

**A critical study of five reconstructions of Bach's *Markuspassion*
BWV 247 with particular reference to the parody technique**

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Abstract

A part of Johann Sebastian Bach's musical duties in Leipzig was to present an annual setting of the passion for Good Friday Vespers. One such work was the *Markuspassion*, performed in 1731. Although the score of this companion work to the *Matthäuspassion* and *Johannespassion* has been lost, the original text of the *Markuspassion* is extant.

Bach frequently made use of the parody technique in his compositions. This practice consisted of adapting existing music to a new text that was based on the rhyme scheme of the original one, resulting in two compositions essentially sung to the same music, barring a number of enforced changes. This particular feature of Bach's compositional technique makes it possible that the lost music originally contained in the *Markuspassion* could be discovered within his *oeuvre*.

In the late 19th century, Bach scholars began to research the possibility of reconstructing the *Markuspassion*, recognizing that it may have contained music parodied from other compositions basing, to a large extent, their research on textual comparison. Several attempts at reconstruction have been made between 1964 and 2009, resulting in at least 18 different versions of the *Markuspassion*. Some of reconstructors abandon the original structure of this work, others re-use music that Bach could not plausibly have chosen as a parody base for this work, while still others include large amounts of music composed by contemporaries of Bach.

This has lead to the question: To what extent are the existing reconstructions of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Markuspassion* historically justified, and what sources have reconstructors utilized in order to achieve performable editions? Five of the reconstructions have been carefully studied in this regard, leading to the conclusion that they are all worthwhile scholarly endeavours with their own merits, but that none of them can be performed as the definitive Bach *Markuspassion*. This study also contains recommendations to musicologists interested in this project, conductors wanting to perform one of these works and suggestions for a theoretical reconstruction combining material from existing attempts.



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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The latter half of the 20th century saw important developments in the field of Bach studies. In the 1950's, scholars studied the surviving original parts of Johann Sebastian Bach's Leipzig music, compiling a new chronology of the composer's works. The new chronology had important repercussions for diverse aspects of this field of study. At the end of the 20th century there were several efforts to present a 'complete' representation of Bach's works to mark the 250th anniversary of his death in 1750. However, due to the manner in which his music was circulated before and after his death, the surviving sheet music that is available is by no means the only music written by Bach.

Prompted by recent developments and inspired by the idea of a 'complete' Bach repertoire, there have been several attempts to reconstruct Bach's lost compositions, ranging from his instrumental concertos to the *Markuspassion* BWV 247. This lost passion is believed to have been performed by Bach in Leipzig on the Good Friday of 1731. Although its text has survived, its score is no longer extant. According to the musicologist and reconstructor A. H. Gomme (1997: 155) Bach's *Markuspassion* "must have been in large measure a parody work."

Bach frequently made use of the parody technique in his compositions. This practice consisted of adapting existing music to a new custom-made text that was based on the rhyme scheme of the original one. The use of this technique enabled Bach to move music from a context where it would be heard only once to one where it would receive regular performances. In many cases this involved the creation of a sacred work using a secular one as its parody base, a practice that has been criticised by modern scholars and audiences. The resulting controversy springs from the surmise that, due to their inherent nature, the fields of sacred and secular music must remain segregated. Bach's use of parody has also been criticised on the grounds that a creative genius may not reuse music for different purposes, but must continually compose fresh work.

The structure of the *Markuspassion* text indicates that Bach probably used music that was already written, adapting it to suit the needs of the passion (Wolff 2000: 12). In the late 19th century, Bach scholars began to research the possibility of reconstructing the *Markuspassion*, and several attempts have been made since. Although in a number of cases, most of the musical material included in the reconstructions is by Bach, and could plausibly have formed part of the original passion, these works are all different and represent present-day attempts at reconstruction. Some abandon the original structure of the *Markuspassion*, others re-use music that Bach could not plausibly have chosen as a parody base for this work, while still others contain large amounts of music not composed by Bach.

At present, concert audiences are presented with performances of the *Markuspassion* as a work composed by Johann Sebastian Bach. As the score of this composition is no longer extant, what is being dealt with are reconstructions of this work largely based on research into Bach's use of the parody technique.

As part of my undergraduate study, I became involved with the topic of parody and Bach's *Markuspassion*. Some of the material included in this dissertation was originally included in my unpublished honours thesis which was written in 2007. As an earnest Bach scholar, I am of the opinion that it is important to evaluate the merit of the *Markuspassion* reconstructions, chiefly as they are commonly presented as a part of the Bach repertory. It has also come to my attention that, although certain features of these reconstructions differ drastically, often the choice of material is similar.

1.2 Aim of the study

The purpose of this study is to analytically compare five different reconstructions of Bach's *Markuspassion* with particular focus on the choice of musical material and its origin. Aspects such as structure, instrumentation and tonality will also be discussed. Throughout this study, a critical assessment has been made with a view to establishing to what degree each reconstruction is based on scholarly research, with specific reference to Bach's use of parody, thus ascertaining how close each is to the original work composed by Bach. Thereafter an attempt has been made to offer informed recommendations regarding the relative authenticity of each reconstruction, and to ascertain whether or not certain elements of the different reconstructions could be

assimilated to create a theoretical reconstruction, perhaps closer to Bach's original intentions than any of the extant reconstructions.

1.3 Delimitations

The five reconstructions discussed in this dissertation are by Simon Heighes, A. H. Gomme, Ton Koopman, Diethard Hellmann/Johannes H.E. Koch and Diethard Hellmann/Andreas Glöckner. At the time of selection, these reconstructions were presumed to be the most recent and accessible ones that aim at a 'historically accurate' *Markuspassion*. All were published after 1995, their scores are readily available and they have all been recorded at least once. The reconstructions by Grychtolik (2009) and Pierlot (2007) had not at that time been published.

1.4 Research question

To what extent are the existing reconstructions of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Markuspassion* historically justified, and what sources have reconstructors utilized in order to achieve performable editions?

1.5 Literature overview

There is substantial writing dealing with the context in which Bach composed his passions, as well as his use of the parody technique. Some important sources that deal with this topic are:

- Schering, A. 1921. Über Bachs Parodieverfahren. *Bach Jahrbuch 1921*, pp. 49-95.
- Neumann, W. 1965. Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahrens. *Bach-Jahrbuch 1965*, pp. 63-85.
- Finscher, L. 1969. Zum Parodieproblem bei Bach. *Bach-Interpretationen*, edited by Martin Geck, pp. 94-105. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Brainard, P. 1969. Bach's Parody Procedure and the St. Matthew Passion. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, [Internet] Vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 241-260. Available from: www.jstor.org. [Accessed on 6 October 2007].
- Harnoncourt, N. 1984. *The Musical Dialogue – Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart*. London: Christopher Helm.

- Schulze, H. 1989. The Parody Process in Bach's Music: An Old Problem Reconsidered. *Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*. Volume 20, pp. 7-21.
- Leaver, R. A. 1997. The mature vocal works and their theological and liturgical context. *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*. Edited by John Butt. pp. 86-109. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolff, C. 2001. *Johann Sebastian Bach – The Learned Musician*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Arnold Schering's (1921) article on Bach's parody technique sets out to explain why Bach used this technique, discussing both compositional and poetic parody in the process. Schering explores the controversy surrounding the use of the same music for both sacred and secular compositions and argues that, in early 18th century Leipzig, worldly and sacred musical styles were not that dissimilar. Schering goes against the findings of several Bach scholars by concluding that Bach sometimes parodied sacred music for secular purposes. Furthermore, Schering examines the musical alterations made by Bach when setting a new text to existing music, particularly in cases where a new and old text contrasted in sentiment. He also includes numerous parody examples where there was minimal musical alteration. Schering concludes his article with the conviction that parody played a very important role in Bach's compositional output.

In "Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahrens" Werner Neumann (1965) attempts to list all examples of parody found in Bach's compositional output. He argues that, despite extensive research by scholars to determine the extent of Bach's musical alterations when creating a parody, one can never be certain as to how he would have treated a parody composition. Neumann also argues that a close relationship between text and music was not always evident in Bach's compositions, most notably due to the so-called ineptness of Bach's librettists. Lastly, this article discusses the direction of Bach's parody within the domains of secular and sacred music. Neumann suggests that, although there are examples of sacred compositions that have been 'profaned' as secular compositions, these sacred compositions could in themselves have been parodies of earlier secular works.

Finscher's "Zum Parodieproblem bei Bach" (1969) examines Bach's reasons for employing parody and discusses the manner in which he applied this technique. Finscher also discusses Bach's tendency to parody secular music for sacred purposes, and concludes that he purposefully avoided parodying in the other direction. Finally, this article includes a discussion on the relationship between text and music, concluding that parody was possible specifically because Bach's music was capable of forming a whole with more than one text.

Brainard's "Bach's Parody Procedure and the St. Matthew Passion" (1969) deals with Bach's use of the parody technique with specific reference to the *Matthäuspassion* BWV 244. It has long been recognised that there is a link between the *Matthäuspassion* and the *Trauermusik* for Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen. This article explores the debate over the chronology of these works, concluding that the *Matthäuspassion* was possibly the original of the two compositions. Brainard also explains the parody process at length before including detailed examples of known parody pairs to illustrate Bach's use of this technique.

In *The Musical Dialogue – Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart* (1984) Harnoncourt studies the role of parody in Bach's compositional technique and the controversy surrounding it. He discusses the relationship of music to text and its relevance within the debate regarding Bach's propensity towards parodying secular works for sacred compositions. Harnoncourt explores the possibility that some parody pairs were jointly conceived from the onset, suggesting that the composer wrote the secular work first, with an eye to the later, sacred version.

In "The Parody Process in Bach's Music: An Old Problem Reconsidered", Schulze (1989) is largely concerned with an overview of 19th and 20th century criticism of the parody process. He discusses the writings of Bach scholars such as Wilhelm Rust, Friedrich Smend, Arnold Schering, Werner Neumann and Günther Stiller. Furthermore, this article deals with Bach's motivation for making use of parody and what place this process has within his oeuvre. Schulze argues that reworking compositions was primarily a means for Bach to improve inadequate existing musical material.

Leaver's article in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (1997) places Bach's vocal compositions in their correct liturgical context and also sheds light on the prevailing circumstances under which Bach composed his mature vocal compositions. Leaver outlines in detail the role of cantatas and passions in the church year, as well as Bach's compositional duties. This sheds light on Bach's reasons for using the parody technique. In this article, Leaver discusses the controversial reactions of modern scholars and audiences to the parody process regarding the intertwining spheres of secular and sacred music, as well as the question of originality in composition.

Christoph Wolff's *Johann Sebastian Bach – The Learned Musician* (2001) discusses the role of parody within Bach's compositional style. Wolff states that Bach's use of the parody technique was motivated by two principles, namely that of re-using music that was composed for a specific occasion and that of revising and perfecting older compositions. Thus, in parodying, Bach did not merely transcribe music, but was motivated to create a new, improved work. Wolff continues by demonstrating with examples Bach's use of parody and the musical changes that he effected in the course of retexting a composition.

There are a number of sources that deal with the *Markuspassion* in particular. The most important are:

- Smend, F. 1940-48. Bach's Markus-Passion. *Bach-Jahrbuch 1940-48*, pp. 1-35.
- Terry, C. S. 1970. *Bach – The Passions, Book II*. Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers.
- Theill, G.A. 1978. *Die Markuspassion von Joh. Seb. Bach (BWV 247)*. Kall: Salvator Verlag Steinveld.
- Prinz, U. 1999. *Zum Symposium Johann Sebastian Bach, Markus-Passion BWV 247 am 4./5. September 1999 im Hospitalhof Stuttgart*. Stuttgart: Internationale Bachakademie Stuttgart.
- Melamed, D.R. 2005. *Hearing Bach's Passions*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Smend's "Bach's Markus-Passion" (1940-48¹) offers a comprehensive discussion on the *Markuspassion* and puts forward suggestions for its reconstruction. Smend discusses the problems involved in this project surrounding tonality, instrumentation and the question of the lost recitatives. Finally, Smend offers a hypothesis for harmonisations that could be used for all the *Markuspassion* chorales except one, and considers possible arias that could be used as parody bases for the missing arias.

In *Bach – The Passions, Book II* (1970), Terry discusses previous findings regarding the link between the *Trauerode* BWV 198 and the *Markuspassion*. He is also one of the first to propose parody bases for the remaining lyrical numbers and chorales of the passion.

In 1978 Gustav Adolph Theill attempted a reconstruction of the *Markuspassion*. In the same year he published a treatise entitled *Die Markuspassion von Joh. Seb. Bach (BWV 247)*. In this document, Theill traces the history of this passion from its conception to its loss and subsequent obscurity, through to the discoveries made in the late 19th century pertaining to its possible recovery. He also discusses the different numbers of this passion and motivates the choice of musical material employed in his own reconstruction.

In 1999 the Internationale Bachakademie Stuttgart held a Symposium on the Bach *Markuspassion* that included a performance of Koopman's reconstruction. The documentation of the symposium has been obtained from its author Professor Ulrich Prinz through personal correspondence. It includes a comprehensive table detailing the musical choices of several reconstructors and so is an important source for more than one of the reconstructions under discussion in this dissertation.

Melamed's *Hearing Bach's Passions* (2005) contains a chapter on the *Markuspassion* that details Bach's use of parody and debates the issue of reconstructing this work. Melamed discusses the difference between 18th and 21st century attitudes towards parody and why modern musicians feel compelled to recreate a lost composition.

¹ The Bach Jahrbuch was published with the dates 1940-48.

Finally, he questions the merit of reconstructing Bach's music and discusses the problems that are encountered when reconstructing this particular work.

Several primary sources in the form of scores, recordings and accompanying notes by reconstructors have been consulted in the course of this study. Some of the explanatory notes are more comprehensive than others, most notably the discussion on recovering the *Markuspassion* that is offered by Gomme at the end of his score. The primary sources that have been consulted are:

- Heighes, S.² 1995. *St. Mark Passion (BWV 247): performing version by Simon Heighes*. Huntingdon: King's Music.
- Heighes, S. 1996. *Markus-Passion BWV 247*. Performed by the Ring Ensemble of Finland and the European Union Baroque Orchestra. Soloists: Rogers Covey-Crump, Gordon Jones, Connor Burrowes, David James, Paul Agew and Teppo Tolonen. Conducted by Roy Goodman. Brilliant Classics CD 99369/6-7. Pamphlet notes by Simon Heighes.
- Gomme, A. H. 1997. *Markus-Passion BWV 247: Rezitative und turbae von Reinhard Keiser (1674 – 1739), Rekonstruktion, Edition und Klavierauszug von A. H. Gomme*. Kassel: Bärenreiter.
- Koch, J. H. E. & Hellmann, D. 1998. *Markus-Passion BWV 247: Rekonstruktion des Fragments von Diethard Hellmann, Rezitative und Turbachöre von Johannes H.E. Koch*. Stuttgart: Carus Verlag.
- Koch, J. H. E. 1998. *Markus-Passion BWV 247*. Performed by the Ostfälisches Vokalensemble and the Südwestdeutsches Barockorchester. Soloists: Barbara Cramm, Birgit Görgner, Hermann Munkelt, Martin B. Müller, Stefan PD Runge, Karsten Krüger. Conducted by Mathias Michaely. Prospect 08298. Pamphlet notes by Mathias Michaely.
- Gomme, A.H. 1999. *St. Mark Passion*. Performed by the Choir of Gonville & Caius College and the Cambridge Baroque Camerata. Soloists: Jeremy Ovenden, Timothy Mirfin, Ruth Gomme, William Towers, James Gilchrist, Paul Thomson, Abigail Boreham. Conducted by Geoffrey Webber.

² Although the scores and recordings of these *Markuspassions* list Johann Sebastian Bach and the reconstructor as authors, for the purposes of clarity in this discussion, mention will be made of only the reconstructor in each case.

Gaudeamus CD GAX 237/1. Pamphlet notes by A. H. Gomme and G. Webber.

- Koopman, T. 1999. *Een reconstructie van Ton Koopman van de in 1731 het eerst uitgevoerde Markus Passion van Johann Sebastian Bach waarvan slechts de tekst bewaard bleef*. Copyright Ton Koopman.
- Koopman, T. 2000. *Markus-Passion*. Performed by the Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Choir. Soloists: Sibylla Rubens, Bernhard Landauer, Christoph Pregardien, Paul Agnew, Peter Kooy, Klaus Mertens. Conducted by Ton Koopman. Paris: Erato Disks. CD 85738 02212. Pamphlet notes by Ton Koopman and Christoph Wolff.
- Glöckner, A. & Hellmann, D. 2004. *Markus-Passion BWV 247: Rekonstruiert und herausgegeben von Diethard Hellmann (†) und Andreas Glöckner*. Stuttgart: Carus Verlag.

1.6 Research methodology

Research was conducted using the following methods:

- Literature study
- Aural evaluation and comparative score study

Through a literature study, Bach's use of parody was examined with the view to establishing how it has been employed as an aid in reconstructing the *Markuspassion*. Prior research on reconstructing the *Markuspassion* has been outlined to establish the extent to which the reconstructions under discussion have been dependent on this. Finally, a study has been conducted to establish the origin of musical numbers included in these reconstructions and to investigate which of them represents the most historically accurate version of the lost *Markuspassion*.

1.7 Overview of structure

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction to the research topic, motivation for the study, a literature overview, method of research and an overview of chapter headings and their content.

Chapter 2: Bach's passions

A discussion of Bach's working conditions and responsibilities in Leipzig and a general overview of his passion output.

Chapter 3: Parody

A discussion of Bach's compositional method, with particular reference to the parody technique and its relevance when attempting to reconstruct the *Markuspassion*. An investigation into the controversy surrounding the use of parody.

Chapter 4: Reconstruction

Discussion of the process of reconstruction as well as of the ethical considerations and problems that arise when attempting to reconstruct a lost work. Discussion of the criteria for determining a parody base for another composition. Overview of previous research done on possible parody sources for the lyrical numbers in the *Markuspassion*, as well as chorale choices and the question of the lost recitatives/turbae. Overview of existing known reconstructions of this work.

Chapter 5: Comparison of reconstructions

Overview and comparison of the five reconstructions under discussion on the basis of musical material that was chosen to parody for the *Markuspassion*. Discussion of individual lyrical numbers, chorales and the question of supplying recitatives and turbae. Study on tonality and instrumentation employed in *Markuspassion* reconstructions.

Chapter 6: Critical analysis of reconstructions and recommendations

Comprehensive overview of each reconstruction and comparison thereof based on the results of the study. The inclusion of contemporary criticism, where available. An overview of the elements of different reconstructions that could be assimilated to create a new theoretical reconstruction. Finally, recommendations to conductors, audience members and reconstructors/musicologists.

In Appendix A a comparison of the five reconstructions is presented in table form.

Chapter 2

Bach's passions

2.1 Historical Background

In 1723, Johann Sebastian Bach assumed the posts of Cantor at the St. Thomaskirche and Director of Music at Leipzig. The city contained five churches, and Bach took responsibility for the music at the two principle Leipzig churches, namely the St. Thomaskirche and the St. Nikolaikirche (Grout & Palisca 2001: 396). As part of Bach's musical responsibilities in Leipzig, he was required to compose sacred music for regular use in these two churches. This included cantatas that were part of the propers for any given Sunday or celebration, as well as an annual setting of the passion at Good Friday Vespers (Leaver 1997: 99). The annual passion performance traditionally alternated between the two Leipzig churches (Wolff 2001: 291).

Until the Good Friday of 1721, the passion practice in the main Leipzig churches took the form of a four-part responsorial setting of the *Johannespassion* attributed to Martin Luther's musical advisor, Johann Walter (Leaver 1997: 99). Long before this time, Protestant churches in other cities had begun to present more elaborate concerted passion oratorios that incorporated arias and recitatives with orchestral accompaniment. Despite the fact that in 1717 the Neue Kirche in Leipzig gave a musical passion performance, the main Leipzig churches resisted this trend until 1721, when the first musical passion was given in the St. Thomaskirche. The composition then performed was the *Markuspassion* by Bach's predecessor Johann Kuhnau. (Wolff 2001: 290.)

Christoph Wolff (2001: 291) asserts in his book, *Johann Sebastian Bach – The Learned Musician*, that in composing his own passions, Bach took as a model those of his predecessor. Kuhnau's passions were based on an unaltered biblical narrative sung by individual characters. This narrative was interpolated by hymns and freely composed verse in the form of contemplative arias. Kuhnau's passions were also divided into two distinct parts, one to be performed before and one after the sermon. (Wolf 2001: 291.) Bach's passions are structured in the same way. This was

presumably done to adhere to the strict requirements of the Leipzig consistory. Bach's first passion was the *Johannespassion* BWV 245, performed in the St. Nikolaikirche in 1724. Wolff (2001: 292) describes the situation:

The Passion performance of 1724 provided Bach with the first opportunity to put his own stamp on the Good Friday Vespers service, which had only recently begun the musical highpoint of the year (the sermon, for all its length, could be thought of as a mere interruption of an essentially musical service). He was able to define the event and to shape both its perception by the worshippers and their expectations for subsequent years.

After Bach's death one of his pupils, Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720-1774), and Bach's son, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788), published a posthumous account of his life, the *Nekrolog*, together with a catalogue of his works. According to this document, Bach's compositional output of church music encompassed five complete sets of cycles for all the Sundays and festivals of the year (Leaver 1997: 87). As related by Gomme (1997: 155), this document also specifies that Bach wrote five passions, one of which is scored for a double-choir.

Most of Bach's works were not published during his lifetime. His church music, composed as it was for specific local requirements, had a very limited use outside of its original context. German church cantatas that were commercially published in the 18th century, such as those by George Philipp Telemann (1681-1767), were mostly small-scale pieces aimed at churches with restricted musical means. Many churches had at their disposal only a limited number of performers and/or instruments. This made it difficult to perform works of a larger scope and with a more elaborate instrumental scoring. The limited market for the more elaborate works of Bach meant that they were not published or distributed widely in the 17th century. Due to these factors, Bach's music has primarily reached us through original scores and performing parts. These are very reliable sources for his compositions, but unfortunately not many autograph scores and original performing parts were ever made, increasing the chances of a composition getting lost entirely (Melamed 2005: 97 – 98).

The music that Bach left behind after his death was divided between his widow, Anna Magdalena Bach, and his four sons, Wilhelm Friedmann, Carl Philipp Emanuel, Johann Christoph Friedrich and Johann Christian. According to Christoph Wolff (2001: 9-10) this dispersion led directly to the fragmentation and scattering of Bach's

composer's musical legacy. A large portion of the music was auctioned off by more than one heir and has subsequently disappeared. Wolff (2001: 10) suggests that the greater part of Bach's musical legacy went to Carl Philipp Emanuel, as the majority of Bach's major works that are extant today derive from that estate.

2.2 Works

Of the five passions mentioned in the *Nekrolog*, only two, namely the *Matthäuspassion* of 1727 and the *Johannespassion* of 1722, have survived up to the present day in complete form. Bach scholars have speculated that the third may be an anonymous *Lukaspassion* that is known from an incomplete manuscript in Bach's hand. Although this work was originally classified an original composition, it has in the meantime been acknowledged as the work of an unknown contemporary of Bach (Wolff 2001: 10). Prior to this, the *Lukaspassion* had erroneously been performed and recorded as a companion piece to the *Johannespassion* and *Matthäuspassion*. Today, authorship of the *Lukaspassion* remains uncertain, but the work is still well known because of claims that it was presented by Bach as the Leipzig Good Friday passion setting in 1730 and was thus a part of his working repertory (Melamed 2005: 111).

The identity of the fourth passion mentioned in the *Nekrolog* is unknown. This may have been a single-choir version of the *Matthäuspassion* or a setting of a versified Gospel story by Bach's principal librettist Christian Friedrich Henrici, alias Picander. Picander published this text in 1725 under the title, *Erbauliche Gedancken über und auf die gewöhnlichen Sonn- und Fest-Tage* (Leaver 1997: 105). However, there is no evidence that Bach ever set this libretto to music, as this versified Gospel story only exists in text form (Gomme 1997: 155).

The fifth of the passions mentioned in Bach's *Nekrolog* is presumed to be the *Markuspassion*. The third volume of the poetic works of Picander includes a piece under the heading "Texts for the Passion Music according to the Evangelist Mark on Good Friday 1731" (Wolff 2001: 10-11). Although the score of this passion has since been lost, it is presumed to have passed through the hands of the Leipzig publisher Johann Breitkopf. His catalogue of 1764 includes an anonymous passion according to Mark, *Geh Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein*. These are the opening words of Picander's text (Gomme 1997: 155). Bach scholars agree that no composer besides Bach could have

set this text to music. Bach was responsible for the passion performances as part of his duties in Leipzig, and was known for his collaborations with Picander (Wolff 2001: 10-11). One is thus drawn to conclude that Bach did indeed compose a *Markuspassion* that was performed on the Good Friday of 1731.

As far as can be ascertained, the only known source of the *Markuspassion* that survived into the 20th century was an incomplete copy written out by the singer and manuscript collector Franz Hauser (1794-1870). This copy was destroyed in a fire in Weinheim during the Second World War (Bruno 2005: 36 and Michaely 1998: 19). Unless the score to this companion work of the *Johannespassion* and *Matthäuspassion* resurfaces in the future, the original music for the *Markuspassion* must be considered lost. However, a specific feature of Bach's compositional technique, what we term parody, could help 'recover' this work. It offers the possibility that this lost music still exists in other forms within the Bach repertory.

Chapter 3

Parody

3.1 Introduction

In the 18th century, Bach and his contemporaries regularly re-used parts of their existing compositions for new works in different contexts. The modern term that is applied to this process is parody. As early as 1969, the research of Ludwig Finscher identified altogether 20% of all extant Bach compositions as parodies. Many of Bach's compositions are lost, suggesting that there may be even more parodies in his oeuvre than we are currently aware of. Parody is an important component of Bach's compositional technique, and although not unique to him, it is a technique that he used more than his contemporaries. (Finscher 1969: 94.)

3.2 Compositional parody and poetic parody

In his 1965 essay "Über Ausmass und Wesen des Bachschen Parodieverfahrens" Werner Neumann (1965: 72) divides Bach's parodies into the two separate categories of compositional parody and poetic parody, thereby making a distinction between the principal activities underlying each type of parody.

When creating compositional parody works, Bach chose an existing text and then identified sections of his compositions that could be adapted to fit this text. Compositional work in this type of parody frequently amounted to a re-composition of the original (Brainard 1969: 244). Works that result from compositional parodies are made up entirely of movements compiled from different sources. An example of such a work is the *h-Moll-Messe* BWV 232, which was compiled between 1747 and 1749 from existing music that was composed as early as 1714. In compiling this work, Bach drew on both originally secular and originally sacred works (Leaver 1997: 116).

Unlike compositional parody, poetic parody could not be undertaken without the help of a poet. Neumann (1965: 72) describes the process of poetic parody, also known as *parody-en-bloc*, as starting with an initial decision by the composer to re-use a specific piece of music. A new text is commissioned that is as close as possible to the original

in terms of rhyme scheme, metre, structure and the number of syllables used. The new text and the pre-existing music are then brought together, with only the necessary alterations being made to the music by the composer. In some cases the resulting new text is very similar to the original, with only keywords having been changed. In other cases the text is only similar to the original in terms of its metre and rhyme scheme.

Christian Friedrich Henrici, also known as Picander, is recognised as the poet that most regularly collaborated with Bach. He was born in Dresden in 1700 and died in Leipzig in 1764. He originally studied law, but in 1724 began his literary career with erotic poems and satires. Throughout his life, he published several collections of verse, including the volumes of his *Ernst-schertzhafte und satyrische Gedichte*. (Rifkin & Küster 2001: 376.)

Picander began working with Bach early in 1725. During their two-decade period of collaboration, he contributed more to both Bach's secular and sacred works than any other poet. "He had considerable virtuosity at writing verses to metric schemes dictated by older poems; this ability must have appealed particularly to Bach, who so often used a single piece of music in multiple textual guises" (Rifkin & Küstler 2001: 376).

The extent to which Bach reworked his previous compositions to create poetic parodies is uncertain. In cases where the source composition is available for purposes of comparison, one can see that Bach occasionally made important alterations to the vocal lines and instrumental scoring to accommodate the requirements of the new text (Melamed 2005: 107). These alterations are generally not radical. Brainard (1969: 245) writes in his article "Bach's Parody Procedure and the St. Matthew Passion" that large-scale alterations were uncommon in poetic parody. He states that:

They appear to be governed entirely by the principle of economy of effort; the secondary text is created for the sole purpose of allowing the composer to substitute it for the primary text, leaving the original setting as little changed as possible consistent with an artistically acceptable end result.

An important reason for varying the musical material of a parody from its original was concern over correct textual declamation. Sometimes the original setting included textual repetitions or melismas that were incompatible with the new text. Alteration

was also needed when the new text differed slightly from the original in terms of, amongst others, speech rhythms, the location of *caesura* and stress, or when there was an inconsistency in the syllable distribution of the respective texts.

Aria Number five from Cantata BWV 36c, *Schwingt freudig euch empor*, and the same number from Cantata BWV 36b, *Die Freude reget sich*, are an example where Bach, working with metrically congruent texts, distributed syllables differently when setting these texts to the same music. Table 3-1 presents the two texts and shows that they are clear parody pairs with a corresponding metre, near-identical rhyme scheme of aabb and corresponding pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables. Both of these texts are in iambic tetrameter.

Table 3-1³

The texts of “Das Gute, das dein Gott beschert” BWV 36b/5 and “Der Tag, der dich vordem gebar” BWV 36c/5

BWV 36b/5	BWV 36c/5
Das Gute , das dein Gott beschert und das dir heute widerfährt, macht dein erwünschtes Wohlergehen vor uns auch schön .	Der Tag , der dich vordem gebar, stellt sich vor uns so heilsam dar als jener , da der Schöpfer spricht : Es werde Licht !

In Neumann’s (1969: 76) study of these arias, he numbers the syllables of the two given texts from 1 to 28. The first line is thus numbered from 1 to 8, the second line from 9 to 16, the third line from 17 to 24 and the final line from 25 to 28. His numerical comparison given in Example 3-1, shows that Bach chose to set different syllables of the text to different sections of the same music. Example 3-2 illustrates the same principle through a comparison of the printed music and an indication of which syllables of text were set to which portions of music.

³ In the tables found throughout this study, stressed syllables will be indicated in **bold** and unstressed syllables in normal type.

Example 3-1

Numerical representation of the difference in syllable distribution in BWV 36b and BWV 36c, bars 9 -14 (Neumann 1965: 76)

BWV

36b | 1 2 3 4 | 5 6-7 8-4 | 5 6-7 8-9 | 10-11-12 13 11 | 12 13 14 15 16-1 | 2 3 4 5 6-7 |

BWV

36c | 1 2-3 | 4 5 6 7 8-3 | 4 5 6 7 8-9 | 10 11 12 13 14 15 13 | 14 — 15 16-1 | 2-3 4 5 6 7 |

Example 3-2

BWV 36c (Bach 1960b: 27) and BWV 36b (Bach 1960a: 275-276), bars 9 – 14

BWV 36b/5



Das Gu-te, das dein Gott be-schert, das dein Gott be-schert, und
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 4 5 6 7 8 9

BWV 36c/5



Der Tag_, der dich vor-dem ge-bar_, der dich vor-dem ge-bar_, stellt
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 3 4 5 6 7 8 9



was dir heu-te, dir heu-te wi-der-fährt, das Gu-te, das dein Gott_ be
10 11 12 13 11 12 13 14 15 16 1 2 3 4 5 6 7



sich vor uns so heil-sam, so heil-sam dar; der Tag_, der dich vor-dem ge-
10 11 12 13 14 15 13 14 15 16 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

One of the causes for the inconsistency in syllable distribution found in the parody settings is likely the fact that although each line has the same number of syllables, the number of syllables per word is frequently different. The effect of this is immediately evident when comparing the second word in each text, *Gute* and *Tag*, which contain one and two syllables respectively. The example above illustrates the sensitive way in which Bach approached word declamation and highlights the often ‘unpredictable’ nature of his parody technique that the analyst is forced to accept when studying his music. Comparing BWV 36b and BWV 36c shows that one cannot claim that poetic parody was always a straightforward process concerned with fitting a custom-made text as precisely as possible to a source composition.

Another example of this can be found in the second number of Cantata BWV 173, *Erhöhtes Fleish und Blut*, which was adapted from the same number of Cantata BWV 173a, *Durchlauchtster Leopold*. Example 3-3 shows how different syllable distribution in the two texts results in corresponding adjustments being made to the music. (Brainard 1969: 246–247.)

Example 3-3

BWV 173/2 and 173a/2 (Brainard 1969: 245) Bars 8-9

BWV 173a/2	 <p>Guld-ner Son - nen fro - he Stun - den</p>
BWV 173/2	 <p>Ein ge - bei - lig - tes Ge - mü - te</p>

Another reason for changing the original music when creating a parody was concern over musical-rhetoric figures. Phillip Spitta (in Finscher 1969: 99) argues that Bach’s music was conceived primarily in a musical sense with scant regard for text except as regards correct text declamation; that large number of parody works in Bach’s oeuvre show that musical-rhetoric imagery is not the most central aspect of his compositional style. However, when one compares parody pairs to one another, it is evident that musical imagery was indeed a consideration when adapting music to fit a new text (Finscher 1969: 99-100). This was in keeping with the musical-rhetorical tendencies of Bach’s generation (Brainard 1969: 246).

In stark contrast to Spitta’s statements is the argument of a great number of other Bach scholars who emphasise the existence of a musical-textual link in the compositions of Bach. Harnoncourt (1984: 63) explains this connection: “The orchestra does not simply accompany the text, but interprets it and explains it in accordance with the meaning that Bach wanted to convey.” Viewed in this light, the relationship between music and text is not limited to providing musical-rhetoric figures that support the text. It becomes more complex and is now concerned with creating a musical texture in the orchestral parts that not only supports the inherent message in the music, but also

interprets it in its own right. Despite this connection, Bach's use of parody does not cause any conflict because when reworking music to create a parody work, "a perfect adaptation takes place through the most subtle rhythmical and melodic modifications" (Harnoncourt 1984: 63).

An analysis by Paul Brainard (1969: 247) of the parody pair BWV 210 and BWV 210a shows that Bach regularly added or removed musical figures so that they adequately supported the imagery inherent in his new text. This having been said, there are relatively few words that are consistently set using strong musical-rhetoric figures; two which do occur often are *Eilen* and *Weh*. Bach felt these words to have such strong figural implications that during the process of creating a poetic parody, he regularly altered a pre-existing setting to include musical figures that supported their inherent feeling. (Brainard 1969: 247.)

In extreme cases where the imagery was opposed in the two texts, Bach thus recomposed portions of the parody setting. Example 3-4 shows the parody, "Bereite dich, Zion" from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* and its source, the aria "Ich will dich nicht hören" found in the cantata *Lasst uns sorgen, lasst uns wachen* BWV 213 (Brainard 1969: 245). In this particular example, the music of bars 89 to bars 99 only underwent minimal alterations from its original setting. However, from bar 100 to 114, Bach rewrote entire portions of the setting due to a case of clashing musical-rhetoric figures and textual implications (Brainard 1969: 248). The original has a very figurative representation of the violence inherent in the line: "Hab ich schon lange zermalmet, zerrissen", while the new text deals with matrimonial bliss: "Eile, den Bräutigam sehnlichst zu lieben", necessitating the composition of new musical material. (Brainard 1969:245.)



Example 3-4

BWV 213/9 (Bach 1963: 54-55) and BWV 248/4 (Bach 1961: 23-24), bars 89 – 114

BWV 213/9 
Denn die Schlan - gen, so mich woll - ten wie - gend fan - gen,

BWV 248/4 
Dei-ne Wan - gen müs-sen heut viel schö - ner pran - gen,

95



so mich woll - ten wie - gend fan - gen, hab ich schon lan-ge zer -



müs-sen heut viel schö - ner pran - gen, ei - le, den Bräu-ti-gam

101



mal-met, zer-ris-sen, schon lan - - - ge zer-mal-met, schon



sehn-lichst zu lie-ben, ei - le, ei - - - le, den Bräu - ti-gam

107

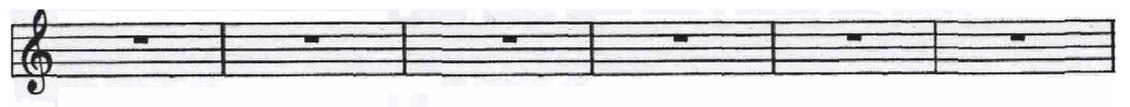
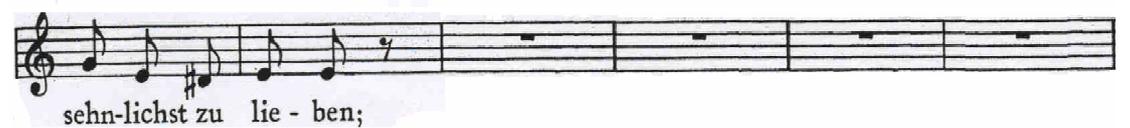


lan - - - - ge zer-ris-sen, zer-mal-met, zer-ris-sen.



sehn - - - - lichst zu lie-ben, ei - - le, den Bräu-ti-gam

113

sehn-lichst zu lie - ben;

Although Brainard (1969: 248) argues that changes made to the music in poetic parody are kept to a minimum, other scholars argue that this is not always the case. Neumann (1965: 76), for example, argues that poetic parody was not always a simple case of copying new words to extant music and then correcting the resulting inconsistencies in textual declamation.

There are also cases where, after commissioning an identical text with the intention of entirely re-using existing music, Bach decided against parodying certain parts of the composition. Thus, even when congruent text pairs are found, one cannot state that the entire second work was parodied from the original. An example of this is the homage cantata *Angenehmes Wiederau* BWV 30a and *Freue dich, erlöste Schar* BWV 30. In this parody pair the recitative texts have an identical construction. Bach nonetheless chose to compose completely new recitatives for the parody, presumably due to musical-rhetoric considerations. (Harnoncourt 1984: 65.)

Another point to consider when studying Bach's musical alterations in a parody was his constant striving towards perfection. Parody gave him the opportunity to revise a composition in a new setting and affect stylistic changes. As will be discussed at greater length in this chapter, Bach was continually concerned with the perfection of his works. Therefore, the use of extant music for a new composition was always an active process of recreation aimed at perfection, as stated by Butt (1997: 67):

There is certainly a sense in which Bach saw the act of perfecting compositions and completing compositional tasks as a vital, almost ethical, necessity In this sense then, the reworking and compilation of earlier compositions was just as vital an activity as 'original' composition.

Finally, the question of tonality and instrumentation has to be considered. When creating a parody work, Bach often used entirely different keys from the original and also frequently adapted the instrumentation to give each work its own inherent logic in terms of tonal scheme and scoring. For example, when Bach parodied the secular cantata *Hercules am Schneidewege* BWV 213 to create parts of the *Weihnachtsoratorium* BWV 248, he transposed the arias to form part of a new tonal scheme. (Wolff 2001: 385.)

In conclusion, formulating rules about Bach's use of poetic parody is not an easy task. In some cases the parody process was as simple as adding a new text to extant music, prompting Arnold Schering (1921: 50) to state that the success of a parody was wholly dependent on the achievements of the poet involved in this process. The parody process was by no means always simple. In numerous examples of poetic parody, it is evident that Bach changed the music to a greater or lesser extent, whether it be for the sake of correct text declamation or inspired by a desire to perfect an existing composition. According to Neumann (1965: 79), examples that show larger scale alterations are by no means exceptions and therefore need to be taken into consideration when attempting to recognise tendencies in Bach's use of this technique.

3.3 Reception of the parody process

Since the early second half of the 19th century, scholars and musicians have imposed their own particular *Weltanschauung*⁴ on the issue of Bach's use of parody, causing it to become a controversial issue. In his 1989 essay, "The Parody Process in Bach's Music: an Old Problem Reconsidered", Schulze (1989: 18) discusses this issue and mentions the apologetic attitude of many 20th century scholars towards parody and their desire to justify Bach's use of the technique. This contention centres around two separate issues, namely the concerns regarding the originality inherent in all creative work and those regarding the merging of the worlds of sacred and secular music. To fully explore these issues it is necessary to study Bach's use of parody and to explore his reasons for engaging in it.

The first concern stems from a romantic concept of aesthetics that attaches a high value to originality (Melamed 2005: 98). This outlook views parody in a modern light and questions the morality of the parody process. This attitude was essentially foreign to 17th and 18th century Europe. In Bach's time, there was no negative connotation to re-using music for different purposes. The notion of art for art's sake was only to emerge in the late Classical period with the advent of the composer who worked independently for himself and for his art. Baroque composers wrote music full-time to sustain themselves financially, and this is far removed from the romantic image of the artist that suffers for his work. When considering composition in this way, parody

⁴ The way in which the individual perceives the world around him.

becomes an efficient way for the craftsman to use musical material. From a pragmatic line of reasoning it is easy to see why a 17th century composer would not consider it immoral to rework an existing composition into a new work.

This leads one to a discussion of why Bach chose to re-use existing music to create parody compositions. Up until recently, many scholars have opined that Bach used parody primarily because this technique was thought to save time. Scholars argued that adapting existing music to a new text was not as time-consuming as original composition. This line of reasoning was largely refuted with the discoveries made around the 1950's when the new chronology of Bach's works demonstrated the rapid pace at which Bach could compose (Butt 1998: 675).

In his 1921 discussion on Bach's use of parody, Schering (1921: 49) wrote that the use of this technique was a way for 17th century cantors to keep up with the increasing demands that were made on them. Nearly 50 years later, Finscher (1969: 97) argued that economy of effort and time-saving concerns could not have been the most important reason why Bach composed parody works. Bach's most extensive parodies, such as the *Weihnachtsoratorium* and parts of the *Matthäuspassion*, were composed at a time when Bach was no longer composing a weekly cantata and was thus presumably working under less pressure. One also has to consider whether parody was truly a time-saving process. Schulze (1989: 18) states that "sometimes the expenditure of effort for a reworking is greater than that for a new composition".

A more credible reason for Bach's use of parody is that this technique allowed him to move music from an occasional context to a regular one. In this way, secular cantatas that were originally composed for a specific occasion, such as the birth of royalty, were reworked to form part of a church cantata or an oratorio, pieces that were used weekly or annually. An important example of this type of parody is the *Weihnachtsoratorium* which consists mainly of music taken from three secular cantatas (Melamed 2005: 98 - 99). Commenting on Bach's use of parody in composing the this work, Wolff (2001:583) writes: "His reuse [sic] of his own composition was motivated not by any intention of cutting corners – that is, turning to existing music out of convenience – but by rescuing important material for a more durable purpose."

Parody also gave Bach the opportunity to revisit works and affect stylistic changes. This underlies an important attitude that Bach harboured towards composition and his musical works. In “The Parody Process in Bach’s Music: An Old Problem Reconsidered”, Schulze (1989: 20) portrays Bach as a composer continually set on “the improvement of inadequate extant material”. Aside from considering the parody process, one need only regard Bach’s extensive revisions to the *Johannespassion* to recognise in him a fondness for perfecting existing compositions.

This may have been compounded by Bach’s work as a teacher of keyboard students; Bach’s students worked primarily with his own compositions, causing the composer to regularly turn to his already ‘completed’ works. Wolff (2001: 381) argues that alterations found in these scores have not been affected systematically, giving the impression of a continual process of revision where one passage may have been changed during a single lesson given to one of his students. Wolff (2001: 386) comments on Bach’s life-long pursuit for perfection in his music by stating that:

...the parody projects that engaged Bach during the 1730’s involved multi-dimensional tasks, of which the mere process of musical transcription was usually the least important. Going back to a piece of music written earlier was invariably turned by Bach into an opportunity to carefully review the work and revise and improve the score.

Finally, Bach’s use of parody can be motivated through his desire to organise his musical output. During his later years, he was particularly interested in covering a wide variety of musical forms and genres, as well as compiling systematic musical collections (Leaver 1997: 91). Thus even later in his life, when meeting deadlines was not such a pressing factor, Bach still compiled works from pieces that were composed earlier, for example the *h-Moll-Messe* (Mass in B minor). The five annual cycles of church music represent such musical collections that were methodically compiled.

The second aspect of parody that has left scholars uneasy since the 19th century is Bach’s tendency to use the same music for two texts that deal with different sentiments. Commenting on the fact that nine numbers from the *Matthäuspasion* find their parody partners in the *Trauermusik* for Prince Leopold, Terry (1970: 9) remarks:

“Bach’s insensibility in adapting his music to incongruous texts is one of the puzzles of his character”.

There are many examples where Bach does not see his music as bound to any particular sentiment. One need only mention here the well-known example of the parody “Bereite dich, Zion” from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* and its original counterpart “Ich will dich nicht hören” found in *Laßt uns sorgen, laßt uns wachen* BWV 213. As discussed earlier, Bach changed musical figures in this parody to support the inherent sentiment in the new text, yet most of the music remained unchanged in the second version. A comparison of the respective texts in table 3-2 shows that they deal with different affects altogether. The original text portrays the violent destruction of vice, whereas the second deals with matrimonial bliss between Zion and the Lord.

Table 3-2

The texts of “Ich will dich nicht hören” BWV 213/9 and “Bereite dich, Zion” BWV 248/4

“Ich will dich nicht hören” BWV 213/9	“Bereite dich, Zion” BWV 248/4
Ich will dich nicht hören, Ich will dich nicht wissen, Verworfenen Wollust, Ich kenne dich nicht. Denn die Schlangen, So mich wollten wiegend fangen, Hab ich schon lange zermalmet, zerrissen.	Bereite dich, Zion, Mit zärtlichen Trieben Den Schönsten, den Liebsten Bald bei dir zu sehn! Deine Wangen Müssen heut viel schöner prangen, Eile, den Bräutigam sehnlichst zu lieben!

Another example presents itself in the same two works. Bach re-used the music of “Schlafe, mein Liebster, und pflege der Ruh”, the third number from BWV 213 for “Schlafe, mein Liebster, genieße der Ruh”, the nineteenth number in the *Weihnachtsoratorium*. As Table 3-3 shows, here Bach took music originally composed to a text with a distinct erotic association for use in a sacred work about the birth of Jesus (Theill 1978: 49).

Table 3-3

**The texts of “Schlafe, mein Liebster, und pflege der Ruh” BWV 213/3 and
“Schlafe, mein Liebster, genieße der Ruh” BWV 248/19**

“Schlafe, mein Liebster, und pflege der Ruh” BWV 213/3	“Schlafe, mein Liebster, genieße der Ruh” BWV 248/19
Schlafe, mein Liebster, und pflege der Ruh, Folge der Lockung entbrannter Gedanken. Schmecke die Lust, Der lüsternen Brust, Und erkenne keine Schranken.	Schlafe, mein Liebster, genieße der Ruh, wache nach diesem vor aller Gedeihen! Labe die Brust, Empfinde die Lust, Wo wir unser Herz erfreuen.

As mentioned earlier, Spitta argues that text played a comparatively small role in the compositions of Bach. Finscher (1969: 102) agrees with this in his essay “Zum Parodieproblem bei Bach”, when he finds a certain redundancy in the texts of Bach’s compositions. Although Finscher strongly acknowledges Bach’s use of musical-rhetorical figures, he maintains that Bach’s music is capable of associating with more than one text, and is thus independent of the emotion inherent therein. Continuing this line of thinking, he argues that a composition that can stand separately from its text is elevated artistically precisely because it is capable of being parodied.

This argument stands in sharp contrast to that of Harnoncourt. He argues that the close coupling of words and music is a central aspect of Bach’s compositions, but acknowledges that this has often been the centre of a heated debate. Harnoncourt (1984: 64) states that:

We know that during the Baroque era, music was understood as speech in tones; that musical and textual affects always had to coincide. This was particularly true in Bach’s case. Some over-emphasized Bach’s role as a music preacher...which in turn led others to categorically deny this aspect of his work, claiming that his music had no relationship at all to text because he was constantly reworking and parodying his pieces.

This controversy is heightened by the fact that Bach’s parodies frequently move between the worlds of sacred and secular music. For over a century, scholars have been divided as to the morality of these transformations, fearing a ‘profanisation’ of sacred music and believing a secular composition unfit for sacred purposes. Their arguments have also centred around the supposition that secular and sacred works should be composed in different musical styles. This concern “views parody as something that needs to be explained or even excused. It also makes a stark

distinction between sacred and secular music in the early eighteenth century, a line that can be difficult to draw using twenty-first-century criteria” (Melamed 2005:11).

Bach’s parodies generally move in three directions, namely from sacred to sacred, from secular to secular and finally from secular to sacred. In 1969, Finscher identified in the entire Bach oeuvre 75 proven cases of sacred-to-sacred parody, 72 cases of secular-to-sacred and 61 of secular-to-secular parodies (Finscher 1969: 95). The existence of parodies that move from the sacred to the secular has not been proven, though it has not been disproven either. An example of a case of this nature may be the *Matthäuspassion* and the *Trauermusik* for Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen.

Ever since the discovery of the link between these compositions, there has been uncertainty as to which of the two compositions is the original and which is the parody. Spitta determined in the early 20th century that the *Matthäuspassion* was the older work, thereby acknowledging that Bach occasionally parodied sacred works in order to create secular compositions.

His conclusion was contested by Schering in 1939 who attempted to prove that the *Trauermusik* was the older composition. He argued that the *Matthäuspassion* was performed in 1731 and not 1729 as had been accepted previously. According to Schering, Bach completed the *Trauermusik* in December 1728 and thereafter commissioned Picander to create parody texts for the *Matthäuspassion*. (Smend 1948: 30-31.) Smend (1948: 32) points out that, according to Schering, this had to happen in the space of two to three weeks as the text of the passion appeared in the second volume of Picander’s *Enst-, schertzhafte und satyrische Gedichte* in January 1729. This would also mean that its text had been completed and printed long before its composition and performance in 1731.

Subsequent to Schering’s argument, the date of the first performance of the *Matthäuspassion* was confirmed as 1729. The foreword to the printed text for Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy’s 1829 performance of this piece mentions the existence of an original printed text from the Leipzig church carrying this date (Smend 1948: 31-32). This confirmation proves that the first performances of the *Matthäuspassion* and the *Trauermusik* occurred merely three weeks apart. This has prompted many researchers

to conclude that, although the funeral music was performed first, the music was taken from the then nearly-completed *Matthäuspassion* (Brainard 1969: 241-243). Smend (1948: 34) attempted to prove in his 1949 article, “Bach’s Markuspassion”, that a comparison of the texts of the *Matthäuspassion* and the *Trauermusik* shows the poetry of the passion as superior, thereby proving that it was indeed the original composition.

Schering’s argument is an attempt to prove that Bach did not ‘profane’ the *Matthäuspassion* to compose the music for the funeral of a prince and thus never used sacred music to create a secular parody. They point to a need on the part of musicologists to safeguard the role of ‘musical preacher’ that has been imposed on Bach. Although the direction of Bach’s parodies has seldom, if ever, been sacred to secular, the direction of these transformations was not necessarily of theological concern. It could simply have been the result of a pragmatic inclination to let music composed for a single secular occasion be heard regularly.

However, one could just as easily argue that Bach may have, through parody, used sacred compositions to produce music for a secular event when called upon to do so. To exacerbate matters, arguments and speculations over Bach’s use of parody do not only involve concerns of historical plausibility, but also the qualms expressed by many 19th, 20th and 21st century musicologists concerning the ‘contamination’ or ‘profaning’ of sacred music through an intertextual relationship with secular music.

Several scholars, for instance Butt, maintain that Bach did not make the same distinctions between sacred and secular music as the 19th or 20th century interpreter has, and that he viewed all music as intrinsically having sacred value. According to this line of reasoning, the very act of composition was an expression of religious sentiment and the more perfect the task of composition, the stronger the presence of God in the resulting music. Butt (1997b: 52) points out that: “The standard initials ‘J.J.’ (‘jesu juva’ – ‘Jesus help!’) and ‘S.D.G.’ (‘Soli deo gloria’ – ‘To God alone be glory!’) are found at the beginning and end of church compositions, and of some, but by no means all, of the secular pieces.” An example of this is *Lasst us sorgen, lasst uns wachen* BWV 213, a secular cantata composed to commemorate the birthday of Prince Friedrich Christian, Elector of Saxony, on September 5, 1733 (Leaver 1997: 91).

After the Reformation, the Lutheran Church developed a stance that was not wholly opposed to the amalgamation of sacred and secular music. This is not to say that there was no distinction between the two; the Lutheran clergy was conservative in its musical tastes and slow to allow the introduction of new musical styles within the church. (Leaver 1997: 90-91.) Schering (1921: 52) writes that there was a clause in the contracts of the Leipzig cantors Kuhnau and Bach that warned them not to allow their music to become too “operatic”. However, a sharp distinction between sacred and secular music was only to be articulated in later generations.

One of the earliest examples of adding a new text to existing music is found in the roots of the Lutheran faith. In the Renaissance, Martin Luther introduced many popular secular folk songs that had been supplied with a sacred text into the newly formed church. These songs became Protestant hymns and, in this manner, the congregation was encouraged to sing hymns in church (Harnoncourt 1984: 63-64). We have cause here to question whether Bach, considered by many the pre-eminent composer of the Lutheran faith, would harbour a sharp distinction between sacred and secular music.

Another point worth noting is that the 17th and 18th century view of royalty and nobility differed considerably from the present one. Kings and queens were considered to be instruments of a higher power, figures in whom the Christian God vested his power on earth. It is not difficult to see that the birth of a prince could have been considered a sacred occasion. Harnoncourt (1984: 65) writes that “The Baroque concept of God and the Baroque attitude toward a ruler were so deeply intertwined, and hierarchical thinking so entrenched, that an identification of the two figures did not seem blasphemous.”

Throughout the 20th century, Bach scholars attempted to get a handle on the problem of musical-textual links and the merging of the sacred and the secular by recognizing that the affect is retained in many cases. In his important essay of 1921, Schering (1921: 54) mentions the writings of Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, who had studied in Leipzig around 1716. Scheibel argued that there is nothing wrong with secular-to-

sacred parody because, although the subject of the text may be different, the emotional and musical affect is the same and thus should not be seen as diminished.

Although this argument has often been used to justify how Bach would have felt about the issue, one is forced to acknowledge that Scheibel belonged to the Neue Kirche in Leipzig (Schulze 1989: 8). The Neue Kirche was known for its progressive stance towards music, whereas the two churches where Bach was active were known for their reluctance to absorb secular musical trends into the liturgical space. Moreover, parodies that deal with different subjects but with precisely the same musical and emotional effect are those where only certain words have been changed. These represent the most basic and least numerous of Bach's parodies (Finscher 1969: 99). Far more common are those where the text, emotional sentiment and affect differ, and the only similarities are metre and rhyme.

Another line of thinking has emerged that attempts to resolve the key issues dealt with in this section, namely that the original composition and the later parody were concurrently conceived at the outset. This argument is naturally only plausible in cases where the original composition and the parody were both performed for the first time within a limited time frame. Harnoncourt cites two cantatas, namely *Freue dich, erlöste Schar* BWV 30 and *Angenehmes Wiederau* BWV 30a, as examples and argues that these cantatas were conceived together from the start. In doing so, he attempts to explain the "oft noted" phenomenon of a parody being artistically more convincing than the original composition from which it is drawn from. Harnoncourt (1984: 64) writes that:

It must certainly be discouraging for a composer of Bach's stature to invest all his genius and effort in an homage cantata which is to be performed for a single occasion and never used again. Thus it is more than understandable if the composer had the second, final version in mind while he was composing the original work.

This reasoning is closely bound with the argument that claims that Bach's compositions only reach their full potential when a sacred text is applied to them. This supposes that Bach not only conceived parody pairs together, but also that in re-using occasional secular music for sacred purposes, he not only sought to 'rescue' a composition from falling into oblivion, but also wanted to 'restore it to its rightful place' where it would come to fruition in the service of the church. Stiller (1970: 228)

comments in his 1970 text that “[o]ne cannot but get the impression that Bach by all means wanted to let his church have the advantage of appropriating the best of his extraliturgical work”.

Throughout these discussions it is evident that musicologists have almost consistently viewed Bach’s use of parody as a problem. Many of the articles dealing with this have the word ‘problem’ in their title, evincing a human tendency to place a composer into one’s own frame of reference instead of viewing him in his original historical context. Admittedly, viewing Bach through modern eyes gives the opportunity to fully recognise the far-reaching implications of his work. Wolff suggests that “Bach can only incompletely be appreciated according to the aesthetic preconditions of his own day” (Butt 1997a:59). Thus, as far as belief systems are concerned, considering historical context is anything but redundant.

3.4 Parody and the *Markuspassion*

According to several scholars, Johann Sebastian Bach’s *Markuspassion* originally “must have been in large measure a parody work” (Gomme 1997: 155). One of the arguments that have traditionally been called upon to substantiate this claim is that, due to difficult working circumstances, Bach did not have time to compose this work from scratch. Naturally, this argument can only be accepted if one were to assume that Bach indeed used parody as a way to save time.

The structure of the *Markuspassion* is possibly the strongest indication that it may have been a parody. In the CD notes to Ton Koopman’s 1999 reconstruction, Wolff (2001: 12) points out that the libretto of the *Markuspassion* calls for markedly fewer lyrical numbers, i.e. arias and choruses, than the *Johannespassion* or the *Matthäuspassion*. The *Markuspassion* contains eight lyrical numbers and 16 chorales, whereas the *Matthäuspassion* has 17 lyrical numbers and 13 chorales.

Bach scholars argue that this is an indication that Bach originally intended to compile this work as a parody, since the lyrical numbers could be assembled from extant sources, while the chorales could be called upon easily from the stock of chorales at his disposal. Stiller (1970: 227) claims that Bach only parodied recitatives up until

1726, so it can be presupposed that Bach would have composed new recitatives for this work. Regarding the structure of the *Markuspassion*, Wolff (2001: 12) states that:

It is clear from structural evidence that Bach had a completely different conception of the character of the St. Mark Passion, reversing the relationship between the gospel text and dramatic elements on the one hand and the contemplative pieces on the other. Bach scholars very soon recognized that the structure of the St Mark Passion text indicates that Bach intended to reuse music already written.

Identifying a lost composition as a parody opens up the exciting possibility of at least partially reconstructing this composition. Reconstructing the *Markuspassion* from extant compositions would give modern audiences the opportunity to listen to some of Bach's music in a new and different context as it could introduce some of his more obscure music into the working repertoire.

Chapter 4

Reconstruction

4.1 Approaching the different components that make up the *Markuspassion*

The text of the *Markuspassion* consists of two choruses, six arias, 16 chorales, and recitative and turbae sections. The entire musical score of this work is lost. During an attempted reconstruction, each constituent part has to be approached in an appropriate way as each presents its own unique set of challenges.

The lyrical numbers of a passion, i.e. choruses and arias, lend themselves easily to parody partly because their text is relatively flexible, being poetic verse. Their text is originally conceived by a poet, in Bach's case Picander, and their purpose is to give a first-person perspective on the dramatic action of a passion. Choruses, as their name implies, are sung by a small choir, while the arias are sung by a soprano, alto, tenor or bass soloist. The criteria for determining a parody relationship between two lyrical numbers will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The chorales in a passion reflect on its dramatic action. In most cases they are set in simple four-part syllabic arrangements and doubled by instruments. Historically, chorales play an important role in the passion as they serve to link the congregation with the musical performance. During any 17th or 18th century passion performance, the chorale would have been the only musical component familiar to the congregation.

The recovery of chorale settings is of utmost importance when attempting to reconstruct the *Markuspassion*, especially as this work has such a high proportion of chorales in comparison to its lyrical numbers. As Melamed (2005: 105) states:

...Bach's chorale harmonizations became more musically complex and text-responsive in later years, and came to contribute a great deal to the expressive quality of his cantatas and oratorios, indeed more than one might expect from this modest kind of music. This means that much of the *St. Mark Passion's* character may have come from its chorales.

Several hundred chorale settings by Bach have survived. Some of these settings can be identified as belonging to existing works, but not the majority. This opens the distinct possibility that certain chorales belong to works that have disappeared. Suitable chorale harmonisations for the *Markuspassion* have been found by reconstructors largely through identifying the melody that was associated with the particular text in Leipzig during Bach's time. Furthermore, textual-musical links are brought into consideration. Thus, by matching Picander's *Markuspassion* libretto to the melodies of these chorales, one can recover acceptable chorales for use in the passion, and possibly, in certain instances, even the original chorale that Bach used. Unfortunately, one can never be sure that any given chorale harmonisation was originally included in this passion, as the chorale collections frequently do not provide any text (Melamed 2005: 105).

Lastly, the chorales, choruses and arias of the passion are framed with narrative in the form of recitatives and turbae. Throughout the work, several characters sing recitatives. The Evangelist acts as a third-person narrator, relating the passion story while different characters such as Peter and Jesus sing their parts in the first-person. Crowds – the common people or the High Priests – are responsible for the turbae, chorus-like sections that are likewise set in the first person.

When creating a parody composition, Bach rarely parodied gospel narrative, i.e. recitatives and turbae. In 1969, Finscher (1969: 95) wrote that, among Bach's 208 then-recognised cases of parody, only 22 of them were recitatives. Recitatives, due to their particular scripture-bound nature and function, rely heavily on musical-rhetorical figures and correct textual declamation (Finscher 1969: 100). Since the original musical material of the narrative is irrevocably lost, this poses a problem for the scholar who is attempting to create an acceptable performing version of the *Markuspassion*. Music for the narrative of a passion has to be supplied in some way, yet Bach left no model on which to base these recitatives. As with the other components of a passion, different researchers and reconstructors have come forward with a variety of ways of solving this problem.

4.2 An overview of past research on reconstructing the *Markuspassion*

4.2.1 Lyrical numbers

4.2.1.1 Criteria for establishing a parody relationship

In the notes accompanying his *Markuspassion* reconstruction, Gomme (1997: 155) discusses the criteria for identifying parody pairs for lost lyrical numbers. When reconstructing a composition with the sincere desire to create a valid approximation of the original work, it is important to have a clear understanding of Bach's use of parody to reproduce it. If one fails to do this, the resulting reconstruction is in danger of being no more than a modern-day rehash of existing Bach arias, albeit in a new context. More importantly, for the researcher interested in the reconstructions, studying these criteria sheds light on how the reconstructors worked.

According to Gomme (1997: 115), if one is searching for the parody source of an aria, the respective dates of the two works need to be considered. Bach would have been most likely to parody an original composition that had recently been performed to a private audience. Such a composition would not only be fresh in his mind, but also be relatively unknown to his public. Presumably, then, any composition that Bach would have used as a parody source for the *Markuspassion* would have had to have been composed in the five or so years before 1731. Gomme argues that an older composition from the Weimar years is not a likely candidate to have been a parody base for a *Markuspassion* aria because it would not have been in the forefront of Bach's mind. However, if such a composition had been recently revived, he would have been unwilling to parody it because a congregation might have recognised the music. (Gomme 1997: 115.)

In contrast, Friedrich Blume (1963: 220) argues that, when Bach arrived in Leipzig to take up the position as church cantor, he had very few existing cantatas at his disposal. Faced with pressing church commitments, Bach must have turned not only to his Weimar cantatas, but also to the material contained in the secular and instrumental work of his pre-Leipzig years. As Blume states (1963: 224), "In my view many more Leipzig cantata movements than has hitherto been realized are parodies of secular instrumental works of the Cöthen period."

Of course, the possibility exists that some of the arias in the *Markuspassion* were specifically composed for use in the passion and subsequently parodied in other works. Such arias would then still be preserved as parody compositions within his works that antedate 1731. Despite the efforts of several Bach scholars to prove that Bach never parodied a sacred composition to create a secular one, it is possible that a lyrical number which was parodied from the *Markuspassion* may be found within a secular work as opposed to a sacred work. Also, although there is a likelihood of chronological proximity between the performance dates of an original composition and its parody, this is by no means a conclusive rule.

The metrical congruity of texts, however, is an issue that does carry considerable weight when attempting to identify a parody relationship. After all, when creating a poetic parody, Bach commissioned a poet to create a text that was as similar as possible to the original in terms of metre and rhyme scheme. Considering that the composition of good vocal music necessarily relies heavily on the successful marriage between music and text, it follows that if two separate texts are to be used for the same music, they must be similar in terms of metre, syllables per line and rhyme scheme. Gomme (1997: 115) comments on this important factor:

This is the crucial issue of substance, on the grounds that metrical replication is not only the best evidence that the new text will fit the old music, but the most likely feature which the librettist would identify when seeking a suitable match for his text, or alternatively when composing a poem to an existing musical frame.

The method of using metrical congruence to identify parody pairs and match a text to an existing musical setting was first used by Wilhelm Rust in 1873 (Schulze 1989: 10). Since then, many researchers, including Terry and Smend, have relied on this method. Smend (1940-48: 17) writes that a parody text is always based as closely as possible to the original text and that exceptions to this rule occur only rarely. He bases his search for parody pairs for the missing arias of the *Markuspassion* on this method. This same method of pairing is challenged by Neumann (1965:75-79), who argues that Bach's treatment of a parody texts was often unpredictable, thereby pointing out the danger of making assumptions about Bach's use of this technique.

Nonetheless, the discovery of two metrically congruent texts points to a strong possibility of poetic parody. In his discussion of possible parody pairs for the arias of

the *Markuspassion*, Smend (1940-48: 18) goes as far as to state that, if two texts under discussion do not meet the criteria of metrical similarity, one should abandon the idea of establishing a parody relationship immediately in order to avoid reaching “weakly motivated hypotheses”. Smend (1940-48: 18), however, warns that once a textual similarity has been established between two arias, it is necessary to carefully study the score before making any judgments.

Gomme (1997: 156) argues that any librettist working on a parody would have been careful not to create a new text where the natural accentuation would be distorted. He thus emphasises the importance of syllable distribution within separate words and its resulting impact on verbal rhythm. Yet there are numerous examples of parody pairs where a simple underlay of text to music would indeed result in an unnatural accentuation of words. One need only look at BWV 36b and BWV 36c, discussed in Chapter 3, to recognise that Bach simply adapted the music to overcome this problem. Thus it seems logical that an inconsistency in verbal rhythm does not deny the possibility of a parody pair; rather it signals that Bach would have altered the music to accommodate this.

Structural indications also play a role in determining a parody relationship. In many cases the poet specified whether or not the given text was meant to be set in *da capo* form, and thus whether a reprise was called for or not. Both Smend (1940-48: 17) and Gomme (1997: 155) mention that it is prudent to adhere to this indication when attempting to identify the existence of a parody relationship.

Another point that Gomme discusses is textual similarity of sentiment and the emotion underlying a particular musical setting. This argument harks back to the controversy discussed in Chapter 3 regarding the occurrence of a strong musical-textual link in Bach’s compositions. Gomme mentions that Bach at times set the same music to two texts with a dissimilar sentiment and emotional expression, his example being the *Matthäuspassion* and the *Trauermusik* for Prince Leopold. He nonetheless states that this “is not a license to an editor to ignore large discrepancies of emotional expression between words and music.” (Gomme 1997: 156.)

In his essay on the *Markuspassion*, Smend (1940-48: 27) states that Bach more frequently than not retained the orchestration of the original composition for its parody. This was especially true if the emotional sentiment of the two texts was similar. Through this remark, Smend highlights out two important aspects. Firstly, Bach occasionally set seemingly incompatible texts to the same music. Secondly, in his endeavour to create a significant link between music and text and to fulfil the emotional demands of a new text, he did not limit himself to musical rhetoric, but was also concerned with orchestration.

In the well-known, extreme example of “Bereite dich Zion” and “Ich will dich nicht hören”, discussed in Chapter 3, one notes that Bach not only adapted the music in places, but he also altered its texture by adding an *oboe d’amore* (Schering 1921: 62). In this way, both settings of this music form an equally successful musical-textual link (Finscher 1969: 101). Thus one could say that a discrepancy in emotional sentiment between texts does not necessarily mean that no parody pair exists, but rather that Bach would have most likely spent some time adjusting the music to create an artistically satisfying result. Gomme (1997: 156) also comments on orchestration and states that no large-scale change in orchestration should be necessary in a parody composition. Thus if the suspected original of a parody composition calls for orchestration that is incompatible with the orchestration of the subsequent work that houses the parody, then the fit should be seen as doubtful.

Melamed (2005: 108), however, states that: “Key organization and instrumentation are part of what make a composition Bach’s but they are both in the realm of guesswork in the *St. Mark Passion*”. Thus, even though Bach may have preserved the same orchestration in many cases, this argument cannot carry much weight in considering whether any specific aria was parodied for use in another.

As far as tonality is concerned, Bach frequently changed the key when creating a parody composition. As early as 1921, Schering (1921: 66) pointed out the changes manifest in a parody when compared to its original. He used “Auf meinen Flügel sollst du schweben”, from the *Herculeskantata* BWV 213 and its parody, “Ich will nur dir zu Ehren leben” taken from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* as an example, showing that the original E flat minor aria is transposed to D minor, and that the oboe is omitted in

the parody composition. When one considers the entire tonal scheme of the *Weihnachtsoratorium*, based as it is largely on secular cantatas, it is evident that Bach transposed most of the original arias to create parodies that would contribute to a coherent tonal scheme in the *Weihnachtsoratorium* (Wolff 2001: 385).

The final point that Gomme makes in his discussion on finding suitable parody pairs is the balance of solo voices. He states that there should be a balance between solo arias given to the different voice parts within a larger work (Gomme 1997: 156). As the *Markuspassion* is scored for SATB soloists and only contains six arias, it follows that at least two of the voices will only have one solo aria. In parodying arias to create extended works, Bach frequently transposed the vocal part to suit a different solo voice, as many examples in the *Weihnachtsoratorium* testify (Wolff 2001: 385). Thus, the balance of solo voices is not an important consideration when identifying the source composition for a parody, but well worth noting when one is allocating different arias to different solo voices during the process of reconstruction.

4.2.1.2 History of lyrical number reconstructions

The first attempt at recovering parts of the *Markuspassion* was made by Wilhelm Rust, who demonstrated in 1873 that there was a connection between the *Trauerode* and the *Markuspassion* (Schulze 1989: 8). The *Trauerode* was performed on 17 October 1727 to honour the late Electress of Saxony, Christiane Eberhardine. This work has generally been acknowledged as the original source for three of the arias and the two choruses of the *Markuspassion* (Schering 1921: 72). These opening and closing choruses are “Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein” and “Bei deinem Grab und Leichenstein”. The three arias are “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”, “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden” and “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”.

The *Trauerode* was performed four years before the *Markuspassion*. This has led to the conclusion the *Trauerode* was the original work of the two. The *Trauerode* was an occasional secular work that was commissioned for a particular occasion, thus parodying some of its movements for the *Markuspassion* allowed Bach to move the music to a context in which it could be heard again (Gomme 1997: 155). The *Trauerode* meets much of the criteria discussed for establishing a parody relationship between two compositions. Besides offering near-identical text matches, the

Trauerode was composed a relatively short time before the *Markuspassion*. Following Gomme's argument, it would thus have been at the forefront of Bach's mind, but having been performed in front of a private audience, would have been relatively unknown to the congregation of Bach's Leipzig churches.

This claim is strengthened by the scoring of these two compositions. The *Trauerode* is scored for SATB soloists, four-part choir, and an orchestra comprising two flutes, two oboes doubling *oboes d'amore*, two violins, two *violas da gamba*, two lutes and *basso continuo*. This scoring is the only one of its kind among Bach's surviving works, yet it is also the scoring of the anonymous *Markuspassion* that was listed in the 1764 catalogue of the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf, now undisputedly recognised as being by Bach (Gomme 1997: 155).

Since Rust's discovery, Bach scholarship has readily accepted these lyrical numbers as having belonged to the original *Markuspassion*. Scholars that have recognised this include Arnold Schering, Charles Stanford Terry, Friedrich Smend, Gustav Adolph Theill, Hans Joachim Schulze, John Butt, Daniel Melamed and still others who have reconstructed this work.

In the 1920's, Charles Sanford Terry (1970: 66) wrote about the *Markuspassion* that "... five of its eight lyrical numbers are identified with movements in the *Trauerode* Therefore it can be assumed that the remaining arias are also borrowed". Schering (1939: 15) concurred with this view. Subsequent scholarship, however, challenges this statement. Although Bach used parody extensively, this does not eliminate the possibility that the three remaining arias were composed originally for use in the *Markuspassion*, and were perhaps parodied for use in Bach's later works (Smend 1940-48: 15).

Terry, believing as he did that all the arias in the *Markuspassion* were parodies of other works, was the first to suggest the sources of the three remaining arias. For "Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen", he suggested the aria "Ruhig und in sich zufrieden", the second number of *Ich bin in mir vergnügt* BWV 204. For "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei", he put forward "Himmlische Vergnüsamkeit", the eighth number of the same cantata. For the final aria, "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu

Ohren”, Terry could not identify a parody source. The only aria in the Bach oeuvre with a near-identical metrical structure, “Merkt und hört, ihr Menschenkinder”, Number 2 from *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* BWV 7, was believed to date from after 1731 (Terry 1926: 67-75). As Terry did not take into account the possibility of a reversed direction of parody, he disregarded this possibility. The new chronology of Bach’s works has shown that this aria was composed in 1724, thereby nullifying Terry’s doubts.

Writing in the *Bach-Jahrbuch* of 1940-48, Smend discusses the three remaining unknown arias of the *Markuspassion* and attempts to discover a parody source for them on the basis of the number of lines, metre, rhyme scheme and structure. In studying the first aria, “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”, Smend concludes that its scheme is unique among all Bach’s arias and that it is therefore beyond recovery. (Smend 1940-48: 18.)

For “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”, Smend finds only one aria with a metrically congruent text, namely “Merkt und hört, ihr Menschenkinder”, the same aria that Terry put forward in 1926. Smend, however, concludes that the music from the latter could never have been used for the *Markuspassion* text for “only by force could one fit these words to the music“. He makes a noteworthy point in stating that one cannot rely completely on a textual similarity to prove a parody relationship, but that the music must be taken into consideration as well. (Smend 1940-48: 18.)

The final aria, “Falsche Welt,” presents the most possibilities, as Smend concludes that its overall structure is one that frequently presents itself in Bach’s work. He mentions four possibilities: “Geist und Seele sind verwirret” from BWV 35, “Widerstehe doch der Sünde” from BWV 54, “Ach, es bleibt in meiner Liebe” from BWV 77 and “Lebenssonne, Licht der Sinnen” from BWV 180. On closer inspection Smend concludes that “Widerstehe doch der Sünde” is not only the best possibility for establishing a parody relationship, but that this aria is unequivocally the final aria of the *Markuspassion* in another guise. According to Smend (1940-48: 21), a study of the musical-textual relationship shows clearly that the aria was composed originally for the *Markuspassion* and parodied for use in BWV 54:

Die Behauptung, dass der uns beschäftigende Satz ursprünglich für die Passion komponiert und dann in die Kantate übernommen ist, gründet sich aber nicht allein auf die bisher genannten Einzelzüge, sondern auf eine genaue Untersuchung der ganzen Arie.⁵

Since these early hypotheses, leading Bach scholars have put forward several proposals for some or all of these arias. It is important here to stress the fact that some of the suggested arias have been put forward as possible original sources for a particular aria, while others are merely suggested as a basis for a workable performing version of the *Markuspassion*. Yet in the course of creating an acceptable performing version of a lost work, one is on occasion compelled to turn to arias that were probably not an original source. Melamed (2005: 106-107) writes:

All attempts at revival are forced to turn to the speculative use of miscellaneous Bach movements where there are no obvious models. In these places we have to ask whether the resulting arias have any connection to Bach. He did often use parody – maybe even for these very movements – but without clear models at hand we cannot reproduce the choices he might have made.

4.2.2 Chorales

Research has shown that all of the chorale texts in the *Markuspassion* can be successfully set to one of the chorale melody harmonisations found in *J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge*⁶, compiled by C.P.E. Bach and Kirnberger. However, about 30 chorales have surfaced in Bach's existing repertoire that are not contained in this collection, presenting the possibility that there are even more chorales originally contained in lost works that are not in the collection. An example of one of these missing chorales is "Schaut hin, dort liegt im finstern Stall" from the *Weihnachtsoratorium*. Another fact worth noting in this regard is that Bach rarely used one chorale harmonisation for multiple texts, therefore chorales in the collection that have no known home stand a higher chance of having been included in the original *Markuspassion*. (Smend 1940-48: 8.)

When determining the 16 chorale harmonisations originally used in the *Markuspassion*, still another quandary presents itself. Although chorale texts were in

⁵ The claim that this number was originally composed for the passion and later used in the cantata is not made only on the basis of the aforementioned singularities, but founded on a precise study of the entire aria.

⁶ For the purpose of this study, mention will be made of the numbers used in *J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge* as well as the corresponding BWV number.

most cases set to simple four-part harmonisations, this was not always the case. Occasionally, Bach would compose a chorale fantasia for a chorale text and in such an instance the original music would not be included in C.P.E. Bach's collection. Even if one could succeed in identifying the original chorale harmonisations for the *Markuspassion*, the question of tonality would still present itself. Bach frequently transposed chorales; finding them in *J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choral-gesänge* in any particular key does not mean that they were kept in that key within a larger musical framework such as a passion. (Smend 1940-48: 7-8.)

In his discussion on the *Markuspassion*, Terry (1970: 67-75) presents the individual numbers of Picander's libretto alongside what he refers to as "Bach's ascertained or conjectured association with it". Terry lists known harmonisations by Bach for nearly every chorale in the *Markuspassion* libretto. A large number of the chorale harmonisations mentioned by him are found either in the *Johannespassion* or the *Matthäuspassion*. The fact that these chorales are already to be found within the larger musical framework of another Bach passion signifies that these chorales were not likely to have also been in the original *Markuspassion*.

Smend (1940-48: 9-12) also attempts to identify a chorale harmonisation for each of the chorale texts included in the passion. In each case he presents the origin of the text as well as the name of the melody that the chorale text was sung to. The results of his research are presented in Table 4-1. This table is divided into two sections, *Vor der Predigt* and *Nach der Predigt*, signifying the two different halves of a passion performance, one which would have been performed before the sermon and one after the sermon.

Table 4-1

Chorale choices of Smend (1940-48: 9-12)

Chorale	Smend's recommendations
Vor der Predigt	
“Sie stellen uns wie Ketzern nach”	<i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> : No. 31 (BWV 256), No. 235 (BWV 325) and No. 284 (BWV 257) are all possibilities, however unlikely, as well as BWV 114/4 and BWV 178/4.
“Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht”	BWV 244/32 is considered the foremost possibility.
“Ich, ich und meine Sünden”	Several possibilities present themselves, of which the foremost are No. 275 (BWV 393) from <i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> and BWV 245/11.
“Wach auf, O Mensch”	No. 274 (BWV 397) from <i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> is considered the best match.
“Betrübtes Herz, sei wohlgemut”	Possibilities include No. 51 (BWV 429), No. 321 (BWV 428) and No. 350 (BWV 430) from <i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> , of which No. 321 (BWV 428) is the foremost possibility.
“Mach's mit mir Gott nach deiner Güte”	Possibilities (albeit doubtful) include No. 44 (BWV 377) from <i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> , BWV 245/22 and BWV 139/1.
“Jesu, ohne Missetat”	Possibilities (albeit doubtful) include BWV 159/5, BWV 245/14, BWV 245/ 28 and BWV 245/32.
“Ich will hier bei dir stehen”	The possibilities are No. 270 (BWV 161/6), No. 285 (BWV 270) and No. 366 (BWV 271) from <i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> , as well as BWV 244/17, BWV 248I/5, BWV 248VI/11, BWV 135/6 and BWV 153/5. Of these BWV 244/17 provides the best match.
Nach der Predigt	
“Was Menschenkraft und Witz anfäht”	No. 31 (BWV 256) and No. 235 (BWV 325) from <i>J.S. Bach's Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> are possibilities, although unlikely matches, as well as BWV 114/4 and BWV 178/4. The harmonisation of No. 284 (BWV 257) found in the chorale collection offers a good match and is considered by Smend the original <i>Markuspassion</i> harmonisation.
“Befiehl du deine Wege”	See no. 8, “Ich will hier bei dir stehen” for possibilities.
“Du edles Angesichte”	See no. 8, “Ich will hier bei dir stehen” for possibilities.

“Herr, ich habe missgehandelt”	The foremost possibilities are No. 35 (BWV 330) and No.286 (BWV 331) from <i>J.S. Bach’s Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> .
“Man hat dich sehr hart verhöhnet”	Unknown
“Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn”	The foremost possibilities in this case are No. 20 (BWV 302) from from <i>J.S. Bach’s Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> and BWV 80/8.
“Keinen hat Gott verlassen”	The only possibility is No. 129 (BWV 369) from <i>J.S. Bach’s Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> .
“O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh”	The only possibility is No. 60 (BWV 404) from <i>J.S. Bach’s Vierstimmige Choralgesänge</i> .

4.2.3 Recitatives

The difficulty of providing narrative for the *Markuspassion* has been acknowledged ever since researchers recognised the possibility of reconstructing this work. Bach scholarship has long since realised that Bach did not frequently parody recitatives, yet there have been several attempts to establish a parody base for some of the *Markuspassion* turbae.

Besides five lyrical numbers, the only other part of the *Markuspassion* of relatively certain origin is a turba found in its second half. Smend (1940-48: 1-2) points out that Gerhard Freiesleben established in 1916 that the *Markuspassion* turba, “Pfui dich, wie fein zerbrichst du den Tempel und bauest ihn in dreien Tagen” shows remarkable textual congruency with Number 3 of the fifth cantata of the *Weihnachtsoratorium*, “Wo ist der neugeborne König der Juden?”. In his discussion of the topic, Freiesleben presented the score of this *Weihnachtsoratorium* turba with both of the relevant textual underlays, showing that it was possible to set the *Markuspassion* text to this turba. Subsequent scholars have readily accepted that this turba could have formed a part of the original *Markuspassion*.

Other attempts have been made at recovering turbae from the Bach repertory. However, there is no evidence of Bach having extensively re-used turbae for another work. Gomme (1997: 158) states:

It may be questioned whether fresh composition of the brief pieces involved in the crowd scenes...would have given Bach so much trouble as such a process and

whether he was in the habit of using existing brevities as the germ of much larger movements.”

4.3 An overview of reconstructions

Including the first attempt in 1964, at least 18 reconstructions of the *Markuspassion* have been attempted. They have ranged from reconstructions that only include music by Bach to works that include music by Bach’s contemporaries as well, and even to works where entire sections have been composed by modern-day scholars. Despite Neumann’s warning about the limited authenticity of any reconstruction, some of the *Markuspassion* reconstructions have been presented to concert audiences in the guise of an original Bach composition, with Gomme’s reconstruction even having been published in the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* of Bärenreiter.

Table 4-2 lists the different reconstructions relevant to this discussion in chronological order and gives a short description of the origin of the material therein. The information in this table was gleaned from Prinz (1999: 8-9), Bruno (2005: 34-38), Braun (2007), Gebhard (2001), the web documents Oron (2010) and Ehlbeck (2010), and the scores of several of the reconstructions, namely those by Büsing (1995), Heighes (1995), Gomme (1997), Koch (1998), Koopman (1999) and Glöckner (2004).

In Chapter 5, five of these reconstructions will be studied and compared to one another to determine the choice of material in each work, as well as the treatment of this material. As has been stated in Chapter 1, these five reconstructions are those of Simon Heighes, A. H. Gomme, Ton Koopman, Diethard Hellmann/Johannes H.E. Koch and Diethard Hellmann/Andreas Glöckner. These reconstructions have been chosen because, at the time of selection, they represented the most recent attempts towards a ‘historically accurate’ work, the reconstructions of Philippe Pierlot (1997) and Alexander Grychtolik (2009) not having been published yet. A short overview of the reconstructions not discussed in the bulk of this study will be given in this chapter.

Table 4-2

Overview of existing known reconstructions of the *Markuspassion*

Date⁷	Reconstructor:	Description
1964	Diethard Hellmann	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Narrative is read, thus no recitatives or turbae
1967	Albrecht Haupt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Recitatives and turbae from an anonymous <i>Markuspassion</i> first performed in Hamburg in 1707
1978	Gustav Adolph Theill	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Turbae parodied from within the Bach repertoire • Recitatives composed by Theill
1981	Volker Bräutigam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Recitatives and turbae composed by Bräutigam
1983	Stefan Sutkowski/ Tadeusz Maciejewski	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Recitatives and turbae, as well as their associated texts, taken from Bach's <i>Matthäuspassion</i> and the proven inauthentic <i>Lukaspassion</i>
1986	Jos van Veldhoven	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Recitatives and turbae from a <i>Markuspassion</i> by Marco Gioseppe Peranda (1625-1675)
1987	Hans Josef Irmen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Remaining lyrical numbers, turbae and recitatives parodied from extant Bach compositions

⁷ Where available, the date of publication has been used. In all other cases, the date mentioned is the date of the first public performance.



1991	Christoph Albrecht	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions• Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections• Turbae and recitatives from a <i>Markuspassion</i> by Gottfried August Homilius (1714-1785).
1995	Otfried Büsing	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Arias and choruses taken from several extant Bach compositions• Recitatives composed by Otfried Büsing in a contemporary style on a text by Walter Jens• Certain turbae choruses taken from Bach compositions, others composed by Büsing and others omitted• All chorales omitted
1995	Simon Heighes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions• Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections• Recitatives and turbae from an anonymous <i>Markuspassion</i> first performed in Hamburg in 1707 and partly composed by Heighes
1997	A. H. Gomme	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions• Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections• Recitatives and turbae from an anonymous <i>Markuspassion</i> first performed in Hamburg in 1707
1998	Rudolf Kelber	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions• Certain chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections• Insertion of additional Bach arias from other works• Narrative taken partly from an anonymous <i>Markuspassion</i> first performed in Hamburg in 1707 and partly composed by Bach, Telemann and Kelber
1998	Diethard Hellmann/ Johannes H. E. Koch	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Largely based on the Hellmann reconstruction• Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections• Recitatives and turbae composed by Koch
1999	Ton Koopman	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Choruses, arias and certain turbae taken from several extant Bach compositions• Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections• Recitatives and certain turbae composed by Koopman

2004	Diethard Hellmann/ Andreas Glöckner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Largely based on the Hellmann reconstruction • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Narrative is read, thus no recitatives or turbae
2005	Malcolm Bruno	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Certain chorales deleted, addition of two arias • Narrative is read, thus no recitatives or turbae
2007	Philippe Pierlot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • One aria composed by Pierlot • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Turbae composed by Pierlot • Recitatives composed by Pierlot and Pierre Funk
2009	Alexander Grychtolik	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choruses and arias taken from several extant Bach compositions • Chorales taken from the Bach chorale collections • Recitatives and turbae parodied from extant Bach compositions, particularly the <i>Matthäuspasion</i> and <i>Johannespasion</i>, and partly composed by Grychtolik

The first known reconstruction of the *Markuspasion* was made in 1964 by Diethard Hellmann and published by Hänslers-Verlag of Stuttgart. Hellmann's basic premise is that recoverable arias, choruses and chorales should be performed, while the unrecoverable narrative be omitted entirely from the passion performance or otherwise read to the audience. The numbers that Hellmann deems recoverable are the two choruses, five arias and twelve chorales. (Glöckner 2004: 64.)

In creating this reconstruction, Hellmann draws heavily on past research done on the *Markuspasion*. As far as lyrical number choices are concerned, he is indebted to Rust, Terry and Smend for not only helping to establish the link between the *Trauerode* and the *Markuspasion*, but also for pointing out possible sources for the remaining lost arias. For "Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen", Hellmann chooses to use the same aria that Smend put forward so unequivocally in the 1940's, "Widerstehe doch der Sünde" BWV 54/1. Hellmann (1964: X-XI) agrees with Smend that there is no parody base for "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei", and does not include this number in his reconstruction.

Hellmann (1964: XI) agrees with Terry that the aria “Merkt und hört ihr Menschenkinder” is an unsuitable parody base for “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”, and instead uses the aria, “Leit, O Gott” from *Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge* BWV 120a. This aria is already a parody of the aria “Heil und Segen” from the *Ratswahlkantata* BWV 120. The *Ratswahlkantata* was originally written for the Leipzig council elections that took place either in 1728 or in 1729. In his parody of the music for BWV 120a, Bach adapted the music in a number of important ways. According to Gomme (1997: 155), if Bach indeed used this same aria for the *Markuspassion*, it follows that he would have kept these alterations. However, since the instrumental score of BWV 120a is lost, Hellmann uses only the vocal part of BWV 120a and turns to BWV 120 for the instrumental part. Although Hellmann makes it clear in the Foreword (1964: XI) to his reconstruction that he does not necessarily believe that his choice is the only true and final one, he does state: “It is noticeable how convincingly the musical pattern and the phrasing of the Passion libretto fit each other.”

Of the twelve chorales that Hellmann includes in his reconstruction, only two of them were not suggested by Smend in the 1940’s. These are “Jesu, ohne Missetat” and “Man hat dich sehr hart verhöhnet”. For the latter chorale, Smend could not ascertain the melody and could therefore not suggest a harmonisation. For this chorale, Hellmann puts forward a harmonisation often associated with the *Markuspassion* chorale text. (Hellmann 1964: XIII-XIV.) Hellmann (1964: XI) states in this regard: “We owe a debt to the frequently-mentioned work of Friedrich Smend for decisive indications towards the discovery of the chorale settings in the St. Mark Passion.”

Hellmann proposes two performing versions of his work. In the first, the gospel narrative is omitted and the passion numbers are performed in a sequence of alternating arias and chorales framed by the opening and closing choruses. In this version, only five chorales are included, chosen with “the intention of creating, through the texts of these settings, a spiritual connecting link between the texts of the choruses and the arias” (Hellmann 1964: XIII). The second performing version of this reconstruction includes twelve chorale harmonisations that Hellmann identifies as belonging to the *Markuspassion*. In this version, the gospel narrative is read in

between the performances of arias and chorales. Hellmann does not include all the chorales called for in Picander’s *Markuspassion* text, nor does he follow the original sequence of chorales, in order to avoid a “tedious alternation between reading and chorale several times in long stretches” (Hellmann 1964: XIII). In doing so, Hellmann attempts to create a balance by interspersing arias and no more than two chorales with the read gospel narrative.

The Hellmann reconstruction has formed a basis for many reconstructors up until the 21st century. It represents the first effort at recovering this work and it therefore has significance in all discussions about the lost *Markuspassion*. Hellmann’s choices for his reconstruction are presented in Table 4-3.

Table 4-3

Music included in Diethard Hellmann’s 1964 *Markuspassion* reconstruction (Hellmann 1964: IV-IX and Prinz 1999: 18-44)

<i>Markuspassion</i> number	Hellmann 1964 reconstruction
Chorus: “Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein”	<i>Trauerode</i> BWV 198/1 “Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl”
Chorale: “Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht”	<i>Matthäuspassion</i> BWV 244/32 “Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht”
Chorale: “Ich, ich und meine Sünden”	Chorale BWV 393 “O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben”
Aria: “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”	<i>Trauerode</i> BWV 198/5 “Wie starb die Heldin so vergnügt!”
Chorale: “Wach auf, o Mensch, vom Sündenschlaf”	Chorale BWV 397 “O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort”
Chorale: “Betrübtes Herz, sei Wohlgemut”	Chorale BWV 428 “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist”
Aria: “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden!”	<i>Trauerode</i> BWV 198/3 “Verstummt, verstummt, ihr holden Saiten!”
Aria: “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”	<i>Widerstehe doch der Sünde</i> BWV 54/1 “Widerstehe doch der Sünde”



Chorale: “Jesu, ohne Missethat”	Chorale BWV 355 “Jesu, der du selbstest wohl”
Chorale: “Ich will hier bei dir stehen”	Chorale BWV 271 “Befiehl du deine Wege”
Aria: “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”	<i>Trauerode</i> BWV 198/8 “Der Ewigkeit saphirnes Haus”
Chorale: “Befiehl du deine Wege”	Chorale BWV 270 “Befiehl du deine Wege”
Chorale: “Du edles Angesichte”	<i>Matthäuspasion</i> BWV 244/54 “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden”
Chorale: “Herr, ich habe missgehandelt”	Chorale BWV 331 “Herr, ich habe missgehandelt”
Chorale: “Man hat dich sehr hart verhönet”	Chorale BWV 354 “Jesu, der du meine Seele”
Chorale: “Keinen hatt Gott verlassen”	Chorale BWV 369 “Keinen hat Gott verlassen”
Aria: “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”	<i>Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge</i> BWV 120a/3 “Leit, O Gott”
Chorale: “O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh”	Chorale BWV 404 “O Traurigkeit, O Herzeleid”
Chorus: “Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein”	<i>Trauerode</i> BWV 198/10 “Doch, Königin! Du stirbest nicht”

As subsequent reconstructions have shown, “all attempts at a complete ‘reconstruction’ of the *Markuspasion* must, in the absence of so much of the original, will be hybrids” (Gomme 1997: 158). In 1967, Haupt attempted a reconstruction that was largely based on Hellmann’s. An important difference is that Haupt provides gospel narrative by turning to an anonymous *Markuspasion* that was first performed in Hamburg in 1707. This anonymous passion starts 25 verses later than Picander’s text, thereby necessitating a change in the overall structure. Several reconstructors since Haupt have followed this route and its merits are discussed at greater length in Chapter 5.

Theill likewise attempted a reconstruction in 1978. He believed that the *Markuspasion* received its first performance in 1728, and he bases many of his decisions for parody models on this premise (Theill 1978: 17). In recovering lost

lyrical numbers, Theill relies on existing Bach research in adopting many of Hellmann's aria choices. He follows Terry's recommendation for "Angenohmes Mordgeschrei", namely BWV 204/8 and also Smend's recommendation of using BWV 54/1 for "Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen".

For "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren" he deviates from preceding Bach research and decides to use the bass aria "Domine Deus" from the *a-Moll-Messe* BWV 234, which he presumes to be already a parody of an earlier work. Through textual comparison, Theill links "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren" with "Rolle doch nicht auf der Erde", an aria text taken from the versified gospel story written by Picander in 1725. It is not known whether this text was ever set to music. Nonetheless, Theill believes that the same music was used for the 1725 text and the *Markuspassion* text. He then points to musical-textual imagery in "Domine Deus" that is congruent with the text of "Rolle doch nicht auf der Erde", arguing that they were set to the same music. This would make the recovery of "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren" possible. Furthermore, Picander specified a *da capo* for "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren", prompting Theill to point out that there are indications in the score that the structure of "Domine Deus" changed from being a *da capo* aria to a through-composed aria. (Theill 1978: 58.)

In contrast to both Hellmann and Haupt, Theill chooses to compose the recitatives himself and to supply the turbae by turning to Bach's extant compositions. He makes a strong point in his 1928 treatment of the subject that one cannot isolate remaining fragments of the *Markuspassion* by removing them from their original context as Hellmann has done (Theill 1928: 62). Theill composes the recitatives anew, drawing models from the *Matthäuspassion*. Theill (1978: 65) writes that, in his treatment, most syllables of the recitative have received a separate note, but that there are several melismatic passages. In dealing with turbae, Theill provisionally suggests turbae that could either have been parodied from the *Markuspassion* or vice versa. Amongst these is the turba "Er hat anderen geholfen", that Theill identifies as an adaptation of Number 7 of BWV 198, "An dir, du Vorbild grosser Frauen". He also suggests that the two "Kreuzige Ihn" turbae can be found in another form in "Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe", taken from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* (Theill 1978: 48).

In dealing with the chorales of the Markuspasion, Theill puts forward suggestions for all of the 16 chorales contained in the *Markuspasion*. Nine of these chorales are original suggestions in the sense that they were not proposed by either Hellmann or Smend. For the last chorale of the first part of the Passion, “Ich will hier bei dir stehen”, Theill suggests the use of an expanded chorale chorus taken from Cantata BWV135, *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*. He bases this decision on the similar use of an extended chorale chorus at the same place in the *Matthäuspasion*. (Theill 1978: 37-43.)

The next few reconstructions do not offer much that is new regarding the missing lyrical numbers of the *Markuspasion*, yet each reconstructor chooses a different way of solving the problem of supplying gospel narrative. Volker Bräutigam’s 1981 reconstruction, like that of Haupt, relies heavily on Hellmann in his choice of lyrical numbers and chorales. He attempts to solve the problem of the unrecoverable narrative by composing them himself. In 1983, Stefan Sutkowski and Tadeusz Maciejewski compiled a reconstruction also based on Hellmann’s 1964 attempt. It takes the text and the music of the gospel narrative from Bach’s *Matthäuspasion* and the spurious *Lukaspasion*, thereby only including music thought at the time to be composed by Bach (Prinz 1999: 8). According to Gomme (1997: 158), this reconstruction “ceases to be a Passion according to St. Mark in anything but name.”

The next reconstruction came from Jos van Veldhoven in 1986. Unlike his predecessors, van Veldhoven believed that the listener should be able to clearly distinguish which passages were authentic Bach and which not. To that end he supplies the missing parts of the passion by making use of acapella plainsong-like narratives from Marco Gioseppe Peranda’s mid-17th century *Historia des Leidens und Sterbens unsers Herrn...Jesu Christi nach dem Evangelium St. Markum*, originally attributed to Heinrich Schütz. (Heighes 1995: 5.)

One year later, Hans Josef Irmen compiled a *Markuspasion* loosely based on Hellmann’s, but augmented it with further borrowings from the extant Bach repertory. In 1991, Christoph Albrecht followed with a *Markuspasion* with narrative taken from the *Markuspasion* of Gottfried August Homilius (Prinz 1999: 8). Homilius was once

the composition pupil of Bach and his *Markuspassion*, composed in the 1760's, is often claimed to be his best work (Gomme 1997: 158).

In 1995, Otfried Büsing attempted a reconstruction that incorporates only the numbers by Bach whose place in the original *Markuspassion* is “as good as proven” (Büsing IV). This reconstruction takes Walter Jens' 20th century text *Und ich erzähle* as its principal text, using Picander's text only for the seven numbers by Bach. These numbers comprise the two choruses, four arias and one turba chorus. The rest of the musical material, made up of recitatives, choruses and an instrumental number, was composed by Büsing in a contemporary style. Thus, instead of trying to recapture a lost work as it would have been performed in 1731, Büsing creates what is virtually a new work on a new text; building on the music of Bach to create a synthesis between the old and the new. (Büsing 1995: I-VI.)

Rudolf Kelber attempted a *pasticcio* reconstruction in 1998. This attempt takes choruses, arias and several chorales from the existing Bach repertory. The narrative is ‘borrowed’ largely from the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*, although Kelber has composed some of the recitatives himself and included turbae by Telemann and Bach. This is augmented through the insertion of three additional arias taken from the Bach repertory. (Gebhard 2001: 21; Ehlbeck 2010; Oron: 2010.)

Malcolm Bruno's 2005 construction takes the form of a liturgical drama where all narrative is spoken. Bruno has placed the *Trauerode* at the centre musically, has deleted chorales and added two arias from existing Bach cantatas. He has opted not to include “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” in his reconstruction, as no definite parody base could be found by Hellmann. Bruno (2005: 38) writes that he has placed “a total commitment to Bach's music above a literal and perhaps obsessive realisation of Picander's libretto.” In doing so, the text and structure of the original *Markuspassion* have been altered to present a shortened dramatic rendering of this work.

In 2007, the reconstructions of Philippe Pierlot and Alexander Grychtolik had their premieres. Like previous reconstructions, these take arias and choruses from the *Trauerode* and other extant cantatas for the lyrical numbers. As no parody base can be found by Pierlot for “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”, he chooses to compose it himself.

All of the Pierlot turbae and recitatives were composed by him and Pierre Funk. (Braun 2007: 233.)

Grychtolik's attempt was published by Peters in 2009. This reconstruction parodies all the lyrical numbers of the *Markuspassion* from extant Bach compositions, using the *Trauerode* as its basis. Turbae and recitatives are partly taken from extant Bach compositions and are partly composed by Grychtolik. In finding music for the narrative, he turns frequently to the *Johannespassion* and *Matthäuspassion*. (Braun 2007: 233.)

Chapter 5

Comparison of reconstructions

5.1 Overview of reconstructions

5.1.1 Simon Heighes

The Heighes *Markuspassion* was published in 1995 by King's Music of Huntingdon, England. Heighes's basic premise is to synthesise existing research as far as lyrical numbers and chorales are concerned, although he, on occasion, chooses a parody base not mentioned by previous researchers. To supply recitatives for the passion he duplicates those of an anonymous *Markuspassion* first performed in Hamburg in 1707. To avoid changing the structure of the Picander *Markuspassion* text, he composes the remaining recitatives himself. (Heighes 1996: 2-5 and Heighes 1995: 1-152.)

This reconstruction was recorded by Brilliant Classics in 1996. The performers on this CD are the Ring Ensemble of Finland and the European Union Baroque Orchestra, conducted by Roy Goodman, with Rogers Covey-Crump, Gordon Jones, Connor Burrowes, David James, Paul Agew and Teppo Tolonen as soloists.

5.1.2 A. H. Gomme

Bärenreiter Kassel published A. H. Gomme's reconstruction of the *Markuspassion* in 1997 as a part of their *Neue Bach* edition. Like Heighes, Gomme essentially synthesises existing Bach research in an attempt to find parody bases for the lyrical numbers and chorales of the *Markuspassion*. For the missing recitatives, Gomme exclusively used those of the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*, in this case changing the structure of the Bach *Markuspassion* in the process. (Gomme 1997: 1-167.)

The record label Gaudeamus produced a 1999 recording of this reconstruction conducted by Geoffrey Webber. The performers on this CD are Jeremy Ovenden, Timothy Mirfin, Ruth Gomme, William Towers, James Gilchrist, Paul Thomson,

Abigail Boreham, the Choir of Gonville & Caius College, and the Cambridge Baroque Camerata.⁸

5.1.3 Johannes H. E. Koch

Koch's reconstruction was published by Carus Verlag in 1998. As discussed in Chapter 4, Hänssler Verlag published a *Markuspassion* reconstruction by Diethard Hellmann in 1964. Johannes Koch's choices for the lyrical numbers and chorales are identical to Hellmann's, the only difference between the two reconstructions being that Koch composes his own recitatives and turbae. (Koch 1998: 4-100.)

This reconstruction has been recorded several times. In 1998, Prospect Studios produced a recording of this work conducted by Mathias Michaely. This recording was performed by the Ostfälisches Vokalensemble and the Südwestdeutsches Barockorchester with Hermann Munkelt, Stefan P.D. Runge, Barbara Cramm, Birgit Görgner, Martin B. Müller and Karsten Krüger as soloists.

In 2000, Kantorei Hamborn produced a recording of this reconstruction which was conducted by Udo Witt. The performers on this recording are the Kammerorchester und Chorgemeinschaft des Duisburg-Nord. Soloists are Judith Hoff, Claudia-Constanze Nagorsnik, Markus Heinrich, Christian Palm and Matthias Zangerle.

Then, in 2004, the Ölberg-Chor and Instrumental Ensemble recorded this reconstruction under the baton of Ingo Schultz. Soloists on this recording are Inés Villanueva, Peter Rehkop, Christian Mücke, Burkhard von Puttkamer and Tobias Müller-Kopp. This recording was produced by Music Art.

5.1.4 Ton Koopman

In 1999, Ton Koopman attempted a reconstruction of the *Markuspassion*. It has never been published but the performing parts are available from the library of Ton Koopman. This reconstruction is almost entirely original as it does not rely on pre-existing Bach scholarship. Koopman parodies lyrical numbers and chorales from the

⁸ Information about recordings taken from www.bach-cantatas.com/vocal/BWV247, accessed on 23 June 2010. For more information on the *Markuspassion* recordings, refer to the discography on page 131.

existing Bach repertory and composes all recitatives and turbae himself. (Koopman 1999: 1-227.)

The recording of Koopman's reconstruction was produced by Erato Discs in 2000. Performers on this CD are The Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Choir with Sibylla Rubens, Bernhard Landauer, Christoph Pregardien, Paul Agnew, Peter Kooy and Klaus Mertens as soloists and Ton Koopman as conductor.

5.1.5 Andreas Glöckner

Similarly to the Koch *Markuspassion* reconstruction, Glöckner's is based on that of Hellmann. Likewise, his edition is a revised version of the Hellmann reconstruction, using precisely the same lyrical numbers and leaving out the one aria believed to be unrecoverable. As in the Hellmann reconstruction, the unrecoverable recitatives and turbae are read during performance. Glöckner however, unlike Hellmann, includes all 16 chorales in his reconstruction and sometimes deviates from the chorales chosen by Diethard Hellmann. (Glöckner 2004: 1-64.)

This reconstruction was recorded by Ensemble Amarcord and the Kölner Akademie under the baton of Michael Alexander Willens. Soloists on this recording are Dominique Horwitz, Anja Zügner, Dorothea Wagner, Clare Wilkinson, Silvia Janak, Wolfram Lattke, Martin Lattke, Frank Ozimek, Daniel Knauft and Holger Krause. It was produced by Carus-Verlag in 2009.

5.2 Comparison of material used in *Markuspassion* reconstructions

This section discusses each number of the *Markuspassion* and investigates why specific compositions have been chosen by reconstructors to parody in their attempts to rebuild this composition. A complete listing of musical numbers that have been parodied is presented in Appendix A in table format.

Besides the scores of the reconstructions, their forewords and the notes accompanying their recordings have been studied. Ulrich Prinz's (1999: 18-41) symposium notes on the *Markuspassion*, with its table detailing the musical choices of several of the reconstructors, has also been consulted in this regard.

Information about the Heighes reconstruction comes from the notes accompanying its recording (Heighes 1996: 2-5), its score (Heighes 1995: 1-152) and the table set up by Prinz (1999: 18-41). In the afterword to his reconstruction, Gomme (1997: 146-167) discusses his choice of material and offers a comprehensive listing of the musical origins of his numbers. All of the information regarding Gomme's choice of musical material has been taken from this source.

Information about the Koch reconstruction has been gathered from Prinz (1999: 18-41), the Hellmann reconstruction (1964: 1-79) and Koch's manuscript (1998: 1-100). Koopman's choice of musical material has been ascertained through Prinz (1999: 18-41) and the score of his reconstruction (Koopman 1999: 1-227). In establishing the material used by Glöckner, his manuscript (Glöckner 2004: 1-64) and the Hellmann (1964: 1-79) reconstruction have been referred to.

As all the above sources have been consulted to determine the musical origins of the different *Markuspassion* reconstructions, text references pertaining to choice of musical material will not be made in the next section.

5.2.1 Lyrical Numbers

The lyrical numbers are discussed individually and much of the discussion which follows is in the tradition of Wilhelm Rust by centring on the metrical similarity or dissimilarity of parody pair texts⁹.

5.2.1.1 Choruses

As previously discussed, Wilhelm Rust discovered in 1873 that there are definite links between the *Markuspassion* and *Trauerode*. Diethard Hellmann, in the first attempted *Markuspassion* reconstruction, used the *Trauerode* as a parody base for much of his reconstruction. In his 1978 article on the subject, Gustav Adolf Theill argued in favour of using BWV 198 and subsequently re-used the five lyrical numbers found therein in his own reconstruction (Theill 1978: 25).

⁹ All texts in this section were taken from Walter F. Bishof's Bach Cantatas website. 1997 – 2007. Available from <http://www.cs.ualberta.ca/~wfb/bach.html>. [Accessed on 22 October 2007].

Heighes, Gomme, Glöckner and Koch all use the opening chorus of the *Trauerode*, “Lass, Fürstin, lass noch einen Strahl”, for the corresponding number of the *Markuspassion*, “Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein”. These four reconstructors also make use of “Doch, Königin! Du stirbest nicht”, the final chorus of the *Trauerode*, for “Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein”, the closing chorus of the *Markuspassion*.

For use in the four reconstructions, both of these choruses are kept in their original key of B minor. The merits of using the *Trauerode* as a parody source for the *Markuspassion* are numerous and well documented. These compositions were performed within four years of one another and the scoring of the funeral music is not only unique in Bach’s oeuvre, but was also the same as the anonymous passion that passed through the hands of Breitkopf and has since been recognised as the *Markuspassion*. Most importantly, four of the respective texts of these compositions show remarkable congruence with one another, pointing to the strong possibility of a parody relationship.

Table 5-1 demonstrates the metrical similarity of the opening choruses of the *Markuspassion* and the *Trauerode*. Both texts have an identical rhyme scheme of abba, are in iambic tetrameter and have the same number of syllables per line.

Table 5-1

The texts of “Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein” from BWV 247 and “Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl” BWV 198/1

“Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein” BWV 247	“Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl” BWV 198/1
Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein! Ich will so lange dich beweinen, Bis mir dein Trost wird wieder scheinen , Da ich versöhnet werde sein .	Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl Aus Salems Stern gewölben schießen , Und sieh , mit wieviel Thrän engüssen, Umringen wir dein Ehrenmahl .

Likewise, the texts of the closing choruses, “Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein” from the *Markuspassion* and “Doch, Königin! du stirbest nicht” from the *Trauerode*, show the same congruence. They have an identical rhyme scheme of abba and are in iambic tetrameter with the same number of syllables per line. The claim that these two works share a parody relationship is strengthened when one considers their semantic resemblance to one another. Line 5 of Picander’s *Markuspassion* text reads as

follows: “Look, you shall have this epitaph”. The remaining lines quote this epitaph and tell about Jesus’s great deed: humanity is free of sin and thus their lives have sprung from his death. In the *Trauerode* text, Line 5 reads: “You Poets, write! We want to read it” while Lines 6 to 8 similarly tell how the Queen will be remembered after her death. These texts are compared in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2

The texts of “Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein” from BWV 247 and “Doch, Königin! Du stirbst nicht” BWV 198/10

“Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein” BWV 247	“Doch, Königin! Du stirbst nicht” BWV 198/10
Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein Will ich mich stets , mein Jesu , weiden , Und über dein verdienstlich Leiden Von Herzen froh und dankbar sein . Schau, diese Grabschrift sollst du haben : Mein Leben kommt aus deinem Tod , Hier hab ich meine Sünden-Noth Und Jesum selbst in mich begraben.	Doch, Königin! Du stirbst nicht , Man weiß , was man an dir besessen; Die Nachwelt wird dich nicht vergessen , Bis dieser Weltbau einst zerbricht. Ihr Dichter , schreibt! Wir wollen’s lesen : Sie ist der Tugend Eigenthum , Der Unterthanen Lust und Ruhm , Der Königinnen Preis gewesen.

In contrast to Heighes, Gomme, Glöckner and Koch, Koopman makes use of entirely different choruses in his reconstruction. For “Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein”, Koopman draws on “Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe” from Cantata BWV 25, *Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe*, composed in 1723 for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity. He uses this chorus in its original key of A minor. When one considers the criteria established for recognizing a parody pair, several aspects become relevant in this case.

BWV 25 and BWV 247 were composed and performed within eight years of one another. While this makes a parody relationship possible, a comparison of these texts shows that they deal with a dissimilar sentiment. The *Markuspassion* text, although encouraging Jesus to go out to meet his pain, concludes with the idea that his death will bring comfort and peace. The text from BWV 25, however, proclaims that there is nothing healthy or peaceful in the speaker’s body because of the sin in his bones.

In Table 5-3, the two texts are compared. Although they have a similar rhyme scheme, they are not metrically congruent and the number of syllables per line varies considerably. These factors combined make it unlikely that Bach would have used these texts for the same music, resulting in the conclusion that BWV 25 was almost certainly not the original parody source for the opening chorus of Bach’s *Markuspassion*.

Table 5-3

The texts of “Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein” from BWV 247 and “Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe” BWV 25/1

“Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein” BWV 247	“Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe” BWV 25/1
Geh, Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein! Ich will so lange dich beweinen, Bis mir dein Trost wird wieder scheinen , Da ich versöhnet werde sein .	Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe Vor deinem Dräuen Und ist kein Friede in meinen Gebeinen Vor meiner Sünde .

Koopman parodies the final chorus of the *Markuspassion*, “Bei deinem Grab und Leichenstein” from “Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt”, the opening chorus of Cantata BWV 68. Koopman includes this aria in its original key of D minor. *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt* BWV 68 was composed in 1725 for performance on the second day of Pentecost, also referred to as Whit Monday. This work was composed and performed only six years before the *Markuspassion* and the respective texts of these choruses express similar emotional sentiments of reassurance and gratitude. The text of the closing chorus of the *Markuspassion* is about thankfulness on behalf of the liberated believer whose sins have been taken away. “Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt” is based on and tells of God’s great love for mankind that caused Him to send His Son to take away the sins of the world in order that no one would be lost.

However, a comparison of the two texts presented in Table 5-4 shows that only the first, second, fifth and seventh lines have the same metrical structure. Although they are both in iambic tetrameter, the rhyme schemes of the texts are different, as is the distribution of syllables across lines. The *Markuspassion* text has a rhyme scheme of abba, while BWV 68/1 has that of aabb. As with Koopman’s choice for the opening

chorus, a similar conclusion has to be drawn that it is unlikely Bach would have parodied BWV 68/1 for the closing chorus of his *Markuspassion*.

Table 5-4

The texts of “Bei deinem Grab und Leichenstein” from BWV 247 and “Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt” BWV 68/1

“Bei deinem Grab und Leichenstein” BWV 247	“Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt” BWV 68/1
Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein Will ich mich stets , mein Jesus , weiden , Und über dein verdienstlich Leiden Von Herzen froh und dankbar sein .	Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt , Dass er uns seinen Sohn gegeben. Wer sich im Glauben ihm ergibt, Der soll dort ewig bei ihm leben .
Schau, diese Grabschrift sollst du haben : Mein Leben kommt aus deinem Tod , Hier hab ich meine Sünden-Noth Und Jesum selbst in mich begraben.	Wer glaubt , dass Jesus ihm geboren, Der bleibt ewig unverloren , Und ist kein Leid , das den betrübt , Den Gott und auch sein Jesus liebt .

5.2.1.2 “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”

Regarding the first aria of the *Markuspassion*, “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”, Heighes, Gomme, Koch and Glöckner concur once more with the findings of Wilhelm Rust. They parody Number 5 of the *Trauerode*, “Wie starb die Heldin so vergnügt”, for this aria. In all four reconstructions, the original key of B minor is retained.

A comparison of the two texts in Table 5-5 demonstrates their congruency. Both rhyme schemes are abba, have the same number of syllables per line and are in iambic tetrameter. Both of these texts have a comforting and positive, yet wistful tone. Once again, their striking similarity suggests that Bach may indeed have used the music of BWV 198/5 for his original *Markuspassion*.

Table 5-5

The texts of “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht” from BWV 247 and “Wie starb die Heldin so vergnügt” BWV 198/5

“Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht” BWV 247	“Wie starb die Heldin so vergnügt” BWV 198/5
Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht , Ich habe dich in mich verschlossen , Und deinen Leib und Blut genossen , Und meinen Trost auf dich gericht .	Wie starb die Heldin so vergnügt ! Wie muthig hat ihr Geist gerungen , Da sie des Todes Arm bezwungen , Noch eh’ er ihre Brust besiegt !

For this aria, Koopman uses “Leget euch dem Heiland unter,” Number 5 from *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen* BWV 182. Koopman has kept this aria in its original key of E minor. BWV 182 had its premiere on the Palm Sunday of 1714 and was the first cantata that Bach composed as Konzertmeister at Weimar. Many of the original performing parts of BWV 182 remain intact and from these sources one can see that Bach revived this cantata a number of times, for instance in Leipzig in 1724 and in 1728 (Wolff 1995b: 22-23).

Both these texts include the word ‘saviour’ in their title, suggesting that Koopman links these two arias on the grounds of textual meaning. “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht” is addressed directly to God. In it, the speaker says that he will never forget his Saviour as he has partaken of his flesh and blood and placed his trust in Him. “Leget euch dem Heiland unter” calls upon all Christians to lay themselves before their Saviour in a spotless robe and consecrate their lives, bodies and possessions to Him.

In Table 5-6, the text of “Leget euch dem Heiland unter” is compared to that of “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”. The *Markuspassion* text is a four-line iambic tetrameter verse with a rhyme scheme of abba. The text from BWV 182 is a six-line trochaic tetrameter verse with a rhyme scheme of abbccb. Because of these differences, and because the number of syllables per line also varies, the two texts would not be an obvious choice to use for the same music. One can conclude that it is unlikely Bach would have used this aria from BWV 182 in the *Markuspassion*.

Table 5-6

The texts of “Mein Heiland dich vergeß ich nicht” from BWV 247 and “Leget euch dem Heiland unter” BWV 182/5

<i>Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht</i> BWV 247	<i>Leget euch dem Heiland unter</i> BWV 182/5
Mein Heiland , dich vergeß ich nicht , Ich habe dich in mich verschlossen, Und deinen Leib und Blut genossen, Und meinen Trost auf dich gericht.	Leget euch dem Heiland unter , Herzen, die ihr christlich seid! Tragt ein unbeflecktes Kleid Eures Glaubens ihm entgegen, Leib und Leben und Vermögen Sei dem König jetzt geweiht.

5.2.1.3 “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden”

Heighes, Gomme, Koch and Glöckner once again turn to the *Trauerode* for a parody base for the aria, “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden”. As with the other borrowings from this cantata, the original key of B minor has been retained throughout.

Table 5-7 compares Picander’s *Markuspassion* text to that of “Verstummt, verstummt, ihr holden Saiten”, Number 3 from BWV 198. Both texts are in iambic tetrameter with the same number of syllables per line and an identical rhyme scheme of abba. Once again, as in the other borrowings from the *Trauerode*, the metrical similarity of the texts points to the strong possibility of an authentic parody pair having been discovered.

Table 5-7

The texts of “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden” from BWV 247 and “Verstummt, verstummt, ihr holden Saiten” BWV 198/3

“Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden” BWV 247	“Verstummt, verstummt, ihr holden Saiten” BWV 198/3
Er kommt , er kommt , er ist vorhanden ! Mein Jesu , ach! Er suchet dich , Entfliehe doch , und lasse mich , Mein Heil , statt deiner in den Banden .	Verstummt, verstummt, ihr holden Saiten ! Kein Ton vermag der Länder Noth Bei ihrer theuren Mutter Tod – O Schmerzenswort! – recht anzudeuten .

For “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden”, Koopman turns to a very early composition, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* BWV 4, and uses *versus II* of this work, “Den Tod Niemand zwingen konnt”. This aria is kept in its original key of E minor. *Christ lag in Todesbanden* is a chorale cantata *per omnes versus*. In this type of cantata, all the verses of a specific chorale are used, with each verse forming the basis of one number or movement. This work uses the verses of Martin Luther’s *Osterhymne* bearing the same name as BWV 4. The earliest surviving copy of this score dates from 1724, but it “was probably composed when Bach applied for the post as organist at the Church of St Blasius in Mühlhausen” (Wolff 1995a: 37). This would date the work to 1707.

According to the criteria established in the previous chapter for identifying a parody relationship, the fact that BWV 4 was composed more than twenty years before the *Markuspassion* minimises its chance of having been parodied for “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden”. The respective texts from BWV 4 and BWV 247 are compared in Table 5-8. The *Markuspassion* text is a four-line iambic tetrameter verse in abba rhyme scheme. “Den Tod Niemand zwingen konnt” is an eight-line verse in an irregular rhyme scheme that contains both iambic and trochaic metre. These dissimilarities lead one to conclude that they are not likely parody pairs.

Table 5-8

The texts of “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden” from BWV 247 and “Den Tod Niemand zwingen konnt” BWV 4/versus II

“Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden” BWV 247	“Den Tod Niemand zwingen konnt” BWV 4/versus II
Er kommt , er kommt , er ist vorhanden! Mein Jesu , ach! Er suchet dich , Entfliehe doch , und lasse mich , Mein Heil , statt deiner in den Banden .	Den Tod niemand zwingen konnt Bei allen Menschenkindern , Das macht' alles unsre Sünd , Kein Unschuld war zu finden . Davon kam der Tod so bald Und nahm über uns Gewalt , Hielt uns in seinem Reich gefangen . Halleluja!

5.2.1.4 “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”

Early in the 20th century, Charles Stanford Terry suggested that the music for the third aria of the *Markuspassion*, “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”, could be found in BWV 204/2. As discussed in Chapter 4, Friedrich Smend (1940-48: 19) was the first to suggest another, “Widerstehe doch der Sünde”, the opening aria of BWV 54. Smend was certain enough about his discovery to state that:

Untersuchen wir den Satz in seinen Einzelheiten, so ergibt sich eine so weitgehende Übereinstimmung der Töne mit dem Gehalt und der Deklamation der Worte, daß wir mit Bestimmtheit sagen könnten: Hier haben wir die gesuchte Vertonung der Passionsarie “Falsche Welt” vor uns.¹⁰

In his treatment of the subject, Smend argues that this music was originally composed for the *Markuspassion* and parodied for use in BWV 54. Interestingly, in stating that

¹⁰ If we investigate the musical number in its singularities, there is such a definite similarity of tones with the content and the declamation of words that we can say with certainty: Here we have the sought after music of the passion-aria, “Falsche Welt”.

Bach had parodied a sacred composition for use in a secular one, Smend had no qualms about reversing the ‘accepted’ order of the parody process. However, subsequent to Smend’s article, “Widerstehe doch der Sünde” was recognised as belonging to Bach’s Weimar period and dated to 1714 (Theill 1978: 26). Nevertheless, Smend (1940-48: 20) puts forward a convincing argument outlining why he believes that this was the original music used in the *Markuspassion*. He points out that both texts are metrically congruent and contain the word “Gift” in corresponding places. Table 5-9 shows that both of these texts have a similar rhyme scheme and are written in trochaic tetrameter with the same number of syllables per line.

Table 5-9

The texts of “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen” from BWV 247 and “Widerstehe doch der Sünde” BWV 54/1

“Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen” BWV 247	“Widerstehe doch der Sünde” BWV 54/1
Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen, Ist der frommen Seelen Gift. Deine Zungen sind voll Stechen, Und die Worte, die sie sprechen, Sind zu Fallen angestift.	Widerstehe doch der Sünde, Sonst ergreifet dich ihr Gift. Laß dich nicht den Satan blenden; Denn die Gottesehre schänden, Trifft ein Fluch, der tödlich ist.

Smend (1940-48: 22) points out that, historically speaking, “Widerstehe doch der Sünde” is possibly the earliest example of a composition that begins with obvious dissonance. He argues that Bach would not have taken such an innovative step in BWV 54, a short cantata that was not even allocated a specific function in the church year. “Widerstehe doch der Sünde” opens with a seventh chord that, according to Theill (1978: 31-32), is designed to illustrate the difficulty in withstanding sin. Smend (1940-48: 22) argues that its use with the *Markuspassion* is even more fitting as it symbolises the falseness of the world that is communicated in the text.

In his pioneering 1964 reconstruction of the *Markuspassion*, Diethard Hellmann chose to use this aria. Subsequent scholars and reconstructors have readily accepted that this aria, composed in 1714, could have been an original parody base for the third aria of the *Markuspassion*. In his 1978 study of the *Markuspassion*, Theill (1978: 60) also recommended the use of this aria.

Four of the five reconstructions under discussion, namely Heighes, Gomme, Koch and Glöckner, choose to parody this aria for “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”. The original key of this aria is E-flat major. Gomme has transposed this aria a semitone higher in his reconstruction, whereas Heighes, Koch and Glöckner have, like Hellmann, transposed this aria to G major. Regarding the different meanings of the respective texts from BWV 54 and BWV 247, A. H. Gomme (1997: 156) states that “the discrepancy of sentiment is more verbal than real, the earlier text calling on the soul to stand fast against sin, the later rejecting the false pretences of the flattering world: the word ‘Gift’ (poison) is heavily stressed in each [sic]”.

For “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”, Koopman turns to *Siehe zu, dass deine Gottesfurcht* BWV 179, composed in 1723 for the eleventh Sunday after Trinity. For his reconstruction, Koopman uses its third number, the tenor aria, “Falscher Heuchler Ebenbild”, choosing to retain its original key of E minor. Both texts begin with the word “wrong”, and both texts deal with a theme of deceit. A comparison between the two texts in Table 5-10 shows that, although they are both written in trochaic tetrameter, the number of lines and syllables per line are not the same. It would appear that this aria was not chosen by Koopman as a parody base on the merits of stylistic similarity, but rather on the grounds of textual meaning.

Table 5-10

The texts of “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen” from BWV 247 and “Falscher Heuchler Ebenbild” BWV 179/3

“Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen” BWV 247	“Falscher Heuchler Ebenbild” BWV 179/3
Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen, Ist der frommen Seelen Gift. Deine Zungen sind voll Stechen, Und die Worte, die sie sprechen, Sind zu Fallen angestift’t.	Falscher Heuchler Ebenbild Können Sodomsäpfel heißen, Die mit Unfalt angefüllt Und von außen herrlich gleißen. Heuchler, die von außen schön, Können nicht vor Gott bestehn.

5.2.1.5 “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”

For “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”, Heighes, Gomme, Koch and Glöckner once again turn to the *Trauerode*, parodying Number 8, “Der Ewigkeit saphirnes Haus”. In all these reconstructions, this aria is reused in its original key of E minor. Table 5-11 offers a comparison between the two texts. These texts have an identical rhyme

scheme and are both in iambic tetrameter with the same number of lines and syllables per line. They are thus perfectly metrically congruent, indicating that it would not be difficult to set them to the same music.

Table 5-11

The texts of “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir” from BWV 247 and “Der Ewigkeit saphirnes Haus” BWV 198/8

“Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir” BWV 247	“Der Ewigkeit saphirnes Haus” BWV 198/8
Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir . Mein Jesu, soll ich dich verlieren, Und zum Verderben sehen föhren ? Das kömmt der Seele schmerz lich für . Der Unschuld, welche nichts verbrochen , Dem Lamm, das ohne Missetat , Wird in dem ungerechten Rath Ein Todes-Urtheil zugesprochen .	Der Ewigkeit saphirnes Haus Zieht, Fürstin, deine heitern Blicke Von unsrer Niedrigkeit zurück e, Und tilgt der Erden Denkbild aus . Ein starker Glanz von hundert Sonnen , Der unsern Tag zur Mitternacht Und unsre Sonne finster macht , Hat dein verklärtes Haupt umspinnen .

Koopman parodies “Mit Verlangen”, Number 5 of the secular cantata *Geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde* BWV 201 for this *Markuspassion* aria. It is reused in Koopman’s reconstruction in its original key of B minor. The text of this cantata was written by Picander and tells the mythical story of the argument between Pan and Phoebus. It was first performed in 1729, two years before the 1731 performance of the *Markuspassion*, making it a possible parody base for “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”.

These texts are compared in Table 5-12, showing, firstly, that they deal with different sentiments. The *Markuspassion* text communicates a profound sense of loss upon the crucifixion of Christ, while “Mit Verlangen” tells of the longing with which the speaker touches the face of his beloved. Secondly, the *Markuspassion* text is written in iambic tetrameter, while the text from BWV 201 is trochaic, largely tetrameter. These texts do not have the same number of lines or similar syllable distribution. They also make use of different rhyme schemes. These factors combine to indicate that “Mit Verlangen” and “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir” are not obvious parody pairs.

Table 5-12

The texts of “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir” BWV 247 and “Mit Verlangen” BWV 201/5

“Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir” BWV 247	“Mit Verlangen” BWV 201/5
<p>Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir. Mein Jesu, soll ich dich verlieren, Und zum Verderben sehen föhren? Dass kömmt der Seele schmerzlich für. Der Unschuld, welche nichts verbrochen, Dem Lamm, das ohne Missetat, Wird in dem ungerechten Rath Ein Todes-Urtheil zugesprochen.</p>	<p>Mit Verlangen Drück ich deine zarten Wangen, Holder, schöner Hyazinth. Und dein' Augen küss ich gerne, Weil sie meine Morgensterne Und der Seele Sonne sind.</p>

5.2.1.6 “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”

In 1926, Terry (1970: 67) pointed out that there was metrical similarity between the texts of “Ich bin in mir vergnügt” BWV 204/8 and the fourth aria of the *Markuspassion*. In his article on the *Markuspassion*, however, Smend (1940-48: 18) commented on the metrical structure of the passion text: “Dies Schema kehrt in keiner der erhaltenen Bachschen Versarien wieder. Wir können daher mit der Wiederauffindung des verlorenen Tonsatzes nicht rechnen.”¹¹ Hellmann (1964: XI) echoed the sentiments of Smend and did not include this aria in his reconstruction, therefore neither do Koch nor Glöckner.

In his 1978 article, Theill (1978: 53-56) argued in favour of parodying “Himmlische Vergnügbarkeit”, the final aria of *Ich bin in mir vergnügt* BWV 204, for “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”. He compared the text of BWV 204/8 with the Johannes-aria taken from the versified Picander passion text of 1725, showing that they are metrically identical. Although there is no evidence that Bach ever set this passion text to music, Theill argued that the music originally written for the 1725 Picander passion was subsequently parodied elsewhere. He stated that this same aria had been used by Bach in at least two other works, namely *Vergnügte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216 and *Erwägte Pleißenstadt* BWV 216a. The aria texts taken from these works are metrically identical to BWV 204/8 and the 1725 Picander passion text. Furthermore, both of these aria texts begin with a variation of the first word in the fifth

¹¹ This scheme is nowhere to be found within the texts of extant Bach arias. We thus cannot count on the recovery of its music.

aria of the *Markuspassion*, namely *Angenehme* or *Angenehmes*, thus linking them with the *Markuspassion* text, “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”.

Theill asserted that Bach originally wrote this aria in G Major. He based his argument on the existence of a copy of BWV 204/8 in Bach’s hand that contains several mistakes that suggest a transposition from G major to B-flat major. In his *Markuspassion* reconstruction, Theill (1978: 54) chose to include it as a bass aria in what he believed to be its original key, G major. Both Heighes and Gomme choose BWV 204/8 as the parody base for “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”. Gomme (1997: 156) argues against transposition to G major, and chooses to transpose this aria a semi-tone lower to A major, whereas Heighes retains its key of B-flat major.

Table 5-13 compares the texts of “Himmlische Vergnügbarkeit” and “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”. Although both these texts are in trochaic tetrameter and syllabically congruent, they do not have the same number of lines. As previously discussed, when attempting poetic parody, poets were tasked with writing a text that was as closely as possible modelled on the original text. One could argue here against a parody relationship on the basis of this discrepancy. However, we also know that Bach was often unpredictable in his use of the parody technique, and this is therefore not conclusive proof against a parody relationship.

Table 5-13

The texts of “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” from BWV 247 and “Himmlische Vergnügbarkeit” BWV 204/8

“Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” BWV 247	“Himmlische Vergnügbarkeit” BWV 204/8
<p>Angenehmes Mordgeschrei! Jesus soll am Kreuze sterben, Nur damit ich vom Verderben Der verdammten Seelen frei,</p> <p>Und damit mir Kreuz und Leiden, Sanfte zu ertragen sei.</p>	<p>Himmlische Vergnügbarkeit, Welches Herz sich dir ergibt, Lebet allzeit unbetrübet Und genießt der güldnen Zeit,</p> <p>Himmlische Vergnügbarkeit. Göttliche Vergnügbarkeit, Du, du machst die Armen reich Und dieselben Fürsten gleich, Meine Brust bleibt dir geweiht.</p>

In personal correspondence with Gomme (1997: 156), Dr. Klaus Häfner argues that the texts from BWV 247 and BWV 204 imply a different musical form. He sees Picander's *Markuspassion* text as an indication of a *da capo* aria. The form that Bach chose for the music of BWV 204/8 is a monothematic rondo, which is incompatible with a *da capo* text. However, it is by no means certain that the text of "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei" indicates that it was a *da capo* aria. In the original libretto, Picander specifies a *da capo* for three of the arias of BWV 247, namely "Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht", "Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen" and "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren". "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei" is not among them. Of the three arias specified, we are only relatively certain that Bach set the first as a written-out *da capo* aria. Gomme (1997:156-157) points out that Bach would not necessarily have adhered to Picander's suggestions, mentioning "Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden", which is not included among the specified arias, although its parody base in BWV 198 has a written-out *da capo*.

According to Gomme (1997: 157), scholars have proposed several other arias as parody bases for "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei". These include Number 3 from *Dem Gerechten muss das Licht* BWV 195, Number 10 from *Wachet! Betet! Betet! Wachet!*, BWV 70, Number 9 from *Der zufriedengestellte Äolus* BWV 205 and Number 4 from *Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen* BWV 12.

For "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei" Koopman has chosen to use the music of "Preiset, späte Folgezeiten", Number 7 from the cantata *Auf, schmetternde Töne* BWV 207a. In his reconstruction, the aria is in its original key of G major. The celebratory cantata BWV 207a was first performed in 1735. Its text is closely based on that of BWV 207, *Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten*, first performed in 1727. Six movements of BWV 207a were taken from BWV 207, including "Preiset, späte Folgezeiten". (Wolff 1997: 19.)

In Table 5-14, the text of "Angenehmes Mordgeschrei" is compared to that of BWV 207a/7. Both of these texts are predominantly in trochaic tetrameter, but their number of lines and syllable distribution differ. The texts do not have a similar rhyme scheme or thematic link. One must conclude here that, to avoid unnatural accentuation of

words, significant adaptation would be necessary to fit the music of BWV 207a/7 over the proposed underlay of BWV 247.

Table 5-14

The texts of “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” from BWV 247 and “Preiset, späte Folgezeiten” BWV 297a/7

“Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” BWV 247	“Preiset, späte Folgezeiten” BWV 207a/7
Angenehmes Mordgeschrei! Jesus soll am Kreuze sterben, Nur damit ich vom Verderben Der verdammten Seelen frei, Damit mir Kreuz und Leiden, Sanfte zu ertragen sei.	Preiset, späte Folgezeiten, Nebst dem gütigen Geschick Des Augustus großes Glück. Denn in des Monarchen Taten Könnt ihr Sachsens Wohl erraten; Man kann aus dem Schimmer lesen, Wer Augustus sei gewesen

5.2.1.7 “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”

After Terry’s 1926 remark on the metrical similarity between “Merkt und hört, ihr Menschenkinder” from *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* BWV 7 and “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”, Smend also concluded that this was the only possible metrical parallel in existing Bach repertory. Smend, however, rejected this aria on musical grounds, saying that, “only by force”, could Picander’s words be made to fit the music of BWV 7 (Heighes 1996: 4). Theill has since suggested the use of the aria, “Domine Deus”, which is found in *Missa Brevis in A* BWV 234, itself a parody of a now lost cantata aria (Gomme 1997: 157).

Koch and Glöckner, as they have adopted the same choices as Hellmann, parody “Leit O Gott” from *Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge* BWV 120a for the final aria. Likewise, Gomme has used the same aria as Hellmann for his reconstruction. These three reconstructions retain the original key of G major for this aria. However, only the vocal part of “Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge” has survived. The instrumental score therefore relies on an earlier work, “Heil und Segen” from *Gott, man lobet dich in der Stille* BWV 120, the 1728 parody base for BWV 120a. (Hellmann 1964: XI)

In Table 5-15, the texts of “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” and “Leit O Gott” are compared. Both texts are written in trochaic tetrameter, with the first three lines

corresponding syllabically. Considering these similarities, it is conceivable that they could be set to the same music. Gomme (1997: 156) states:

Though the brilliant figuration of the obbligato solo violin and the bright open texture of this G major aria might seem an ill fit for the darkest moment of the Passion story, the text is in fact reassuring

Table 5-15

The texts of “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” from BWV 247 and “Leit, O Gott” BWV 120a/3

“Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” BWV 247	“Leit, O Gott” BWV 120a/3
Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren Jesus schreiet überlaut. Allen Sündern sagt er an, Dass ihm nun genug getan, Dass das Eden aufgebaut, Welches wir zuvor verloren.	Leit, o Gott, durch deine Liebe Dieses neu verlobte Paar. Mach an ihnen kräftig wahr, Was dein Wort uns vorgeschrieben, Dass du denen, die dich lieben, Wohltun wollest immerdar.

Heighes rejects all previous proposals when he uses “Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe”. This aria originally formed a part of the 1725 *Johannespassion*. When the passion was revised in 1727, this aria was discarded and, in Heighes’s (1996: 4) words, “could well have found a place instead in the St. Mark Passion the following year”. Heighes maintains that its key of F# minor and its *obbligato* chorale melody of *Jesu deine Passion ist mir lauter Freude* make it suited to its position immediately after the death of Christ. It should, however, be noted that no chorale text is included in Picander’s libretto for this passion, diminishing the chance that this aria was the original source for Bach’s “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”.

Table 5-16 compares the texts of “Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe” and “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”. This comparison shows that the first three lines are metrically identical. There are other metrical similarities, but the text of BWV 245a is far longer than the *Markuspassion* sestet. Careful choices of textual repetition could make these two texts fit the same music, as Heighes has done. Nonetheless, this is not an obvious choice for a parody pair.

Table 5-16

The texts of “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” from BWV 247 and “Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe” BWV 245a/1

“Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” BWV 247	“Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe” BWV 245a/1
<p>Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren Jesus schreiet überlaut. Allen Sündern sagt er an, Dass ihm nun genug getan, Dass das Eden aufgebaut, Welches wir zuvor verloren.</p>	<p>Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe, Fallt in meinen Trauer-ton, Sehet meine Qual und Angst, Was ich, Jesu, mit dir leide. Ja zähle deine Schmerzen, O zerschlagner Gottessohn.</p> <p>Ich erwähle Golgatha vor dies schnöde Weltgebäude. Werden auf den Kreuzeswegen deine Dornen ausgesät, Weil ich in Zufriedenheit mich in deine Wunden senke, So erblicke ich in dem Sterben, wenn ein stürmend Wetter weht, Diesen Ort, dahin ich mich Täglich durch den Glauben lenke, Durch den Glauben mir deswegen schenke!</p> <p>Jesu, deine Passion, ist mir lauter Freude, Deine Wunden, Kron und Hohn meines Herzens Weide. Meine Seel auf Rosen geht, wenn ich dran gedenke, In dem Himmel eine Stätt mir deswegen schenke!</p>

For “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”, Koopman chooses to use “Gott, du hast es wohl gefüget”, Number 3 from *Christen, ätset diesen Tag* BWV 63. Koopman keeps this aria in its original key of A minor. Cantata BWV 63 was written around 1715 for performance on Christmas Day. Bach revived this work several times, performing it in 1723 and 1729, each time effecting slight changes. This work is known to us today through a score from Bach’s Weimar years, as well as separate performing parts from Weimar and Leipzig. When this work was performed in Leipzig in 1729, the oboe solo at the start of this aria was replaced with an *obbligato* organ. (Wolff 1996a: 16.) It is interesting to note that Koopman does not retain this change, even though it was changed in the years directly preceding the composition of the *Markuspassion*.

In Table 5-17, the texts of “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” and “Gott, du hast es wohl gefüget” are compared. Both of these texts are in trochaic tetrameter and Lines 1, 2, 5 and 6 are syllabically identical. It is therefore conceivable that these two texts could be set to the same music without difficulty on the part of the composer or arranger.

Table 5-17

The texts of “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” from BWV 247 and “Gott, du hast es wohl gefüget” BWV 63/3

“Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren” BWV 247	“Gott, du hast es wohl gefüget” BWV 63/3
Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren Jesus schreiet überlaut . Allen Sündern sagt er an , Dass ihm nun genug getan, Dass das Eden aufgebaut , Welches wir zuvor verloren.	Gott, du hast es wohl gefüget, Was uns itzo widerfährt . Drum lasst uns auf ihn stets trauen Und auf seine Gnade bauen , Denn er hat uns dies beschert , Was uns ewig nun vergnüget .

5.2.1.8 “Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel”

At this point, one must make mention of “Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel”, an additional aria that Koopman inserts into the *Markuspassion*. This aria was included in the 1725 *Johannespassion*, but was subsequently removed (Melamed 2005: 114). Koopman inserts this aria into the second half of the *Markuspassion*, retaining its original key of A major. It is sung after Peter has denied Jesus three times and, upon the rooster’s call, realises that Jesus’ prophecy has come true. In this text, the speaker calls upon the world to destroy him, because he has forgotten God. However fitting this text may be to the dramatic context of the passion, it is not included in Picander’s libretto, and Koopman does not indicate why he has inserted it.

5.2.2 Chorales

As discussed in Chapter 4, most scholars reconstructing the *Markuspassion* have been able to find suitable harmonisations for all 16 chorales in various published collections of chorales. The choice of chorales is dependent firstly on identifying the particular melody that the text was commonly associated with and secondly on musical-textual links within any given harmonisation. The context of chorales can also play a role. Since Bach rarely used any particular chorale harmonisation in more than one extended composition such as a cantata or a passion, many reconstructors favour

chorales that are not found within an existing musical framework. In these cases, it can be extrapolated that the unidentifiable source is indeed the lost *Markuspassion* (Gomme 1997: 159).

In 1926, Terry was the first to list harmonisations for the texts of the *Markuspassion* chorales and their associated melodies. In his 1940's article, Friedrich Smend found suitable harmonisations for 15 of the 16 chorales found in the *Markuspassion*. These recommendations were expanded upon by Hellmann in 1964 and Theill in 1978. Modern-day reconstructors rely heavily on the work of these researchers in compiling the chorales of their *Markuspassion* reconstructions.

Hellmann only included 12 of the 16 chorales in his 1964 reconstruction. As Koch's reconstruction takes Hellmann's work as a basis, it omits the same chorales. Glöckner, although also largely basing his reconstruction on Hellmann's work, chooses to include all 16 chorales. Heighes, Gomme and Koopman also include all the chorales in their reconstructions.

5.2.2.1 “Sie stellen uns wie Ketzern nach”

The first chorale of the *Markuspassion*, “Sie stellen uns wie Ketzern nach”, has its textual origin as Stanza 4 of *Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns halt*, a text by Justus Jonas (Smend 1940-48: 9). The melody is unique to this chorale and originated in mid-16th century Wittenburg (Theill 1978: 37).

In his reconstruction, Gomme uses a chorale fantasia from *Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns halt* BWV 178. In this cantata, the choral fantasia is set to the same words as the chorale in the *Markuspassion*. In doing so, he follows Terry's recommendation of 1926 (Gomme 1997: 159). Although the fantasia from BWV 178 was mentioned by Smend (1940-48: 9) as a theoretical possibility, he concluded that the recovery of this chorale was “barely possible”. Heighes and Glöckner have chosen to use Chorale BWV 258, “Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns halt”, for this chorale. This harmonisation was also chosen by Theill (1978: 37), although it was not recognized by Smend as a possibility. This chorale is missing in Koch's reconstruction as it does not feature in Hellmann's *Markuspassion*. Koopman has elected to use Chorale BWV 429, “Wenn

mein Stündlein vorhanden ist”. This harmonisation was not suggested by either Smend (1948: 9) or Theill (1978: 37).

5.2.2.2 “Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht”

This chorale text originated as Stanza 5 of *In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr*, by Adam Reissner. It was sung to the melody, *Mein schönste Zier*, which can be traced to 1573 Leipzig (Smend 1940-48: 9).

For this *Markuspassion* chorale Heighes uses “In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr”, a chorale found as Number 6 in *Falsche Welt, dir trau ich nicht* BWV 52. This chorale was also used by Theill (1978: 38) on the basis of wanting to avoid the harmonisation found in the *Weihnachtsoratorium* and in favour of the impressive embellishments found on the word ‘Stricken’ in BWV 52/6. For use in their reconstructions, Koch and Gomme employ “Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht” BWV 244/32 from the *Matthäuspassion*. This particular chorale harmonisation was recommended by Smend (1940-48: 9) and also used in Hellmann’s reconstruction (Hellmann 1964: XIII). In their reconstructions, Glöckner and Koopman use Number 46 from the *Weihnachtsoratorium*, also recommended by Smend (1940-48: 9). In doing so, Glöckner deviates from Hellmann’s reconstruction.

5.2.2.3 “Ich, ich und meine Sünden”

According to Smend, the text of this chorale is Verse 4 of *O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben* by Paul Gerhardt. The associated melody is *O Welt, ich muss dich lassen* that originated in the 15th century (Smend 1940-48: 9).

For this chorale, Gomme and Heighes both use “O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben” BWV 395, suggested by Theill and also used in his reconstruction. Theill (1978: 38) chose this harmonisation specifically because it is not found in any of the other passions and could therefore have had the *Markuspassion* as its original home. For “Ich, ich und meine Sünden”, Koopman chooses to use Chorale BWV 292, “Nun ruhen alle Wälder”, a harmonisation of the same melody. BWV 292 was also mentioned as a possibility by Smend (1940-48: 9). Koch uses Chorale BWV 393, “O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben”, in his reconstruction, thereby following in the footsteps of Hellmann. BWV 393 was also deemed by Smend to be the most likely possibility for this

Markuspassion chorale (Smend 1940-48: 9). Glöckner deviates from Hellmann's reconstruction in using "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben" BWV 394.

5.2.2.4 "Wach auf, O Mensch"

The text of this chorale comes from Stanza 13 of Johann Rist's *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* (Smend 1940-48: 9). Its melody, *Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht*, was composed by Bach himself (Theill 1978: 38).

In his reconstruction, Gomme uses "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort" from Cantata BWV 20 of the same name. Smend (1940-48: 9) had dismissed this chorale harmonisation as a possibility for "Wach auf, O Mensch". Heighes and Koopman both make use of Chorale BWV 345, "Ich bin ja, Herr, in deiner Macht". Theill (1978: 38) had argued for the use of this harmonisation on the basis that "die aufrüttelnde Sopranführung mit dem Weckmotiv dieser Gethsemanestelle am besten gerecht wird."¹² Koch and Glöckner use the same chorale in their reconstruction as Hellmann, namely "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort" BWV 397. This harmonisation was also found by Smend (1940-48: 9) to be the most suitable.

5.2.2.5 "Betrübtes Herz, sei wohlgemut"

The textual origins of this chorale lie in the first verse of *Betrübtes Herz, sei wohlgemut* by Andreas Kritzelmann. According to Smend (1940-48: 10), it is associated with the 16th century melody *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist*. Theill (1978: 39), however, argued that its melody originated in the 15th century as *Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit*, a melody often attributed to Martin Luther.

Gomme and Koopman use the chorale "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" BWV 429 in their reconstructions. The reconstructions of Heighes, Koch and Glöckner all employ Chorale BWV 428 of the same name. Although Smend (1940-48: 10) mentioned both harmonisations as possibilities, he concluded that BWV 428 was best suited to "Betrübtes Herz, sei wohlgemut".

¹² The rousing soprano line with its waking motive is best suited to this Gethsemane-section.

5.2.2.6 “Mach’s mit mir Gott, nach deiner Güt”

The text of this chorale forms the first verse of *Mach’s mit mir Gott, nach deiner Güt* by Johann Hermann Schein. Its melody is unique to the text and is also attributed to Schein (Theill 1978: 38).

Smend (1940-48: 10) argued that no suitable harmonisation presented itself for this *Markuspassion* chorale. Hellmann did not include this chorale in his reconstruction, therefore Koch also omits it. For their reconstructions, Heighes and Gomme both make use of “Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottessohn” BWV 245/22, a chorale taken from the *Johannespassion*. This chorale was mentioned by Smend as a theoretical possibility but was considered unlikely (Smend 1940-48: 10). Koopman and Glöckner both use Chorale BWV 377, “Herr, nun lass in Frieden”, which had been previously recommended by Theill (1978: 39).

5.2.2.7 “Jesu, ohne Missetat”

The text of this chorale originated as Verse 8 of Paul Stockmann’s *Jesu Leiden, Pein und Tod*. Its melody is unique to this chorale text and originated in the late 17th century (Theill 1978: 39).

For this chorale, Heighes, Koch and Glöckner have used BWV 355, the chorale known as “Jesu, der du selbstest wohl”. Theill also chose this chorale harmonisation in his 1978 reconstruction, basing his decision largely on the musical effect created on the word ‘binden’ in Line 6 (Theill 1978: 39). Gomme has parodied “Petrus der nicht denkt zurück” BWV 245/14, a chorale from the *Johannespassion*. Smend (1940-48: 10) had mentioned this chorale as a possibility, albeit unlikely, for “Jesu ohne Missetat”. For his reconstruction, Koopman uses BWV 159/5, “Jesu deine Passion” from the cantata, *Sehet, wir gehn hinauf gen Jerusalem*. Like the chorale from the *Johannespassion*, this choice was also mentioned by Smend but subsequently rejected by him as a suitable harmonisation for “Jesu ohne Missetat” (Smend 1940-48: 10).

5.2.2.8 “Ich will hier bei dir stehen”

This chorale has its textual origins as Verse 6 of *O Haupt vol Blut und Wunden* by Paul Gerhardt. Its melody is that of *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* composed by Hans Leo Hassler in the early 17th century (Theill 1978: 43).

For “Ich will hier bei dir stehen”, Gomme uses “Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden” BWV 244/62 from the *Matthäuspassion*, a harmonisation also mentioned by Smend (1940-48: 10) as a strong possibility. Koch and Glöckner follow in Hellmann’s footsteps by using Chorale BWV 271, known either as “Befiehl du deine Wege” or “Herzlich tut mich verlangen”. This harmonisation was mentioned by Smend (1940-48: 10) as a possibility for the *Markuspassion* chorale.

Heighes and Koopman choose to conclude the first half of the *Markuspassion* with an elaborate chorale fantasia, employing the opening chorus of *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* BWV 135. In connection with this, Heighes (2005: 4) states that:

Following Bach’s practise in the St. Matthew Passion and Theill’s initiative I have decided to end Part I with a more elaborate choral fantasia, borrowed from Cantata 135 in which the well-known ‘Passion Chorale’ (‘Herzlich tut mich verlangen’) migrates from its more usual place on the top line, and is heard instead intoned slowly by the basses.

In his treatment of the subject, Theill (1978: 43) argued for the use of this number on the grounds that this chorale is found at an important part of the *Markuspassion*. It not only concludes the first half, it is also heard immediately after the arrest of Jesus. As Bach ends off the first part of the *Matthäuspassion* with a chorale fantasia, Theill believed this to be equally appropriate in the *Markuspassion*.

In the foreword to his reconstruction Hellmann (1964: XI-XII) argued, despite its presence in the *Matthäuspassion*, against the use of a chorale fantasia in the *Markuspassion*:

It can hardly be assumed that one or even several of the 16 chorales have been written in any other form than the homophonic hymn setting, that is to say with no intention of, for example, a large-scale choral fantasia ... It is highly unlikely that the St. Mark Passion, which is less rich in just those very ‘concerto’ elements should have included this particular form of cantus-firmus arrangement.

5.2.2.9 “Was Menschenkraft und Witz anfäht”

The text of this chorale is taken from Verse 2 of *Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns halt* by Justus Jonas. It is commonly associated with the melody, *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her*, which originated in the 15th century (Theill 1978: 40).

In the first half of the 20th century, Smend (1940-48: 11) had argued that Chorale BWV 257, “Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit”, corresponded so well to the text of this lost *Markuspassion* chorale that it was to be considered the original music. Theill (1978: 40) opposed this argument 30 years later by stating that the harmonisation could not be re-used in the *Markuspassion* as it already had a different text and thus could not originally have belonged in the passion. Nonetheless, Heighes and Glöckner use the chorale harmonisation BWV 257 for the missing *Markuspassion* chorale. This chorale is absent from Hellmann’s 1964 reconstruction. Despite this, Koch includes it as Number 27 in his reconstruction, also opting to use BWV 257.

For use in his reconstruction, Gomme has chosen Chorale BWV 258, “Wo Gott, der Herr, nicht bei uns halt”. Koopman uses the fourth number of *Sei Lob und Ehr dem höchsten Gut* BWV 117, the chorale “Ich rief dem Herrn in meiner Not”.

5.2.2.10 “Befiehl du deine Wege”

According to Theill, the text of this chorale is from Verse 1 of Paul Gerhardt’s *Befiehl du deine Wege* and its melody can be traced back to the early 17th century as a composition by Bartholomäus Gesius (Theill 1978: 40). Smend (1940-48: 11), however, argued that this text was set to the melody of *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* by Hans Leo Hassler.

Heighes and Gomme choose Chorale BWV 272, “Befiehl du deine Wege”, for use in their reconstructions. Theill (1978: 40) used the same chorale in his 1978 reconstruction, believing as he did that this *Markuspassion* chorale was set to a different melody than *Herzlich tut mich verlangen*. Conversely, Koch, Glöckner and Koopman use “Befiehl du deine Wege” BWV 270 for the missing *Markuspassion* chorale. This harmonisation is a setting of the melody *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* and, as such, was recommended by Smend (1940-48: 11) as a likely source.

5.2.2.11 “Du edles Angestichte”

The text of this chorale originated as Verse 2 of *O Haupt vol Blut und Wunden* by Paul Gerhardt. It is associated with Hassler’s melody *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* (Theill 1978: 40-41).

Although Theill had argued against the re-use of a chorale from the *Matthäuspassion*, Heighes, Gomme, Koch and Glöckner turn to “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden” BWV 244/54. The use of this harmonisation was mentioned as a strong possibility by Smend (1940-48: 11). Koopman uses “Der Leib zwar in der Erden”, Number 6 from *Komm du süsse Todenstunde* BWV 161, a choice also recommended by Smend (1940-48: 11).

5.2.2.12 “Herr, ich habe mißgehandelt”

The text of this chorale can be traced to the first verse of Johann Franck’s *Herr, ich habe mißgehandelt*. Its melody is unique to the text and was composed by Johann Crüger in the mid-17th century (Theill 1978: 41).

For this number, Heighes, Gomme and Koopman have turned to Chorale BWV 330, “Herr, ich habe mißgehandelt”. Smend (1940-48: 41) had mentioned two possibilities amongst existing Bach chorales for this lost *Markuspassion* chorale, namely BWV 330 and BWV 331. Koch and Glöckner follow Theill in their use of the other possibility, “Herr, ich habe mißgehandelt” BWV 331. Theill (1978: 41) had argued in his article that this was a better choice because “BWV 331 ist aber als Abschluß der Szene Petri Verleugnung nicht schlicht genug. 330 ist versöhnlicher.”¹³

5.2.2.13 “Man hat dich sehr hart verhöhnet”

The text of this chorale is taken from *Jesu, meines Lebens Leben* by Ernst Christoph Homburg. Although Smend (1940-48: 11) declared that it was not possible to determine the associated melody, Theill (1978: 41) established some years later that this text had been sung to the melody of *Jesu, der du meine Seele* from the *Praxis Pietatis*, a 17th century collection of hymn melodies.

For “Man hat dich sehr hart verhöhnet”, Heighes and Koopman use Chorale BWV 352, “Jesu, der du meine Seele”, while Gomme and Glöckner turn to Chorale BWV 353 of the same name. Theill (1978: 41) also used this harmonisation “wegen der

¹³ BWV 331 is not simple enough to be the conclusion of the scene of Peter’s betrayal. 330 is more conciliatory.

charakteristischen Tenorführung.¹⁴ Koch follows in the footsteps of Hellmann in using Chorale BWV 354, also named “Jesu, der du meine Seele”.

5.2.2.14 “Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn”

The text of this chorale forms Verse 4 of Martin Luther’s *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*. According to Theill, its melody was also composed by Martin Luther as well (Theill 1978: 42).

For “Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn”, Heighes and Koopman use Chorale BWV 303, “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott”. Theill (1978: 42) chose this harmonisation for use in his reconstruction on the basis of the “leichtfüßigen Rythmisierung der 6. Und 7. Zeile”¹⁵. Gomme uses “Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn”, Number 8 of *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* BWV 80. This harmonisation was also suggested by Smend (1940-48: 11). Since Hellmann left this chorale out of his reconstruction, it is not included in Koch’s *Markuspassion*. Glöckner has chosen to use “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott” BWV 302, thereby following Smend’s (1940-48: 12) recommendation.

5.2.2.15 “Keinen hat Gott verlassen”

The text of this chorale forms Verse 1 of *Keinen hat Gott verlassen* by Andreas Keßler. According to Theill (1978: 42), its melody stems from the 16th century and is unique to the text. Heighes, Gomme, Koopman, Koch and Glöckner all use BWV 369, the chorale “Keinen hat Gott verlassen” in their reconstructions. This is the only known harmonisation of this text and was deemed by Smend (1940-48: 12) and Theill (1978: 42) to be the original one used by Bach in the *Markuspassion*.

5.2.2.16 “O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh”

The text of “O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh” forms Verse 8 of Johann Rist’s *O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid*. Its melody is unique to the text and stems from the mid-17th century (Theill 1978: 42).

For the final chorale of the *Markuspassion*, Heighes, Koch and Glöckner all use “O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid” BWV 404, considered by Smend (1940-48: 12) and Theill

¹⁴ due to its characterizing tenor line.

¹⁵ light-footed rhythm of the 6th and 7th lines.

(1978: 42) to be the best possibility. Gomme uses a chorale harmonisation of “O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid” from the anonymous 1707 Hamburg passion. Koopman has elected to use BWV 335, “O Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht”. In doing so, he shuns the standard chorale melody associated with this text.

5.2.3 Recitatives and Turbae

As discussed in Chapter 4, scholars attempting to reconstruct the *Markuspassion* deal with the problem of the unrecoverable recitatives in several ways. Like Albrecht Haupt in 1967, Heighes and Gomme use the recitatives of a *Markuspassion* that originated in Hamburg in the early 18th Century. Although this passion has long been attributed to Reinhard Keiser, it is also commonly associated with the name of Friedrich Nicolaus Brauns. In their discussion of this work, Gomme, Heighes and Glöckner make no mention of the uncertain origin of this work and refer to it unequivocally as the work of Keiser. Several other sources list Brauns as the composer. For this reason, both Keiser and Brauns form a part of this discussion. According to Melamed (2005: 81), the attribution of this passion is a complicated problem and that “it is safest to acknowledge that we are dealing here with an anonymous passion.”

Reinhard Keiser (1674 – 1739) was one of the leading German composers of the early 18th century. Based in Hamburg, he composed a large number of operas, as well as several German motets, Latin psalm settings and passions. Keiser’s music seems to have slipped into oblivion over several decades following his death, so that he is little-known today. Keiser was highly admired by his contemporaries, including Johann Sebastian Bach and Georg Friedrich Händel. “Keiser is named by Bach’s son Carl Philipp Emanuel as one of the chief composers whose work his father held in high esteem during his last years” (Webber 1999: 7).

Bach was familiar with this passion and it was following an attribution found on his copied sheet music it was associated with Reinhard Keiser in the first place. These copies cite R. Keiser as the author but contain a correction in the initial R, prompting many to explore the possibility that it was composed by Gottfried, Reinhard’s father. Gottfried was a composer who had connections with the Hamburg Cathedral, making this a possibility. (Melamed 2005: 81-85.)

Friedrich Nicolaus Brauns (1637 - 1718) was a German composer who was the music director of the Hamburg Cathedral in the early 18th century. It was under Brauns that the first performance of the anonymous *Markuspassion* took place in 1707, making his authorship possible. However, Melamed (2005: 81) states that “...what we know of his old-fashioned and relatively insipid compositions, makes his authorship of this up-to-date and well-crafted piece unlikely.”

The first performance of this passion in Hamburg is documented through the existence of printed librettos as no musical sources survive. The existence of at least five other revised versions of this work outside of Hamburg is documented, having been edited and adapted by local musicians for use in different cities. Besides being re-scored or transposed, some of them have been changed to such a degree that new arias and chorales have been inserted, in many cases resulting in a *pasticcio* passion. (Melamed 2005: 78-94.)

A *pasticcio* refers to a composite work that contains music by two or more composers or music that was originally intended for more than one composition (Randel 2003: 649). The practice of creating a *pasticcio* by reworking other composers’ music and adding additional numbers was widespread in the 18th century. According to Melamed (2005: 79), this was especially true in the case of passion settings. Composers in Bach’s time often adapted their own and the passion settings of others to meet the demands of their local church and to adapt to the resources available in their particular city. Melamed (2005: 79) writes that “As practical solutions to professional problems, passion settings were valued – even jealously guarded – but they were not treated as untouchable.”

The anonymous Hamburg passion serves as an example of this treatment and has reached us through Bach via three sources. The first exists in a complete set of performing parts that dates from around 1711, although it is uncertain whether Bach would have performed this passion in his Weimar period as he did not have church duties at that stage (Melamed 2005: 84). Despite this, Philipp Spitta was of the opinion that Bach must have performed this work before 1717. Gomme (1997: 158) argues as follows:

It is not, however clear that Bach's subordinate position (as Konzertmeister) at Weimar would have allowed him, in the face of his jealous superiors, to perform a Passion; and it may be that parts were copied at Cöthen on paper saved from an earlier year.

The second version dates from 1726, its surviving material consisting of a complete set of parts entirely in Bach's hand and an extra set of copies of the vocal parts and continuo, partially in his hand. As he copied the music into parts, one can safely deduce that Bach intended to perform this work at some stage. There is evidence that, in 1726, Bach indeed performed this *Markuspassion* in the St. Nikolaikirche in Leipzig (Gomme 1997: 158). Evidence of the third reworking of this passion comes in the form of a few surviving performing parts that date from the 1740s.

Since no musical sources exist from the original Hamburg performance, it is difficult to gauge the extent of Bach's reworking. Two other versions of the passion exist and can now be found in the Göttingen and Berlin libraries respectively. The Göttingen score contains large-scale changes, including the addition of five extra arias in the 17th century pastiche tradition. Although Bach's earliest version of the passion contains three instrumental pieces and a solo chorale setting that are not in the Hamburg libretto, these are presumed to have been added by the time Bach came across the work (Melamed 2005: 86).

For his Weimar reworking of the passion Bach added two chorales (Melamed 2005: 86). The Leipzig set of performing parts is identical to the early Weimar set, except in the replacement of one chorale and the addition of another. In keeping with Leipzig practice, Bach also had to split the passion into two parts that were performed before and after the sermon (Glöckner 1975: 613). Melamed (2005: 91) writes that, "Except for its divisions into two parts to accommodate the sermon, Bach's 1726 Leipzig version of the *St. Mark Passion* closely resembled his earlier one and (presumably) the state in which he encountered it".

In the third version from the 1740's, Bach made more large-scale changes in the form of replacing four of the numbers in the *Markuspassion* with arias and adding three more. All of these arias were taken from a setting of a passion text of Barthold Heinrich Brokes by Georg Friedrich Händel. These changes are akin to the significant

changes evident in the other versions of this work such as the Göttingen score. In this reworking, five arias by Reinhard Keiser were added, as well as two instrumental *sinfonias* and one chorale. This serves to emphasise the fact that the 20th and 21st century view on originality in composition is not the same as the view held in the 17th and 18th centuries, and that Bach's 1740's score was in line with contemporary practice. All the existing versions of this passion show changes and adaptations, prompting Melamed (2005: 94) to state:

Seen in this light, Bach's versions show him working as a church musician exactly the way his contemporaries did, treating received musical texts as practical material to be used and altered as needed. We take a much more protective attitude toward Bach's own music today, usually hesitating to tamper with the number or order of movements in his works.

Besides the inclusion of new numbers and the replacement of others, Bach also changed aspects such as scoring and effected stylistic changes. As previously discussed, copying music involved a certain degree of re-composition for Bach. Glöckner (1975: 615) states: "Nearly all the manuscript copies of Passions confirm the significant fact that it was only rarely that Bach copied anyone else's music note for note; they contain abundant instances of rearrangement, addition and improvement in his hand".

Glöckner (1975: 615) also states that in his youth, Bach regularly copied music for study purposes, and that "Keiser's Mark Passion was particularly influential". One is thus drawn to acknowledge the possibility that Bach absorbed musical influences from the scores that he copied. This is of particular interest when examining the stylistic development of Bach's recitatives in his passions, as well as when attempting to provide musical narrative for Bach's *Markuspassion*. According to Gomme (1997:159) the anonymous Hamburg passion is the first composition where marked stylistic distinction is made between the words of Jesus and the words of the other characters.

In this passion, the words of all characters are set as *recitativo secco*, while the words of Jesus are set as *recitativo accompagnati*. In Bach's *Johannespassion* of 1724, all the recitative is *secco*. However, in his *Matthäuspassion* Jesus's words are set as *accompagnati*. Gomme ascribes the incorporation of this device into Bach's

Matthäuspassion to his familiarity with the anonymous Hamburg passion. Believing that this passion was the work of Keiser, Gomme (1997: 159) states that:

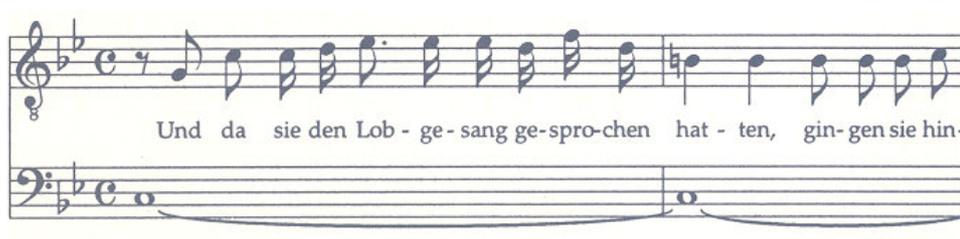
The idea of surrounding Christ's words, and these alone, with a halo of soft string tone (enriched in Keiser's score by divided violas) occasionally activated into energetic movement at moments of high tension seems to have been essentially Keiser's own. It was enthusiastically taken up by Bach for the *St. Matthew*.

Gomme also argues that Bach's recitatives in the *Matthäuspassion* are indebted to this setting of the *Markuspassion* for more reasons than merely the distinction between the use of *recitativo accompagnato* and *secco*. He argues that, in instances where the words of the narrator were identical in the two passion texts, Bach "helps himself for a bar or two without bothering to change anything but the key." To substantiate his claim, Gomme (1997: 159) cites the very beginning of the *Markuspassion* narrative, as is shown in Example 5-1.

Example 5-1

Comparison between the recitatives of the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion* and Bach's *Matthäuspassion* (Gomme 1997: 163)

Bach *Matthäuspassion*



Anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*



Another moment of similarity occurs when the thieves on either side of the crucified Jesus are referred to with the phrase, "einer zu Rechten, und einer zu Linken". In both the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion* and the Bach *Matthäuspassion*, the vocal

line of the Evangelist rises on the word *Rechten*, and falls with a similar downward run to a tonic *appoggiatura* on the word *Linken* (Gomme 1997: 159). Gomme does not dismiss these similarities as being a manifestation of unconscious memory, arguing that the frequent rate of their occurrence points to a conscious copying. Heighes (1996: 5) corroborates this view when he states:

This was a work which Bach performed on at least two occasions (at Weimar c1730 and Leipzig in 1746) and which had a decisive impact on the recitatives in his (Bach's) own St Matthew Passion, which, like Keiser, employs a 'halo' of strings to accompany the words of Christ and follows Keiser's melodic style closely in those passages where the two Evangelists' narratives actually coincide.

The view that Bach was greatly influenced by this passion can be questioned. Firstly, Bach was familiar with this passion before the completion of his *Johannespassion*, yet still he elected to compose all the recitatives as *secco*. Secondly, as Gomme acknowledges, the anonymous Hamburg passion was not the first passion where the words of Jesus are set to accompanied recitative. He, however, claims that the earlier composers that did so made "much less of the distinction it provided" (Gomme 1997: 159). Johann Mader's *Matthäuspasion* is an important early example where the words of Jesus are 'haloed' by two violins playing in octaves (Gomme 1997: 161).

In Bach's *Matthäuspasion*, the only instance where Jesus's recitatives are *recitativo secco* is when he utters the final words before his death. This gesture was already used by Johann Sebastiani in his *Matthäuspasion* of 1672. Gomme (1997: 159) describes the end of Bach's *Matthäuspasion* as a "supreme" moment where the composer "dramatically reverses Keiser's practice This is the point where Bach, for the only time in the *St. Matthew*, leaves Christ' words uncomforted by the string halo ...". In this description, Gomme gives this practice an air of novelty that is justified, but perhaps overstated.

For use in their reconstructions, Heighes and Gomme have incorporated the recitatives of this anonymous passion in different ways. A problem that presents itself when the text of the anonymous Hamburg passion is used is that this passion only begins its story at the ascent to the Mount of Olives. This means that the music of the first 25 verses of Mark Chapter 14, which are included in Picander's text, has to be gained in

some other way. Besides narrative, this section encompasses one aria and three chorales.

Heighes solves the problem of structure by composing the recitatives for the first part of the narrative. In this way, the original structure is retained. Only two turbae in his entire reconstruction are taken from the anonymous *Markuspassion* as the rest are recovered from existing Bach compositions. For four of the turbae, Heighes (16996: 5) believes that he has found the original music that was used in Bach's *Markuspassion*. The three turbae, "Ja nicht auf das Fest", "Pfui dich" and "Kreuzige ihn" are taken from the *Weihnachtsoratorium* choruses "Wo ist der neugeborne König", "Lasset uns nun gehen" and "Ehre sei Gott" respectively. Heighes is of the opinion that Bach parodied these choruses from the *Markuspassion* when he compiled his *Weihnachtsoratorium*. As to the chorus, "Er hat andern geholfen", Heighes believes that Bach parodied the final chorus of part I of the *Trauerode*, "An dir, du Vorbild großer Frauen".

The other turbae or chorus sections included in this *Markuspassion* reconstruction are taken from opening choruses of three of Bach's cantatas. The turba "Was soll dieser Unrath" is taken from *Es ist ein trotzig und verzagt Ding* BWV 176, composed in 1725. For "Wo willst du", music has been used from the 1723 cantata, *Die Elenden sollen essen* BWV 75. The final turba section in the *Markuspassion*, "Bin ich's?", is parodied by Heighes from *Es ist dir gesagt, Mensch, was gut ist* BWV 45, composed in 1726.

Gomme, also using the anonymous Hamburg passion recitatives, mentions that the breaks in its narrative frequently differ from those in Picander's text, necessitating the composition of cadences in these recitatives to preserve the Picander layout. There are also slight differences in the respective texts of the passions. For his recitatives, Gomme retains the text that was originally set for the anonymous Hamburg passion, but continues to use Picander's text for the chorales and arias. Although some of the turbae of the Bach *Markuspassion* have been recognised as recoverable, Gomme (1997: 159) chooses to employ all turbae from the anonymous *Markuspassion* for the sake of consistency in his choice of musical material.

“Rather than mixing sources or attempting pastiche”, Gomme (1997: 159) omits the first part of Picander’s passion text and begins his reconstruction where the anonymous passion begins. In doing so, Gomme changes the original structure of the *Markuspassion*. He inserts the displaced chorales and aria into the resulting structure, placing the chorales in between recitatives as Number 5, 34 and 49 and the aria “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht” to its new position before the closing chorus.

Koopman deals with the issue of the missing recitatives and turbae in an entirely different way. Although he recovers most turbae from existing Bach compositions, he composes all the recitatives himself, drawing on the experience with Bach’s recitatives that he has gained in large part from recording of the complete cantatas with ERATO Disques. Koopman (2009: 9) explains:

I have perhaps played more Bach recitatives in my life than most of my colleagues, and I know what I am talking about when I admire Bach’s skill at writing recitatives, and study and analyse the developments this art underwent in his lifetime.

Koopman acknowledges that, even if Bach used the parody technique to compile the lyrical numbers of his *Markuspassion*, he would have composed new recitatives and turbae. He nonetheless finds suitable turbae within the Bach repertory. For “Ja nicht auf das Fest” and “Was soll doch dieser Unrath” Koopman uses “Alles nun, das ihr wollet” from *Ein ungefärbt Gemüte* BWV 24 and “Wer da gläubet und getauft wird” from *Wer da gläubet und getauft wird* BWV 37 respectively. The music of “Wo willst du” is parodied from the opening chorus of *Gott, wie dein Name, so ist auch dein Ruhm* BWV 171. In Koopman’s *Markuspassion* reconstruction, “Bin ich’s?” is not set as a chorus, as it is in the other editions, but rather as recitative. “Wir haben gehöret” is set by Koopman as a short chorus-like section sung by a soprano and a baritone.

For “Weissage uns!”, Koopman has turned to its parallel in the *Matthäuspassion*, Number 36d, “Weissage uns, Christe”. “Wahrlich, du bist der einer” is parodied from the opening chorus of *Nimm was dein ist, und gehe hin* BWV 144. The two “Kreutzige ihn” choruses are taken from Number 30 of the *Matthäuspassion* and *versus I* of a very early work, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* BWV 4. Koopman uses the opening chorus of *Ärgre dich, o Seele, nicht* BWV 186 for the turba section “Gegrüsset seiest du”. The music of “Pfu dich” is parodied from the first number of *Siehe zu, dass deine Gottesfurcht* BWV 179. “Er hat anderen geholfen” is a reworking

of the opening chorus of *Nimm was dein ist, und gehe hin* BWV 144. For the final chorus, “Siehe, er rufet dem Elias”, Koopman uses the first number of *Schauet doch und sehet, ob irgend ein Schmerz sei* BWV 46.

Although based on Hellmann’s 1964 reconstruction, Koch’s 1996 attempt differs in that, instead of omitting all the recitatives and turbae, he composes them himself. It is interesting to note that, following practise in the *Matthäuspassion*, he has chosen to set the words of Christ as *recitativo accompagnato*, accompanied by two *violas da gamba* and organ. Unlike in the Heighes, Gomme and Koopman reconstructions, Koch’s recitatives do not attempt to merge seamlessly with the Baroque style of Bach’s music. In the notes accompanying the 1998 recording of this work, the conductor Mathias Michaely (1998: 20-21) writes:

Johannes H. E. Koch wrote a complementary portion whose restrained modernistic idiom partakes of intensive familiarity with Bach’s music, ensuring that no doubt is cast upon the latter’s preeminence.

Glöckner, in the spirit of Hellmann, chooses not to insert any form of music – borrowed from any source – for all the recitatives and turbae, so that the narrative is simply read in between the musical numbers. His basic premise is that ‘invented’ musical material should not, by any means, be inserted in places where the original musical material is unrecoverable. Through this puristic approach, his aim was to make the *Markuspassion* available for performance in its most quintessential state, only including those elements that could be “verified as original substance” (Glöckner 2004: 64).

5.2.4 Tonality

While parodying a lyrical number for use in another work, Bach sometimes transposed it and at other times retained its original key. As previously discussed, Bach scholarship is uncertain as to the tonal structure of the original *Markuspassion* as performed in 1731 Leipzig.

In his discussion on reconstructing the *Markuspassion*, Gomme (1997: 160) states that Bach composed all his cantatas within a relatively narrow tonal range, but that he used a wider tonal range in his passions. Tonal shifts engineered largely in the recitatives and turbae can serve to aid the drama in a passion story and allow for a wider range of keys to be employed in its lyrical numbers. Despite this, all the reconstructors

employing the *Trauerode* choose to keep its key of B minor for the borrowed movements and create a tonal scheme that centres around this key. This is the case with the reconstructions of Heighes, Gomme, Koch and Glöckner. These reconstructors also transpose some of the parody bases used in their *Markuspassions* to fit into their tonal scheme. Table 5-18 presents the keys of all the lyrical numbers and chorales included in the five reconstructions under discussion.

Gomme attempts to keep most of the ‘borrowed’ arias in their original keys, but transposes several to aid his own tonal scheme. Butt (1998: 674) remarks on Gomme’s reconstruction by stating that the tonal progression works well, except the transition from the “Kreuzige ihn” turba, which ends on the dominant of D minor, to the aria “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” that begins on the same A major chord. He also criticises the movement from the end of “Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn” in D major to the start of the recitative “Und es war um die dritte Stunde” which begins on an F minor chord. Butt (1998: 674), however, does not explain his disapproval over these tonal shifts, merely referring to them as “lame” and “unbearable”.

Hellmann’s reconstruction retains the original keys of all arias except for “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”, which is transposed from E-flat major to G major. However, in a reconstruction that incorporates read narrative and where tonal progression is less apparent, this is presumably done either to aid Hellmann’s tonal scheme, to improve the *tessitura* of this alto aria, or both. Heighes, Glöckner and Koch, in keeping all the arias except “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen” in their original keys, do the same.

As Koopman’s reconstruction does not use any movements from the *Trauerode*, it is the only reconstruction under discussion that does not begin and end in B minor. As such, it employs a wider range of keys. The first half of Koopman’s *Markuspassion* begins and ends in A minor, with the second half starting in B minor and ending in D minor. Koopman retains the original keys of all the arias that he has parodied, creating in his own individual tonal scheme to accommodate this retention.

Table 5-18

Keys of the lyrical numbers and chorales in the *Markuspassion* reconstructions

Movement	Heighes	Gomme	Koch	Koopman	Glöckner
Vor der Predigt					
Chorus: “Geh, Jesu, Geh zu deiner Pein”	B minor	B minor	B minor	A minor	B minor
Chorale: “Sie stellen uns wie Ketzern nach”	B minor	B minor	N/A	A major	B minor
Chorale: “Mir hat die Welt trüglich gericht”	G major	B-flat major	A major	A major	A major
Chorale: “Ich, ich und meine Sünden”	A major	A major	A major	B-flat major	A major
Aria: “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”	B minor	B minor	B minor	E minor	B minor
Chorale: “Wach auf, O Mensch”	G minor	F major	F major	E minor	F major
Chorale: “Betrübtes Herz, sei wohlgemut”	G major	A major	G major	A major	G major
Chorale: “Mach’s mit mir Gott nach deiner Güt”	E major	E major	N/A	F major	D major
Aria: “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden”	B minor	B minor	B minor	E minor	B minor
Aria: “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”	G major	E major	G major	E minor	G major
Chorale: “Jesu, ohne Missetat”	A major	A major	G major	E major	A major
Chorale: “Ich will hier bei dir stehen”	E major	F-sharp minor	D major	A minor	B minor



Nach der Predigt					
Aria: “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”	E minor	E minor	E minor	B minor	E minor
Chorale: “Was Menschenkraft und Witz anfäht”	A minor	B minor	A minor	G major	A minor
Chorale: “Befiehl du deine Wege”	D minor	D minor	B minor	B minor	B minor
Chorale: “Du edles Angesichte”	F major	F major	F major	D minor	F major
Aria: “Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel”	N/A	N/A	N/A	A major	N/A
Chorale: “Herr, ich habe missgehandelt”	G minor	B-flat minor	A minor	A minor	A minor
Aria: “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”	B-flat major	A major	N/A	G major	N/A
Chorale: “Man hat dich sehr hart verhöhnet”	G minor	G minor	B minor	A minor	G minor
Chorale: “Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn”	D major	D major	N/A	D major	D major
Chorale: “Keinen hat Gott verlassen”	E minor	F minor	E minor	F-sharp minor	E minor
Aria: “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”	F-sharp minor	G major	G major	A minor	G major
Chorale: “O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh”	F-sharp minor	G minor	B minor	D minor	A minor
Chorus: “Bei deinem Grab und Leichen-Stein”	B minor	B minor	B minor	D minor	B minor

5.2.5 Instrumentation and use of solo voices

As previously discussed, Breitkopf's 1764 catalogue listed the scoring of the passion according to Mark, *Geh Jesu, geh zu deiner Pein*. According to Gomme (1997: 155), this passion, now presumed to be Bach's lost *Markuspassion*, calls for an identical scoring to the *Trauerode*. The performing forces required are SATB soloists, four-part choir, and an orchestra comprising two *flauto traverso*, two oboes doubling as *oboes d'amore*, two violins, two *violas da gamba*, two lutes and *basso continuo*. Hellmann (1964: XI), however, offered a conflicting view when he wrote that the *Markuspassion* instrumentation is identical to that of the *Trauerode*, "only the second *viola da gamba* and the lutes find no mention in Breitkopf's notes". According to Hellmann, the *Markuspassion* also included a viola, which is not mentioned in Gomme's writings.

Most of the *Markuspassion* reconstructions under discussion take the scoring of the *Trauerode* as a basis¹⁶. All of them, including Glöckner's reconstruction, call for the same instruments as listed by Gomme, but also include the viola. Strangely, even Gomme's scoring includes a viola, which is not mentioned in his essay. Koch's reconstruction, however, omits the lutes and calls for a solo violin in addition to the two already included. Due to the fact that Koch and Glöckner do not include all the lyrical numbers in their reconstructions, theirs do not call for a bass soloist.

In addition to the basic scoring of the *Markuspassion* as listed by Gomme, Heighes includes lutes, two violas and a bassoon. Although the bassoon part is based largely on the *continuo* line, it is nonetheless orchestrated on a separate staff, and as such considered a separate part. Koopman's scoring differs in that his reconstruction calls for bassoon and *oboe da caccia*, and also requires as many as three simultaneous oboes in some of the numbers. Koopman's reconstruction is not scored for lutes, but Koopman may have intended these to form a part of the *basso continuo*.

In creating their reconstructions, Heighes, Gomme, Glöckner and Koch do not change the vocal scoring of any of the arias parodied in their *Markuspassion*. Original performing forces from the parody bases are retained, resulting in the fact that

¹⁶ In the full scores of the Koopman and Heighes *Markuspassions*, the reconstructors refer sometimes to *flauto* and at other times to *flauto traverso*. It has been extrapolated by the current researcher that the designation should read *traverso* throughout.

Glöckner, Gomme and Koch do not call for a bass soloist. The Koch and Glöckner reconstructions, focusing as they do on the inclusion of recoverable musical material, omit “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei” as no suitable parody base could be found. One could thus suppose that, could this aria have been suitably parodied, it would have been scored for a bass soloist. In one case Koopman changes the vocal scoring from the original parody base when he changes “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht” from an alto to a bass aria. Table 5-19 details the allocation of arias to solo voices in the various *Markuspassion* reconstructions.

Table 5-19

Allocation of arias to solo voices in the *Markuspassion* reconstructions

Movement	Heighes	Gomme	Koch	Koopman	Glöckner
Vor der Predigt					
Aria: “Mein Heiland, dich vergeß ich nicht”	Alto	Alto	Alto	Bass	Alto
Aria: “Er kommt, er kommt, er ist vorhanden”	Soprano	Soprano	Soprano	Soprano & Alto	Soprano
Aria: “Falsche Welt, dein schmeichelnd Küssen”	Alto	Alto	Alto	Tenor	Alto
Nach der Predigt					
Aria: “Mein Tröster ist nicht mehr bei mir”	Tenor	Tenor	Tenor	Bass	Tenor
Aria: “Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel”	N/A	N/A	N/A	Tenor	N/A
Aria: “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”	Soprano	Soprano	N/A	Alto	N/A
Aria: “Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren”	Soprano & Bass	Soprano	Soprano	Soprano & Bass	Soprano

Chapter 6

Critical analysis of reconstructions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to critically compare the five reconstructions under discussion and to evaluate them as scholarly endeavours on the basis of research done in the previous chapters. Contemporary criticism, where available, is included in this discussion.

6.2 Simon Heighes

Heighes's reconstruction is largely based on research that has been done on the *Markuspassion* since the late 19th century. All but one of his aria choices, namely the use of "Himmel reisse, Welt erbebe" from the 1725 *Johannespassion* for "Welt und Himmel nehmt zu Ohren", were identified by these researchers. A comparison between the respective texts in Chapter 5 has shown that this aria was almost certainly not included in Bach's original *Markuspassion*, although this music could be made to fit Picander's libretto through textual repetition. All the chorales that Heighes has included in his reconstruction have been recommended by previous researchers and/or used in *Markuspassion* reconstructions predating his attempt.

For a portion of the recitatives and turbae in his reconstruction, Heighes uses material from the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*. This idea is not unique to Heighes as Albrecht Haupt was the first to use the narrative of this composition for his *Markuspassion* reconstruction in 1967. Heighes has decided against changing the structure of the *Markuspassion*, composing all the recitatives for the 25 verses of Picander's passion that are not found in the anonymous Hamburg passion. As far as the crowd scenes are concerned, Heighes has only used the turbae of this passion in cases where he could find no suitable music from Bach's existing compositions. Thus, motivated by the desire to present a workable performing version of this work, Heighes is including musical material that is unlikely to have been included in the original *Markuspassion*. Of the 13 turbae in this reconstruction, five are taken from the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*. In his choice of a number of the turbae

taken from extant Bach compositions, Heighes (1996: 5) acknowledges his indebtedness to Theill.

Table 6-1 and Figure 6-1 show the ratio of the origin of musical numbers used in this reconstruction. The entire score, without repeats or *da capos*, is 1788 bars long. Two thirds of the musical material has been taken from the Bach repertory, with the remaining third either taken from the anonymous Hamburg passion or composed by Heighes.

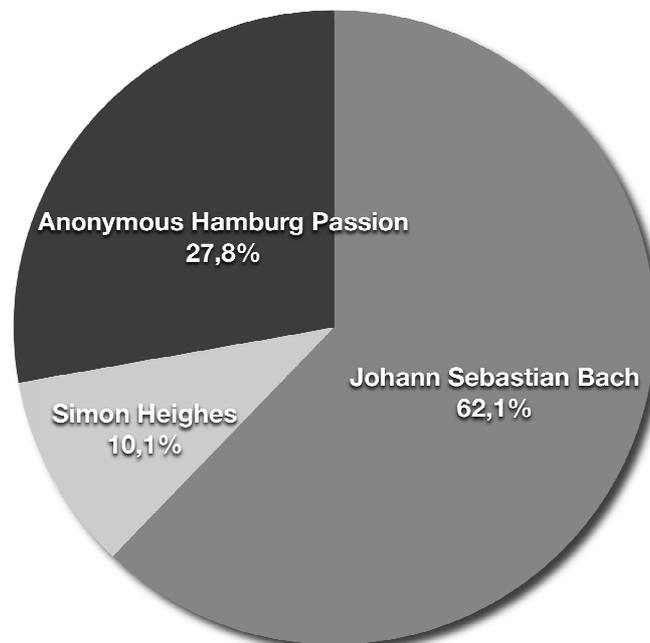
Table 6-1

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Simon Heighes reconstruction

Origin of musical material	Number of bars
Johann Sebastian Bach	1111
Anonymous Hamburg Passion	497
Simon Heighes	180
Total number of bars	1788

Figure 6-1

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Simon Heighes reconstruction



Heighes's (1996: 5) approach to this project is summed up by his comment in the pamphlet notes accompanying its recording:

There can never be a definitive reconstruction of Bach's St. Mark Passion and every new attempt to find an effective performing version of the work should be welcomed and judged on its own merits. Nevertheless [sic], the essential elements of the original score (four arias, the major choruses and the chorales) can be restored and are agreed upon by scholars. The present performance cannot of course pretend to recreate precisely what was heard in the Thomas-kirche, Leipzig, in 1731, but since Bach created the Passion in the first place by parodying earlier works, it is surely not unreasonable to attempt to re-create it using the same principles.

In the November 1996 edition of the BBC Music Magazine, Stephen Pettit (1996: 77) comments on this reconstruction, stating that Heighes's musicology stands up to "moral scrutiny", if only because Heighes accepts the hypothetical nature of his project. However, commenting on the final product of this research, Pettit mentions "stylistic inconsistency" and that: "It's a fascinating experiment, but to accept more lavish claims would be a mistake". Once again the difficulty seems not to lie with the nature of the project, but rather with the problems inherent in the presentation of any reconstruction as a work of Bach.

In summary, this reconstruction aims to use as much music as possible that was composed by Bach, and although Heighes uses the recitatives and turbae of the anonymous Hamburg passion, the original structure of the passion is retained. Ultimately, it represents an acceptable performing version of the *Markuspassion*. However, the fact that a third of its musical material is not by Bach, suggests that this reconstruction should not be presented as a composition by Bach, but rather, considering that it includes music by three composers, a modern passion *pasticcio*.

6.3 A. H. Gomme

Gomme's reconstruction likewise leans heavily on previous research done by Terry, Smend, Hellmann and Theill. He uses the two choruses and three arias from the *Trauerode* as his basis and uses compositions previously suggested by Terry, Smend, Hellmann or Theill for the three remaining arias. As far as his chorale choices are concerned, Gomme chooses only three chorales not recommended by Terry, Smend, Hellmann or Theill. One of these harmonisations, "O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh", is taken from the anonymous Hamburg passion parts that were found written out in Bach's hand.

Gomme thoroughly explains his choice of musical material in the afterword to his reconstruction, a discussion referred to by John Butt (1998: 674) as “rather naïve” and based largely on outdated scholarship. In this discussion, Gomme (1997: 157) makes an effort to appear innovative in at least one of his aria choices. After discussing previous research on finding a parody base for the fifth aria of the passion, he announces his decision to use the same aria as Theill used in 1978, stating that: “Both Heighes and the present editor, independently of one another and of Theill’s argument, likewise concluded that BWV 204/8 is the likely source for ‘Angenehmes Mordgeschrei’”. In the course of his research on this project, Gomme evidently became aware that this aria was also chosen by Theill, yet denies that this knowledge influenced his choice in any way.

Like Haupt and Heighes, Gomme uses the recitatives and turbae of the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*. Gomme (1997: 159) states: “Keiser’s recitatives are, at their best, hardly, if at all, inferior to Bach’s”. John Butt challenges Gomme’s argument in his review of this reconstruction, “Reconstructing Bach” (Butt 1998: 673):

... Gomme seems to believe that they serve their purpose well; moreover, given that he sees such strong parallels between Keiser’s recitative and Bach’s in the Matthew Passion (he takes the connection, incorrectly I believe, to go beyond Bach’s ‘unconscious memory’), he seems to imply that they are more or less indistinguishable from Bach’s in style ... Keiser’s composition certainly deserves our notice, but it can hardly serve a purpose of being ‘nearly like Bach’.

Although certain serviceable turbae have been identified in Bach’s extant compositions by Freiesleben and others, Gomme (1997: 15) has chosen to use the anonymous Hamburg narrative throughout “for consistency’s sake”. Butt (1998: 673) remarks on this, stating that: “In the event, this desire for ‘consistency’ has ironically served to emphasise the contrast between Bach and Keiser.” In using the narrative from the anonymous Hamburg passion, Gomme alters the structure of the *Markuspassion*, inserting the displaced arias and chorales in alternative places. In cases where the text of the two passions differs slightly, he uses the text of the anonymous Hamburg passion.

Table 6-2 and Figure 6-2 show the ratio of the origin of musical numbers used in this reconstruction. Two thirds of the musical material is by Bach, while the remaining material has its origins in the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*. This

reconstruction contains 1434 bars in total, excluding *da capos* and repeats, making it roughly 300 bars shorter than Heighes's *Markuspassion*. Because the 25 verses of the gospel that are not included in the anonymous Hamburg passion have been omitted, this reconstruction is short compared to some of the others that include recitatives and turbae. This has increased the percentage of music by Bach in this reconstruction, although it is still lower than Heighes's. This is noteworthy particularly considering that Heighes has chosen to include all the recitatives and turbae that Picander's text calls for.

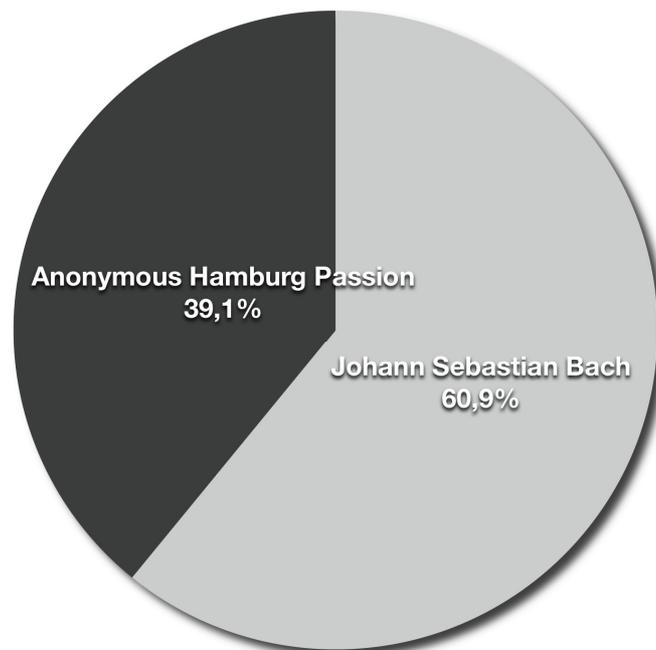
Table 6-2

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in A. H. Gomme's reconstruction

Origin of musical material	Number of bars
Johann Sebastian Bach	873
Anonymous Hamburg Passion	561
Total number of bars	1434

Figure 6-2

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in A. H. Gomme's reconstruction



In his review, Butt (1998: 674) remarks on the poor quality of the presentation of recitatives in this score, stating that:

Gomme's keyboard realization in the vocal score is part of the problem ... Harmonic errors, poor resolutions and voice-leading, poor chordal spacing, lame auxiliary notes, wrong notes in continuo and voice, and—most of all—omissions or incorrect addition of accidentals abound; at least one of these problems is found in virtually every recitative. In addition, I noted at least seven errors of pitch, accidental or keyboard realization in the arias and choruses.

Butt (1998: 674) concludes his review with the following words:

To most purchasers this Bärenreiter vocal score of Bach Markus-Passion, BWV247, will look like any other blue-covered Bach score from this publisher and will thus carry with it the assumed distinction of the Neue-Bach Ausgabe. This edition does not belong to that series in any way, and it should not be bought with that assumption in mind; in its current state, it cannot be recommended.

In summary, Gomme has attempted to synthesise previous research on the *Markuspassion* by including the same lyrical numbers and similar chorales as his predecessors. Through the recitatives and turbae employed in his reconstruction, he has changed the structure of this passion and filled 561 bars with music not by Bach. Gomme has subscribed to previous research, with the result that most of his choices are not original. Furthermore, he has changed the text of the *Markuspassion*, which has hitherto been the only unambiguous aspect of this work.

However, perhaps the main problem is the way in which this reconstruction is presented. One has to question the merit of assigning it a BWV number and of printing only Johann Sebastian Bach's name on its cover. In his discussion in the afterword to his reconstruction, Gomme (1997: 155) outlines his objective:

The version does not of course profess to represent any that might have been given in Bach's lifetime: it's intention is simply to make available in a setting appropriate to its final home some of Bach's greatest music which is otherwise rarely performed.

6.4 Johannes H. E. Koch

As far as lyrical numbers are concerned, Koch's reconstruction of the *Markuspassion* is essentially a revised edition of Hellmann's 1964 attempt as it includes the same lyrical numbers and chorales. However, in sharp contrast to Hellmann's read narrative, Koch chooses to compose the recitatives and turba sections in an essentially modern idiom.

This performing edition is the shortest of all the reconstructions that include recitatives and turbae. The entire score, without repeats or *da capos*, is 1145 bars long. Like Hellmann, Koch omits two chorales and one aria on the basis that no suitable parody base can be found. The third chorale that Hellmann omitted, “Was Menschenkraft und Witz anfäht”, is included, although in a different place. Koch has also chosen to leave out some of the gospel verses in his recitative setting, further shortening this passion. In the CD notes accompanying the 1998 recording of this work, conductor Mathias Michaely (1998: 20-21) comments on Koch’s narrative, stating that

Koch sensitively follows the semantics of the text and never gives in to the temptation of Baroque tinges, at times achieving tremendous dramatic power. This is music meant to complement Bach, but also goes beyond Bach.

Table 6-3 and Figure 6-3 shed light on the origin of the musical material of Koch’s reconstruction. As less than 60% of the music in this *Markuspassion* was composed by Bach, this reconstruction has the lowest ratio of Bach music compared to all other attempts.

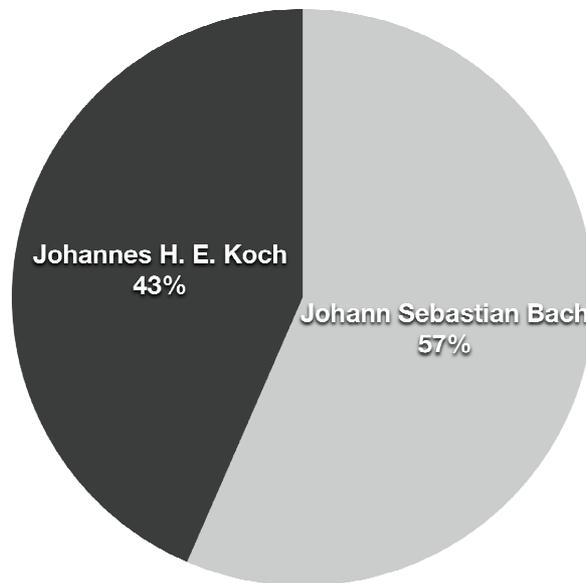
Table 6-3

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Johannes H. E. Koch’s reconstruction

Origin of musical material	Number of bars
Johann Sebastian Bach	647
Johannes H. E. Koch	497
Total number of bars	1145

Figure 6-3

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Johannes H. E. Koch's reconstruction



Hellmann's decision to omit certain chorales and lyrical numbers in his reconstruction was motivated by a desire to include only musical material that could plausibly have formed a part of the original *Markuspassion*. It is interesting that Koch, by composing music for the narrative, has included a considerable portion of music not by Bach. Thus although he renders his reconstruction inauthentic in the puristic sense, he nonetheless omits most of the same numbers as his predecessor.

In summary, this reconstruction offers minimal originality as far as lyrical numbers and chorale choices are concerned. Koch's 'modernistic' recitative and turbae offer the advantage that Bach's music is framed by narrative that cannot be easily mistaken as being by Bach, thereby offering an interesting synthesis between the old and the new. In addition to this, Koch's relatively unrestrained musical idiom enables him to present a narrative that carries considerable dramatic force. Once again one must conclude that this work cannot be presented as a composition by Johann Sebastian Bach, although in its present state it carries only his name on the cover. It is perhaps more prudent to view this reconstruction as a fervent and engaging amalgamation between the 18th and 20th centuries.

6.5 Ton Koopman

Koopman's reconstruction involves the setting of all lyrical numbers, chorales and all but two turbae to music by Bach. He has chosen to compose all of the recitatives in this score himself. This reconstruction is remarkably original in that Koopman does not rely heavily on work of previous researchers. None of his choices for the six lyrical numbers of the *Markuspassion* had been suggested by Terry, Smend, Hellmann or Theill. In addition to this, there is his curious decision to include "Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel" from the 1725 *Johannespassion* in the *Markuspassion* as an additional aria. These decisions prompt one to wonder whether Koopman has not abandoned scholarship for the sake of presenting something new in the line of *Markuspassion* reconstructions.

The discussion in the previous chapter has shown that the arias and choruses that Koopman has chosen to parody for his lyrical numbers are not obvious choices, most importantly due to the fact that the texts of his parody pairs are not metrically similar. In addition to this, some of the arias were composed up to 20 years before 1731, diminishing the chances that they formed a part of the original *Markuspassion*. As previously discussed, Bach scholars agree that four numbers of the *Trauerode* in all probability had a place in the original *Markuspassion*; yet Koopman does not once turn to this composition for any musical material, prompting Melamed (2001: 109) to comment that

The decision systematically to avoid the *Ode* is especially peculiar ... This choice, along with the free adaptation of choral movements and the newly composed recitatives, raises an essential question: Is this *St. Mark Passion* by Bach?

Koopman has followed more closely in the footsteps of his predecessors regarding his chorale choices by accepting their recommendations for 12 of the 16 chorales in the *Markuspassion*. However, some of his chorale choices are also unconventional, for example choosing to use Chorale BWV 335, "O Jesu Christ, mein's Lebens Licht" for "O Jesu du, mein Hilf und Ruh", thus avoiding the standard chorale melody that was associated with this text in Bach's time.

Of all the turba sections that Picander's text calls for, Koopman has only composed two of them himself, finding the rest in existing Bach repertoire. It is unlikely that the turbae employed by Koopman in his reconstruction were included by Bach in the

original *Markuspassion*. Besides the possibility that Bach most likely composed the turbae anew, Koopman's choices are taken from a wide array of cantatas, some dating from as early as 1707. As Butt states, "...even Bach might have had trouble integrating the early style of Christ lag in Todesbanden BWV 4, with music dating from the 1720's and even 1730's" (Butt 2006: 171).

Koopman's choice of musical material has engendered criticism on different fronts. In a review that appeared in the November/December issue of *Choir & Organ*, Peter Quantrill (2000: 81) comments unfavourably on Koopman's recitatives by stating that "the jumpy, unsettled character of the vocal line contrasts implausibly with its predictable accompaniment to produce ersatz rather than echt Bach". In a review of the DVD recording of this work, John Butt (2006: 171-172) comments that,

Koopman's St Mark Passion must be one of the most bizarre exercises in musical reconstruction ever undertaken Although Koopman shows undoubted harmonic skill in this effort, one might wonder what the point of all this might be—it would be rather like recreating Atlantis on Crete with buildings taken from Athens and Rome.

This reconstruction has received a lot of notice, possibly due to the fact that it was well publicised as the brainchild of a prominent European conductor. This reconstruction has also received positive commentary, as William Zagorski (2000: 48) writes in "A Passion for Bach: Ton Koopman's Reconstruction of Bach's Lost and Fabled St Mark Passion":

Koopman's restoration of the Markus-Passion displays a lot of honest, steadfastly focused, and highly informed work What I hear is a living, breathing, Passion both by and for Bach – a more reflective and contemplative piece than its two brethren – delivered to my ears by Ton Koopman, and given both expert and loving advocacy by its performing forces.

Table 6-4 and Figure 6-4 show the ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Koopman's reconstruction. The entire score of this work, without written out repeats or *da capos*, is 1953 bars long. It is the longest of all the reconstructions and roughly 500 bars longer than Gomme's reconstruction. Its length is in part due to the fact that Koopman's turbae are very long, with the longest of these, "Pfui dich", being 117 bars. This reconstruction has a higher ratio of music by Bach than those of Heighes or Gomme. As such, it is the only one that includes narrative where nearly three quarters of the music was composed by Bach.

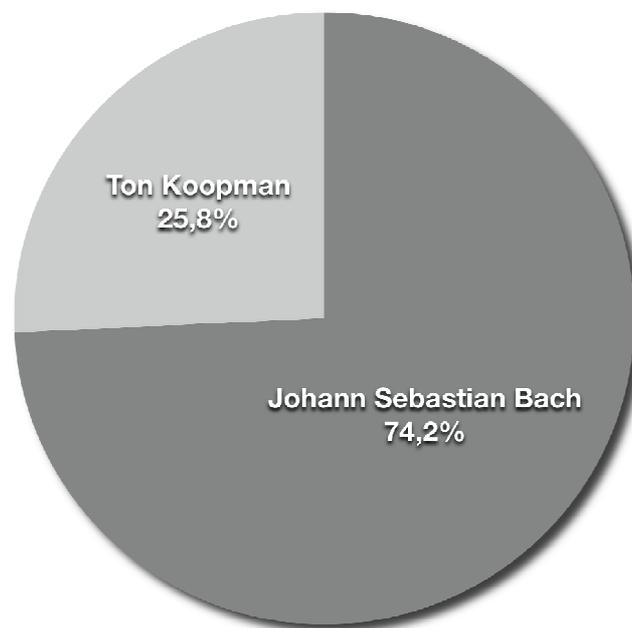
Table 6-4

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Ton Koopman's reconstruction

Origin of musical material	Number of bars
Johann Sebastian Bach	1450
Ton Koopman	503
Total number of bars	1953

Figure 6-4

The ratio of the origin of musical numbers in Ton Koopman's reconstruction



In the notes accompanying the 2000 recording of his reconstruction, Koopman (2000: 8) describes his objective as wanting to “cast a fresh, independent light on the earlier reconstructions based on the Funeral Ode and the versions by Keiser.” It seems that Koopman’s (2000: 8) outlook was that, since the work could never be completely reconstructed through scholarship, he would follow his “own creative instincts”, using any extant Bach compositions and composing that which could not be taken from elsewhere.

Thus, it appears that Koopman’s objective was never to reconstruct this passion with scholarly accuracy. However, in an interview by William Zagorski, Koopman (2000: 46) comments on his decision to parody BWV 68/1 for the final chorus of the

Markuspassion by stating that: “And with this piece I am a hundred percent certain that it belonged to the Markus-Passion. It’s so, exactly, as it should be”. From this statement, it seems as though Koopman was indeed concerned with finding the original music for the *Markuspassion*.

While 20th and 21st century audiences subscribe to the sanctity of any ‘great’ composer’s work, 17th and 18th century practice often dictated reworking another composer’s compositions to adapt them to any particular situation. In Koopman’s case, one must conclude that this work of a 20th century musician cannot be presented as a composition by Bach, despite the fact that it includes a large proportion of music by Bach and a large portion that attempts to mimic him. However, this does not make it a worthless exercise. Seen in this light, Koopman’s reconstruction acquires a different significance and becomes a worthy example of a modern *pasticcio* passion.

6.6 Andreas Glöckner

Similar to Koch’s reconstruction, Glöckner’s version is a revised edition of Hellmann’s 1964 attempt, listing both Hellmann and Glöckner as its reconstructors. Its basic premise is to include only music that could, as far as one can be certain, have formed a part of the original *Markuspassion*. All other musical material is omitted, and the missing narrative is read. Although the Hellmann reconstruction only contains 12 chorales, Glöckner chooses to include all 16, often choosing different chorales from Hellmann. His reconstruction is identical to Hellmann’s as far as lyrical number choices are concerned.

This 21st century edition of a 1964 reconstruction serves, in the wake of a host of newer reconstructions, to remind one that early research on the *Markuspassion* has remained relevant. Significant discoveries about Bach have been made antedating the research of Terry, Smend and Hellmann, especially regarding the dating of his compositions and information about his compositional techniques. Yet the original *Markuspassion* research pertaining to the comparison of texts based on metrical similarity retains its worth. Reconstructions subsequent to Hellmann’s have, to a great extent, taken their lyrical number choices from this reconstruction.

Heighes, for example, chooses to parody exactly the same lyrical numbers as Hellmann, except “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”, the one aria that Hellmann could find no suitable parody base for. Similarly, of the parody bases for the six lyrical numbers in the *Markuspassion*, only two in Gomme’s reconstruction differ from the Hellmann reconstruction. Yet the aforementioned reconstructions do not seem to fully acknowledge this debt. The Koch and Glöckner reconstructions, however, bear the name of Hellmann and their modern reconstructors, thereby acknowledging the value of the research that predated 1964.

Despite all the music in this reconstruction being by Bach, a performance would be unusual compared to other passion performances, seeing as all narrative is read. Nonetheless, it is rooted in more than a hundred years of research and is as such the most scholarly accurate version of the *Markuspassion* and perhaps the only one that can be presented as a composition by Johann Sebastian Bach.

6.7 Recommendations

6.7.1 Recommendations for a ‘new’ reconstruction

A study of the five reconstructions has indicated that it may be of value to create a ‘new’ theoretical reconstruction that assimilates various parts of them.

Although research antedating Hellmann’s 1964 reconstruction has been concerned with finding the most suitable lyrical numbers to parody, the choices of subsequent reconstructors have frequently been the same as those of Hellmann. As the Glöckner and Koch reconstructions have mirrored Hellmann’s choices, the proposed theoretical reconstruction includes all the arias and choruses found in these reconstructions. For the aria that Hellmann could find no parody base for, “Angenehmes Mordgeschrei”, that chosen by Heighes and Gomme is being suggested. Glöckner has based his chorale choices largely on Hellmann’s reconstruction, but has found harmonisations for those chorales not included in it. These chorale harmonisations are suggested for the theoretical reconstruction.

To supply narrative for this theoretical reconstruction, Koopman’s recitatives are suggested. They have been composed in an early 18th century idiom and attempt to

mimic Bach's style as closely as possible. In the interests of creating a historically accurate and acceptable performing version of a lost Baroque work, recitatives in a Baroque style are favoured above the 'modern' narrative of Koch. Furthermore, as Koopman's recitatives can be used throughout, stylistic discrepancy within the narrative is avoided. Employing the recitatives from the anonymous Hamburg passion would result in either a change in structure, as shown in the Gomme reconstruction, or having to use recitatives by more than one composer, as in the Heighes reconstruction.

Several of Heighes's turbae choices are suggested for the theoretical reconstruction. Throughout his search for suitable turbae to parody for the *Markuspassion*, Heighes has taken into consideration the research of his predecessors. Although it is accepted that Bach did not generally parody turbae, Heighes believes that, for four of the turbae, he has found the original music included in Bach's 1731 *Markuspassion*. In certain cases where Heighes includes turbae from the anonymous Hamburg *Markuspassion*, the turbae choices of Koopman are suggested in the interest of including as much music by Bach as possible.

6.7.2 Recommendations to conductors

Conductors wishing to perform a rendition of the *Markuspassion* are faced to choose between at least 18 different reconstructions of this work. The outcome of this choice is to a large extent dependent on personal ideology and the envisaged goal behind a performance.

A puristic approach to performing the resurrected remains of the *Markuspassion* as composed by Johann Sebastian Bach would fare best with a performance of Glöckner's 2004 revised edition of the Hellmann reconstruction. This work contains only music by Bach and includes only those chorales and lyrical numbers that can with relative certainty be traced back to the original 1731 *Markuspassion*.

However, for a liberal stance coupled with the desire to present a full performing version including sung narrative, Simon Heighes' reconstruction is to be commended above those of Gomme and Koopman. Gomme's reconstruction cannot be recommended due to the large proportion of music not by Bach, the altered structure of the work and the presence of editorial errors in the score as pointed out by Butt

(1998: 674). Koopman's reconstruction, albeit bold, cannot claim to approach the original *Markuspassion* as performed by Bach in 1731. This judgement follows Koopman's decision to avoid parodying numbers recognised by researchers as 'original substance' and to opt for parodying music with a slim likelihood of having formed a part of the original *Markuspassion*.

Finally, the remaining reconstruction by Johannes H. E. Koch is to be recommended as a modern *pasticcio* passion that attempts to synthesize old and new styles. This work shows that Bach's music is masterful precisely because it can be successfully relocated to a new context. It should, however, not be viewed as a reconstruction of an old work, but as the creation of a new composition.

6.7.3 Recommendations to audience members

Audience members and music lovers who attend any performance of the *Markuspassion* or buy any recordings are advised to accept their limited authenticity. This work can take many different forms and one can never profess to have 'heard the Bach *Markuspassion*', because it does not exist anymore. Reconstructions of this work should not be considered Bach compositions, but as the fascinating projects of modern musicians.

6.7.4 Recommendations to reconstructors/musicologists

The desire to reconstruct a lost work is motivated by several factors. Firstly, a reconstruction of the *Markuspassion* presents a tempting challenge in that it essentially involves entering the mind of a great composer and attempting to rescue, as it were, the companion work to Bach's settings of the *Matthäuspassion* and the *Johannespassion*.

Secondly, the *Markuspassion* is not entirely lost. This project is intriguing precisely because the recovery of this work seems just beyond reach. Over the years, scholars have first taken the recoverable numbers of the *Markuspassion* reconstruction as their point of departure, before eventually investigating what else of the passion could be salvaged. This has moved the focus of this project from placing certain arias in their 'rightful' context, such as has been done in the Hellmann and Glöckner

reconstructions, to entirely recreating a lost work by whatever means possible, as has been the case in the majority of other reconstructions.

Theoretically, it is possible to accurately recover only a part of this composition through tracing Bach's use of parody. When reconstructors of this work are faced with finding music for one of the remaining missing arias, they frequently cut their losses, so to speak, and include compositions that could never plausibly have formed a part of the original passion. This is possibly the point where these reconstructions abandon scholarship in their pursuit of a lost composition.

Furthermore, even if one could assemble all the chorales and lyrical numbers that Bach used, one would still be uncertain as to his instrumentation and tonal organisation. As previously discussed, Bach's use of the parody technique is often unpredictable and its application varies from one composition to the next. Neumann (1969: 79) makes an important point in this regard when he states: "*Aus dem gleichen Grunde kann den mittels Umtextierung vollzogenen Rekonstruktionen Bachscher Vokalwerke stets nur ein bedingter Authentizitätswert zuerkannt werden*¹⁷". This conundrum has prompted Melamed (2005: 108) to ask: "Again, there are plenty of Bachian things one can do as a reconstructor, but are they Bach?"

Musicologists considering reconstructing new versions of the *Markuspassion* are cautioned against doing so. The task of rebuilding this work has been approached from numerous angles since the second half of the 20th century, resulting in at least 18 reconstructions. Despite the concerted efforts of these musicologists, none of these works can claim to be the original *Markuspassion* as performed by Bach. Thus, unless a lost score resurfaces, it is doubtful whether a new attempt will come any closer to recapturing this work than its predecessors.

This does not, however, mean that the majority of existing reconstructions are not worthwhile endeavours. The 18th century tradition of *pasticcio* allowed for the reworking of passions to the extent that numbers were added or removed and instrumentation adapted to suit the needs of the city where a passion would be

¹⁷ For this same reason, the vocal works of Bach that have been reconstructed through retexting can still only be given limited authenticity.

performed. This underlines the differences between 18th and 21st century thinking on intellectual property and copyright (Randel 2003: 638).

Certain modern musicologists view the practice of reconstruction in an unfavourable light because of the implied impudence on the part of the reconstructor who, in a certain sense, attempts to equate himself with the composer. However, the concept of the creative genius whose work is untouchable is essentially a modern invention that did not exist in Bach's time. One then has to ask the question whether a modern *pasticcio* passion or reconstruction that uses music by Bach could be considered irreverent or futile, as some would claim.

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