the veil of

the Temple's being torn in two. In the 1760 version, this was an incomplete G Major cadence (D descending to B in the continuo), a distinct aural signal that the recitative was not yet over. In the 1764 version, an accompagnato is here interpolated, thus necessitating revision of the incomplete cadence to an authentic cadence.

Figure 6.15: *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 59

Figure 6.16: *Lukaspassion 1764*, no. 59

The interpolated E-minor accompagnato (see Figures 5.28 and 5.29 above) in the 1764 St. Luke Passion is followed by no. 61 (Figure 6.17), and corresponds to the *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 59, mm. 8-13.



Figure 6.17: *Lukaspassion 1764, no. 61*

The first measure is in Telemann's hand, except for the time sign and the heading "Evang." which are in Georg Michael's hand (as usual in this manuscript). The opening line according to the libretto is "Und Jesus rief, und sprach," which is slightly different from the 1760 version, "Und Jesus rief laut und sprach." Telemann changed the rhythmic contour of the melody to account for the textual change. In both the 1760 and 1764 versions, Telemann sets the word "Und" as a pickup note. The original version posed no problem, as it was merely the pickup to m. 8. In the new version, instead of writing an empty measure with the pickup at the end, Telemann places it at the end of the preceding accompagnato, altering the melody slightly. This explains Telemann's correction of his grandson's "advance preparation." Georg Michael had prepared the manuscript in the usual fashion, writing in the time sign, heading, and initial word as though no. 61 were to be separated entirely from the preceding movement. Telemann struck all these preparations out, as the pickup note and other indications are now found at the end of the accompagnato. This revision demonstrates Telemann's sensitivity to the smallest details of the text setting, whereby the "pickup" nature of "Und Jesus" is preserved. Georg Michael copied out the setting of "Vater! ich befehle meinen Geist in deine Hände," mm. 1-4, and Telemann's hand takes over in mm. 4-5 for "Und als er das gesagt, verschied Er." The melody here is unaltered, but the harmony is revised. Instead of the 1760 version's incomplete C Major cadence (G-E in the continuo line) on "Hände," it is now an authentic cadence in m. 4. The C harmony is

now held out until the B-flat (first inversion) in m. 5, whereas in the older version, the continuo progressed in a strange downward chromatic fashion from the incomplete cadence (E, E-Flat, D). The simple F Major cadence is now an aligned cadence (simultaneous with the voice's descent to F) instead of an offset cadence (delayed until the voice drops out). It would seem that Telemann revised the ending because he preferred a simpler cadential preparation than he had written in the earlier version.

6.3.6. Category 6: GPT's Hand Only

The only recitative in the 1764 St. Luke Passion that is entirely in Telemann's hand is the very short no. 25 (only two measures long), based on the last measure of the *Lukaspassion 1760*, no. 26. In the 1764 version, Telemann revises the melody and continuo lines slightly, the biggest change being the doubling in length (two measures instead of one). Telemann retains the original C Major cadence. In both versions, this recitative is followed by the F-Major *turba* chorus (High Priests) "Bist du denn Gottes Sohn?"

6.4. REPROCESSING IN THE *JOHANNESPASSION 1765*

This work survives in a partial autograph score (D-Bsb, *Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann 11*), in the hands of Telemann and Georg Michael. The appropriated and reprocessed recitatives and *turba* choruses are from the *Johannespassion 1757*, which survives as a set of parts (DSB, *Mus. ms. 21702*).²⁶¹ The methods of appropriation and reprocessing in the 1765 St. John Passion are similar to those used in 1764: Georg Michael copied out the borrowed music, and Telemann

²⁶¹ On the hands: "Arien, Accompagnati und Choräle, zum Teil auch die Seccos sind von Georg Philipp Telemanns Hand, zumeist äußerst sparsam textiert; der Rest ist vom Enkel Georg Michael Telemann aus der Lucas-Passion [*sic*] 1757 übertragen." See Pausch and Möhle, ed., foreword to *Johannes-Passion 1765*, vii. See also Jaenecke, 37. On the parts: the surviving parts were copied mostly by Georg Michael around 1800 for a Riga revival. The violin and violoncello parts are the only ones remaining from the 1757 performance; both are in the hand of Hamburg Copyist "A" (see Jaenecke, 138). The 1757 parts provide vital information about the original form and content of

edited and reprocessed where necessary. The major difference between the two Passion manuscripts is that Telemann himself wrote much larger sections of *narratio* in 1765 than he did in 1764 (nos. 21, 23, 25, 27, and 51; see Figure 6.2 above). At first I thought this was because he was simply in far better health in 1765 than he was in 1762, judging from the appearance of the hands, but it turns out to have been a compositional necessity. Telemann's revision of these movements was so thorough that it was recomposition rather than mere reprocessing, in which a copyist could have participated. Since, as we have seen, all compositional changes were entirely under Telemann's control, it makes sense that these movements are in Telemann's hand, rather than his grandson's.

6.4.1. Category 1: Appropriation

In the 1765 St. John Passion, Telemann appropriated eight movements from the 1757 Passion (see Figure 6.2 above), without changing them at all. Compare this with only two appropriated movements in the 1764 St. Luke Passion. These sections were copied out in their entirety by Georg Michael.

6.4.2. Category 2: Change at beginning/end

The *Johannespassion* 1757, no. 5, mm. 1-4 (Figure 6.18) was the source movement for the *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 4 (Figure 6.19). According to Georg Michael's initial preparations in the manuscript, the 1765 version was originally to be set for tenor, in keeping with the 1757 version. He prepared three lines for this movement, copying out the clefs (tenor and bass), time signs, and heading "Ev." Perhaps due to the lack of a suitable tenor to sing the role of the Evangelist, Telemann had to recast the part for a low cantus.²⁶² He replaced the tenor clef with a treble clef in the vocal line and added "2. Cant." to the heading. The notation of the vocal line is

the *Johannespassion* 1757. The violoncello part is especially useful since it contains the vocal line of the recitatives, allowing close comparison with the appropriated and reprocessed music of the *Johannespassion* 1765.

in both hands. It begins in Telemann's hand on the text "Und Jesus," with a slight melodic revision. Georg Michael's hand then takes over through "da war ein Garte" in m. 3, and Telemann's hand resumes, this time also in the continuo line, until the end of the movement. The authentic F Major cadence is a revision of the original incomplete cadence – the music went right on in the 1757 version. In the 1765 version, the passage ends and is followed by an accompagnato and F Major aria.



Figure 6.18: *Johannespassion* 1757, no. 5, mm. 1-4



Figure 6.19: *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 4

Sometimes the reprocessing in the 1765 St. John Passion is quite minimal, consisting merely of a small adjustment in the continuo line. Such is the case in the *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 11, the source movement of which is the *Johannespassion* 1757, no. 7, mm. 3-6 (Figures 6.20 and 6.21). In the 1757 version, the text "Als nun Jesus zu ihnen sprach: ich bins!" (John 18:6) is in the middle of the movement and follows an authentic G minor cadence. In the 1765 version, it is a separate movement, and follows a B-flat Major aria. The harmony is altered a bit in the first measure to fit the new context, though the original G minor would not have been out of place. The new continuo line, E-natural, E-flat, D, E-flat, followed by the authentic B-flat

²⁶² See Pausch and Möhle, ed., *Johannes-Passion* 1765, vii.

Major cadence, is more linear and provides a bit of a harmonic departure, however brief, from the B-flat aria before returning to B-flat at the end of the recitative.



Figure 6.20: *Johannespassion* 1757, no. 7, mm. 3-6



Figure 6.21: *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 11

6.4.3. Category 4: Combination of sections, with changes

Two movements from the *Johannepassion* 1757, no. 18, mm. 3-10, and no. 21, mm. 1-3, are the source materials for the *Johannespassion* 1765, no. 31 (Figures 6.22, 6.23, and 6.24). This passage contains Peter's third denial, the crowing of the cock, and Jesus' being led to the judgement hall. The 1765 version is in Georg Michael's hand through the B-flat Major cadence on "Hahn," m. 8. Telemann's hand takes over, in both the vocal and continuo lines, for the rest of the movement. The C Major cadence on "und es war frühe" is followed by Wahrheit's G Major/E minor accompagnato and G Major aria.

3 Evangelist.
Spricht des Ho - hen - prie - sters Knech - te ei - ner ein Ge - freund - ter des, dem Pe - trus das Ohr ab - ge - hau - en

6 Knecht. Evangelist.
hat - te: Sa - he ich dich nicht im Gar - ten bey ihm? Da ver - läug - ne - te Pe - trus a - ber - mal, und al - so - bald Krä - he - te der Hahn.

Figure 6.22: *Johannespassion 1757*, no. 18, mm. 3-10

Da führ - ten sie Je - sum von Ca - i - pha vor das Richt - haus, und es war frü - he. Und sie gin - gen nicht in das

Figure 6.23: *Johannespassion 1757*, no. 21, mm. 1-3

Evangelist. Knecht.
Spricht der Ho - hen - prie - ster Knech - te ei - ner, ein Ge - freund - ter des, dem Pe - trus das Ohr ab - ge - hau - en hat - te: Sa - he ich dich

5 Evangelist.
nicht im Gar - ten bey ihm? Da ver - läug - ne - te Pe - trus a - ber - mal, und al - so - bald Krä - he - te der Hahn.

9
Da führ - ten sie Je - sum von Ca - i - pha vor das Richt - haus, und es war frü - he.

Figure 6.24: *Johannespassion 1765*, no. 31

6.4.4. Category 5 (Break-up of section) and 6 (GPT's hand only)

The most significantly reprocessed movement from the *Johannespassion 1757* is no. 14 (Figure 6.25, which includes mm. 45-67). This very long section of *narratio*, consisting of 67 measures,

was broken up into four movements in the *Johannespassion* 1765, nos. 19, 21, 23, and 25 (Figure 6.26 contains no. 25 only). In the 1765 version, the music has largely been recomposed rather than merely reprocessed, and is thus mostly in Telemann's hand.

The beginning and end of no. 19 have been melodically and harmonically reprocessed by Telemann, while the rest was copied out by Georg Michael. The new G Major "question cadence" is followed by Geduld's (Patience) G Major aria, no. 20.

No. 21, in the first layer of the manuscript, began at "Es war aber Caiphas," in what is now m. 11. Subsequently, what are now the first seven measures, which had been at the end of no. 19, were added, beginning with the text "Die Schar aber." The present mm. 1-7 are appended in a note at the bottom of ff. 22v-23r of the score, in Georg Michael's hand. The present mm. 11-14 are entirely in Georg Philipp's hand, including the text.

No. 23, the account of Peter's first denial of Jesus, is entirely in Georg Philipp's hand, including the text, clefs and time sign. Not only are there melodic revisions, and harmonic reprocessing at the end, but the rhythm has changed significantly. In the 1757 version, m. 23 is a 3-beat measure (marked "3" in the parts). In the 1765 version, Telemann has written the whole movement in common time, and redistributed the rhythms accordingly. A few corrections of the pitches, in letter notation, are also evident, all in Telemann's hand. The recitative ends in F Major, and is followed by a G minor chorale.

The biggest change in no. 25, which includes the account of Peter warming himself by the fire, is the elimination of the *accompagnato* setting of Jesus' speech to the High Priest while being questioned about his disciples and his doctrine. It is now entirely *secco*, and the continuo line is entirely in the "ausgehalten" style, rather than the dotted rhythms of the 1757 version. The

D Phrygian question cadence on the text "was schlägest du mich?" is followed by the B-flat Major duet of Unschuld and Wahrheit (Innocence and Truth).

45

f

Evangelist. *f* Jesus.

Je-sus ant-wor-te ihm: Ich ha-be frey oef-lich ge-re-det vor der Welt. Ich ha-be al-le-zeit ge-leh-ret in der Schu-le und in dem Tem-pel, daal-le Ju-den zu-sam-men

51

kom-men, und ha-be nichts im Ver bor-ge-nen ge-re-det. Was fragst du mich da-rum? Frage die da-rum, die ge-hoe-ret ha-ben, was ich zu ih-nen ge-re-det ha-be.

57

Evangelist. Diener.

Als er a-ber sol-ches re-de-te, gab der Die-ner ei-ner, die da-bey stun-den, Je-su ei-nen Bak-ken-streich, und sprach: Soll-test du dem Ho-hen-prie-ster al-so ant-

62

Evangelist. Jesus.

wor-ten? Je-sus ant-wor-te-te: Ha-be ich ue-bel ge-re-det, so be-wei-se es, dass es boe-se sey; ha-be ich a-ber recht ge-re-det, was schlae-gest du mich?

Figure 6.25: *Johannespension 1757*, no. 14, mm 45-67

Evangelist.

Es stun-den a-ber die Knech-te und Die-ner, und hat-te ein Kohl feu-er, denn es war kalt, und waer-me-te sich. Pe-trus a-ber stund bey

ih-nen, und waer-m-e-te sich. A-ber der Ho-he-prie-ster frag-te Je-sum um sei-ne Juen-ger und um sei-ne Leh-re. Je-sus

Jesus.

ant-wor-te-te ihm: Ich ha-be frey oef-fent-lich ge-re-det vor der Welt. Ich ha-be al-le-zeit ge-leh-ret in der Schu-le und in dem

Tem-pel da al-le Ju-den zu-sam-men kom-men, und ha-be nichts in Ver-bor-ge-nen ge-re-det. Was fragst du mich da-rum?

Evangelist.

Fra-g-die da-rum, die ge-hoe-ret ha-ben, was ich zu ih-nen ge-re-det ha-be. Als Er a-ber sol-ches re-de-te, gab der

Diener.

Die-ner ei-ner, die da-bey stun-den, Je-su ei-nen Bak-ken-streich, und sprach: Soll-test Du dem Ho-hen-

Evangelist.

prie-ster al-so ant-wor-ten? Je-sus ant-wor-te-te: Ha-be ich ue-bel ge-re-det, so be-wei-se es,

Jesus.

dass es boe-se say; ha-be ich a-ber recht ge-re-det, was schlae-gest du mich?

Figure 6.26: *Johannespassion 1765*, no. 25

6.5. SUMMARY

In this chapter I have discussed narrative reprocessing as an important compositional method in the late Passions in general, and the 1764 and 1765 Passions in particular. Even though Telemann had chosen narrative reprocessing out of expediency, the partial autograph scores of those works clearly indicate that he remained in full compositional control. Telemann often took the time to refine even small details of melody and harmony even when it would have been more expedient to leave them alone. The two scores I have examined demonstrate that, as lyric processes continued to develop and explore new directions in each of the late Passions, even narrative reprocessing continued to develop, from its humble beginnings as a stop-gap measure in the 1762 St. Matthew Passion, to a full-blown compositional procedure in the 1765 St. John Passion.

Telemann's techniques of musical appropriation had an impact on the Passion genre that has not been perceived before. It was one of the most significant consequences of the lyric innovations of 1748 and beyond, and the most significant indicator of the "incipient obsolescence" of the liturgical Passion since the introduction of oratorio elements in 1704. The story does not end, however, with Telemann's last Passion, the *Markuspassion 1767*. In Chapter 7 I will draw conclusions based on my discussions in Chapters 2-6, and will explore some of the long-range ramifications of Telemann's contributions to the rise of lyricism and the decline of biblical narration.

7. CONCLUSIONS

It is useful at this point to summarize my findings in the previous chapters before drawing my discussion to a close. In Chapter 2, I surveyed many of the vocal repertoires of Telemann's entire Hamburg career. I wanted to see if the rise of lyricism and the decline of biblical narration in the Passions were typical of more general trends in Telemann's compositional career. I found that from the 1750s onward, Telemann's working methods tended more and more toward expediency when it came to his obligatory compositions (Passions and cantatas, in particular), and toward compositional freshness when it came to his extra-official projects (concert oratorios, operas, cantatas and odes for Altona and other cities outside Hamburg). The use of lyricism and the recurring appropriation of *narratio* in the late Passions did not spring *ex nihilo*, but developed as aspects of the working methods of the aged Hamburg cantor.

In Chapter 3 I provided an overview of Telemann's liturgical Passions, paying some attention to the conventional and unconventional aspects of these works. It is safe to conclude that if Telemann did indeed follow any conventions, aside from the most basic parameters of the genre (a set amount of *narratio*, interspersed with chorales and poetic interpolations), he did not retain them for very long. While scholars such as Hörner and Lange have mentioned, mostly in passing, the links or affinities between the liturgical Passions and the "passionsoratorischen Spätwerken" (Lange's term), especially Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* (1755), I noted the lack of a detailed discussion of these affinities and determined to provide one.

In Chapter 4 I explored two models of lyricism: Klopstock's *Der Messias* and Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* and their affinities to the liturgical Passions. Until now, the only model taken into consideration by scholars has been that of Ramler. I noted an important assumption of the model, that the lyric aspects of the late liturgical Passions were more or less directly dependent on *Der Tod Jesu* and its kindred oratorios. I began to wonder if it were possible to find other sources of influence for the rise of lyricism. Along with the *Der Tod Jesu* assumption, I noted the failure of previous scholars to consider the liturgical Passion repertory itself, especially the pre-1755 works. I then documented my discovery of lyric treasures in the liturgical Passions that Telemann composed before 1755. I showed that the roots of late lyricism lay not in *Der Tod Jesu* exclusively, but also in Klopstock's epic poem *Der Messias* and the application of lyric principles to the *Lukaspassion 1748*. I showed that the liturgical Passion was indeed a field for lyric innovation, adapting directly the developments in the poetic world without the intermediary of the oratorio. I also showed that this kind of lyric innovation did not find its way into every liturgical Passion after 1748. Until Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu* soaked Hamburg in a wave of lyricism, the kind of lyricism cultivated by Klopstock was but one of Telemann's many "tricks" that infused such variety (and lack of "convention") into his Passion repertory. Having discussed Ramler as the second model of lyricism, I tested Lange's suggestion of affinities between the liturgical Passions and the late Passion-oratorios²⁶³ by comparing *Der Tod Jesu* to the *Lukaspassion 1760*.

Armed with the two lyric models, I began Chapter 5 by discussing the unusual lyric processes in the late group of Passions, written during Telemann's "letzte große Schaffensperiode" (1755-67). I isolated and discussed many peculiarities that cropped up in the

²⁶³ Though quickly overshadowed by *Der Tod Jesu*, another important passion-oratorio from 1755 was Telemann's setting of J. J. D. Zimmermann's *Betrachtung der 9. Stunde*.

liturgical Passions of this period, including the expanded parameters of the poetic interpolations (especially the *exordium* and *conclusio*), the apparent reversion to the use of the archaic chorale aria (as usual with Telemann, appearances can be deceiving), and in the last few Passions (1762-67), the consistent appropriation of *narratio* settings from older Passions. I then provided case studies of two of the most important late Passions, the *Lukaspassion 1764* and the *Johannespassion 1765*. I discussed the lyricism and Neologie of these works not only from the point of view of *Der Tod Jesu*, but also of Klopstock and the *Lukaspassion 1748*. Chapter 6 followed with a discussion narrative appropriation and reprocessing in the late Passions, and in the 1764 and 1765 Passions, as part 2 of my case study. Narrative reprocessing can be seen as an important consequence or symptom of lyricism, keeping in mind the larger context of Telemann's late working methods that tended toward expediency.

With these findings in mind, we can now consider the broader implications of the rise of lyricism and the decline of biblical narration in Telemann's late liturgical Passions. I have identified several implications, which I group under two general headings, reception issues and the overall significance of the liturgical Passion repertory. The reception issues are significant because even long after Telemann's death, his liturgical Passions cast a long shadow in Hamburg and beyond. First, critics of musical and literary aesthetics used the Passions as a polemical tool to champion the cause of lyricism over narration in the oratorio. Second, Telemann's compositional and compilational procedures had a great impact on his successors, most importantly C. P. E. Bach, and on his grandson.

7.1. RECEPTION ISSUES

7.1.1. Aesthetic Preference for Lyricism over Narration

The aesthetic and liturgical culture in Hamburg after Telemann's death definitely favored lyricism, and the liturgical Passions suffered by comparison to the companion repertory, the concert oratorios. By the 1770s, the narrative elements of oratorios were deemed distasteful and undesirable, though they were, lamentably, still current. *Der Tod Jesu* was the model of the preferred, lyric approach to the oratorio. Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, a contributor of articles on music to Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, preferred the entirely lyric oratorio, "weil hier weder Dialog, noch Erzählungen, noch Nachrichten von dem, was vorgeht, nöthig sind."²⁶⁴ Christoph Daniel Ebeling, in his *Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek*, summarized Telemann's Passion output, admired them in general, but regretted that biblical narration had persisted in his liturgical works: "Paßionscantaten hat er [Telemann] vom Jahre 1722 bis 1767 jährlich eine gesetzt. Die von den mittlern Zeiten sind die besten ... alle haben leider noch die hergebrachten historischen Recitative in Prosa."²⁶⁵ The liturgical Passions of 1762-67, with their marginalized *narratio* and heightened lyricism, suggest that Telemann himself, well in advance of the aesthetic critics, felt the same regret.

7.1.2. Impact of Lyricism and Reprocessing on C. P. E. Bach

What of the implications of lyricism and reprocessing for Telemann's successors? Knowing that, from the 1750s on, Telemann tended to revive older works and appropriate from them from time to time, we can understand C. P. E. Bach's tendencies in his church music in general and annual Passions in particular. Bach went far beyond Telemann when it came to appropriating music for

²⁶⁴ Schulz, "Oratorio," 610a.

²⁶⁵ Christoph Daniel Ebeling, *Versuch einer auserlesenen musikalischen Bibliothek* (1770). Quoted in *Georg Philipp Telemann. Singen ist das Fundament zur Music in allen Dingen. Eine Dokumentensammlung* (Wilhelmshaven, 1981), 296. Ebeling's assessment of the passions was likely based on only a limited knowledge of

his Passions. Bach's Passions borrow a great deal from J. S. Bach, Telemann, and Homilius, to name the most significant of his sources. A few pieces here and there were by C. P. E. Bach himself, even though he borrowed many of them from his own older works. The end result is that the Hamburg Bach's Passions, as well as much of his other church compositions, were not so much composed as they were compiled.²⁶⁶

In many ways, Bach's Passions of the 1780s (I think especially of the last one, the *Matthäuspassion* 1789) were more conservative than the Telemann Passions of the 1760s (cf. the *Lukaspassion* 1764 and *Matthäuspassion* 1766, for examples of Telemann's late experimentalism). Bach's extensive borrowing techniques, even in the interpolations, tended to "freeze" his Passions in time, whereas Telemann's works were still rife with compositional originality. Though Telemann's Passions began to show the signs of compilation (narrative reprocessing in the Passions of 1762-67), everything remained Telemann's own music. By and large, *composition* remained the solution to the "problem" of the annual Passion, admittedly a problematic genre. Bach chose the path of *compilation* instead. The whole thing came to a head in 1789, after Bach's death in December 1788, when the Hamburg Senate declared the *narratio* off-limits in the annual Passion. The lyricism of Graun, Wolf, and Homilius was the preferred model.²⁶⁷

the repertory. The reason he was able to say anything at all about the passions of the "middle years" is because of the availability of the *Johannespassion* 1745, the only published Passion of Telemann's entire output.

²⁶⁶ Bach resorted to repetition, revival, and the performance of other composers' music very soon into his cantorate (1769-88). The Hamburg Senate chided him for carrying out his office "by commission," and recommended that Bach produce more original compositions for the Sunday services. See letter of C. P. E. Bach to Georg Michael, 31 January 1771, cited by Kremer, *Das norddeutsche Kantorat*, 203. Bach's tendencies did not change, however, and the report to the Senate in 1789 by Pastors Rambach and Berkhan included a lament that Bach had depended so heavily on the revival of old music during his cantorate.

²⁶⁷ Graun, Wolf, and Homilius were the three model composers mentioned by pastors Rambach and Berkhan in their recommendations to the Hamburg Senate on the reformation of church music. Note that Telemann was not mentioned, even with regard to his lyric oratorios. A little more than twenty years had passed since Telemann's

7.1.3. Georg Michael Telemann and Passion Reception

An important part of the reception history of Telemann's Passions and concert oratorios involves the late Riga parts in the hand of Georg Michael Telemann, the man most responsible for the present state of the Telemann sources. These parts contain evidence of what I find at once to be the most fascinating and the most disconcerting source problems of Telemann's late vocal works. The Riga parts show that the concert oratorios as well as the Passions were subject to Georg Michael's somewhat notorious "improvements" (these have made quite a mess of some of the Passion sources), and even the surviving original parts are filled with additions, deletions and revisions in Georg Michael's hand. His own copious annotations assert that he championed his grandfather's music, but that the tastes of his day demanded that he "improve" what he had inherited. We also see glimpses of Georg Michael's "cannibalist" ways of part preparation. For revivals of both liturgical Passions and the oratorios, he would often use leaves from old parts belonging to works by other composers, presumably considered obsolete. Telemann's own autograph parts did not escape this cannibalism! Apparently Georg Michael's championing of his grandfather's music was a bit selective. It leads one to wonder how much of Telemann's music has been lost because of this peculiarity of Georg Michael's copy shop.

7.2. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LITURGICAL PASSION REPERTORY

7.2.1. Non-systematic and Systematic Lyricism

Ramler ultimately was a more direct influence on the content and structure of the liturgical Passions than Klopstock was. While Klopstock laid down the groundwork for how the life and death of Jesus could be portrayed in poetry, Ramler was the one who combined the new lyricism

death, and except for *Seliges Erwägen*, which maintained its popularity through the early 1800s, his music seems to

with the traditional form of the oratorio²⁶⁸ and allowed for the *systematic* application of lyric principles in the late Passions (1755-67), adapting them to the necessary liturgical parameters (*narratio* and the salvific nature of Jesus' suffering and death, in particular). The early occurrence of Klopstockian lyricism in the *Lukaspassion* 1748 was not merely a fluke, but an example of the myriad approaches to the Passion taken by Telemann and his librettists. After 1755, the lyric (Ramlerian) approach was adapted more systematically but still admitted of much variation with each passing year. Even though the framing sets were generally more expansive, the *accompagnati* were more prominent and the chorales underwent a series of generic experiments, no one formula was repeated annually. The late Passions, along with their earlier counterparts, contain an astonishing variety of formal types, textual content, and musical settings.

The blending and juxtaposition of lyricism and *narratio* proved both fruitful and dire for the future of the liturgical Passion as a genre. Lyricism at once provided fresh material for exploration by librettist and composer, and served to further marginalize the *narratio*, though it would be retained for the remainder of Telemann's and the entirety of C. P. E. Bach's cantorates. The key difference between the pre- and post-1755 use of "Ramlerian/Klopstockian" lyricism is: prior to 1755 (the years 1748-55 can be seen as the *interregnum* between Klopstock's *Der Messias* and Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*) it was applied sporadically, just one method among many that Telemann and his librettist/s employed, perhaps most prominently in the *Lukaspassion* 1748; after 1755, it was applied *systematically*, to various degrees, in most of the late Passions.

have gone largely out of fashion.

²⁶⁸ From the perspective of the poets themselves, one can speak of a revival, rather than the creation, of lyricism. Klopstock and friends believed they were reviving the ancient Greek way of telling stories, being convinced that language and music were one to the ancients.

7.2.2. A Question of Cross-fertilization

What if there were a measure of cross-fertilization, i.e., that the liturgical Passions had an influence on the poets, especially Ramler, who would develop the landmark oratorios that fueled the creativity of the late Telemann? I offer this as a speculative, though very tantalizing, suggestion that the liturgical Passions may have been more influential than previously suspected. The only evidence I can suggest of such a link between Hamburg and Berlin comes from the so-called "Berliner Fassung" (1763?) of Telemann's early Passion-oratorio *Seliges Erwägen*. The fact that the oratorio was performed in Berlin is not a surprise; the work was very popular and was widely disseminated. The surprise is that the 1763 Berlin version incorporates a cavata taken from Telemann's *Matthäuspasion* 1758. This indicates that at least portions of Passions, if not entire works, were known and performed outside Hamburg during Telemann's lifetime.²⁶⁹ Unfortunately I am not able to establish when the 1758 Passion might have made it to Berlin, whether Telemann knew of or was responsible for its being sent to Berlin, or whether any of his other Passions were at all known in Berlin. We also know that C. P. E. Bach's *Matthäuspasion* 1769 contains the text, though not the music, of the aria "Wende dich," ostensibly borrowed from Telemann's *Lukaspassion* 1764.²⁷⁰ This suggests a longstanding familiarity with Telemann's Passions in Berlin. This is further supported by the correspondence between Telemann and Graun, in which they discuss portions of Telemann's 1746 St. Matthew (at least Telemann claimed that was the piece under discussion).

To add another strand to the web of speculation, I suggest that if Telemann was indeed sending whole Passions or parts thereof to Berlin, a likely agent would have been Graun, with

²⁶⁹ A full discussion of *Seliges Erwägen* can be found in Poetzsch's preface in the TA edition of *Seliges Erwägen*.

²⁷⁰ Note that Eschenburg may have been the poet who wrote "Wende dich," and Clark hypothesizes that Eschenburg may have been the librettist of the 1764 St. Luke.

whom Telemann maintained a long-lasting and lively correspondence.²⁷¹ Could it be that the 1748 St. Luke was known in Berlin and might Ramler have been taken with the combination of the Klopstockian lyricism and the form of the old liturgical Passion, and proceeded to develop the lyric oratorio with the significant "improvement" of omitting the old-fashioned *narratio*?

7.2.3. Telemann and the Development of the Hamburg Passion

Telemann may well have preferred to jettison the *narratio*, given his penchant for lyric composition and decision to reprocess it in the 1760s. His compositional techniques with regard to the poetic and narrative components of the Passions, and his compositional flair in the concert oratorios, prefigure the esthetic preference for lyricism that appeared in print in the 1770s (especially Ebeling's *Versuch* and Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie*). Taking the overall history of the Hamburg Passion into consideration, we can see that from the introduction of poetic interpolations in 1704, to the Passion repertory of Telemann in general, to the Passions of C. P. E. Bach, and culminating with the Senate decree of 1789, the Passions themselves are a series of documents by which we can trace the relationship of poetry and *narratio* in the liturgical arena. The major milestones – 1704, 1736, 1748, 1755, and 1789 – all point out the inexorable rise of lyricism and the insuperable decline of biblical narration in the Hamburg Passions. Telemann's works, covering a 46-year span, played a key role in that development.

²⁷¹ In letters from the 1750s, Telemann and Graun discussed musical matters, especially the virtues of "French" vs. "Italian" recitative, using what is believed to be Telemann's *Matthäuspassion 1746* as an example. Furthermore, the two may well have exchanged their settings of Ramler's *Der Tod Jesu*. See Czornyj's dissertation for a full discussion of their relationship. It is not entirely out of the question that Telemann could have been commissioned by someone in Berlin for a Passion setting. After all, he did so for Danzig in 1754, drawing much of the music from his *Matthäuspassion 1750*.

APPENDIX

COMMENTARY ON THE *MARKUSPASSION 1755*

Thanks to Hörner's thematic catalogue, I am able to make a few observations here about the *Markuspassion 1755*, a Passion I have not yet been able to examine.²⁷² It would appear that this work contains a multi-part *exordium*. At first glance, the catalogue's incipits for this work indicate that there are six movements in the opening set.²⁷³ This would indeed be remarkable, but more likely it has three. I diagram it in Figure A1:

1. Chor "Das ist ein göttlich . . ." (common time, F Major)
2. Multi-part movement (like the "Ketten=Arie" of the 1759 St. Mark)
 - a. Introductory sinfonia (strings, 3/4 time, C Major)
 - b. Jesus "Auf! singet mit mir zu Gottes [Lob?]" (3/4 continued, [C Major])
 - c. (*Mittelsatz*) "Der allen Väter sehn" continued (3/4 continued, [C Major])
 - d. Chor der Jünger "Wir singen mit ver[einigten Stimmen]" (3/4 continued, [C Major])
3. Chorale "Gott sei Dank durch alle [Welt]" (A minor, tune "Nun komm der Heiden Heiland")²⁷⁴

Figure A1: *Exordium* of *Markuspassion 1755*

I think there are but three movements in the 1755 *exordium*, based on the 3/4 time signature used throughout the various sections of the second movement. Also, Telemann uses the

²⁷² The autograph score of the *Markuspassion 1755*, *Mus. ms. autogr. G. P. Telemann 14*, is housed in Kraków (PL-K1, Berliner Depositum).

²⁷³ Hörner, thematic catalog, 65-69.

²⁷⁴ The full text of the chorale strophe is as follows, "Gott sei Dank durch alle Welt, / Der sein Wort beständig halt / Und der Sünder Trost und Rat / Zu uns hergesendet hat" (Heinrich Held, 1659). Text cited from <http://www.musicanet.org/robokopp/Lieder/gottseid.html> (accessed February 2, 2005).

same melody when he sets Jesus' command "Auf! singet mit mir zu Gottes [Lob?]" and the apostles' reply "Wir singen mit ver[einigten Stimmen]." I would point out that the catalogue's incipits for the *exordium* of the *Johannespassion* 1765 also appear to indicate six movements, but it has only three (chorale, dialogue chorus, and chorale).²⁷⁵ In any case, even with three movements, the 1755 St. Mark contains the longest *exordium* of any of the extant Passions since 1748 (the only intervening ones being the 1749 parody and the 1750). It does not, however, appear to contain any narrative reprocessing.

When it comes to lyricism in the 1755 St. Mark, however, I do take notice. There are no stand-alone *accompagnati*, as far as I can tell from the incipits, but the *exordium* is worth some detailed consideration. I wonder about the relationship of the *exordium* to the body of the subsequent *narratio*. How does it compare to the 1748 St. Luke? In that work, the *accompagnato* was a poetic trope of the Agony in the Garden, and was followed by the narration of the journey to and agony in Gethsemane (beginning with "Und ging hinaus," common to the 1740, 1744, 1748, 1752, 1756, 1760, and 1764 St. Luke Passions).

In the 1755 St. Mark, the subject of the opening chorus is unclear, as I can see only the first four words in Hörner's incipit. In the second movement, presumably in the form of a dialogue chorus, Jesus calls (to his disciples) to sing with him. The disciples' answer takes up Jesus' tune and announces that they are indeed singing together in response to their Lord's call. The song of praise itself is not included in the *narratio* but comes rather in the chorale, "Gott sei Dank durch alle Welt," which would have been sung by the congregation and the choir. The chorale now carries a twofold significance: it not only provides a chance for communal meditation on the events of the *exordium*, but at the same brings the congregation into the midst of the action. The meditative role of the congregation is blended with the dramatic part of the

²⁷⁵ Hörner, thematic catalog, 108-14.

disciples who sing the Lobgesang. This hybrid function of the chorale hints at the multi-layered lyricism that would later play such a large role in the *Lukaspassion* 1764.

The *narratio* of the 1755 St. Mark (following the shortened version of 1739, and which was generally followed in all of Telemann's St. Mark Passions thereafter) begins at Mark 14:26, "Und da sie den Lobgesang gesprochen hatten" ("Then, after singing a hymn"), followed by the journey to Gethsemane. In this case, the dialogue chorus is not a poetic trope (certainly not lyric reportage) of the journey into the garden, but rather a dramatization of an event not depicted in the Gospel account. The Evangelist refers only to the song of praise's (hymn's) having been sung, without any further details about the song or the manner in which it was sung (the Gospels do not provide much detail about anything at all, for the matter). Telemann and his librettist bring the Evangelist's passing reference to life by means of the dialogue chorus and the chorale, and within the context of the Passion libretto, the opening bit of *narratio* refers back to those movements.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ It remains unclear whether the sequence of events in the *exordium* of the *Markuspassion* 1755 represents the same kind of lyric-narrative reversal that I have discussed in the 1748 and 1764 St. Luke Passions. This may have to be explored further when I gain access to the score, but it remains beyond the scope of my present work.

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