

The Libretto of Bach's John Passion and the Doctrine of Reconciliation: An Historical Perspective

Abstract

The John Passion, Bach's first large-scale liturgical work, was composed not to a printed libretto, but to a text assembled by the composer, working in conjunction with a librettist. For this reason, it offers a rare opportunity to examine the process by which Bach compiled his libretto, not only dividing John's narrative to reflect the events of the passion story, but also interpolating 23 madrigal and chorale texts. Drawing on a variety of sources, including Olearius' *Biblische Erklärung*, the librettos of Christian Heinrich Postel and Barthold Heinrich Brockes, and Reinhard Keiser's setting of the Mark Passion, the paper outlines three stages in the compilation process, paying particular attention to Bach's treatment of the 'Doctrine of Reconciliation'. The final part of the paper considers the theological implications of the revisions Bach made to the score after its first performance in 1724.

Introduction

Prior to composing the John Passion, first performed on Good Friday 1724 in Leipzig, Bach had not set an extended passage of scripture to music. Although a few months earlier, in December of 1723, he had based

his setting of the Magnificat on the ten verses of Mary's hymn (Luke 1: 46-55), the biblical portions of his cantatas generally had been short. Neither had Bach previously written an oratorio passion, that is, a work whose narrative was taken directly from one of the gospels. Earlier passion settings associated with Bach, including one believed to have been performed in Gotha in 1717,¹ would have taken the form of the more popular passion oratorio, with its narrative written by a poet or theologian. Nor had Bach composed a liturgical work of the scope and dimension of his first Leipzig passion, that is, including 40 movements lasting approximately 90 minutes. The most substantial works from his first Jahrgang, including the Magnificat cited above and the two-part cantatas (Cantatas 75 and 76) composed for the first Sunday after Trinity, included 12-14 movements and lasted approximately 30 minutes. In sum: the John Passion presented Bach with a compositional challenge he had not faced earlier in his career: namely, to construct a libretto and score for a work of large-scale dimensions – to be performed, it must be added, at the end of an eight-month period during which he was responsible for performing a cantata on each occasion of the liturgical year.

Described in these terms, the John Passion represents Bach's first oratorio passion, as well as his first large-scale work. As an oratorio passion, however, it is atypical. Not only does it include interpolations from another gospel, a characteristic we find in no other oratorio passion of the time, but its libretto, of primary interest to us here, was not presented to the composer in printed form, but compiled by Bach, in collaboration with a librettist,² from a variety of texts, theological as well as musical. Although the sources on which Bach based his madrigals and chorales are well known,³ those that provided him with models for dividing and

structuring the narrative portion of his text have been given less attention. After briefly identifying the latter, my purpose in the present paper is to describe the process by which Bach compiled his libretto, paying close attention to the role of each source in that process.

I base my account on the following sources: first, three works that, while known to scholars, have not been previously cited in reference to the John Passion: the *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* of 1710, a liturgical manual designed for use in the Leipzig churches; and two biblical commentaries that were part of Bach's theological library: Abraham Calov's *Die Heilige Bibel*, Wittenberg, 1681-82 (3 Vols.), and Johann Olearius' *Biblische Erklärung*, Leipzig, 1678-81 (5 Vols.). The second group of sources includes the well-known early eighteenth-century librettos of Christian Heinrich Postel and Barthold Heinrich Brockes ('Der für die Sünden der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus, aus den iv. Evangelisten'), and the less familiar scores of Johann Mattheson ('Das Lied des Lammes') and Reinhard Keiser (Mark Passion), both oratorio passions.

I describe the process by which Bach compiled his libretto as a series of three stages, similar to those that have been identified for other of his multi-movement works. In the case of the Matthew Passion, for example, Eric Chafe describes how Bach compiled his libretto, and ultimately his score, not in the manner of a cantata, where the movements were composed successively, but in layers or stages. According to Chafe,⁴ who bases his account primarily on Agricola's copy of the *Frühfassung*, the early stage of the passion included the major portions of the narrative and the primary choruses and arias. At a later stage, Bach added the remaining chorales and other interpolated movements. My own research indicates that Bach followed

similar procedures in compiling several of his keyboard collections, including the Inventions and Sinfonias and the two books of the Well-tempered Clavier. In the case of the latter collection (although not a multi-movement work in the same sense as a passion), I show how Bach compiled the work in a series of stages, each of which addressed a particular set of compositional issues.⁵ (Russell Stinson, in a recent study of the *Orgel=Büchlein*, found a similar practice at work there.⁶)

Drawing on the sources cited above, I begin my study of the compilation process by examining how Bach divided the John narrative into sections that reflect the events of the passion, pointing out how closely his divisions correspond to those in the commentary of Johannes Olearius, whose works are coming to be seen as an increasingly important influence on Bach's texts. In describing Bach's interpolation of madrigal and chorale texts in the second part of the paper, I pay particular attention to his treatment of the Doctrine of Reconciliation.

The series of stages, or layers, that I reconstruct are not intended to be seen as sharp lines of demarcation, but rather as overlapping and at times interchangeable steps in the compositional process. The earliest stage is primarily Johannine in character, with the themes of its madrigal texts and chorale verses corresponding to those in Olearius' commentary as well as in Postel's libretto. The second stage, as I describe it, involves the addition of the two synoptic interpolations, and the inclusion of texts that speak not of freedom, victory, and kingship – the usual reconciliation themes associated with John's gospel – but rather of sacrifice, sin, and repentance.⁷ Important as a model for Bach at this stage was, I propose, Keiser's Mark Passion. The third stage, in which I suggest Bach draws on Brockes' libretto, encompasses an even greater number

of texts based on non-Johannine themes. In the final part of the paper, I illustrate the ways in which Bach, in revising his libretto after the first performance of the passion in 1724, once again alters and expands his treatment of reconciliation themes.

The narrative

John's account of the passion story is found in two chapters of his gospel: Chapters 18, verses 1-40, and Chapter 19, verses 1-42. Whether Bach himself chose to set the entire narrative or whether the choice was that of his ecclesiastical superiors, we cannot say. Both chapters, however, were printed in the 1710 *Kirchen=Staat*, a volume that replaced the 1682 *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of Vopelius as the primary source of liturgical practice in Leipzig, and that, as far as we know, remained in use until the Dresden *Gesangbuch* was published in 1725, and until later editions of Vopelius appeared in 1729 and 1730. The section of the *Kirchen=Staat* entitled 'Vom Leiden und Sterben unsers Herrn Jesu Christi' includes both the text of the John narrative ('Die Passion nach dem Evangelisten Johannes wie solche zu Leipzig vor dem hohen Altar am Char-Freytage abgesungen wird'), and the texts of three of the seven chorales used by Bach. (The texts of the remaining four chorales are found in other parts of the volume). Although it is possible that Bach based the narrative portion of his libretto directly on the *Kirchen=Staat*, a word-by-word comparison of the two texts reveals several minor discrepancies. Many of the variants are identical to those that Dürr and Mendel noted in comparing the John libretto with the German Bibles of the time, another likely source of Bach's text.⁸ Further study is needed to determine whether these variants stem from Bach himself or from yet another source.

To structure his libretto to reflect the events in the passion narrative, Bach likely drew on another of the titles in his library, in addition to the two commentaries cited above, namely, Christoph Scheibler's *Aurifodina Theologia*. The latter includes the five-act structure based on Bugenhagen's *Passionsharmonie* that Martin Petzoldt has shown to be the basis of the overall theological structure not only in the John Passion, but also in the Mark and Matthew Passions.⁹ That Bach places a chorale after each of the five acts in the three passion scores, as pointed out by Petzoldt, confirms its importance as an early eighteenth-century convention. As I show in Tables 7 and 8, the same overall format can be observed, in variant forms, in the Brockes passion and the 1726 Keiser score of the Mark Passion. Because my primary concern in the present paper, however, is to cast light on the distinctive qualities of Bach's libretto, with its 23 interpolated madrigal and chorale texts, I will focus my attention not on Bugenhagen but on the two commentaries. Each prints the John narrative in the traditional chapter and verse format, rather than embedded in a composite text, based on all four gospels, as we find Bugenhagen. In addition, each provides not only biblical and thematic concordances, but also a brief theological interpretation of the passion's events.

Table 1 shows Olearius' and Calov's division of the John narrative, as well as the five-part structure of Bugenhagen. Olearius, like Calov, divides each of the two chapters into three large divisions (the titles of Calov's divisions are shown in Table 1, those of Olearius in Table 3). Not surprisingly, their large-scale divisions generally agree with those of Bugenhagen. Placing all three alongside the libretto for Bach's 1724 version of the John Passion shows that the single source that corresponds in greatest detail is Olearius, whose division of each chapter's

Table 1. Divisions of Narrative: John 18 and 19

	J.S. Bach	Calov	Olearius	Bugenhagen
John 18:	1-8, 9-11	1-12	1-12	Act I: 1-11
	12-14,	13-	13-	Act II: 12-
	15, 15-23,			
	24-27	24	27	27
	28-36, 37-	25-40	28-40	Act III: 28-
John 19:	1, 2-12,	1-16	1-18	
	13-17	17-		
	18-22		19-22	22
	23-		23-24	Act IV: 23-
	27		25-27	
	28-30	30	28-30	
	31-37	31-	31-37	37
	38-42	42	38-42	Act v: 38-42

Abraham Calov, *Die Heilige Bibel*, Bd. 3

Kap. 18 Das Leiden und Sterben des Herren

- I. Jesus wird im Garten gefangen genommen. vs. 1-12
- II. Wie Jesus zu Hanna u. Caipha gebracht, und Petrus ihm nachgefolget. v. 13-24.
- III. Petri letzte Verläugnung u. Caiphaes fermeres Examen. v. 25-40.

Kap. 19

- I. Christi Geißelung u. der Jüden Geschrei von Kreuzigen bis er dazu überantwortet worden. v. 1-16
- II. Christi Ausführung, Kreuz, u. Tod. Sie nahmen aber Jesum u. führten ihn hin. v. 17-30
- III. Wie den Shechern nicht aber Jesu die Bein gebrochen, sondern die Seite eröffnet sei daraus Blut u. Wasser gestoßen, und von seinem Begräbnis. v. 31-42.

narrative is summarized in Table 2, and is given in a more complete form in Table 3. The variants between Bach's libretto and Olearius' commentary, shown in Table 2, usually consist of a single verse, and are due to the more traditional format adopted by Olearius, who divides the text of Chapter 18, in particular, according to the conventions of time and place. For example, Olearius, ends the Garden scene literally after Jesus is bound (verse 12), but before he is led away to Caiphas (verse 13). Bach's division after verse 11, on the other hand, signals a theo-

logically significant moment in the action, namely, when Jesus accepts the will of his father. (Bach's remaining divisions for Chapter 18 will be discussed below.) Particularly striking is the extent to which Bach's division of Chapter 19, after the end of the so-called 'Herzstück' (verse 22), is identical to that of Olearius.

Of greater significance for Bach than Olearius' divisions of the narrative, however, is his commentary, which includes references to specific New and Old Testament passages, along with frequent citations to

Table 2. Division of John narrative in Olearius' *Biblische Erklärung* and Bach's 1724 John Passion libretto

Olearius			JSB	1724 version
				HERR, UNSER HERRSCHER
John 18:	1-	Im Garten	John 18: 1-8	<i>O große Lieb</i>
	12		9-11	<i>Dein Will gescheh</i>
	13-	Im Palast des Hohen-Preisters	12-14	VON DEN STRIKKEN
			15b	ICH FOLGE DIR
	<u>27</u>		15-23	<i>Wer hat dich</i>
			24- <u>27</u>	ACH, MEIN SINN
				<i>Petrus, der nicht/Christe, der</i>
	<u>28-40</u>	Im Richt-Haus Pilati	<u>28- 36</u>	<i>Ach großer König</i>
			37-	
John 19:	1-	Geißelung, Krönung, Ausführung, u.	19: 1	BETRACHTE
	18	Kreuzigung		ERWÄGE
	19-22	Überschrift	2-12a	<i>Durch dein Gefängnis</i>
	<u>23-24</u>	Theilung	12b-17	EILT, IHR ANGEFOCHTEN
	<u>25-27</u>	Versorgung	18-22	<i>In meines Herzens</i>
	<u>28-30</u>	Tränkung	<u>23-24</u>	[Turba: Lasset uns der nicht]
	[<u>30a</u>]	Es ist vollbracht	<u>25-27</u>	<i>Er nahm alles</i>
	[<u>30b</u>]	Haupt geneiget/Verschieden	28-	
	<u>31-37</u>	Erfolgung	<u>30a</u>	ES IST VOLLBRACHT
	<u>38-42</u>	Grablegung	<u>30b</u>	MEIN HEILAND/Jesu, der du MEIN HERZ/ZERFLIEBE
			<u>31-37</u>	<i>O hilf, Christe</i>
			<u>38-42</u>	RUHT WOHL
				<i>Ach Herr, laß</i>

— = identical division of text

Capital letters = aria and chorus texts

Lower case = recitative and turba texts

Italics = chorale texts

portions of the Eisleben and Altenburg editions of Luther's work, volumes of which also were part of Bach's library. For each chapter, Olearius summarizes the themes of the text according to the seven categories shown in Table 3, of which Parts II and V provide the basis of the discussion that follows. (Calov's commentary, in contrast, includes only a short 'Vorrede' along with extended sections of Luther's commentary.)

For Chapter (Kap.) 18, the themes articulated by Olearius in Part V of his commentary (see Table 3) closely resemble those we find in the interpolated portions of Bach's libretto. For example, Olearius' first entry under the Haupt-Lehre for Chapter 18 refers to Jesus' 'tieffsten Erniedrigen'; the four scripture passages he cites include Psalm 8, the text on which Bach bases his opening chorus, 'Herr, unser Herrscher'. In the same pas-

Table 3. Division of John narrative in Olearius' *Biblische Erklärung*

Kap. 18	Kap. 19
PASSION	MORS
Das Leiden.	Der Todt.
Bei diesen ... Capital ist zumercken.	
I. DIE SUMMARISCHE VORSTELLUNG	
Das Leiden drauf den Anfang macht.	Der Todt der Welt das Leben bracht.
II. DIE RICHTIGE ABTHEILUNG	
Das Leiden Jesu Christ ist allhier zu sehen	Der Todt Jesus Christi weißet
I. Im Garten am Oelberg, v. 1-12	I. Die vorhegehende Geißelung, Krönung, Ausführung, u. Kreuzigung, v. 1-18. Dabey 1. Die Überschrift, v. 19-22, 2. Die Theilung der Kleider, v. 23-24 3. Die Versorgung der Mutter, 25-27, 4. Die Tränckung, 28-30.
II. Im Pallast des Hohen-Priesters, v. 13-37	II. Die eigentliche Beschreibung, daß der Herr 1. Gesagt: Es its vollbracht. 2. Sein Haupt geneiget. 3. Verschieden, v. 30.
III. Im Richt-Haus Pilati, v. 28-40	III. Die denkwürdige Erfolung. Da 1. Die Seite des Herrn eröffnet, 31-37, 2. Sein Leib von Kreuz abgenommen, und 3. In Josephs Grab gelegt worden, 38-42.
III. DIE GENAUE VERBINDUNG MIT DER VORHERGEHENDEN GESCHICHTE	
... daß wirs glauben und dadurch ewig leben daß der Todt unsers Heylands sei das Ende des Leidens
IV. DIE NOTWENDIGE ERKLÄRUNG	
V. DIE ERBAULICHE ANFÜHRUNG DES HAUPT-NUTZES	
(1) Haupt-Lehre	
...unsers ewigen Königs...seiner tiefsten Erniedrigen...David's [Vor]bilde	Jesus ist der hochgelobte König der Ehren... Kreuz ist unser Wehr u. Waffen
(2) Haupt-Trost	
...aus der all-macht Jesu Christ...als seine Feinde plötzlich zu Boden stürzten	...dessen Blut u. Wasser die Taufe und das heilige Abendmahl bezeichnet.
(3) Haupt-Ermahnung	
...zur Liebe der Göttlichen Wahrheit	Göttlichen Wahrgeit glauben ...dieses <i>Ecce homo</i> , Sehet welch ein Mensch!
VI. DIE DECKWÜRDIGE ERINNERUNG DER ALTEN KIRCHEN-LEHRER	
Löwe aus Juda... Johannes mit 7 Buchstaben	Vom Leiden, Kreuz, Tod u. Begräbnis
VII. DIE GEISTREICHE ERMUNTERUNG LUTHERI	

sage, Olearius, in mentioning not only the 'ewigen König', but also 'David's Für[Vor]bilde', introduces the theme of Jesus' kingship that appears in several of the interpolated madrigal and chorale texts in Bach's libretto.

In Part v/2 (Chapter 18), Olearius underlines another common Johannine theme, the triumphant and powerful Christ (Christus Victor), when he cites the example of Jesus' enemies 'falling to the earth before him' in verse 5 ('seine Feinde plötzlich zu Boden stürzen'). In Part vi, Olearius refers to the 'sieben Buchstaben', or seven signs, that are characteristic of John's gospel, and, in specific, points to the appearance of Jesus' 'Ich bin' in verse 6. (It is at the end of this scene, after verse 8, that Bach inserts his first chorale text, 'O große Lieb'.) Olearius' commentary for Chapter 19 cites many of the same themes. In Part v/1, for example, he points to Jesus as the 'highly-praised King' ('hochgelobte König') who has brought us life through his death, a theme Bach points up with texts such as 'Ach, großer König'. Of the other themes listed in Table 3 (v/1-3) the only one not taken up by Bach is that of 'Blut und Wasser', cited in Part v/2.¹⁰

The present discussion will make little mention of Calov's commentary not only because his division of the narrative agrees less with that of Bach, but also because he appears to be less sympathetic – less 'in tune' – with John's gospel than Olearius. In speaking of Peter's denial (verse 27), for example, an event that he, in contrast to both Olearius and Bugenhagen, places at the beginning of the Caiphas scene (see outline at bottom of Table 1), Calov suggests that John did not know the exact order of events. In addition, his commentary takes a less thematic and more dogmatic approach to the John narrative. For example, the underlined portion of Luther's commentary found in Bach's

copy of the Calov Bible, Chapter 19, verse 3 (reprinted in Robin Leaver's *J.S. Bach and Scripture*), reads as follows: 'Christ's suffering is the fulfillment of Scripture and the accomplishment of the redemption of the human race'.¹¹ For a theologian to consult Calov is therefore understandable. But a librettist, working under time constraints and seeking motives to embellish and develop, would more likely have turned to Olearius.

That Bach drew on Olearius, both in structuring the narrative and in selecting the themes of his interpolated texts, may be another indication of the extent to which he relied on the works of the theologian whose nephew, when he was appointed organist in Arnstadt in 1704, was the town's Superintendent and Bach's superior. Renate Steiger recently has shown how Bach based his text for cantata 106, *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*, on Olearius' *Christliche Bet-Schule*, a volume that, like the *Biblische Erklärung*, he might have first encountered in Arnstadt.¹² And Martin Petzoldt, in his study of cantata texts, has made frequent reference to Bach's reliance on Olearius.¹³ If Bach's copy of the *Erklärung* were someday to reappear, it may well include as many, if not more, underlinings, and marginal annotations, especially in New Testament texts, than those found in the Calov Bible.

The madrigal texts and chorale verses: First stage

To examine in a more systematic way what I describe as the first stage, or the Johannine layer, we need to step back from the 1724 score that served as the basis of our comparison with Olearius, and return to the initial stages of the planning process. Whether Bach first began to compile the libretto in the 'stille Zeit', that is, during the period of Lent in which cantatas were not performed,

Table 4. John Passion Libretto, Stage I (John 18: 1-40)

		Mvt	NBA
	HERR, UNSER HERRSCHER	C	1
John 18:			
1-5a	Jesus ging mit seinen Jüngern	R	2a
5b	Jesum von Nazareth	T	2b
5c-7b	Jesus spricht zu ihnen	R	2c
7c	Jesum von Nazareth	T	2d
8	Jesus antwortete	R	2e
	<i>O große Lieb</i>	Ch	3
9-11	Auf daß das Wort erfüllet würde [-]	R	4
12-14	Die Schar aber und der Ober [-]	R	6
15a	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesus	R	8
	ICH FOLGE DIR	A	9
15b-23	Derselbige Jünger war dem [-]	R	10
24-25a	Und Hannas sandte ihn gebunden	R	12a
25b	Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer	T	12b
25c-27	Er leugnete aber und sprach [-]	R	12c
28-30a	Da führeten sie Jesum	R	16a
30b	Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	T	16b
31a	Da sprach Pilatus zu ihnen	R	16c
31 b	Wir dürfen niemand töten	T	16d
32-36	Auf daß erfüllet würde	R	16e
	<i>Ach großer König</i>	Ch	17
37-40a	Da sprach Pilatus zu ihnen	R	18a
40b	Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam	T	18b
40c-[19:1]	Barrabas aber war ein Mörder	R	18c

C = chorus

T = turba

Ch = chorale

R = recitative

A = aria

[-] = no interpolated texts at this stage

is impossible to say. But as Bach drew increasingly on Weimar and Köthen works over the course of the year, he would have had proportionately more time to plan and realize his first Jahrgang Leipzig passion, and to use his newly-composed cantatas as preparation for his first large-scale work in ways that I suggested in an earlier version of this paper.¹⁴

Table 4 lists the texts with Johannine themes that Bach interpolated into the Chapter 18 narrative. These include the opening chorus, 'Herr, unser Herrscher', referred to above, and the madrigal text, 'Ich folge dir', that reflects another Johannine theme, that of the good shepherd. The list also includes two chorale interpolations: 'O große Lieb', and 'Ach großer König', the first consisting of verse 7, and the second of verses 8 and 9

Table 5a. Division of John Narrative in Postel libretto, Part I (John 19: 1-24)

Postel libretto		Mattheson score		
Text		Mvt.	T-sign	No. mm
		Sonatina	C	15
		Ch (<i>Christus</i>)	cut C	26*
John 19:				
1	<u>Da nahm Pilatus Jesum</u>	R	C	3
	UNSRE BOSHEIT OHNE ZAHL	A	C	73
2-3a	Und die Kriegsknechte flochten	R	C	4
3b	Sei gegrüßet	T	cut C	20.5*
3c-5a	Und gaben ihm Backenstreich	R+Arioso	C	8+12
	SCHAUET, MEIN JESUS IST ROSEN	A	3/8	137
5b-6a	Und er spricht zu ihnen	R+Arioso	C+3/4	4+8
6b	Kreuzige	T	C	15
6c	Pilatus spricht zu ihnen	R+Arioso	C	3.5+4.5
7	Wir haben ein Gesetz	T	C	15
8a-11a	Da Pilatus das Wort höret	R+Arioso	C+3/4	10+26
11b	Du hattest keine Macht	Acc. Arioso	C	23
<u>12a</u>	Von dem an trachtet Pilatus	R	C	3
	<u>DURCH DEIN GEFÄNGNIS</u>	A (Duet)	C	81
12b	Die Jüden aber schrieen	R	C	2
12c	Lässet du diesen los	T	cut C	33*
13-15a	Da Pilatus das Wort	R+Arioso	C	10.5+2.5
15b	Weg, weg	T	C	35
	ERSCHÜTTERE MIT KRACHEN	A	C	90
15c	Spricht Pilatus zu ihn	R+Arioso	C+3/4	4+7
15d	Wir haben keinen König	T	C	6
16a-18	Da überantwortet er ihn	R	C	14
	GETROST, MEIN HERZ	Arietta	6/8	76
19-21a	Pilatus aber schrieb	R	C	15
21b	Schreibe nicht	T	2/4	33
22	Pilatus antwortet	R+Arioso	C	1.5+4.5
23a	Die Kriegsknechte aber	R	C	7
	DU MUSST DEN ROCK VERLIER'N	A	C	75
23b-24a	Der Rock aber	T	C	4
24b	Lässet uns den nicht zerteilen	T	C	3
24c	Auf daß erfüllet würde	R+Arioso	C+3/4	4+10
	WELCH SIND DAS HEILANDS	A (Chorus)	12/8	37

Totals: Aria = 569 mm; Arioso = 97.5 mm; Turba = 164.5 (C) mm; Recitative = 93.5 mm.; Chorale = 26 mm.

* number of mm reduced by 1/2

Table 5b. John Passion Libretto, Stage 1 (John 19: 1-27a)

Text	Mvt.	T-sign	No. of mm.	NBA
John19:				
1	R	C	4.5	18c
<u>Da nahm Pilatus Jesum</u> [<i>Christus, der uns selig macht</i>]	[Ch	C	17	15]
2-3a	R	C	4.5	21a
3b	T	6/4	11	21b
3c-6a	R	C	12.5	21c
6b	T	C	23.5	21d
6c-7a	R	C	4.5	21e
7b	T	C	32.5	21f
8-12a	R	C	17.5	21g
<u>Durch dein Gefängnis</u>	[A]			
12b	T	C	1.5	23a
12c	T	C	32.5	23b
13-15a	R	C	10.5	23c
15b	T	C	26.5	23d
15c	R	C	3.5	23e
15d	T	C	4	23f
16-17	R	C	10	23g
18-21a	R	C	17.5	25a
21b	T	6/4	11	25b
22	R	C	3.5	25c
<i>In meines Herzens Gründe</i>	Ch	C	16	26
23-24a	R	C	9	27a
24b	T	3/4	55	27b
24c[-27a]	R	C	19	27c

Totals: Chorale = 16 mm [+ 17]; Recitative = 118 mm; Turba = 196 mm; Aria = [? mm]

of the chorale 'Herzliebster Jesu'. Found in the same section of the *Kirchen=Staat* as the John narration ('Vom Leiden und Sterben unsers Herrn Jesus Christi'), the chorale, with its references to 'Lieb ohne alle Maße' and 'König, groß zu allen Zeiten', traditionally is associated with the gospel of John. The eight verses of the chorale, in fact, can be read as a response to the passion story as recounted in Chapter 18, a point underscored by Bach, who uses the two chorale in-

terpolations to frame the central portion of the chapter, verses 9-36 (see Table 4).

In setting Chapter 19, Bach, in addition to closely following the divisions of Olearius, drew on the libretto of Christian Postel, whose text was based solely on the second chapter in John's account. The underlined portions of text in Tables 5a and 5b indicate the points at which the two librettos agree. The first comes immediately after the chapter's opening verse, where Postel breaks the

narrative. Bach also breaks the text after verse 1, and in his 1724 score includes an arioso and aria ('Betrachte' and 'Erwäge') based on Brockes' libretto. I do not include the two movements in Table 5b, but introduce them at a later stage in the compilation process. In their place, at this 'Johannine' stage, could Bach have inserted the first verse of the chorale 'Christus, der uns', a text that he, like Mattheson, who places it at the beginning of his setting of Postel's libretto, may have intended to 'summarize the events of the passion story' up to the point at which Chapter 19 begins.¹⁵ (In Bach's 1724 score it will serve as the introduction to Part II.)

Both librettos next divide the narrative after verse 12a. In this case Bach takes his text, 'Durch dein Gefängnis', directly from Postel, possibly intending to set it as an aria, as Klaus Hofmann has suggested.¹⁶ However, from verse 12b until the end of Part I, Bach adopts different procedures from Postel. While Postel inserts four additional madrigal texts, Bach structures his libretto to reflect the direct interaction between narrator and turbae, presented in a condensed form in John's account (as opposed to the synoptic gospels, where the crowd scenes are dispersed throughout the narrative). Even though he also will add an aria with chorus ('Eilt'), Bach's next interpolated text with a Johannine theme does not come until after verse 22, where he places the chorale, 'In meines Herzens', with its reference to the 'royal inscription'. By restricting the number of interpolated texts for this portion of the narrative, Bach intensifies the dialogue and creates the remarkable musico-theological structure known as the Herzstück.

The musical results of these two different types of procedures can be seen by comparing Mattheson's setting of Postel's libretto for Part I with Bach's setting of the same portion of text in his libretto. The right hand

columns in Tables 5a and 5b indicate the type of each movement, whether recitative (R), turba (T), or aria (A), along with its time sign and number of measures. Mattheson's score, like Postel's libretto, places its greatest emphasis on the arias. Ranging from 37 to 90 measures, they total 569 measures and comprise by far the bulk of the score. The 'lyrical' portion of Mattheson's score is in fact even greater (by 97.5 measures) because he sets the words of both Pilate and Jesus as ariosos rather than recitatives, a procedure he recommends in his *Des fragenden Componisten* of 1724.¹⁷

Aria and arioso constitute only a negligible proportion of Bach's setting. Even when we include the movements found in the 1724 score (18 mm. of C Adagio in 'Betrachte', 63 mm. of 12/8 in 'Erwäge', and 191 mm. of 3/8 'Eilt'), the total then is only 272 measures, far fewer than the total 666.5 of Mattheson. Moreover, by constructing the entire passage shown in Table 5b in common time (C), with a change to 6/4 only for the outer turba choruses of the Herzstück (21b and 25b) – and to 3/8 for the aria 'Eilt' (not listed in the table) – Bach achieves a musical and dramatic continuity that is missing in Mattheson's score. Furthermore, while Bach's chorale texts once again frame the central portion of the text (see Table 5b), Mattheson's score for Part I includes only the one chorale cited above (see Table 5a).

Table 6b outlines the portion of Bach's text corresponding to Part II of Postel's libretto, shown in Table 6a. Structured in a more traditional manner, with its narrative alternating between madrigal and chorale, its texts again convey themes similar to those of Postel. 'O großes Werk' with its theme of the suffering Christ who brings redemption and triumphs over his enemies, closely resembles to that of 'Es ist vollbracht', a likeness that can easily be ex-

Table 6a. Postel libretto, Part II (John 19: 25-42)

Text	Mvt.
John 19:	
25-28	R+Acc. Arioso
	A
29-30a	R+Acc. Arioso
	A
30b	R
	A
31-34	R
	A (Duet)
35-40	R+Arioso
	A (Duet)
41-42	R
	C

plained if, as Dürr suggests, each aria comprises one stanza of a strophic text.¹⁸ (Bach's choice of this theme might also be traced to Olearius, who in Part VI of his commentary for Chapter 18 makes reference to the 'Löwe aus Juda', citing Revelation 5; see Table 3.) Olearius and Postel again converge in dividing the text after the single line 'Und neiget das Haupt und verschied'. If Bach were to follow Postel at this point, he would interpolate a text that, like Postel's 'Bebet, ihr Berge!', or his own aria

'Zerschmettert dich' (from the 1725 version of the John Passion, see Table 9) depicts an element of the 'earthquake' scene that is not part of John's account, and that Bach, as I show below, did not add to his libretto until 1725.

For his concluding chorus, 'Ruht wohl', Bach again bases his text on Postel. Although critics usually point to the influence on this passage of the final aria text of Brockes ('Wisch ab die Thränen scharffe Lauge, steh selge Seele nun in Ruh!', see

Table 6b. John Passion libretto, Stage I (John 19: 27b-42)

Text	Mvt.
John 19:	
27b-30a	R
	A
30b	R
	[-]
31-37	R
	Ch
38-42	R
	C

Table 9), its primary theme, I would argue, corresponds more closely to Postel's 'Schlaf wohl nach deinen Leiden, Ruhe sanft nach deinem Streit' (see Table 6a). The final line of Bach's text, taken from Brockes ('Sein ausgesperrter Arm und sein geschlossen Auge Sperrt dir den Himmel auf und schließt die Hölle zu'), read in this context, can be seen to reinforce Postel's theme of Jesus struggling and overcoming the powers of darkness ('Weil dein Tod uns Himmelsfreuden, Weil dein Kampf uns sieg bereitet').

The second text shown in Table 6b is 'O hilf, Christe', the eighth and last verse of the chorale, 'Christus, der uns selig macht' (see Table 6b). Like 'Herzliebster Jesu' (discussed above), the chorale is included in the 'Vom Leiden und Sterben' section of the 1710 *Kirchen=Staat*, and also has a close association with the John narrative. Just as the text of 'Herzliebster' summarized the narrative of Chapter 18, so the eight verses of 'Christus, der uns' recount the events in Chapter 19 (with in verse 5, a reference to the 'renting of the veil'). Verse 6, for example, includes a specific reference to 'die Schrift zu erfüllen wie Johannes zeigt an', following the lines 'ward Jesus in seine Seit mit ein'm Speer gestochen'. Rather than waiting to place 'O hilf, Christe' after the events described in verse 7 have taken place, namely, the removal of Jesus' body from the cross, Bach interpolates the chorale verse after the action in verse 6 (cited above), as told by John in verse 37 ('Und abermal spricht eine andere Schrift: 'Sie werden sehen, in welchem sie gestochen haben'). Its placement here not only reinforces Jesus' 'bitter Leiden', but also marks the end of the Actus Crux, the fourth act in Bugenhagen's five-part structure.

Seen as a whole, the first stage of Bach's libretto as reconstructed in Tables 4, 5b, and 6b, corresponds in large part to the early version of the Matthew Passion as described by

Chafe. Included are the bulk of the narrative and turba, along with the two framing choruses and a substantial number of chorales. Still missing, however, are the majority of the aria texts and the two synoptic interpolations that Bach will add to the narrative, as well as the several chorale verses he will draw from 'Jesu Leiden Pein und Tod'. Because Bach has, I propose, drawn primarily on Olearius and Postel, the themes of his interpolated texts in this layer have been primarily Johannine. Introducing the Mark and Matthew interpolations will lead to a shift in the libretto's theological focus.

Second stage

Another oratorio passion known to Bach was Keiser's Mark Passion, a work he had performed a decade earlier in Weimar and whose performing parts, many in his own hand, he had brought with him to Leipzig. Although Keiser's score often is cited as a model for the Matthew Passion, it also can be seen, I will argue, as an important source for the John Passion. In general contour and style the two works share several features. Bach, like Keiser, begins his passion setting, as the earlier 'historia', with a chorus. (Mattheson, in contrast, begins with a short sinfonia and a chorale; see Table 5a.) Both composers end their settings with a chorus and a chorale, an unusual combination for an oratorio passion. Keiser follows three verses of the chorale 'O Traurigkeit' (the first and third verses as four-part chorales, and the middle verse, 'O selig ist' as a contrapuntal chorus) with an 'Amen' chorus. Bach follows the final chorus, 'Ruht wohl', with another chorale verse, whose text also is found in the the *Kirchen=Staat* (in the section labelled 'Vom Tode und Sterben'). Also common to both is the use of a declamatory style for all portions of the narrative. Not only

does Bach, like Keiser, set the words of Pilate as unaccompanied declamation (Mattheson sets them as *arioso*), but he also sets the words of Jesus in a spoken, rather than in *arioso*, style. Even when Keiser, as Bach will do in the Matthew Passion, scores Jesus' text as accompanied recitative, he retains the declamatory style.

Perhaps most telling, however, is the similarity in the overall proportions of the two works. If we were to chart Keiser and Bach's setting of the same portion of text as we did in Table 5 for Mattheson and Bach, we would discover the dimensions of the two to be the same, or nearly identical. For each, the largest part of the score, proportionally, includes the recitative and narrative portions, then the madrigal texts and choruses, and finally, the chorales. The *turba* sections are more extended in Bach's setting only because of the more prominent role they play in John's narrative. In addition, the narrative in both works not only is nearly identical in length, 76 verses in Bach and 73 in Keiser, but it begins in both settings at the same point in the passion story. Keiser's text begins not with verse 1 of Mark's narrative (as Bach's own 1731 Mark setting will do), but with verse 26, when Jesus and his disciples, having sung a hymn of praise, go out into the Mount of Olives. Their entrance into the garden of Gethesmane, in verse 32, therefore coincides with the starting point of John's account and the beginning of Bach's libretto. As a result, the culmination of the first scene, that is, when Jesus accepts the will of his father, comes at the same point in both librettos (see Table 7). Moreover, both composers treat the event in a similar way. Keiser interpolates the chorale verse, 'Was mein Gott will, das gescheh allzeit, sein Will, der ist der beste' (the same text that Bach uses at this point in the Matthew Passion), while Bach interpolates a text similar in theological significance, 'Dein Will ge-

scheh, Herr Gott, zugleich auf Erden wie im Himmelreich', from Luther's 'Vater unser', one of the *Cathechismus Lieder* in the 1710 *Kirchen=Staat*.

More significant for the present discussion, however, is the way in which both librettos treat the following two events: Peter's denial and weeping and the 'earthquake scene' following the renting of the veil – the two moments in the passion story where Bach adds a passage from another gospel to John's narrative. Although known as the 'Matthew interpolations', it can be argued that both passages originally were taken from Mark – another indication of how Bach modeled his score on that of Keiser. Matthew's description of Peter's denial ('Da gedachte Petrus an die Worte Jesu, da er zu ihm sagte: "Ehe der Hahn krähen wird, wirst du mich dreimal verleugnen". Und ging hinaus und weinete bitterlich') is similar to that of Mark and the same in length – as will be pointed out below. In Mark's account, Peter's final denial and of Jesus comes at the end of Chapter 14: 'Da gedachte Petrus an das Wort, das Jesus zu ihm saget: "Ehe der Hahn zweimal krähet, wirst du mich dreimal verleugnen", und er hub an zu weinen'. After Peter's remembrance of Jesus' words, Keiser depicts Peter's tears at his disgrace in an aria for tenor and solo violin, 'Wein, ach wein, itzt um die Wette, meiner beiden Augen Bach!'

John, describing the event in more objective terms, includes no mention of Peter crying: 'Da verleugnete Petrus abermal, und alsobald krähete der Hahn'. At this point, however, Bach inserts his first synoptic interpolation, namely, Mark's reference to Peter's remorse and weeping. And like Keiser, he follows Peter's denial with an aria for tenor and strings, 'Ach, mein Sinn'. For Bach to assign the aria to a tenor is in itself not unusual – it is a convention that Brockes follows as well – but, remarkably,

Table 7. Correspondences between John Passion libretto, Stage II, and Keiser's Mark Passion

Bach John Passion	Keiser Mark Passion: c. 1713	1726	
	[PART I]	[PART I]	
	HERR, UNSER	JESUS CHRISTUS	
John 18		Mark 14	
1-8	...so lasset diese gehen! <i>O große Lieb</i>	26-32	...bis ich hingehe und bete. *WILL DICH DIE ANGST
9-11	<u>...mein Vater gegeben hat?</u> <i>Dein Will gescheh</i>	33-36	<u>...sondern wie du willst.</u> <i>Was mein Gott will</i>
12-15a	Simon Petrus aber folgete ICH FOLGE DIR	37-45	[Judas betrayal scene] WENN NUR DEN LEIB
15b-23	<i>Wer hat dich</i>		
24-27 & [Mk. 14: 72]	<u>...und er hub an zu weinen</u> ACH, MEIN SINN <i>Petrus, der nicht</i>	46-72	<u>...und er hub an zu weinen</u> WEIN, ACH WEIN ITZT
	[PART II]		*So gehst du [Chorale] [PART II]
	<i>Christus, der uns</i> <i>Ach, großer König</i>		SINFONIA
28-36		Mark 15	
37-John19:1		1-4	KLAGET NUR
2-12a	[-] <i>Durch dein Gefängnis</i>	5-14	<i>O hilf, Christe</i>
			*new mel. [Chorale]
12b-22	<i>In meines Herzens</i>	15-21	O SÜSSES KREUZ
23-27a	<i>Er nahm alles</i>	22-23	O GOLGATHA
27b-30a	ES IST VOLLBRACHT	+24-25	WAS SEH' ICH HIER
26-30b	<u>...und verschied</u> [<i>Jesu, der du warest tot</i>]	26-37	<u>...und verschied</u> *Wenn ich einmal SEHET MENSCHENKINDER/ DER FÜRST DER WELT
			[Chorale]
[Mk. 15: 38	<u>Und der Vorhang...</u>	38-45	<u>Und der Vorhang...</u> DEIN JESUS HAT DAS HAUPT
	[-]		
31-37	<i>O hilf, Christe</i>		
38-42	RUHT WOHL <i>Ach Herr, laß</i>	46-47	<i>O Traurigkeit</i> O SELIG IST <i>O Jesu du, mein Hilf</i> AMEN
			[Chorale]

+ = addition of recitative, 'Und da sie ihn gekreuziget hatten', by JSB in 1713

* = additions to 1713 and 1726 scores by JSB

Table 8. John Passion libretto, Stage III

JSB libretto	Brockes text	Handel score
NBA		
PART I		
1 HERR, UNSER HERRSCHER		
3 <i>O große Lieb</i>		
5 <i>Dein Will gescheh</i>		[(5) Chorale]
7 VON DEN STRIKKEN	Mich vom Strikke	(1) Soli e Coro
9 ICH FOLGE DIR		
11 <i>Wer hat dich so geschlagen</i>		
13 ACH, MEIN SINN		[(44) Aria]
14 <i>Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück</i>		[(21) Chorale]
PART II		
15 <i>Christus, der uns</i>		
17 <i>Ach großer König</i>		
19 BETRACHT	Drum, Seele, schau	(33b) Recitativo
20 ERWÄGE	Dem Himmel gleicht	(34) Aria
22 <i>Durch dein</i>		
24 EILT, IHR ANGEFOCHTEN	Eilt, ihr angefochten	(41) Solo e Coro
26 In meines Herzens		
28 <i>Er nahm alles</i>		[(45) Chorale]
30 ES IST VOLLBRACHT		
32 MEIN HEILAND/Jesu, der du	Sind meiner Seelen	(50) Aria
34 MEIN HERZ	Bei Jesus' Tod und Leiden	(53) Accompagnato
35 ZERFLIEBE		
37 <i>O hilf, Christe</i>		[(54) Chorale v. 1]
39 RUHT WOHL	[Wisch ab der Tränen]	[(55) Aria]
40 Ach Herr, laß		[(56) Chorale v. 2]

its placement and role in his libretto is identical to that of Keiser.

Sin and repentance also are the themes of the chorale verse 'Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück', that Bach adds to his libretto after the tenor aria. 'Jesu Leiden Pein und Tod', from which the verse is taken, is found in the same section of the 1710 *Kirchen=Staat* as 'Herzliebster' and 'Christus, der uns', but differs in tone from the other two chorales. Each of its 34 verses is structured in two parts, with the first describing an event in the passion, and the second pointing out its implications for humankind, usually the

need for repentance. For example, the second half of the 'Petrus' verse, cited above, reads as follows: 'Jesu, blicke mich auch an, wenn ich nicht will büßen; Wenn ich Böses hab getan, rühre mein Gewissen'. Verse 20, which Bach inserts after the scene between Jesus and his mother, 'Er nahm alles wohl in acht', is structured in the same way; the second section of its text begins: 'O Mensch, mache Richtigkeit, Gott und Menschen liebe'. The two verses of an additional chorale listed in Table 7, 'Wer hat dich so geschlagen' (found under *Etlichen Geistreichen Liedern* in the *Kirchen=Staat*),

elaborates further on the theme of 'Ich, ich und meine Sünden'.

Bach's use of the 'Petrus' choral verse appears to be closely related not only to the theme of the interpolated Mark text, but also to Bach's division of the John libretto into two parts. As I indicate in brackets in Table 7, the start of Part II of Bach's libretto comes directly after the chorale text. Moreover, when Bach divides the Keiser score into two parts for performance in Leipzig in 1726, he places the division at precisely the same point. (The 1713 version, in contrast, was performed as a one-part work.) Bach could have divided the Keiser score into two equal parts, that is, placing the end of Part I, like the editors of the 1963 Hänssler edition,¹⁹ after the chorale, 'O hilf' and before the second Sinfonia. Instead, following the pattern he had established in the John Passion (as described above), he interpolated a chorale verse, in this case 'So gehst du nun', directly after the tenor aria in Keiser's score to mark the end of Part I. For the 1726 performance, as Glöckner tells us, he also added a new melody for the chorale, 'O hilf, Christe', the same one he used in his John setting.²⁰ With these changes, Bach brings Keiser's score not only into near conformity with the five-act structure of Bugenhagen (see the right hand column in Table 7), but also in closer alignment with the theological structure of his John libretto. Because Bach drew extensively on the Keiser's Mark Passion – the passion score he knew best – in compiling the libretto for his first oratorio passion, it is not surprising that in 1726, when Bach was seeking a passion to follow the first and second versions of his John score, he turned again to Keiser's score. Whether or not Bach conceived his revisions for his 1726 score of Keiser's work stem directly from his 1724 John libretto, they can be seen as another indication of the close relationship between the two works, and evidence of a

connection that does not, as we will see, end here.

Bach's second interpolation (see Table 7) is tied directly to the death of Jesus, a moment in the passion narrative that required from any composer a careful and considered response. In performing the Mark Passion in Weimar, Bach evidently was not satisfied with Keiser's treatment of this scene (which likely included only the two-part aria for tenor and soprano, 'Sehet Menschenkinder/ Der Fürst der Welt'), and he therefore, as Glöckner again points out, added two movements to the score: the chorale 'Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden' (melody: 'Herzlich tut mich verlangen', the same verse he later interpolates in his Matthew Passion), and a Sinfonia, both marked with asterisks in Table 7. Although Bach followed a similar sequence in his 1732 libretto, he restricts this portion of his 1724 score to a chorale and aria, based on a Brockes' text that I include as part of stage three (see Table 8). Could he at an earlier stage (see Table 7) have interpolated only the four-part chorale verse 'Jesu, der du warest tot', intending to follow it, like Keiser, with an aria?

The scene that follows Jesus' death in the synoptic gospels, but not included in John, describes the renting of the veil and the splitting open of the earth. Because Mark's account, however, makes reference only to the renting of the veil ('Und der Vorhang des Tempels zerriß in zwei Stück, von oben an bis unten aus. Der Hauptmann, aber...'), this scene does not play a prominent role in Keiser's setting.

Nor may this scene originally have played an important role in Bach's libretto. Like Keiser, Bach may first have planned to include only an aria, and, then, at a later stage added the arioso and aria that became part of his 1724 score (see Table 8). Also of interest here is the fact that Bach's original setting of the second interpolation included not the

seven-measure version we find in the NBA score (33), but a shortened, three-measure version, which Alfred Dürr has suggested was based solely on the Mark text.²¹ Bach's substitution of Matthew's text, and the addition of the lines 'Und die Erde erbebete, und die Felsen zerissen, und die Gräber täten siche auf...', were inserted in 1725, according to Dürr, to correspond to the text of the arioso that follows ('Mein Herz'). At the same time (in 1725), Bach could easily have replaced the earlier Mark interpolation described above with the corresponding passage from Matthew. To do so would have required no revision of the continuo part because both texts were the same in length.

Bach's inclusion of the two passages from Matthew can be readily understood in light of the seventeenth-century passion sermon tradition described by Elke Axmacher in her study "*Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben*". Both Peter's denial, cited above, and the so-called 'earthquake scene' (that is, the second part of Matthew's text) were commonly inserted into the passion settings of the time, Axmacher points out, less to conform to the composite text of a 'Passionsharmonie', than to reinforce the themes of the passion sermons, which stressed the need for repentance. As she describes it, the most effective way to impress this on the mind of the listener was with an extended dramatic scene, such as Bach presents in the two scenes described above. (In the abridged Mark versions, the interpolations would have been less effective, and perhaps also less acceptable to Bach's theological superiors in Leipzig.) But as Axmacher is quick to add, the most vivid and effective presentations of these two scenes were found in Brockes' libretto, to which we now turn.²²

Third stage

The third layer, consisting of the seven Brockes' texts shown in bold in Table 8, expands even further the reconciliation themes and the increasingly didactic tone that we observed in the second stage. Generally more subjective than the Johannine interpolations described earlier, the Brockes' texts comment on the passion events from a greater distance and in more rhetorical language, often using a form of address such as 'Ponder', 'Consider', or 'My heart'. In contrast, a madrigal text such as 'Ich folge dir' takes the form of the first person, and the text of 'Es ist vollbracht', while commenting on an event, nevertheless reflects an objective point of view. Placed alongside the earlier texts, the Brockes' pieces, then, add another dimension to the libretto's theological vocabulary and structure.

The two texts placed after the second Matthew interpolation, 'Mein Herz' and 'Zerfließe' (34 and 35) illustrate the methods by which the Brockes' texts are grafted onto the structure of Bach's libretto. In addition to reformulating the opening lines of the recitative 'Bei Jesus' Tod und Leiden leidet des Himmels Kreis' to read 'Mein Herz, in dem die ganze Welt bei Jesu Leiden gleichfalls leidet', Bach's text also refers more directly to Matthew's description ('Der Vorhang reißt, der Fels zerfällt...'). In addition, he uses the last two lines of Brockes' recitative, 'Ersticke, Gott zu Ehren, in einer Sündflut bitter Zähren', as the basis of his aria, 'Zerfließe, Mein Herz, in Fluten der Zähren dem Höchsten zu Ehren', changing the wording slightly to shift the focus away from 'Sündflut' to 'Fluten der Zähren'.

When he inserts the same combination of arioso and aria at an earlier point in the libretto ('Betrachte' and 'Erwäge', 19 and 20), Bach again takes a pair of texts from the corresponding section of the Brockes' li-

Table 9. John Passion libretto: 1724, 1725, and 1732 Versions

	1724 Version	1725 Version	1732 Version
NBA	PART I		
1	HERR, UNSER	O MENSCH [1 ^I]	HERR, UNSER
3	<i>O große Lieb</i>		
5	<i>Dein Will gescheh</i>		
7	VON DEN STRIKKEN		
9	ICH FOLGE DIR		
11	<i>Wer hat dich</i>	HIMMEL REIBE/ <i>Jesus, deine</i> [11+]	[11 + deteted]
13	ACH, MEIN SINN	ZERSCHMETTERT [13 ^{II}]	[ARIA 13 ^{III}]
14	<i>Petrus, der nicht</i>		[14 Transp.]
	PART II		
15	<i>Christus, der uns</i>		
17	<i>Ach großer König</i>		
19	BETRACHTE	ACH, WINDET EUCH [19 ^{II}]	BETRACHTE
20	ERWÄGE	[deleted]	ERWÄGE
22	<i>Durch dein Gefängnis</i>		
24	EILT, IHR ANGEFOCHTEN		
26	<i>In meines Herzens</i>		
28	<i>Er nahm alles</i>		
30	ES IST VOLLBRACHT		
32	MEIN HEILAND/ <i>Jesu, der</i>		
34	MEIN HERZ		[SINFONIA 33 ^{III} replaces
35	ZERFLIEBE		Nos. 33-35]
37	<i>O hilf, Christe</i>		
39	RUHT WOHL		
40	<i>Ach Herr, laß</i>	Christe, du Lamm Gottes [40 ^{II}]	[40 & 40 ^{II} deleted]

bretto. In this case, he bases 'Betrachte' on the first six (of 14) lines of the recitative 'Drum, Seele, schau mit ängstlichem Vergnügen, mit bitterer Lust und mit beklemmtem Herzen,' changing, for example, 'Dein Himmelreich in seinem Schmerzen' to 'Dein höchstes Gut in Jesu Schmerzen', and adding a new last line, 'Drum sieh ohn Unterlaß auf ihn!' For his aria 'Erwäge', he adapts the key phrases of Brockes' 'Den Himmel gleicht sein buntgefärbter Rücken' in a similar fashion. The text of 'Eilt, ihr

angefochtnen Seelen' (24) is almost literally taken over by Bach, changing only 'Achsaph's Mordenhöhlen' to 'eurer Marterhöhlen', and 'Schädelhügel' to 'Kreuzeshügel'. In basing his aria 'Von den Strikken meiner Sünden' on Brockes' opening chorus, 'Mich vom Stricke meiner Sünden', Bach adapts the text to suit his own theological purposes. The fact that he changes 'Gott gebunden' to 'Heilgebunden', and makes no reference to the second verse of Brockes' text ('Es muß, meiner Sünden

Flecken zu bedecken') suggests that he wishes to limit his use of the text to only that portion that emphasizes the Johannine theme of freedom from sin ('Mich zu entbinden').

From his settings of these texts, it is clear that Bach's knew Handel's music, even though he did not make a copy of Handel's score until the 1740s. In only one case, however, can we say that Bach's music comes close to parody. For his aria 'Eilt', Bach not only uses the same key as Handel, G minor, but a similar string figuration and dialogue structure to create a musical effect remarkably close to his model. Although not to such a great extent, his setting of 'Erwäge', with its use of a string figure to represent the 'Regenbogen' also resembles Handel's setting of 'Dem Himmel gleich sein buntgefärbter Rücken'. And Bach's 'Mein Herz', although scored for winds rather than strings, retains the same basic rhythmic movement as Handel's accompanied recitative, while also serving to prepare the key of the aria that follows. In other cases, such as Bach's 'Von den Strikken', a generic similarity in key and character to Handel's opening chorus for soloists and chorus is apparent, like that between Bach's aria, 'Ach, mein Sinn', and Handel's 'Hier erstarrt' (see Table 8), also scored for tenor and strings.

At the opposite end of the spectrum from 'Eilt' is Bach's treatment of 'Mein Heiland'. In basing his aria and chorale movement on Handel's continuo aria 'Sind meiner Seelen tiefen Wunden durch deine Wunden nun verbunden? Kann ich durch deine Qual [...] das Paradies erben? Ist aller Welt Erlösung da?' Bach transforms rather than merely adapts the text. He not only doubles its length, adding lines such as 'Bin ich vom Sterben frei gemacht', but also combines the aria's text with the last verse of the 'Jesu Leiden Pein und Tod', to be sung by the chorus *colla parte*. On hearing the soloist sing Bach's adaptation of the Brockes' text, we

might receive the impression that the movement's theme is one of freedom. But when we combine the text of the aria with the chorale verse 'Jesu, der du der warest tot', which includes a line such as 'Gib mir nur, was du verdienst', it conveys a double image: Jesus, the victor, who conquered his enemies, and Jesus, who by suffering for humankind, redeemed the sins of the world. Coming after the line referred to in several different contexts above, 'Und er neiget das Haupt und verschied', the movement represents Bach's response to this crucial moment in the drama – the same place at which he added movements to Keiser's score and that was left empty in my outline of an earlier stage of Bach's libretto (see Table 6b). Could Bach have interpolated this two-tiered text only when his libretto was all but complete, when the scope and nature of his libretto had been determined? Can we read this 'double-imaged' text as emblematic of Bach's treatment of the Doctrine of Reconciliation in the John Passion libretto?

1724 and 1725 versions

The score performed in Leipzig on Good Friday in 1724 was, then, a theological composite. Whether the Matthew texts were interpolated at the urging of the Leipzig Superintendent and clergy, whom we know were keeping close track of other aspects of the performance (such as the repair of the cembalo, and the distribution of aria texts),²³ is impossible to say. If so, their intervention would have assured that the work includes not only additional portions of the passion narrative (although several events, such as the betrayal of Judas, are omitted), but also additional reconciliation themes. The result was, in any case, a work that conformed to the theological traditions and standards of Leipzig's two main churches, where in 1721

Johann Kuhnau had established the tradition of performing an oratorio passion on Good Friday.

A year later, in 1725, Bach revised his score, with the substitutions and additions noted in Table 9. In light of the above discussion, it could be said that the changes represent a continuation of the process described above. That is, Bach added yet another verse of the chorale 'Jesu Leiden Pein und Tod', (verse 33, 'Jesu, deine Passion'), in combination with a bass aria ('Himmel reiße') – perhaps attempting to create a counterpart to 'Mein Heiland' – and added a second chorale, 'O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß', whose reconciliation theme is at once clear. Furthermore, the four additional substitute texts, without exception, convey themes of sacrifice and satisfaction. As a result, the libretto now represents a more even balance between the two views of reconciliation to which we have referred in the course of this study. Although the 1725 version, more than that of 1724, can be fully integrated into Bach's 'chorale' Jahrgang, it nevertheless represents a John Passion that is even less 'John-like' than its predecessor.

1732 version

Seven years later Bach made further changes to his first Leipzig passion. For the 1732 performance, he removed the arias and choruses added in 1725, restoring for the most part the movements from the 1724 version that had been deleted (see Table 9). Of particular importance to the present discussion is the fact that Bach also deleted not only the two Matthew interpolations, but also the numbers directly related to them: first, the final phrases of the recitative (12c), along with the tenor aria it preceded (13); and secondly, the arioso and aria (34 and 35)

added after the second Matthew interpolation (33). Except for the fact that the opening chorus, 'O Mensch, bewein' had now found a permanent home in the Matthew Passion, the remainder of the revisions can be explained in theological terms.

After taking a more unified musical and theological approach in setting the Matthew Passion in 1727, Bach may have been increasingly conscious of the composite character of the John setting. Furthermore, by 1732, he had performed his own Mark Passion and the anonymous Luke Passion, and now had in his repertory three passions that reflected the distinctive qualities of their respective texts. The latter was less true, however, for his setting of John's gospel. In order to create a version of his first Leipzig passion that truly was a 'John' passion, Bach therefore may have initiated the series of changes described above. In place of 'Ach, mein Sinn' (13), he inserted a new aria (unfortunately lost), with a text that may have been more Johannine in tone, and transposed the chorale that followed (14) to accommodate its key. To replace the two numbers (34 and 35) added after the second Matthew text, he inserted, in the style of Keiser, a Sinfonia. As a result, the sequence of movements in his score now corresponded to those in Keiser's Mark Passion (see Table 7). Where Keiser (after 'und verschied') follows a chorale with a double-aria and a Sinfonia, Bach, in the 1732 version (see Table 9), follows the same line of text with a movement that combines a chorale with an aria and then a Sinfonia (32 and 33 III). Another result of this change was to shift the theological focus of the libretto to the Herzstück, which after all was the core of John's account, and which now is followed in close proximity by two (rather than four) interpolated texts (30 and 32).

In sum, although several of Brocke's texts remain, along with three verses of 'Jesu

Leiden *Pein und Tod*, Bach appears to have created, in the 1732 version, a John Passion that was primarily, even though still not exclusively, based on Johannine themes.

Later versions

Our account does not end here, however, for we have evidence of two more versions of the John Passion. The first dates from 1739, the year in which Bach began, but did not finish, copying out a final score, presumably because a performance of the work was forbidden by the Leipzig council ‘wegen derer Textes’.²⁴ Precisely what aspect of the text the council was referring to is not known, although various reasons have been suggested. Could the reference have pertained to the strikingly Johannine nature of the 1732 libretto that had been performed seven years earlier, in which the two Matthew interpolations had been removed? If Bach were planning to repeat this version in 1739, it might have offended the Leipzig authorities, who, concerned that a libretto reflect the traditional, that is, non-Johannine, reconciliation themes of satisfaction and sacrifice, forbade its reperformance. Unfortunately, the score provides us with no clues, since Bach stopped copying before the chorale, ‘*Wer hat dich so geschlagen?*’ (11) that comes near the end of Part I. Although the score includes ‘*Herr unser Herrscher*’ as its opening chorus, it does not continue far enough to indicate whether any of the other changes made in 1732 would have been included.

Even though there was no performance of the John Passion in 1739, there appears to have been one ten years later, the year before Bach’s death. At that time Bach’s score was completed by a scribe, who restored the 1724 version in its entirety. In addition, a new set of parts was copied out, introducing changes in text and instrumentation presum-

ably with a view to modernizing the score. This version perhaps is best understood in the context of the many pasticcio passion scores (described in Glöckner’s study cited above) that we associate with the last few years of Bach’s life. These include the Keiser-Handel pasticcio that he performed around 1747, soon after copying out a score of Handel’s setting of the Brockes’ text, and that he followed in 1749 with the last version of his own John Passion. As had happened twenty years earlier, a performance of the Keiser score, this time with seven Handel arias, some of which replaced pieces by Keiser and some of which were newly-added to the score, can again be linked with a performance of the John Passion.

Conclusion

Seen from an historical perspective, the fact that Bach based his libretto for the John Passion on a broad range of sources is hardly surprising. Recent research increasingly has shown how Bach, in his early keyboard music and cantatas as well as in the B minor mass, his final composition, modeled his works on those of his contemporaries. More unusual, in the John Passion, is how closely Bach followed the sources I described – some of them newly-identified. Even more remarkable, however, is the extent to which Bach’s libretto can be seen to reflect a series of three stages, each representing a distinctive theological character – each progressively less Johannine in tone. The theologically composite nature of Bach’s libretto is evident not only in the 1724 score, but in varying degrees, in the four versions that follow. Two of these (1725 and 1749) give a prominent position to the traditional theme of repentance. Of the remaining two, the 1732 score, the most Johannine, is not easily accessible to us today.

And for the 1739 version, we need to uncover additional evidence before we can say for certain why its performance was cancelled. Only further research can determine to what extent the doctrinal eclecticism of Bach's libretto was due to the religious climate of Leipzig, in which, as a result of the pietistic upheavals that took place in the late seventeenth century, the clergy may have insisted that the theme of repentance occupy a prominent position in any passion setting performed on Good Friday – even one based on the John narrative.

Curriculum vitae

Don O. Franklin is Professor and Chair of Music at the University of Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA). A recipient of numerous fellowships, including IREX-Fulbright and DAAD grants, he is the editor of *Bach Studies*, published by Cambridge University Press, and a facsimile edition of *Das Wohltemperirte Clavier II*, published by the British Library. He recently contributed essays to *Bach Studien*, *Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung*, and *Bach*. Since 1992, he has served as President of the American Bach Society.

Notes

1. Andreas Glöckner recently discovered evidence that Bach was responsible for performing a passion setting in Gotha in 1717. A paper presented at the Wissenschaftliche Konferenz of the 69. Bach-Fest Leipzig, 'Neue Spuren zu Bach's "Weimarer" Passion', included a preliminary report on his findings.
2. Because it is uncertain what librettist

might have helped Bach compile his text, or in what way, I will refer, for the purposes of this discussion, to Bach as the librettist.

3. The sources of these texts are summarized by Alfred Dürr in *Die Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Werk-einführung* (Kassel 1988), pp. 46-66.
4. Eric Chafe, 'J.S. Bach's "St. Matthew Passion": Aspects of Planning, Structure, and Chronology', in: *JAMS* 35 (1982), pp. 49-114.
5. Don O. Franklin, 'Reconstructing the Ur-partitur for WTC II: A Study of the "London Autograph" (BL Add. MS 35021)', in: *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin (Cambridge 1989), pp. 240-278.
6. Russell Stinson, in 'The Compositional History of Bach's *Orgelbüchlein* Reconsidered', an essay to be published in *Bach Perspectives*, Vol. 1 (Forthcoming; University of Nebraska Press, 1995), identifies three separate stages of composition for the collection, each of which shows Bach exploring different compositional issues.
7. For a general discussion of the two primary views of reconciliation and how they are reflected in Bach's passions, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *Bach among the Theologians* (Philadelphia 1986), pp. 89-115, and Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J.S. Bach* (Berkeley 1991), pp. 275-360. For a more detailed discussion of 'satisfactio, meritum and monitum', and the relationship of 'Versöhnung und Erlösung', see Elke Axmacher, "Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben", (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1984), pp. 53-62, and 149-162.
8. See *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, ed. Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen, and Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (Kassel/Basel 1974) II/4, KB, ed. Arthur Mendel, pp.

- 157-160. See also Dürr, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53.
9. Martin Petzoldt, 'Theologische Überlegungen zum Passionsbericht des Johannes in Bachs Deutung', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach. Johannes-Passion, BWV 245* [Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Bachakademie Stuttgart Bd. 5] (Kassel 1994), pp. 142-165. I am grateful to Prof. Petzoldt for referring me to Christoph Scheibler's 1727 publication, listed as No. 10 in Robin A. Leaver, *Bach's Theologische Bibliothek* (Kassel 1983).
 10. Bach, instead of interpolating a text after verse 34, the piercing of Jesus' side, inserts the chorale, 'O hilf, Christe', to coincide with Olearius' division after verse 37. Calov's commentary on verses 31-42 (see Table 1) is by far the longest found in the two chapters, comprising three full columns (949-951).
 11. The translation is taken from Robin A. Leaver, *J.S. Bach and Scripture: Glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis 1985), pp.129-130.
 12. Renate Steiger, "'Actus Tragicus und ars moriendi": Bach's Textvorlage für die Kantate 'Gottes Zeit is die allerbeste Zeit'" (BWV 106)', in: *MUK* 59 (1989), pp. 11-23.
 13. Martin Petzoldt, "*Texte zur Leipziger Kirchen=Music*". *Zum Verständnis der Kantatentexte Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Wiesbaden 1993), pp. 25f.
 14. By this I mean that Bach, in the cantatas, addressed in a systematic way certain compositional problems that he would encounter in writing a passion; these included various ways of combining recitative with chorale and chorus, and constructing a two-part form. I reported on portions of my findings in the version of this paper read at the 1993 Amsterdam meeting.
 15. For a discussion of Mattheson's treatise, see Beekman C. Cannon, 'Johann Mattheson's "Inquiring Composer"', in: *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge 1983), pp. 125-168. On p. 135 Cannon cites Mattheson: 'A composer [...] has the right without offending the poet to insert a verse of a hymn or the like as a *ripieno*; for example, the first stanza of *Christus der uns seelig macht* which explains what has happened to our beloved Savior up to the scourging'. Mattheson's comments were printed in the fall of 1724 in *Des fragenden Componisten*, Part v of *Critica musica*. Whether Bach had advance notice of the publication we cannot say, but he likely knew of the performance of Mattheson's score in Hamburg in the spring of 1723, of which notice was given in February of that year in *Critica musica*.
 16. See Klaus Hofmann, 'Zur Tonartenordnung der Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach,' in: *MUK* 61 (1991), pp. 78-86.
 17. Cannon, *op.cit.*, p. 139, summarizes Mattheson's five different types of recitative and arioso, describing his instructions for Pilate and Jesus as follows: 'Pilate should be set in the "obligat" style of arioso [...] with the use of a melodic basso continuo [...] Jesus' words, however, should be distinguished [...] by full instrumental accompaniment'.
 18. See Dürr, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-62.
 19. Reinhard Keiser, *Passion nach dem Evangelisten Markus*, ed. by Felix Schroeder (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1983). Although the score claims to be based on Bach's performing parts (including those for 1726, where the division between Parts I and II is clearly indicated), it nevertheless divides the narrative in the middle of Pilate's trial scene, before the scourging of Jesus.

20. See Andreas Glöckner, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungen zeitgenössischer Passionsmusiken', in: *BJ* 63 (1977), pp. 75-119.
21. See Dürr, *op.cit.*, pp. 138-140. Because the surviving 1724 parts do not include that of the evangelist, the original three-measure recitative can be seen only in the continuo part (B21). The evangelist and continuo parts copied out in 1725 (B18 and B22) both include a seven-measure recitative, on which the NBA score of 33 is based.
22. See Axmacher, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-148. Axmacher, who argues that the Brockes' libretto should be read as an oratorio passion, points out that its text, while drawn from several gospels, essentially reflects Matthew's account, both in terms of its narrative as well as its themes of reconciliation. As a result, she discusses it within the context of the seventeenth-century passion-sermon tradition.
23. *Dok I*; pp. 249-250; *Dok II*, pp. 139-140, 148. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Johann Sebastian Bachs Passionvertonungen', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach. Matthäus-Passion, BWV 244* [Schriftreihe der Internationalen Bachakademie Stuttgart Bd. 2] (Kassel 1990), pp. 24-49, for a description of the events that surrounded the distribution of the aria texts.
24. *Dok II*, pp. 338f.

