# Johann Sebastian Bach

# Easter Oratorio BWV 249

## An Examination of its Sources and Development

# Introduction[1]

The fact that Bach's *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249 has not found the same high level of acceptance and appreciation that his other major vocal works have, works like the *B-minor Mass*, his *St. Matthew* and *St. John Passions* and the *Christmas Oratorio,* may be due to a number of reasons which will be investigated through the presentation and interpretation of all the critical sources beginning with Bach's performance materials, including 19th and 20th century commentaries and concluding with some recent analyses by Bach experts. By examining the chronological development of the musical materials, most of which (excepting the recitatives) were composed at earlier times for quite different circumstances and not specifically for performances on Easter Sunday, it will be possible to begin to understand why Bach's *Easter Oratorio* has failed to live up to the high standards that audiences have come to expect from a Bach vocal-instrumental composition celebrating one of the major feast days in the liturgical year.

## The Libretto for the *Easter Oratorio*

The librettist for the *Easter Oratorio* remains unknown since no printed version of the text has survived. Nevertheless circumstantial evidence seems to point strongly toward the local poet, Christian Friedrich Henrici [his pen-name was Picander] (1700-1764) who had just begun his collaboration with Bach in February, 1725.[2] For that secular event on February 23, Picander supplied the text for the Pastoral Cantata "Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen" BWV 249a [see below for further details]. About five weeks later, Bach 'recycled' most of the music [not the recitatives which had to be newly composed] from that cantata for use during the Easter Sunday services in Leipzig on April 1, 1725. For the purpose of transforming the original secular text to a sacred one, Bach most likely would have enlisted the services of the same poet, who, unfortunately, had probably never been called upon before to rework an existing text so completely that its original source would become almost unrecognizable. Picander's task would have been a formidable one. As a result, Picander would no longer have had the freedom normally granted a poet to select only what he deemed would be appropriate for a certain occasion, but rather would have to keep the same meter and rhyme scheme of the former while taking into account various, already existing, musical

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[1] This document may be freely copied and distributed providing that distribution is made in full and the author's copyright notice is retained.

[2] Probably one of the only serious objections to Picander's authorship of the Easter Oratorio text has been expressed by Ferdinand Zander, "Die Dichter der Kantatentexte Johann Sebastian Bachs", Bach-Jahrbuch 1968, p. 49, where Zander contends that the rhyme of 'Dank' with 'Lobgesang' is of an uncharacteristic dialect type that Picander would not have used.

aspects as well. This first major attempt at this type of transformation may have amounted to quite a learning experience for both the poet and the composer as they sought feasible solutions that would satisfy both of them. Bach's demands were simple enough: to reuse again as much of the music that he had just composed with a minimum of alterations and/or additions, a *contrafactum* of sorts, but on a much higher, more difficult level because the melodies and the correspondences between words and music were much more complex than would be the case with, for instance, a simple folk tune. For Bach, as a notable economizer not only in regard to the time he personally spent in planning a project and composing the music for it, but also in regard to saving money that would otherwise need to be spent not only on purchasing expensive paper for new parts but also hiring copyists to copy the parts from his score, this type of adaptation called a *parody*[3] appeared to offer many advantages over composing an entirely new score for an Easter cantata during a time when he was composing and preparing numerous other works for Holy Week, the Easter holidays and the Sundays following Easter.

Characteristic for the struggle over the words to be chosen to replace the original text is the apparant battle over the opening phrase in movement 3 of the earliest and later versions of BWV 249 when the vocalists enter for the first time. The following list shows the changes linked to the same musical passages, changes which were entered into the parts of the *Easter Cantata* and then crossed out:

Original (BWV 249a): "Entfliehet, entschwindet"

*Easter Cantata* (1725): "Kommt, gehet und eilet" was changed to:

"Kommt, fliehet und eilet"

Eventually this became:

*Easter Oratorio* (c. 1738): "Kommt, eilet und laufet"



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[3] See Appendix A.

# The Problems Inherent in the Process of *Parody*

It is important here to recognize that the 'retexting' of BWV 249a to make it suitable as a festive sacred cantata would involve maintaining a greater degree of flexibility on the part of the poet than for the composer who, in this case, insisted on changing the music as little as was absolutely possible. Perhaps Bach was expecting more from this young poet than the latter was able to deliver. In any case the resulting libretto has suffered from the faults caused by this early experimentation with *parody*, a process that both Bach and his librettist still needed to refine in order to determine more clearly the limits and the degree of flexibility that this process required of both the poet and the composer.

Despite the fact that the general reception of Bach's *Easter Oratorio* has been hampered by the apparent deficiencies of its libretto, a difficulty which, according to many Bach scholars, Bach never fully succeeded in overcoming, there is little doubt that the music itself must be considered to be of the highest quality. On this latter point most experts, musicians and listeners are in agreement. Most often a composer is inspired by a selected text to compose music which expresses various aspects of it. To reverse this process by supplying a new text for music that already exists and was composed for a text celebrating a very different occasion is a much more difficult endeavor. This is particularly true when switching between the contrasts of the secular and sacred worlds, in this case a pastoral play with shepherds and nymphs vs. the events surrounding the resurrection of Christ. The object here in this process of *parody* is to change the music as little as possible while underlaying the new text for the vocal parts and keeping the instrumental parts just as they were. With the libretto for the *Easter Cantata/Oratorio* this process had not yet been perfected.

# Was the *Easter Oratorio* a Successful *Parody*?

A number of important Bach biographers and commentators have found it difficult to avoid criticizing this work for inadequacies which mainly stem from the process of *parody* (reusing music composed for another occasion (here secular as a pastoral cantata) and quickly adapting it with an entirely new text (within five weeks) for use on one of the most important sacred holidays, Easter Sunday. Philipp Spitta (1841-1894), the great 19th-century Bach biographer, for instance, knowing nothing about its secular predecessor, expressed his displeasure with Bach's choice of the libretto of the *Easter Oratorio* this way: "It cannot but surprise us to find that Bach could have been satisfied with such a text. He has embodied the history of the Passion in a stupendous work, and he knew that the Resurrection had been sung at an earlier period, for he knew and made use of Vopelius' hymn book. It might be supposed that this would have been reason enough for his treating the

history of the Resurrection in a worthier and more dignified way. Nor is this a work of his youth; the forms show the handling of a mature master, and from the manuscript we may see that the work must have been written about 1736."[4] Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), considering the practical aspect of performance, even went as far as to suggest: "The text should be altered somewhat."[5] Friedrich Smend (1893-1980), who discovered the original secular cantata BWV 249a with a text by Picander, praised the important, successful Bach parodies based on original secular works like the *Mass in B-minor* and the *Christmas Oratorio*, but singled out the *Easter Oratorio* as work which was not as successfully adapted: "If you consider the parodied sections of the *Missa* (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*) and the *Symbolum Nicenum* from the *B-minor Mass*, you will in each instance come to the conclusion that Bach could not have chosen a more suitable model whether in form or function, a model, which in its transformation from the original form not only attained the value of the former in its new form, but even surpassed the original artistically. The exceptions to this rule are few among Bach's sacred parodies based upon earlier secular sources. The *Easter Oratorio* could be one of these exceptions."[6]



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[4] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Vol. 2, p. 591 (This is from the Dover Reprint Edition, translation by Clara Bell & J. A. Fuller-Maitland. For the full context of this quotation, see Appendix B, where Spitta also states that 'the text [of the *Easter Oratorio*] is meager enough.')

[5] Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach* (Dover, 1966; English translation of the German original, 1911) vol. 2, p. 309. For the full context, see Appendix B. For more detailed discussion of this matter see: http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Vocal/BWV249-Gen2.htm

[6] Friedrich Smend, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Kirchen-Kantaten* (Berlin, 1947) V. 25.

# Technical Background Information on
# Bach's *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249[7]

The Primary and Secondary Sources:

A. **The 22 Original Parts** are located in the BB (or SBB) = Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz) Catalogue # Mus. ms. Bach St 355

The cover or folder, in which all the extant parts are located, carries a title written by C.P.E. Bach: *Oratorium | Festo Paschali | di | J. S. Bach*. The paper for this cover exhibits a watermark commonly used by C.P.E. Bach.

These 22 individual parts can easily be separated into three groups based upon subtle, but measurable differences in the *rastrals*[8] used.

The following list of the original parts is divided chronologically into three groups. **The numbers in parentheses represent the original order of the parts in the entire set while the others have been assigned by the *NBA* to represent the chronological order, as much as this is possible.** A 'Z' (*Zusatz*=Addition) indicates a later significant addition to the part in question.

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[7] Unless otherwise stated, the material on the following pages is derived from:
*Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, Serie II: Messen, Passionen, oratorische Werke, Band 7 Notenband: *Oster-Oratorium*, ed. Paul Brainard, (Bärenreiter, 1977). Hereafter referred to as *NBA* II/7.
and the critical report which was issued four years later as:
*Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*, Serie II Band 7 *Kritischer Bericht: Oster-Oratorium* ed. Paul Brainard, (Bärenreiter, 1981). Hereafter referred to as *NBA* KB II/7.

[8] Das *Rastral* (plural *Rastrale*) a metal device consisting of five, conjoined pen points that are more or less equally spaced and aligned – it is dipped into ink after which it is repeatedly drawn horizontally across the page, thus creating the five-lined staves needed for entering the musical notes. The use of this device obviates the need to use a ruler or straight-edge to draw separately five lines that are equidistant to the next closest line(s). There was, in Bach's time, a lack of precision in these *rastrals.* The distance or separation between the points of these *rastrals* varied from one device to another so that it is possible today to measure these distances between the pen points to determine the 'fingerprint' of the *rastral* being used by Bach or his copyists at a given time. Some of the points of the *rastral* would eventually wear down or become unusable because they either broke off or could not be bent back into shape. »*Rastrum (lat.)* ist das Instrument, womit die 5. (oder in Lauten- und *Violdigamb*en – [Sachen] 6 *parallel*-Linien zugleich aufs Papier gezogen werden. *Rastellum* ein dergleichen Instrument von kleinerer Form.« Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1732. Translation: »A *Rastrum* (Latin origin) is the instrument used to draw simultaneously on paper five lines, or for lute or viola da gamba compositions, six lines. A *Rastellum* is a similar instrument which is smaller than the former.«
The OED explains the etymology of this word as follows: *rastrum* = rake from *rāsum*, supine of *rādĕre* to scrape. [A *rastral* does look like a tiny rake!]

### 1. Group I

**a.** These are possibly the older (oldest?) extant parts possibly dating back to the end of February, 1725, five weeks before the first performance of the *Easter Cantata* BWV 249.

1 (15) Trumpet I     copyist: Johann Andreas Kuhnau (subsequently referred to as JAK)
2 (16) Trumpet II          JAK  JSB
3 (18) Timpani             JAK
4 (19) Flute (transverse)    JAK  JSB
4Z (see Group III)        JSB
5 (20) Oboe I             JAK  JSB
6 (21) Oboe II            JAK
7 (9) Violin I              JAK  JSB
8 (11) Violin II           JAK  JSB
9 (13) Viola               JAK  JSB

**b.** Possibly these are somewhat more recent (later than the above)

10 (1) Soprano (Maria Jacobi)       JAK  JSB
11 (2) Alto (Maria Magdalena)    JAK  JSB
11Z  untitled addition to mvt. 9     JSB
12 (3) Tenor (Petrus)           JAK  JSB  (Duet Version)
13 (4) Bass (Johannes)          JAK  JSB  (Duet Version)
14 (22) Basso Continuo (in C)    JGM, 1, JSB (Transposed for use by the church organ)

### 2. Group II

15 (10) Violin I (doublet)        3, 4
16 (12) Violin II (doublet)       JSB, 5
17 (14) Bassoon               JSB, 6, 7

### 3. Group III

18 (17) Trumpet III   8
19 (5) Soprano       JSB
20 (6) Alto           JSB
21 (7) Tenor         JSB

22 (8) Bass          JSB
4Z  Flute (transverse)  JSB

Details on the Original Parts (italics indicate the names of these parts given exactly as they appear on the originals):

## Group I

**a.** [These are very possibly part of the original set of parts that were prepared for the performance BWV 249a on February 23, 1725. They could then be reused with only a few changes and/or additions listed below for performances five weeks later on April 1, 1725 as BWV 249 (the *Easter Cantata*), over almost a year and a half later on August 25, 1726 as BWV 249b and for subsequent performances of BWV 249 as the *Easter Cantata* or as the *Easter Oratorio* in its later form.]

1. *Clarino 1*  (contains mvts. 1, 3, 11 with *tacet* markings for 2, 4-10; mvt. 11: JSB added the title and all of mvt. 11 with revisions)
2. *Clarino 2do* (same as directly above with revisions by JSB in mvts. 1 & 11)
3. *Tamburi*  (like above, but the back of this page/sheet has the part for Tromba/Trumpet 1, mvt. 11 crossed out. This Tromba/Trumpet 1 part was obviously discarded in favor of Bach's addition to Tromba/Trumpet/Clarino 1, mvt. 11)

4. *Traversière* (1 sheet *recto* was left empty except for the *rastral* lines that had already been drawn. Later, as part of Group III 4Z, JSB added the title *Traversière*, along with *tacet* for mvt. 1, then added mvt. 2 for flute instead of oboe, then *Chorus tacet*, and then *Volti seque l'Aria*. The other side *verso* has the original title, *Traversière*, *tacet* for mvts. 1-4 and the flute part for mvt. 5. JAK completed the rest.)
5. *Hautbois Primo* (mvts. 1-3, 7, 9, 11; *tacet*: 4-6, 8, 10.)
6. *Hautbois 2do* (mvts. 1, 3, 7, 11; *tacet*: the rest.) [Note the inclusion of mvt. 7 on both the 1st and 2nd oboe parts – most likely the oboists who have no oboe part for this mvt. played the recorder parts as well.]

7. *Violino 1mo* (mvts. 1-3, 7, 9, 11; *tacet*: the remaining mvts. JSB added *col sourdini* [sic] to mvt. 7.)
8. *Violino 2do* (ditto.)

9. *Viola*  (mvts. 1-3, 9, 11; ditto.)

**b.** [These were the parts that were prepared for the first performance of the *Easter Cantata* BWV 249 on April 1, 1725. Note the names given for the rôles of the two apostles and the two Marias. Note also the original duet version of movement 3 for the two apostles, Peter and John. This reflects the *rôles* of the two shepherds, Damoetas and Menalcas, in BWV 249a.]

10. *Maria Jacobi  Soprano*  (mvts. 4, 5, 8, 11.)
11. *Maria Magdalena  Alto* (mvts. 4, 6, 8, 9, 11; sheet 1 *verso* later crossed out and replaced with 11Z version of mvt. 9; mm.22-72 *da capo* replaced on sheet 2 *verso*.)
12. *Petrus Tenore*  (mvt. 3 – the duet version – mvts. 4, 6, 7, 11 and possibly a *fine*(?) marking.)
13. *Johannes  Basso* (mvt. 3 – the duet version – mvts. 4, 6, 10, 11 and with definitely a *fine* marking at the very end.)

14. *Continuo*  (in C, with figures; mvts. 1-11.)

## Group II

[The parts in this group are all dated as from circa 1738 around the same time when Bach prepared the score for the *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249.]

15. *Violino 1mo* (doublet of the part above.)
16. *Violino 2*     (doublet of the part above.)
17 *Bassono*  (JSB mvts. 1, 2 and mm.1-29 of mvt. 3; copyist 6 did mm. 30-40 of mvt. 3; and copyist 7 did all the rest.)

## Group III

[The vocal parts, S, A, T, B which J. S. Bach copied personally have been dated through handwriting analysis by Yoshitake Kobayashi to have been completed within the span of years beginning with 1743 and extending to the end of 1746, while the 3rd trumpet part was completed by Bammler (see copyist section) sometime between August 1748 and October 1749.]

18. *Principal*  (This is the Tromba III part containing mvts. 1, 3, 11 along with *tacet* for mvts. 4-7, 9, 10 but not mvt. 8.) [This part had probably been lost or misplaced before this late performance took place.]

19. *Soprano*  (mvt. 3, the chorus version, and mvts. 4, 5, 8, 11.)
20. *Alto*  (mvt. 3, the chorus version, and mvts. 4, 6, 8, 9, 11.)
21. *Tenore* (mvt. 3, the chorus version, and mvts. 4, 6, 7, 11.)

22. *Basso* (mvt. 3, the chorus version, and mvts. 4, 6, 10, 11.)


B. **The Autograph Score** is located in the BB (or SBB) Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz) Catalogue # Mus. ms. Bach P 34.


**Provenance:**

After J. S. Bach's death in 1750, this autograph score, the only one containing this music that has survived beyond the 18th century, was inherited by C. P. E. Bach. It was listed as follows in the latter's estate at the time of his death in 1790:


»In Partitur und meist allen Stimmen«  ["The score and almost all of the parts"]


The next documented owner was the Berliner Singakademie. In 1855 the Berliner Staatsbibliothek, where the score is located today, acquired it directly from the Berliner Singakademie. It would appear from the above that the autograph score and the original parts have always remained together during their transmission.


In contrast with most of Bach's cantata 'composing' scores, this is an almost calligraphic score written with a deep black ink which has hardly changed over the centuries. Only the corrections and additions are in a browner ink.


Here is a more detailed description of this manuscript:

The folder in which the score is held has a title in C. P. E. Bach's handwriting:


*Oratorium | Festo Paschali | a | 4 Voci | 3 Trombe | Tamburi | 2 Hautb. | 2 Viol. | Viola | Bassono | e | Cont. | di | J. S. Bach*


[The superscript [r] (*recto*) after the page number indicates the front or right-hand side of the page or leaf of a manuscript while [v] (*verso*) is the back of the same page or leaf.]


P. 1[r]: the autograph title page:


*Oratorium | Festo Paschali | a | 4 Voci | 3 Trombe | Tamburi | 2 Hautbois | 2 Violini | Viola | Bassono | e | Continuo | di | Joh: Seb: Bach.*


P. 1[v]: blank

P. 2[r]: autograph title on the top of the first page of the score:

*J. J. Oratorium Festo Paschatos. à 4 Voci. 3 Trombe Tamburi, 2 Hautb. | 2 Violini, Viola, Bassono e Cont.*

below this the title of the mvt.: *Sinfonia*

Staves assigned names from top to bottom at the left:

*Tromba 1 | Tromba 2 | Tromba 3 | Tympali | Hautb 1 | Hautb 2 | Violino 1 | Violino 2 | Viola | Bassono | Continuo*

PP. 2ᵛ-6ʳ: continuation of mvt. 1 with pages ending at m47, m71, m95, m119, m143, m170 (new count after the insertion of m163), m194, m219.

P. 6ᵛ: mvt. 1 (m220) to end of mvt. with an accolade like all the preceding ones. No title for the next mvt. but with a tempo indication: *Adagio* above the first staff of the following accolade for mvt. 2 (mm1-16) which appears with 2 accolades with 5 staves each with a blank staff between them. The 1ˢᵗ accolade has the following instrumental indications from top to bottom: *Haut. 1 | Violino 1 | Violino 2 | Viola | Cont. e Basson.*

P. 7ʳ: Continuation of mvt. 2 (mm16-47).

P. 7ᵛ: Mvt. 2 (m48) to the end. Under the final accolade mvt. 3 begins without any title and differing accolades mm1-10 with 10 staves and mm11-21 with 7 staves. The first accolade has the following instrumental indications from top to bottom: *Tromba 1 | Tromb. 2 | Tromb. 3 | Tympal | Hautb 1 | Hautb 2 | Violino 1 | Violino 2 | Viola | Cont. e Bass.* and the second accolade has: *T. 1 | T. 2 | H. 1 | H. e Violino 2 | Violino 1 | Viola |* (no marking for lowest staff). The two lowest staves on this page were not drawn as usual with a *rastral*, but each line was drawn by hand separately.

P. 8ʳ: Mvt. 3 (mm22-45) with 2 accolades having 12 staves each (the two vocal parts entered here).

PP. 8ᵛ-10ᵛ: Mvt. 3 continues with the same arrangement of staves as above. The pages end at m69, m92, m118, m140, m160 (Da Capo).

P. 11ʳ: Title for the next mvt. at the top: *Recit. Sopr. è Alto. Ten. è Basso.* Mvt. 4 follows with 3 accolades with 3 staves each. In the 2ⁿᵈ accolade *Ten* is indicated in the middle of m5, *Baß.* in m6, and *Ten* in m7. In the 3ʳᵈ accolade, *Sopr.* and *Alto* appear in m10.

Mvt. 5 (mm. 1-22) begins after the title *Aria* and appears with 4 accolades with 3 staves each. The staves are marked from the top down with *Travers. o Violino Solo | Soprano.*

PP. 11ᵛ-12ʳ: Continuation of Mvt. 5 (mm22-59), (mm59-96), with accolades of the same type throughout.

P. 12ᵛ: Mvt. 5 continues with mm97-114 (Da Capo) on 3 accolades. Under the final accolade the next mvt. 6 is indicated: *Recit.* Mvt. 6 has 3 accolades with 2 staves each. The uppermost staff is designated as *Ten.* at the beginning, after the 5ᵗʰ eighth note *Bass. Alt.* appears in m4 and *Ten.* in m7. To the right of the final accolade, the beginning of mvt. 7 is indicated as follows: *Aria Ten. Flauti | e Violini.* The beginning of mvt. 7 (mm1-4) appears with an accolade having 6 staves. Between the 3ʳᵈ and 4ᵗʰ staves is the marking: *Sourdini.* The 3ʳᵈ staff has the marking: *unisoni p[er] tutto.*

PP. 13ʳ-14ʳ: Continuation of mvt. 7 on 5 accolades with only 4 staves each mm5-26, mm26-48, mm48-70.

P. 14ᵛ: Mvt. 7 (mm70-85) (Da Capo) with similar accolades. To the right of the final 4ᵗʰ accolade appears the designation: *Recit.* Beneath this is the beginning of mvt. 8 (mm1-9) on 2 accolades with 3 staves each. Above the final eighth note of m2 appears the designation: *arioso.*

P. 15ʳ: Conclusion of mvt. 8 on a single accolade of the same type. The next accolade below this has the title: *Aria* with the markings for the staves from top to bottom: *Hautb d'Amour | Violino 1 | Violino 2 | Viola | Alto | Cont.* Mvt. 9 begins here mm1-14 with 3 accolades having 6 staves each.

PP. 15ᵛ-16ᵛ: Continuation of mvt. 9 with 4 accolades of the same type on each page. The pages end at m31, m48, m65.

P. 17ʳ: Conclusion of mvt. 9 (mm65-72) (Da Capo) with accolades of the same type. The next accolade is designated as *Recit.* Mvt. 10 follows with 3 accolades having 2 staves each. At the end is the marking: *Volti seque il Coro.*

P. 17ᵛ: Title of the next, final mvt.: *Chorus.* Mvt. 11 (mm1-5) has an accolade containing 15 staves.

PP. 18ʳ-20ᵛ: Continuation of mvt. 11 with 1 similar accolade per page and pages ending with m11, m17, m23, m28, m34, m40.

P. 21ʳ: Mvt. 11 (mm41-46) with a different arrangement of staves within the accolade so that the staves had to be marked as *Sopr., A | T | B*.

PP. 21ᵛ-22ᵛ: Mvt. 11 (mm47) to end on 1 accolade (returned to its original arrangement). The pages end with the following measures: m 57, m71, m83. After m83 Bach writes: *Fine | S D G*[9]

# A Revelatory Correction by Bach

In movement 11 (m13) of the Basso staff in the autograph score, Bach crosses out *Heyl* and replaces it with *Danck*. This occurs when the bass vocal part sings an extended coloratura on this word. In modern orthography these words are *Heil* und *Dank*. A number of commentators have pointed out that this is a type of Freudian slip where, near the beginning of this movement, Bach unconsciously and momentarily fell back to the original text from BWV 249a before catching himself and correcting it to represent the text used for the *Easter Cantata* (first version of BWV 249).[10] From this one might also infer that the secular BWV 249a did precede the *Easter Cantata* which followed it. The use of the word *Heil* was also reinforced by its use as well in another secular cantata BWV 249b. A comparison of texts that Bach used with this same music may help to explain Bach's slip:

Feb. 23, 1725 BWV 249a  *Glück und Heil* (Picander)
April 1, 1725  BWV 249   *Preis und Dank* (Picander?)
Aug. 25, 1726 BWV 249b  *Heil und Lust*  (Picander)

Another inference that can be drawn from this is that Bach probably entered the bass vocal part before any of the other vocal parts. However, this still does not explain why earlier in mm9-10 where *Heil/Dank* also occurs twice, Bach nevertheless does enter *Dank* correctly. Perhaps he was still working from the composing score completed for the first performance in February containing not only the original text for February 1725, but also the additional texts for April 1725 and August 1726 squeezed in under the notes for the vocal parts. How easily could a mistake be made in reading the correct one of the three different texts displayed particularly when *Heil* appeared in two of them!

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[9] the *G* has what appears to be a strange curved marking which is sometimes interpreted as a lower-case *L* or as an abbreviation standing not only for an *l* but the entire word *Gloria*.

[10] *NBA* KB II/7, p. 49: Es ist aber keineswegs undenkbar, daß für Bach die Assoziierung dieser Musik mit den Textworten "Glück und Heil" noch so lebendig war, daß der beim Abschreiben in den ursprünglichen Text verfiel. [In no way is it inconceivable that for Bach the association of this music with the phrase "Glück und Heil" from the libretto (for the secular *Pastoral Cantata* BWV 249a) was still so vivid in his mind that, while copying this musical passage (for a clean copy of the score for the *Easter Oratorio*), he could not help himself but lapse back into the original combination of words and music.]

# Varying Time Signatures for the Same Movement[11]

[The references to the original part numbers or autograph follow the *NBA* scheme given above.]

**Mvt. 5**  This movement is found in A 4, 10, 14, 17, 19 and B.
The *NBA* gives the time signature for BWV 249a as 6/4 and for BWV 249 as 3/4. This represents what is given in the earliest parts A 4, 10, 14 for BWV 249a while A 17, 19 and B have the revised time signature. This leads to two different measure counts with BWV 249 having twice the number of measures than BWV 249a has.

**Mvt. 6**  This movement is found in A 11-14, 17, 20-22 and B.
The alto part A11 has a cut-time signature ₵ and all the others simply a **C**.

**Mvt. 8**  This movement is found in A 10, 11, 14, 17, 19, 20 and B.
Both alto parts A 11 and A 20 have a ₵ and all the other parts have a **C**.

**Mvt. 9**  This movement is found in A 5, 7-9, 11Z, 14-17, 20 and B.
The time signature ₵ is found only in A 11 while **C** appears in all the others in this group.

**Mvt. 11**  This movement is found in A 1-3, 5-22 and B.
The time signature **C** is found in A 2, 12 while all the remaining parts in this group and B have ₵.
A 14 and A 17 have ₵· [cut-time with a mark of prolation].

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[11]For background information on this subject, see the article: *Bach's use of the cut-time time signature* at
http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Articles/Cut-time.pdf

# A Summary of J. S. Bach Autograph Sources

BWV 249  SPK P 34  Score and Title Page (entirely autograph)  circa 1738 Leipzig.

BWV 249 SPK St 355
Parts entirely autograph dated 1743-1746: 19 *Soprano*[5], 20 *Alto*[6], 21 *Tenore*[7], 22 *Basso*[8][12]

J. S. Bach Partially Autograph Sources:

Partially autograph and mainly from 1725: 10 *Soprano Maria Jacobi* [1], 11 *Alto Maria Magdalena* [2], 12 *Tenore Petrus* [3], 13 *Basso Johannes* (4) *Clarino 2do*, *Traversière* [late addition of mvt. 2], *Violino II*[12], *Viola*,  Transposed Basso *Continuo*; Editing changes in the parts, particularly additions in the *Oboe I*; additions and figures supplied in the transposed basso continuo part. [And, of course, generally throughout all of the original parts: markings designating phrasing, dynamics, articulation, and ornamentation (trills) – most of these are not marked in the score.]

# Other Sources Considered by the *NBA*

C. A copy of the score from the 19th century contained in Franz Hauser's (1794-1870) collection of scores. Located in the BB (Staatsbibliothek Berlin) under Catalogue no.:  Mus. ms. Bach P 1159[XIV]. Kobayashi lists the copyist as Anonymous H 4. This score was copied directly from B.

D. A copy of the score from the 19th century once in the possession of Johann Theodor Mosewius (1788-1858), now located in the Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Warszawie with the Catalogue no. Rps Mus 34. This is a copy of C.

E. A set of parts for movements 1 and 2 (***Frühfassung***, BWV 249a) only from the estate of C. P. E. Bach where it was listed as "Sinfonie aus dem D#, mit 3 Trompeten, Pauken, 2 Hoboen, 2 Violinen, Bratsche, Fagott und Baß". Now located in the BB (Staatsbibliothek Berlin) under Catalogue no.: Mus. ms. Bach St. 155. After the estate sale it was temporarily in the possession of Georg Pölchau (1773-1836) and Hans Georg Nägeli (1773-1836) before it was acquired by the BB. The dates and circumstances for the transfer of these parts cannot be determined. The unknown copyist for most of these parts was also involved in copying a single part in two or three other works by Bach.

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[12] The numbering system used here is that found on the original parts; this differs from that used by the *NBA* which arranges the parts in chronologically distributed groups.

This set of parts differs from those in A (including all the corrections of the former) and the autograph score B. **It [E] appears to be earlier than either of these primary sources A or B.** These differences are incorporated in the reconstruction of BWV 249a in Anhang B of *NBA* II/7. The first oboe part deviates from the rest of the set in many respects: 1. it is the only part not copied by the copyist indicated above but rather by C. P. E. Bach; 2. the paper quality is different and has no watermark; 3. the ink has a different color. Although the first violin part was copied by the same copyist who copied all the remaining parts, it is set apart from the others by having a different *rastral* used and it has a slightly lighter ink color.

These are the parts in this set:

1. *Hautbois 1* (copied by C. P. E. Bach)
2. *Tromba 1*
3. *Tromba 2*
4. *Tromba 3*
5. *Tympana*
6. *Hautbois Primo* (doublet)
7. *Hautbois Secondo*
8. *Violino Primo*
9. *Violino Secondo*
10. *Viola*
11. *Bassono* (contains both mvts.)
12. *Basso* (without figures – mvt. 2 is missing!)

*Tacet* markings for mvt. 2 are found in E 4, 5, but not in E 2, 3, 7, (12).


F. Copy of the score for movements 1 & 2 (*Frühfassung* BWV 249a) from the second half of the 18th century. Located in the BB Catalogue no. Mus. ms. Bach P 35.

This score, which seems for the most part to be copied from the set of parts listed as E above, was copied by S. Hering (18th century) and came into the possession of the BB via the Berliner Singakademie (Zelter wrote on the title page in red ink: "Aus dem Oratorio Paschali: Kommt, eilet und laufet"). Hering wrote on the title page:

*Partitura | von | Sinfonien* [sic]. *| del Sig: J. S. Bach | S. Hering*

On the first page of music:

*Sinfonia | a | Tromba 1 | Tromba 2 | Tromba 3 | Tympana | Oboa 1 | Oboa 2 | Bassono | Violino 1 | Violino 2 | Viola |Basso*

G. 1, 2, 3. Partial score copies of movements 1 & 2 (*Frühfassung* BWV 249a) probably from circa 1863 and now located in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich Catalogue no. Ms Car XV 244 A 10. Hans Georg Nägeli (1773-1836) was an important collector of Bach manuscripts. His son, Hermann Nägeli, customarily copied his father's manuscripts before they were put up for auction so that their contents could be preserved.

G 1: Movement 1 is incomplete (the last 10 measures have only been partially completed). Movement 2 has only mm1-16.

G 2: includes movements 1 & 2.

G 3: This is a fragment of an arrangement of movement 1 for 3 pianos and includes only mm34-161 of movement 1.

# Lost or Missing Scores and Parts

J. The autograph score from which the original parts A (Group 1) had been copied. This would have been the composing score used for the secular birthday cantata BWV 249a and possibly also for the *Easter Cantata* and BWV 249b with inserted pages for the newly composed recitatives. This score was later replaced with a new one in circa 1738.

K. Some of the original parts for the secular cantata BWV 249a. Based on the differences between the *rastral* used for parts A 1-9 and the *rastrals* evident in all the other parts, it would appear that these parts were prepared and used for the performance of BWV 249a. If, however, this is not the case, then these parts would have to be counted among the missing parts of this group as K 1-9. Definitely to be included in this group of missing parts would be the 3rd trumpet part, K 10, at least for mvt. 1; parts K 11-14 for the four vocalists; parts K 15-17 as well as a bassoon part as well as at least two continuo parts (violoncello or violone and harpsichord). These parts may have been lost or discarded because they contained recitatives which were not usable for the *Easter Cantata* or *Easter Oratorio*.

L. Another possible early score created because J. above had become unusable.

M. A very possible partial score of movement 3 created for expanding the *Duetto* to a *Chorus* movement (sometime between 1743 and 1746).

N. An autograph score of movements 1 and 2 only from which a set of parts E and another score F had been copied. (E and F were not copied from J or K!)

O. A partial copy of the score B prepared by Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832) but abandoned before completion.

BWV 249b
The autograph score, a set of vocal parts and possibly continuo parts (or at least inserts therein) have been lost.

# Breakdown into Three to Six Developmental Phases

Numerous attempts have been made by various scholars to describe the chronological development of BWV 249. These represent various viewpoints based upon certain factors which are being stressed. Alfred Dürr, in his discussion of BWV 249a contained in the *NBA* KB I/35, pp. 57-58 (published in 1964) already correctly lists five phases as follows (only the dates for # 4 & 5 have changed meanwhile due to more precise dating techniques being applied):

1. BWV 249a "Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen": February 23, 1725.
2. BWV 249 (Version 1) "Kommt, gehet und eilet", *Easter Cantata* on the First Day of Easter: April 1, 1725.
3. BWV 249b "Verjaget, zerstreuet, zerrüttet, ihr Sterne": August 25, 1726.
4. BWV 249 (Version 2) "Kommt, eilet und laufet", *Easter Oratorio*: c. 1732-35 or later.
5. BWV 249 (Version 3) "Kommt, eilet und laufet", *Easter Oratorio*: 1740-1750.

Differences become immediately evident when an attempt is made to describe its earliest sources. Despite the fact that the music has been lost, most Bach scholars agree that that BWV 249a (1725) represents the earliest occasion for which Bach composed most of the music which was a decade later modified and incorporated into what Bach subsequently called the *Easter Oratorio* (BWV 249) (circa 1738).[13]

This first phase of development might then rightfully be narrowed down to the very first performance of most of this music as a Pastoral Cantata "Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen" BWV 249a on February 23, 1725, if it were not for the presence of two purely instrumental movements which very likely preceded the vocal-instrumental sections which follow them. These two contrasting, scene-setting movements may also have been used as *preludia* to allow the musicians to tune their instruments. Beginning with Philipp Spitta's (1841-1894) monumental Bach biography (1880), expert commentators have speculated that these movements were part of a previously composed instrumental concerto ('not unlike a Brandenburg concerto') that Bach had resurrected to introduce this Pastoral Cantata and also, quite possibly with an Easter Sunday performance of most of the same music in mind, the *Easter Cantata* which would follow only five weeks later. Spitta wrote: "a symphony in two movements, together with the first vocal number,

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[13] Without offering even an iota of counterevidence, a few dissenters like Peter Williams continue to express antiquated notions which lack any foundation based on the results of current Bach scholarship: In his book, *J. S Bach: A Life in Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), Williams states on p. 204: "It is not clear whether in February 1725 Bach already had written the *Easter Oratorio* and used its arias for a birthday cantata meanwhile,…"

constitutes a complete instrumental concerto."[14] This type of observation was later confirmed, repeated and expanded by others like Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), Arnold Schering (1877-1941), and Friedrich Smend (1893)-1980). More recently during the 1990s, this idea has been rejected on the grounds that these first three movements taken together as a concerto are not structurally similar to any concerto that Bach has composed.  In his revised book on Bach's cantatas published in 1992, Alfred Dürr (1918- ) was still contending, although somewhat tentatively:

Eingeleitet wird das Werk durch zwei Konzertsätze, vermutlich Zeugen einer verschollenen Instrumentalsinfonie der Köthener Zeit. Ja, es wäre nicht unmöglich, daß Satz 3 ursprünglich das Finale dieser Sinfonie gewesen ist.[15]

[This work {BWV 249} is introduced by two concerto movements which probably bear witness to the fact that Bach had composed such an instrumental *Sinfonia* during his Cöthen period. To be sure, {it would not be impossible to} / {one could possibly} consider movement 3 originally to have been the finale of this *Sinfonia*.]

Jones, in his modern translation of Dürr's book modifies and corrects this statement as follows:

The work [BWV 249] is introduced by the two concerto-like movements, formerly considered remnants of a lost instrumental work from the Cöthen period, of which the third movement of the oratorio was thought to have formed the finale. This view has recently been rejected, however, on the grounds that the internal structure of the three movements concerned is quite unlike that of Bach's concertos.[16]

   Only in recent years has a more careful analysis of the structure of each instrumental movement led Konrad Küster to see these movements as a part of a multi-movement orchestral suite known as the *Ouverture*.[17] In any case, these indications lead most experts to suspect that Bach may have reused some movements originally composed for a different purpose during his Köthen period.


*Urgestalt* (The Pre-Phase or Original Source of the First Movements of BWV 249): The introductory instrumental movements putatively extracted from other earlier compositions from Bach's Köthen period.


If the autograph score for BWV 249a were available for inspection today, it would be relatively easy to determine quite definitively from Bach's handwriting (a 'composing' score with errors vs. a calligraphic score almost devoid of errors) whether these introductory instrumental movements had

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[14] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Vol. 2, p. 592.

[15] Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Kantaten*, (Bärenreiter, 1971, 1995 revision), p. 315.

[16] Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (Oxford University Press, 2005), rev. & ed. by Richard D. P. Jones, *Oster-Oratorium* p. 274. Jones gives two references for this as follows: J. Rifkin, 'Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke : Miszellen zu Bachs Instrumentalkomposition' in *Bachs Orchesterwerke* (M. Geck and W. Breig editors) Dortmund, 1996 – pp. 59-75, especially p. 74, note 57; S. Rampe and D. Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik: Entstehung – Klangwelt – Interpretation*, (Kassel, 2000) p. 466, note 2.

[17] Konrad Küster, *Bach Handbuch* (Bärenreiter-Metzler, 1999), p. 472.

been composed earlier (probably during the Köthen period). For now, this can be considered only a reasonable assumption based upon stylistic analysis.

*Frühfassung BWV 249a* (The Secular Earliest Version of the *Easter Oratorio*) "Entfliehet, verschwindet, entweichet, ihr Sorgen", a *Tafelmusik* (*Musique de table*) in the form of a pastoral cantata first performed at the Weißenfels Court (at the Weißenfels Palace or at the Royal Hunting Lodge may be assumed here) on February 23, 1725, as part of the celebration of the birthday of the Prince of Weißenfels, Duke Christian von Sachsen-Weißenfels. It was Friedrich Smend (1895-1980) who first established the connection between the text of this pastoral cantata and the text and music for the *Easter Cantata* which was performed five weeks later.[18] The text for this *Frühfassung* could possibly be the earliest, or at least one of the very earliest, libretto(s) by Picander (Christian Friedrich Henrici) that Bach set to music. The complete text along with a description of the circumstances surrounding this event appeared in print later in 1727 in Picander's collection of poetry entitled: *Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte*: *Erster Teil* (Leipzig, 1727). The *NBA* II/7 volume presents a reconstruction of BWV 249a.[19] Only the recitatives are related simply as text since no music for them has survived. This *NBA* reconstruction has the added advantage of seeing a parallel text under the notes for the arias, duets, and choral movements. In order to make an easy comparison of both versions of this music, the *NBA* editors, in Anhang B of *NBA* II/7, have placed the texts for the *Easter Cantata* BWV 249 above those for the Pastoral Cantata/*Tafelmusik* BWV 249a which are also italicized to distinguish them clearly from the sacred texts. The first two movements for instrumental ensembles have been included in Anhang B since the instrumental parts (see above: Group 1a) that have survived are the oldest of all the extant parts and there is no indication that they would have been performed only with the *Easter Cantata*. Bach's penchant for economizing wherever possible with time and effort expended in the preparation of the score and the parts needed for performance would have motivated him to reuse as many of the instrumental parts possible, particularly when the performances of the secular and sacred versions of the same music were separated by only five weeks. See also the evidence presented in source E which points to a source that could be earlier than the oldest parts for the *Easter Cantata*. Contrary opinions have been expressed by both Alfred Dürr and Joshua Rifkin[20] who contend that mvts. 1 & 2 were originally

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[18] Friedrich Smend "Neue Bach-Funde" in *Archiv für Musikforschung*, Year 7, 1942, pp. 1ff.

[19] In the summer of 1943 Friedrich Smend prepared and had published the first reconstruction of BWV 249a. It became available under the title *Schäferkantate* (Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 1785). The missing music for the recitatives was composed by Hermann Keller.

[20] J. Rifkin, 'Verlorene Quellen, verlorene Werke : Miszellen zu Bachs Instrumentalkomposition' in *Bachs Orchesterwerke* (M. Geck and W. Breig editors) Dortmund, 1996 –p. 74, note 57; S. Rampe and D. Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik: Entstehung – Klangwelt – Interpretation*, (Kassel, 2000) p. 466, note 2.

composed or added for the performance of the *Easter Cantata* on April 1, 1725. Dürr in his revised edition of his book *Johann Sebastian Bach : Die Kantaten* (Bärenreiter, 1992) p. 885 wrote as follows:

> Den Eingang des Werkes bildet eine Sinfonia mit einem Allegro-Satz und einem nachfolgenden Adagio; beide werden durch das anschließend Duett zu einem ausgewachsenen Instrumentalkonzert vervollständigt. Allgemein wird angenommen, daß Bach hier ein Konzert aus seiner Köthener Zeit wiederverwendet habe. Doch bleibt ungewiß, ob die umfangsreiche Instrumentaleinleitung wirklich schon in der Schäferkantate vorhanden war oder nicht vielleicht erst bei der Umarbeitung zur Osterkantate hinzugenommen wurde; die Schäferkantate hätte denn erst mit dem Duettsatz begonnen. [This work begins with a *Sinfonia* consisting of an Allegro movement followed by an Adagio; both become complete as an extensive instrumental concerto by means of the following duet. The general assumption here is that Bach reused a concerto from his Köthen period. And yet there is uncertainty about whether the substantial instrumental opening movements already were present in the *Pastoral Cantata* or were first included when the *Easter Cantata* was being prepared. In the latter case, the *Pastoral Cantata* would have begun directly with the duet movement.]

Jones' translation and revision, p. 808:

> The opening *Sinfonia* comprises an Allegro and Adagio which were formerly thought to stem from a lost Cöthen concerto but are now believed to be original compositions. It remains uncertain, however, whether this extensive instrumental introduction belonged to the *Pastoral Cantata* at all or whether it was first added as part of its adaptation as an *Easter Cantata*, in which case the *Pastoral Cantata* would have begun with the duet.

The side-by-side, or more precisely, above-and-below placement of the two texts directly under the music notation associated with them as presented by the *NBA* II/7 is very instructive and has led most Bach experts to concur with Friedrich Smend's conclusion that this **Frühfassung BWV 249a** was indeed the precursor to the *Easter Oratorio*. See also the discussion on the BCW.

**Fassung 1 des Oster-Oratoriums BWV 249** (The First Version of the *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249) now known as the *Easter Cantata* "Kommt, gehet und eilet", originally "Kommt, fliehet und eilet" [Note that in the circa 1738 version of the *Easter Oratorio*, Bach has finally settled on the opening text as "Kommt, eilet und laufet"] This *Easter Cantata*, first performed in Leipzig on April 1, 1727, is the first version of the sacred composition later known as the *Easter Oratorio* [See **Fassung II** circa 1738 below]. **Fassung I** is a sacred *parody* of the **Frühfassung BWV 249a**, in which a different, secular text had been used. For this *Easter Cantata* a new sacred text had to be written (a libretto by an unknown poet, possibly Picander with some collaboration with Bach), recitatives newly composed, and new parts for the voices and continuo copied out.

***Interimfassung BWV 249b*** (A Secular Interim Version) This *Dramma per Musica* "Verjaget, zerstreuet, zerrüttet, ihr Sterne" BWV 249b performed in Leipzig on August 25, 1726, used essentially the same music (all but the recitatives which had to be composed anew) already existing in the ***Frühfassung BWV 249a*** and ***Fassung 1 BWV 249***, the earliest sacred version known as the *Easter Cantata*. This ***Interimfassung BWV 249b*** is a birthday cantata, "Die Feier des Genius" ("The Celebration of Genius"), dedicated to Joachim Friedrich Graf von Flemming (1665-1740)[21] and uses a Picander text which was included in his collection of poetry entitled: *Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte*: *Erster Teil* (Leipzig, 1727).[22] It is likely that Bach would have reused most of the instrumental parts still extant in Group Ia listed above, and possibly even some version of the original score with all the changes in the underlying text and extra pages for the new recitatives.

***Fassung 2 des Oster-Oratoriums BWV 249*** (The Second Version of the *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249) This second version is a revision of the first version and was completed approximately 13 years after the first performance of this music. Additional performances of BWV 249 during these 13 years have been assumed; however, no hard evidence for any such performances has been forthcoming. For this particular revision undertaken circa 1738, Bach prepared a new score to replace the older one from Easter 1725. ***Fassung 2*** is the first time that J. S. Bach's designation *Oratorium* (Oratorio) can be documented. While the new score has been 'firmly' dated (using watermark and penmanship analysis) to c. 1738, additions and revisions to some of the parts copied after 1725 do point to the 1740s when other performances of BWV 249 must have taken place. ***Fassung 2*** in the autograph score still maintains the duet with Peter and John, a feature which was finally changed to a choral version with all four vocal parts in ***Fassung 3***.

***Fassung 3 des Oster-Oratoriums BWV 249*** (The Third and Final Version of the *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249) includes the parts listed under Group III above. With the exception of the *Prinzipal* [Tromba III] part copied by Bammler (see below) for a performance of BWV 249 on April 6, 1749, the autograph vocal parts, including the choral (non-duet) version of movement 3, are definitely dated by handwriting analysis (Yoshitake Kobayashi)[23] to sometime between 1743 and 1746, when a performance or some performances of BWV 249 must have taken place.

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[21] Count von Flemming was the Governor of Leipzig stationed at the Pleißenburg Fortress in Leipzig. Picander wrote poetry in celebration of von Flemming on four other occasions: his inauguration as Governor of Leipzig on July 31, 1724, for his birthday on August 25, 1724, for his New Year's Day celebration on January 1, 1725, and for the birth of his nephew (no date given).

[22] Later editions in 1732 and 1736 show the text unchanged.

[23] *NBA* IX/2. (1989) Yoshitake Kobayashi, *Die Notenschrift Johann Sebastian Bachs: Dokumentation ihrer Entwicklung.*

# Other Attempts at Categorizing Bach's Continuous Revisions and Reuse of the Musical Materials for BWV 249

In addition to the three versions of the *Easter Oratorio* listed by Alfred Dürr, the *NBA* distinguishes musically between the **Frühfassung** (Early Version of) **BWV 249a** and what is called the **Hauptfassung** (Main Version of) **BWV 249**, a conflation of all best information that can be obtained from both the autograph score from c. 1738 and the original set of parts which span the period from 1725 to 1749. This daunting task caused Wilhelm Rust, editor of the BG 21³, first critical edition of the *Easter Oratorio* dated September 1874, to present movement 3 in such a way that it would appear that the duet and choral versions were united in this single movement. As a result, many recordings in the past have presented it this way with the duet version at the beginning and the choral version used in the repeat of this section.

Leipzig, First Phase, 1725:
1725: *Soprano*, *Alto*, *Tenore*[1-3], *Clarino II*, *Flauto traversière* (excluding addendum added later, see below), *Oboe I*, *Viola*, and revision of the transposed basso continuo part.

Leipzig, Second Phase, circa 1738:
*Violino II, Bassono*.

Leipzig, Third Phase circa 1742-1746/47    Y 1743-46
1743/46: *Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso* [5-8], Addendum in *Flauto traversière* part.

Leipzig, Fourth Phase:²⁴
No discernable emendations, additions by J. S. Bach during this period.

Leipzig, Fifth Phase (August 1748-October 1749:
1749: Revision of the *Prinzipal* [Tromba III]

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[24] The more recent dating changes based on watermark and handwriting analysis may have emptied this category which earlier had contained indications (theoretical suppositions) which had to be shifted to one or more of the other categories.

# Other Copyists Who Worked on the Parts[25]

**Johann Andreas Kuhnau** (JAK) was born in 1703 and was a nephew of Johann Kuhnau for whom he also copied out parts beginning in 1718. He worked for Bach from Feb. 7, 1723 until Dec. 30, 1725 and only occasionally circa 1727. No other copyist had copied as many parts for Bach as he did. [Parentheses enclosing the movement number indicate that JAK did not complete copying all of the movement – in many cases J. S. Bach completed what was still missing or incomplete.]

SBB St 355:  Parts for BWV 249 with the vocal parts copied shortly before April 1, 1725. These parts belong to the Set I of parts. The instrumental parts may already have been prepared for the performance of BWV 249a on February 23, 1725.

*Soprano (Maria Jacobi)*: all except the text for movement[26] 5.

*Alto (Maria Magdalena)*: mvt. (1-3), 4, (5), 6, (7), 8, mvt. 9 (beginning with m.22 und *tacet*-marking for mvt. 10 crossed out and replaced by J. S. Bach), mvt. 11.

*Tenore (Petrus)*: all except the text for mvt. 7 (mm. 45-48) and the text for mvt. 11 (mm. 49-50, 57-63).

*Basse (Johannes)*: all.

*Clarino I*: all except mvt. 1 (m.145) and mvt. 11 (mm.50-57)(in each instance an addition by J. S. Bach).

*Clarino II*: all except the new addition to mvt. 11 from (mm.66-end).

*Timpani*: all.

*Flauto traversière*: mvts. (1-4), mvt. 5 except (mm.91-92).

*Oboe I* and *Oboe d'amore* and *Flauto 1*: all except mvt. 9 (mm.68-end) (J. S. Bach's addition).

*Oboe II* and *Flauto II*: all except mvt. 1 (m.163) (an addition by J. S. Bach).

*Violino I*: all except mvt. 9 (mm.69-end).

*Violino II*: all except mvt. 9 (mm.67-end).

*Viola*: all except mvt. 9 (mm.68-end).

## Christian Gottlob Meißner (1707-1760)

Copyist for Bach (abbreviated as CGM) from Feb. 7, 1723 to Dec. 30, 1728; sporadically 1727/31 He copied many continuo parts for Bach.

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[25] *NBA* IX/3 (Bärenreiter, 2007) Yoshtake Kobayashi and Kirsten Beißwenger, *Die Kopisten Johann Sebastian Bachs: Katalog und Dokumentation.*

[26] Continuing in the following sections, the abbreviation 'mvt.' will be used to replace the frequent use of 'movement'.

SBB St 355: copied shortly before April 1, 1725; these parts belong to Set I of the parts for BWV 249.

*Basso Continuo* transposed and figured:
Mvt. 1 except (m. 163) and (mm. 211-221) (an addition by J. S. Bach).
Mvt. 2
Mvt. 3 except (m. 152) (an addition by J. S. Bach).
Mvts. 4-8
Mvt. 9 except (mm. 67-end) (an addition by J. S. Bach).
Mvts. 10-11: (J. S. Bach added all the figures for these mvts.).


### Anonymous I. 117
SBB St 355        April 1, 1725
From Set I of the parts for BWV 249
*Basso Continuo* transposed and with figured bass
Mvt. 1 (mm.211-221) (an addition by J. S. Bach who also added the figures for this section).


### Anonymous Vj
SBB St 355      c. 1738
From Set II of the parts for BWV 249
*Violino I* (doublet) all except mvt. 1 (mm. 1-30).


### Anonymous I. 118
SBB St 355    c. 1738
From Set II of the parts for BWV 249
*Violino I* (doublet) mvt. 1 (mm.1-30).
*Violino II*: all except mvt. 1.


### Anonymous I. 119
SBB St 355   c. 1738
From Set II of the parts for BWV 249
*Bassono*: mvt. 3 (mm.30-40).


### Anonymous I. 120
SBB St 355    c. 1738
From Set II of the parts for BWV 249

*Bassono*: mvt. 3 (mm.41-end), mvts. 4-11.

**Johann Nathanael Bammler** (1722-1784)  (JNB)
Copywork done for Bach c. 1745/46 until 1749/50(?)
definitely verified for the period from Jan. 1, 1749 until April 6, 1749)
SBB St 355       April 6, 1749
From Set III of the parts for BWV 249
*Principal* [Tromba III]: all.

# Specific Watermarks Used by J. S. Bach Identified:[27]

**Watermark #29:**

#29 is verified for 1727.
It was also used for BWV 1, BWV 4, BWV 6, BWV 42, BWV 85, BWV 103, and BWV 245.

SPK St 355  (This is the call number for the source containing all the extant parts for BWV 245 of which only the following have been identified as having this watermark. Only those parts are listed which actually have this watermark. There are other parts which might reasonably be included in this group, but they do not display any visible watermark, a situation which occurs when a larger sheet has been cut into smaller pages some of which do not contain the watermark or only a small portion of one which cannot be definitively identified.)

The #29 watermark is present in the following parts (with the original, non-chronological, numbering system being used:

(1) *Soprano*, (2) *Alto*, (3) *Tenore*, (4) *Basso*, (16) *Clarino II*, (18) *Timpani*, (19) *Flauto traversière* = one sheet for each.
(20) *Oboe I*, (21) *Oboe II*, (9) *Violino II*, (11) *Violino II* = 2 sheets for each.
(13) *Viola* = 1 sheet and 1 page; *Basso Continuo* transposed = 2 sheets.

**Watermark #48:**

The #48 watermark is verified for 1730-1733, 1738, and 1742.

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[27] *NBA* IX/1 (Bärenreiter, 1985) Wisso Weiß, *Katalog der Wasserzeichen in Bachs Originalhandschriften.*

It is also found in other materials: BWV 30, BWV 234, BWV 236, BWV 906, and BWV 1052-1059.

SPK St 355 (see above)
This watermark was found in the following:
(10) *Violino* I = 1 sheet and 1 page.
(12) *Violino* II = 1 sheet.
(14) *Bassono* = 1 sheet and 1 page.

**Watermark #59:**

#59 was in use generally from 1737-1766; verified use by dated manuscripts issued by the Leipzig City Council from 1739 to 1740.
Also found in other materials:
BWV 82, BWV 91, BWV 129, BWV 181, BWV 234, BWV 1045.

SPK St 355 (see above)
This watermark was found in the following:
(6) *Alto*, (7) *Tenore* = each 1 sheet.

# Does the *Easter Oratorio* Have or Need a Final Chorale?

The most important consideration here is whether Bach intended to conclude the *Easter Oratorio* with a final chorale to follow movement 11, "Preis und Dank". A comparison with similar vocal works composed for important feast days will perhaps explain why some conductors perceive a need to attach a final chorale to the *Easter Oratorio*. It should be noted, however, that both the *Ascension* and *Easter Oratorios* are similar in length to an average Leipzig church cantata and that the *Christmas Oratorio* consists of six separate cantatas to be performed on the various feast days between Christmas and Epiphany.

1. *Weihnachts-Oratorium* (Christmas) (late Dec.1734 until beginning of 1735): A chorale at the end of each cantata.

2. *Himmelfahrts-Oratorium* (Ascension) 1735 (?): A final chorale with 3 trumpets and timpani. This is an elaborate treatment of the chorale similar to the opening movement of a chorale cantata.

3. *Oster-Oratorium* (Easter) c. 1738: No final chorale.

For Holy Week we have the following extensive compositions:

*Johannes-Passion* (Holy Week) 1724, 1725, 1732, 1749.Various chorales for different versions.
*Matthäus-Passion* (Holy Week) 1727 (or 1729 at the latest). No final chorale
*Markus-Passion* (Holy Week) 1731. No final chorale

No definitive conclusion can be reached from an examination of the above, but it appears that, among all extant oratorios by Bach, the *Easter Oratorio* does seem to be an anomaly. This has led Diethard Hellmann, for instance, to publish a new edition (not based on the *BG*) of the *Easter Oratorio* which included a final chorale. It appeared in his series, *Die Kantate*, prepared for publication in 1962 by Hänssler-Verlag, Stuttgart, Series X, No. 135. Although he did correct some of the flagrant errors made by Rust in the *BG* edition, Hellmann nevertheless succumbed to the pressures of preparing it also as a practical edition (one with *Aufführungswirksamkeit* = 'performance effectiveness'). For instance, he made some changes in the original text for movements 6 and 7.[28] Out of concern for what his contemporary musicians and listeners might expect to hear as a

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[28] I wonder if he replaced the word "Schweißtuch" in movement 7, a word frequently criticized by various commentators?

conclusion to the *Easter Oratorio*, Hellmann decided to add and transpose a chorale movement from BWV 130[29]

There are some instances where the final chorale for a sacred cantata has been lost or Bach simply indicated the text incipit of the chorale verse that was to be sung but the music was evidently lost. When faced with situations like these, Bach scholars have been able to find reasonable, acceptable solutions such as supplying a suitable four-part chorale harmonization from the collection of such chorales listed as BWV 250-BWV 523. With the *Easter Oratorio*, however, we have clearly documented proof that Bach never intended to have a final chorale. This is true for the *Easter Cantata* version or the later *Easter Oratorio*. The clearest indication by Bach is found in the autograph score at the end of m83 of the final movement 11:

*Fine*
*SDG*

From the original parts A 5-8, 11, 12, 15, 17, 19, where Bach personally seems to have added the word later in A 5, 8, 11, 12:

*Fine*

Very clearly it is evident from Bach's instructions that no final chorale was ever intended as a conclusion for the *Easter Oratorio*.



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[29] Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Kantaten*, (Bärenreiter, 1971, 1995 revision), p. 315, commented on this as follows: »Auch die willkürliche Anfügung eines Schlußchorals, die in einer Neuausgabe zu finden ist, vermag aus dem Werk keine Kirchenkantate zu machen; eher deckt sie den Gegensatz zur Kantate herkömmlichen Stils noch deutlicher auf.«; in the translation by Richard B. P. Jones, p. 274: "Even the arbitrary addition of a concluding chorale, which is found in one modern edition, does not allow the work to be converted into a church cantata. Instead, it reveals still more clearly the differences between this and a cantata of the conventional type."

# The Problematical 'Pizzicato-Playing' Bassoon Part

From the documentary evidence presented above, it is clear that this part was prepared c. 1738 at about the same time that Bach wrote out a clean copy score of the *Easter Oratorio*. J. S. Bach personally copied movements 1 & 2 and the first 30 measures of movement 3, while two other unknown copyists Anonymous I. 119 & 120 completed the remainder of this part which now includes all of the movements of this oratorio. On the title page of the autograph, Bach has indicated *Bassono e Continuo* and once again on top of the first page of the score *Bassono e Cont.* In movement 1 of the autograph score, Bach has a special staff marked *Bassono* above the lowest staff *Continuo* and in movement 2 the lowest staff has combined both as *Cont. e Basson*. After this point, only the aria, movement 9 has an indication *Cont.* for the bottom staff. Nevertheless, the *Bassono* part contains all of the movements of the oratorio. At the beginning of the aria, movement 5, m1, it has the marking *pizzicato* which appears only in the bassoon part (A 17) and nowhere else (not in the regular continuo part A 14!). For movement 6, a recitative, the marking given only in the bassoon part is *piano sempre*.

In the *NBA*'s presentation of BWV 249a (Anhang B of *NBA* II/7), the editor (Paul Brainard) decided to eliminate the bassoon entirely from the arias, movements 5 & 7, while in the music for BWV 249 (***Hauptfassung***) he has included it in all movements with only a footnote reference at the beginning of movement 7. [If there is any particular movement where the participation of a bassoon might seriously be questioned, it is this relatively quiet aria with its references to slumber, etc.]

Although it is not absolutely clear from the way it is expressed in German, Ulrich Prinz, may seem to imply that the bassoon part was also used by the violone and violoncello with the bassoon and violone not participating in the recitatives and some of the arias. The German is phrased in such a way that it does not preclude all three instruments playing all the time:

> Die teilautographe Bassonostimme (St 355) des Oster-Oratoriums BWV 249, die alle Sätze enthält, trägt für Satz 5 die Überschrift "Adagio | Aria pizzicato" sowie die Beischrift "Solo" in Satz 1, m. 85. Da sich nur eine weitere, transponierte und teilweise bezifferte Continuostimme erhalten hat, folglich mit dem Verlust einer untransponierten Stimme zu rechnen ist, besteht trotzdem die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß ein Violoncello- oder Violonespieler mit aus der Bassonostimme gespielt hat.

> [The partially autograph bassoon part (St 355) from the *Easter Oratorio* BWV 249, which contains all the movements, has a special title for mvt. 5: 'Adagio | Aria pizzicato' and for mvt. 1, m85: 'Solo'. Since only one other continuo part (transposed, partially figured) has

survived; there is nevertheless a good probability that a violoncello or violone player also read from the same bassoon part.][30]

The *NBA* explains this situation as follows on the pages preceding the printed musical score of BWV 249:

> Die Mitwirkung des Fagotts bei sämtlichen Sätzen der Hauptfassung erscheint trotz der dahingehenden Aussage der betreffenden Fagottstimme, die erst in den 1730er [c. 1738] Jahren entstanden ist (die Fagottstimme der älteren Fassung ist nicht erhalten), nicht völlig gesichert. Daß sie alle 11 Sätze ohne Tacetvermerk enthält, mag lediglich eine Folge davon sein, daß sie aus einer (ebenfalls nicht erhaltenen) älteren Violone- oder Violoncellostimme abgeschrieben wurde. Das wird u. a. dadurch nahegelegt, daß sie als einzige erhaltene Quelle die Vortragsansweisung „pizzicato" in Satz 5 enthält; doch reicht dieses Indiz offensichtlich nicht für den Beweis aus, daß das Fagott nicht an allen Sätzen beteiligt war. Bachs Partitur bietet hierzu nur in den Sätzen 1 bis 3 und 11 konkrete Auskunft.

> [Despite the evidence presented in the specifically designated bassoon part, we cannot be completely certain that the bassoon played along in all of the movements of the main version of the *Easter Oratorio* {this is the version of BWV 249 that the *NBA* attempts to present in *NBA* II/7}. The fact that this bassoon part contains all of the 11 movements without any *tacet* indications may simply be the result of having been copied from an older, no longer extant, violone or violoncello part. This is suggested by, among other things, the fact that it is the only extant source that carries the designation *pizzicato* in movement 5; and yet this indication by itself is plainly insufficient proof that the bassoon did not participate in all of the movements. To resolve this matter definitively, Bach's score offers solid evidence only for movements 1-3.][31]



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[30] Ulrich Prinz, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Instrumentarium* (Stuttgart, 2005) p. 404.
[31] *NBA* II/7, p. VI.

# Appendix A

## *Parody*

In the English language, the word *parody* as applied in a meaningful discourse on the origin of Bach's *Easter Oratorio*, may provoke some disbelief and possibly even unintentional humor because of its numerous, misleading connotations (*parody* = humorous, feeble, satiric/mocking imitations, a take-off or send-up of) which predominate over the specialized musicological definitions that have evolved over time. The *OED* does not even recognize any of the latter and yet the term has and is being used by English-speaking and -writing Bach experts in a very special narrow sense. Indeed, the *Grove Music Online Dictionary* (Oxford University Press 2007-2010) lists three entries for *parody*:

a. The term is used in opera to signify a number of devices which have in common that they make reference to pre-existing material, and thereby make some specific effect through the relationship with the parodied model. The word can thus stand, for example, for an entire work based in some way (by drawing on the music, the characters or the text) on an existing one, or for one that alludes to aspects of an existing one, or for such devices as the quotation of themes that are familiar in themselves or evocative of a different milieu. The objective is to create a special effect, humorous, ironic or satirical; it may often involve ridiculing either the work that is drawn upon (or parodied) or some element within the work that itself embodies the *parody*. (Elisabeth Cook, Stanley Sadie)

b. A composition generally of humorous or satirical intent in which turns of phrase or other features characteristic of another composer or type of composition are employed and made to appear ridiculous, especially through their application to ludicrously inappropriate subjects. *Parody*, in the non-technical sense of the word, has been a frequent source of humour in music, often aimed at the correction of stylistic idiosyncrasies or exaggeration. Some composers have even been prepared to *parody* their own work: Cesti, himself the author of many cantatas, parodied the genre in *Aspettate, adesso canto*, and the humour of *Così fan tutte* and *Der Schauspieldirektor* owes a good deal to Mozart's treatment of the coloratura style in arias like 'Come scoglio'....

Bach's 'Peasant' Cantata *Mer hahn en neue Oberkeet* (BWV 212) is subtitled 'Cantate burlesque' and satirizes among other things the italianate da capo aria so readily adopted by German composers (including Bach himself) at the time. Mozart, too, parodied the incompetent lesser composers of his day, their mechanical constructions and short-breathed paragraphs, in the sextet *Ein musikalischer Spass* Köchel 522 (1787), and Wagner presented Beckmesser in a similar light in *Die Meistersinger*. (Michael Tilmouth)

c. A term used to denote a technique of composition, primarily associated with the 16th century, involving the use of pre-existing material. Although the technique of *parody* was

important, particularly in mass composition, throughout the 16th century, the term itself was not used until 1587 when it appeared in the form 'parodia' on the title-page of a mass by Jakob Paix. 'Missa … ', 'Missa super … ' or 'Missa ad imitationem … ', followed by the title of the work on which the mass was based, had been the usual way in which borrowed material was acknowledged. The preference for Greek terms, seen earlier in Kotter's use of 'anabolē' for prelude, for example, was a product of humanistic influence which was strong in Germany by the time of Paix, and may account for his adoption of 'parodia' from the Greeks as the equivalent of 'ad imitationem'. In 1603 Calvisius published a motet based on a piece of Josquin's labelled 'Parode ad Josquini', and in 1611 there appeared a treatise by Georg Quitschreiber entitled 'De parodia'. The term thus occurred in a mere handful of works of little significance and was unknown before Paix's use of it. Ambros's innocent reference in *Geschichte der Musik* (iii, 1868) to Paix's *Missa parodia* in his description of what has come to be termed '*parody* technique' is the source of the general currency it has acquired, particularly since Peter Wagner's *Geschichte der Messe* (1913)....

Although the use of borrowed material persisted through the Baroque period, to employ the term '*parody*' in connection with it is in many ways unfortunate since the particular techniques of 16th-century *parody* are often not in evidence. Purcell's Trumpet Tune 'Cibell' is a *parody* of a piece by Lully, but Francesco Durante's duet versions of some of Scarlatti's solo cantatas and most of Bach's or Handel's transformations of their own or others' music are perhaps better described as reworkings or arrangements when they are not simply contrafacta. (Michael Tilmouth/Richard Sherr)

Only the last definition ("Bach's or Handel's transformations of their own...music") can be applied, in a very loose sense, to Bach's *Easter Oratorio*.

Actually, the term *contrafactum* might be much more specific to the situation evident with the *Easter Oratorio* than the term *parody* as used by English-speaking musicologists. Here, again, from the *Grove Music Online* source:

### Contrafactum
(from medieval Lat. *contrafacere*: 'to imitate', 'counterfeit', 'forge').

In vocal music, the substitution of one text for another without substantial change to the music.

Although the word *contrafactum* (or *contrafacere*) is not part of the classical language, it was used in the Middle Ages to mean imitation in general, though often with the more negative connotation of counterfeit, its nearest English equivalent.... As the term is used in the modern sense, no precise limits have been observed in the designation of a song or composition as a *contrafactum*. There is no general agreement as to whether the term should be restricted to sacred adaptations of secular melodies, or the degree of correspondence

necessary before a *contrafactum* becomes a free adaptation, or when conscious adaption becomes coincidental similarity. In the strictest sense, a *contrafactum* would not only employ the melody, rhymes and metric scheme of the model, but would also be in some sense an adaptation of the meaning of the original poem.... In the 15th and 16th centuries *contrafactum* often involved substitution of a sacred text for a secular one; only rarely did the reverse take place. The following examples illustrate varieties of contrafacta in this period. French chansons were sometimes given sacred Latin texts in 15th-century German sources (e.g. Busnoys' *Quant ce vendra* becomes *Gaude mater*).... An opposite example, of a secular text replacing a sacred one, is Senfl's lied *Wohlauf, wohlauf,* which is musically identical with the motet *Ave ancilla Trinitatis* by Senfl's teacher Isaac.

Pieces composed for specific occasions sometimes had their texts altered to fit new circumstances.... The Protestant reformers, eager to provide appropriate music for their devotions, drew on both popular and courtly secular music as well as older sacred music, altering texts as needed. The *Genevan Psalter* borrows heavily from popular chanson melodies, while many Lutheran chorales derive their music from traditional sacred melodies and secular songs (e.g. Isaac's *Innsbruck* becomes *O Welt ich muss dich lassen*).... *Contrafacta* continued to be made in the early 17th century, in spite of the increasing union of words and music characteristic of the *seconda prattica*. Monteverdi, for example, transformed his *Lamento d'Arianna* into *Il pianto della Madonna*, and a number of his madrigals were 'spiritualized' by Aquilino Coppini, who supplied sacred Latin texts carefully matching the affect of the original words and music (1607–8). Later in the 17th century and throughout the 18th *contrafactum* tended to merge with *parody*, the generic term describing adaptation of pre-existing music to new texts. It is often difficult to separate *contrafacta* from the manifold degrees of recomposition that occur in such genres as *opéra-comique*, ballad opera, church cantata and oratorio: Bach's and Handel's self-parodies are perhaps the most notable examples. (Martin Picker)

The **OED** gives the following definition of *contrafactum*:

**Contrafactum** (Mus.) Pl. **contrafacta**

In medieval and Renaissance music, the rearrangement of a vocal composition whereby the music is retained and the words altered, as the substitution of a sacred text for a secular one, or vice versa.

The **MGGI** has an article entitled "*Parody* and *Contrafactum*" from which the following has been excerpted:

The **MGGI** (*Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*: Parodie und Kontrafaktur, (Bärenreiter,1986) Vol. 10, p. 833, Georg von Dadelsen) defines musical *parody* after 1600 as the reshaping of extensive, preexisting compositions by means of applying new texts and

expanding the composition musically. The technique used for the *parody* masses of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, remains important until the end of the Baroque without, however, recapturing the importance assigned to it as during the time of Palestrina and Lassus. The driving forces behind creating such parodies varied with time and so it was that the artificial incentive to utilize well-known compositions gradually lost its appeal. The *parody* technique is based on three motives: a. the intent to enrich a composer's own style by reworking (expanding or adding) compositions by other composers; b. the compulsion to economize with the time and effort expended in composing new works; and c. a growing sense regarding the uniqueness or singularity of artistic inspiration. The emphasis on these motives changed over time from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries with item a. above taking on less and less importance while the latter two, b. and c., increased in importance. At the end of the Baroque, the *parody* technique reached new heights in the compositions by Bach and Handel, and it appears that the more famous contemporaries of Bach and Handel like J. J. Fux, Telemann, Graupner and Hasse (as well as the preceding generation with A. Scarlatti and R. Keiser) made increasingly greater use of this procedure. To what extent this type of composition became a part of their entire compositional output and to which type of *parody* these compositions belonged is still a subject that will require much more research. One reason for the increase in parodies during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century appears to be the increasing demand on the part of royalty and city governments for celebratory music for special occasions. This forced the composer to revive the *parody* method of composition simply to survive by economizing wherever possible in his compositional labors. This he could do by reusing a composition which had been composed for one event and perform it in a different setting. For this it was usually necessary to create a new text using the same meter and rhyme scheme of the former while paying close attention to the rhythmic emphases and the position of particularly meaningful words. This text was then simply copied unter the exisiting text in the original score and, where necessary, a few changes might be made to the vocal line to accommodate this new text. Next, the new vocal parts would be copied from the score, while most of the instrumental parts could be used as is without further modification, another labor-saving advantage that accrued from this *parody* procedure. As evident from Bach's *oeuvre*, this method is not always this simple. There are *parodies* of many different kinds: secular to secular, sacred to sacred, secular to sacred, but never the reverse: sacred to secular. Some examples are: an instrumental composition to a cantata with *Choreinbildung* (the vocal parts were added to the instrumental parts) BWV 110; a cantata movement becomes an organ chorale (the Schübler chorale preludes). Some of these *parodies* have only a new text added with no changes in the music, while others are transformed and reworked to such a degree that the original sources are barely discernible in the resulting *parody*. In some instances it almost appears as if Bach composed the original secular work with the sacred application already in mind. Particularly Bach's later *parodies* cannot simply be explained as an effort in saving time and energy, for here it appears that he wanted definitely to improve on existing earlier movements which were already truly magnificent and sublime in order to place them into an even more enduring context where they could be preserved even better. This is where Bach makes known his new, artistic attitude or consciousness, that these

compositions were the result of a unique stroke of genius. With this knowledge of Bach's *parody* procedure, it has become possible to reconstruct in some instances works which would otherwise have been lost entirely. Even more interesting are the aesthetic problems Bach faced with his *parody* procedure, particularly in those cases when he changed his secular vocal compositions into sacred vocal works. A Bach contemporary, G. E. Scheidel, *Zufällige Gedanken von der Kirchen-Musik, wie sie heutiges Tages beschaffen,* ["Thoughts on Church Music and What It Consists of Today"], Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 1722 (Excerpt found in Schering's *Über Bachs Parodieverfahren*) expressed it this way: »*Es bleibt ein Affect, nur daß die Objecta variieren, daß z.E. hier ein geistlicher Schmerz, dort ein weltlicher empfunden wird, daß hier ein geistliches, dort ein weltliches Gut vermisset wird*«. ["It will remain one and the same affect. Only the objects vary, i.e., in one instance it will be felt as a spiritual pain or anguish, in the other as a worldly one, or that here in a sacred context the lack of spiritual wealth is perceived while in the secular context it is the loss of a material treasure that is felt."] The similarity of these affects in regard to their musical expression assumes a unity of both the secular and sacred styles, a unity which was present Bach's works more than with any other composer of his time. Bach's church music was influenced strongly by the affect-laden *stylus theatralis* (theatrical style), but, on the other hand, his secular music never became completely operatic as it remained bound by the principles of counterpoint and imitation.

The glossary in Alfred Dürr's book on the Bach cantatas contains the following definition for *parody*:

*Parodie* (griech.) Umtextierung einer bereits früher geschaffenen Gesangskomposition, die dabei musikalisch mehr oder weniger stark verändert wird. Eine zu Bachs Zeit allgemein praktizierte Form der Umarbeitung mit dem Ziel, zweckgebundene Kompositionen zu verändertem Anlaß wiederverwendbar zu machen.[32]

*parody* (Gr.) In musicological usage, the provision of a new text to an existing vocal composition, which is more or less radically altered in consequence. This form of adaptation was widely cultivated in Bach's day with the aim of rendering music written for particular occasions usable more generally, for different purposes.[33]



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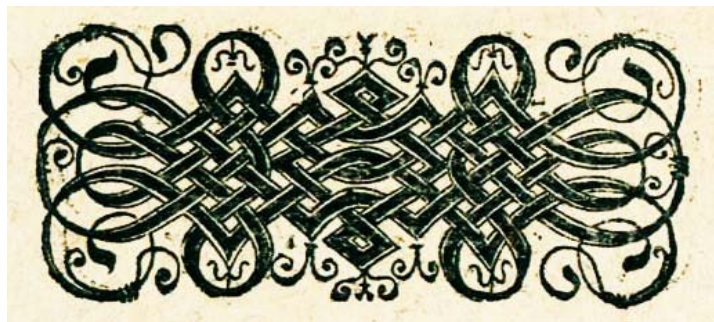
[32] Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Kantaten*, (Bärenreiter, 1971, 1995 revision), p. 1024.
[33] Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (Oxford University Press, 2005), rev. & ed. by Richard D. P. Jones, p. 957.

# Appendix B
## Some Important Commentaries

Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Vol. 2, pp. 588-594, p. 714:

Dramatized Gospel recitations had from the earliest times held an important place in the Easter solemnities of the Protestant Church, though they were less general than in those of Holy Week. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the Easter Gospels are the direct sequel of the narratives of the Passion. We have Easter compositions in the style of the older Passions by Scandelli and by Schütz, both *Capellmeisters* at Dresden ; and in Vopelius' *Leipziger Gesangbuch* of 1681, there is one which must still have been sung at Leipzig at that time, but which must have been written considerably earlier. The text is harmonious and the musical treatment remarkable, because the Evangelist is represented by a baritone and not by a tenor, while the speeches of the individuals are in several parts. Christ's words are given in four parts and the rest in two.[34] But these Easter readings had already fallen into disuse in Kuhnau's time, and it is impossible to say at what stage of divine service they may have been introduced. On the other hand, in the so-called sacred concerto of the seventeenth century a form was developed which, by the omission of all purely narrative portions, approached very nearly to the dramatic musical *scena*. Schütz and Hammerschmidt worked in this form with great success.

We have, by Hammerschmidt, a small Easter drama called a *Dialogus*, which is put together from the words of the Evangelists, and deals with the great event of the Resurrection.[35] Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome (Mark 16:1) have come to the sepulcher to anoint the body of Christ. After an introductory symphony begins a three-part song, "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulcher?" To which two men in shining garments answer, "Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is risen, He is not here." The women lament, "They have taken away the Lord and we know not where they have laid Him." The answer to this is a chorus on the Easter hymn, *Surrexit Christus hodie Humano pro solamine. Alleluja*. This constitutes, as it were, the first scene; the next is between Mary Magdalene and Christ (John 20:13 and 15-17). She now laments and entreats alone, "They have taken away my Lord and I know not where they have laid Him. Sir, if thou hast borne Him hence, tell me where thou hast laid Him, and I will take Him away." The risen Savior replies to her with the questions, "Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou?" And then sings slowly and significantly "Maria." She recognizes Him and cries out "Rabboni!" several times repeated, while He charges her to announce His resurrection and approaching ascension to the disciples. The little work ends with a repetition of the chorus *Surrexit Christus*. It is one of those which led and prepared the way for the oratorio in

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[34] Vopelius, pp. 311-365. As to the probable date of this "Auferstehung"— Resurrection—Winterfeld gives some information in *Ev. Kir.,* Vol. II., p. 556.

[35] Hammerschmidt, *Musikalische Andachten*. Freiberg, 1646. No. 7.

Germany. Although it was undoubtedly written for church use it has nothing that bears any special indication of it; the *Surrexit* is not introduced in the usual manner, but in a newly devised way, and rather as being merely a suitable text, as is frequently done by Hammerschmidt and Schütz; it nowhere exhibits any striking polyphonic treatment, nor any well-composed melody, but a good deal of clear dramatic emphasis. This work is in many respects closely allied to Bach's *Easter Oratorio*. In this, also, the narrative portions are wanting, only the two Marys, Peter, and John, appear in person; there are no chorales, and the portions given to the chorus are, when measured by Bach's standard, of remarkable simplicity. The text consists, not of Biblical quotations, but solely of poems in madrigal form, and the resemblance of the whole work to the Italian model is immediately perceptible. Of all Bach's compositions this has the fairest right to the name of "Oratorio", though not, to be sure, in Handel's sense of the word.

The text, of which the author is unknown, is meager enough. All that is most beautiful and significant in the history of the Resurrection, and that has been given above in the outline of the *Dialogus*, has not been made any use of. It begins with a duet between John and Peter, who are informed of Christ's resurrection by the women, and who run joyfully to the sepulcher to convince themselves (John 20:3 and 4). There Mary the mother of James, and Salome, reproach them with not having also purposed to anoint the body of the Lord and thus testifying their love for Him. The men excuse themselves, saying that their anointing has been "with briny tears, and deep despair and longing." Then the women explain that these, happily, are no longer needed, since the Lord is risen. They gaze into the empty tomb; John asks where the Savior can be, to which Mary Magdalene replies—what the men have long known:-

> "He now has risen from the dead.
>  To us an angel did appear
> Who told us, lo! He is not here."

Peter directs his attention in the "linen cloth," and this leads him to recall the tears he had shed over his denial of Jesus – a very tasteless episode. The women next express their longing to see Jesus once more; John rejoices that the Lord lives again, and the end is a chorus:-

> Thanks and praise
> Be to Thee forever, Lord!
> Satan's legions now are bound,
> His dominion now hath ceased,
> Let the highest heaven resound
> With your songs, ye souls released.
> Fly open, ye gates! Open radiant and glorious!
> The Lion of Judah comes riding victorious.

It cannot but surprise us to find that Bach could have been satisfied with such a text. He has embodied the history of the Passion in a stupendous work, and he knew that the Resurrection had been sung at an earlier period, for he knew and made use of Vopelius' hymn book. It might be supposed that this would have been reason enough for his treating the history of the Resurrection in a worthier and more dignified way. Nor is this a work of his youth; the forms show the handling of a mature master, and from the manuscript we may see that the work must have been written about 1736. I can only find an explanation in the regulations for divine service at Leipzig; there was, in fact, no opening for a comprehensive work in the style of the *St. John* or the *St. Matthew Passions*. The *Magnificat* was performed at Vespers, and in the morning there was only time for a piece of about the length of a cantata, which could not even be in two sections, since after the sermon the *Sanctus* had to be sung. It is clear that Bach, having written "Mysteries" for Christmas, Holy Week, and Whitsuntide, simply wished not to omit Easter; and as he could not deal with the Gospel narrative in so extensive a form as he thought desirable—and as he found adopted by Vopelius—he preferred giving the form of an Italian oratorio, of which less was expected and demanded, to selecting a portion of it.

In the Easter plays the race between Peter and John to the sepulcher was a favorite event for representation; on this occasion Peter appears as the weaker and less important personage. I do not think it merely accidental that Bach's work should begin with a lengthy duet between the disciples as they run to the sepulcher; nor, again, that Peter's part is given to the tenor and John's to the bass, while in the *St. Matthew Passion* the reverse plan is adopted. Bach subsequently obscured the popular sentiment which lay at the root of this, the principal event treated in the work; for he re-arranged the duet as a four-part chorus, though the circumstances, of course, allow us to suppose that, besides the two disciples and the two Marys, other of Christ's followers would have hastened to the sepulchre.[36] As regards the church feeling in a text which avoids both Biblical words and chorales, it certainly can only arise from the circumstance that it treats of an event of supreme importance in the church. Bach's music had to do its utmost and best to support it. Of course we cannot expect grandeur and depth, as in the cantata "Christ lag in Todesbanden," or even the triumphant spring-like joy of the Weimar cantata "Der Himmel lacht," since the words are absolutely devoid of any incitement to either. Bach has given to the whole a fresh and innocent character, suggested, perhaps, by the words:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Lachen and Scherzen | Laughter and gladness |
| Begleitet die Herzen | Now drive away sadness |
| Denn unser Heil ist auferweckt. | For lo! the Lord hath waked from sleep. |

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[36] In the parts, as last written out for this alteration, Bach did not note the names of the four *dramatis persona,* nor in the score, but only in the earlier parts ; but we need not conclude from this that he had altogether given up the dramatic scheme of the work. This would render the first and second recitation perfectly unintelligible.

A symphony in two movements, together with the first vocal number, constitutes a complete instrumental concerto. Among the arias, that given to Peter is distinguished by being a soft lulling cradle song, such as Bach was fond of writing. Singularly enough the principal motive is the same as that at the beginning of the *Coffee Cantata* which Bach composed about 1732; this of itself is definitive as to the cheerfulness of the feelings with which he composed the *Easter Oratorio*. The final chorus, freely worked out in the form of the French *ouverture*, is attractive from the breadth and splendor of the first subject; compared with this, the *Fugato* is surprisingly brief, and produces no profound effect.

Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach* (Dover, 1966; English translation of the German original, 1911) vol. 2, p. 309:

The *Easter Oratorio*, "Kommt, eilet und laufet" (B.G. XXI$^3$), is in its present form simply a large cantata. In its first form, as we see from the original parts, the work was a real oratorio. Mary the mother of James (soprano), Mary Magdalene (contralto), Peter (tenor), and John (bass) take part in it as active dramatic personages; the opening duet between tenor and bass represented the dialogue of Peter and John when running to the grave. At a later date the action struck Bach as insufficient for a religious drama; he took out the names of the characters, recast the opening duet in the form of a chorus, and left the middle movement only in duet-form. Unfortunately the orchestral parts of this third and definitive redaction that we possess are incomplete, so that Rust, when he was editing the work, felt compelled to mediate between the second version and the third. He gives the first main movement and the middle movement in the form of a choral duet, and does not bring in the four-part chorus until the end.

The first movement contains a remarkable representation of running. It is interesting to note that the original text originally was "Kommt, gehet und laufet" ("Come go and run"); the later version of the words, which is much more animated and more singable, is by Bach himself.

There is a wonderful peace expressed in the tenor aria, "Sanfte soll mein Todeskummer" ("Easy my death shall be"). The voice is accompanied by the first and second violins *con sordini*, with the *flûtes à bec* doubling them; it is one of the most beautiful sacred lullabies that Bach ever wrote. We seem to be gazing in a dream over a gently-moving sea, towards the fields of eternity.[37]

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[37] The text should be altered somewhat; we hear a little too much of the "Schweißtuch Jesu" ("handkerchief of Jesus").

Friedrich Smend, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Kirchen-Kantaten* (Berlin, 1947) V. 25-26:

Betrachtet man die Parodiestücke aus der *Missa* (*Kyrie* und *Gloria*) und den *Symbolum Nicenum* der *h moll-Messe*, so kommt man in jedem Einzelfall zu dem Urteil, daß Bach weder formal noch sachlich ein passenderes Vorbild hätte wählen können, daß zugleich die Umgestaltung das Original an künstlerischem Wert nicht nur erreicht, sondern weit überbietet.

Nur ganz klein ist unter Bachs kirchlichen Parodien die Zahl der Ausnahmen von dieser Regel; zu ihnen gehört das *Oster-Oratorium*. Die Betrachtung dieses Werkes ist für uns aber in anderer Richtung sehr lehrreich. Es wird so gut wie niemals aufgeführt, und dies mit Recht. Rein musikalisch ist es von hohem Wert. Was ihm aber fehlt, ist die enge innere Beziehung zu der Verkündigung des Osterfestes. Seit der Entdeckung seiner Urform, der Schäfermusik "Entflieht, verschwindet", ist nicht mehr zu verkennen, daß dies weltliche Original allenthalben durch die nur verhältnismäßig oberflächenhafte Übermalung des Parodie-Werkes hindurchschimmert. – Ganz anders steht es z. B. beim *Weihnachts-Oratorium*. Von den weltlichen Kompositionen, aus denen Bach Vorbilder zu verschiedenen Sätzen der Weihnachtsmusik entnahm, ist das *Dramma per Musica* "Herkules auf dem Scheidewege" und die Huldigungskantate "Preise dein Glücke" nicht selten zu Gehör gekommen. Diese nichtkirchlichen Originale aber haben unbeschadet ihres hohen musikalischen Wertes doch vorzugsweise historisches Interesse erweckt und sich an keiner Stelle in der Musikpraxis neben dem *Weihnachts-Oratorium* zu behaupten vermocht. Dies hat einen doppelten Grund: Zunächst den, daß es Bach hier gelang, die aus älteren Werken stammenden Sätze, selbst wenn sie ursprünglich einen sehr abweichenden Gehalt hatten, (zum Teil durch Überarbeitung) dem neuen Zweck vollkommen anzupassen und mit dem biblischen Bericht und den Chorälen zu einer organischen Einheit zu verschmelzen. Sodann aber ist nicht zu bestreiten, daß nicht wenige weltliche Werke Bachs (und zu ihnen gehören die im *Weihnachts-Oratorium* benutzten Kantaten) in ihrem Stoff einen ausgesprochen zeitgebundenen Charakter haben. Ein Stück wie die Gratulationsmusik „Tönet, ihr Pauken" wird als ganzes nicht wieder lebendig zu machen sein, weil die Haltung, aus der es hervorging, für uns unwiederbringlich der Vergangenheit angehört. Neutextierungen solcher Kompositionen, wie man sie unter dem Einfluß der jeweiligen Augenblicksmode versuchte, haben sich aus verständlichen Gründen nicht durchsetzen können. Einzelne Sätze aber, z. B. die Chöre, aus dem Zusammenhang zu reißen und für sich allein darzubieten, unterliegt ernstesten künstlerischen Bedenken. Bach selber aber hat uns all dieser Sorgen überhoben, indem er die wertvollsten Bestandteile dieser weltlichen Kompositionen überarbeitete und in seine großen Kirchenwerke eingliederte, wo sie ihre unerschöpfliche Kraft und Lebensfähigkeit nun schon Generation um Generation beweisen.

V. 20-21:

In vielen Fällen ging Bach aber wieder einen Schritt weiter und fertigte für die Parodie-Fassung einen vollständigen Satz von Vokal- und Instrumentalstimmen an. Dies erwies sich vor allem dann als notwendig, wenn das Werk durch die Umarbeitung einen Gestalt gewann, die es (z. B. im kirchlichen Dienst) zu immer wiederkehrender Verwendung geeignet machte. So ließ Bach sämtliche Stimmen für die Sänger und das Orchester neu herstellen, als er 1736 die Weißenfelser Schäfermusik „Entfliehet, verschwindet" von 1725 zum *Oster-Oratorium* umgestaltete. Hierher gehört ohne Frage auch die Kantate „Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut", deren Überlieferungsbefund ich im 3. Heft dieser Schriftenreihe (S. 28ff.) beschrieben habe. Die Tatsache, daß in diesem Fall die Parodierung zwar geplant, aber nicht durchgeführt wurde, erlaubt uns einen Einblick in die Technik des Ausschreibens solcher Parodie-Stimmen. Zunächst wurden in den Singstimmen nur die Tonlinien der Original-Fassung notiert, sodann wurde der neue Text daruntergesetzt und danach erst (in Anpassung an den nunmehrigen Wortlaut) eine Ausfeilung der musikalischen Linien vorgenommen. Die Kenntnis dieser Technik der Notierung beim Parodie-Verfahren ermöglichte es, aus den ältesten Stimmen des *Oster-Oratoriums* mit Ausnahme der Recitative die authentische Partitur des Urbildes wiederzugewinnen.

Nicht selten tat Bach beim Parodieren auch noch den letzten Schritt, indem er von der endgültigen Fassung eine Partitur herstellte. Als Beispiel kann uns wieder das *Oster-Oratorium* dienen, von dem erst die späteste Gestalt in Partitur vorliegt.

V. 15:

Verschollenes Concerto grosso:
1. und 2. Satz ohne Text zu Beginn. 3. Satz textiert zum 1. Duett (bzw. Chor) des Oster-Oratoriums (1736) (vorher ebenso in der Schäfer-Kantate 'Entfliehet, verschwindet' von 1725 und in der 'Feier des Genius' von 1726).

English Translations of the Citations from Smend's Commentaries above (Berlin, 1947)

V. 25-26:

If you consider the parodied sections of the *Missa* (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*) and the *Symbolum Nicenum* from the *B-minor Mass*, you will in each instance come to the conclusion that Bach could not have chosen a more suitable model whether in form or function, a model, which in its transformation from the original form not only attained the value of the former in its new form, but even surpassed the original artistically.
The exceptions to this rule are few among Bach's sacred parodies based upon earlier secular sources. The *Easter Oratorio* could be one of these exceptions. The consideration of this composition can be very instructive for us from another perspective as well. Performances of

this work are rather rare and justifiably so. Purely from a musical standpoint it is a work that is highly valued. What is lacking is a closer connection with the proclamation of the theological message for Easter Sunday. Ever since the discovery of the original source of this music, the pastoral cantata "Entflieht, verschwindet", it is quite obvious that the secular original archetype becomes visible as you catch glimpses of it shimmering through a rather superficial coat of paint that had been applied to make it appear as a cantata for Easter Sunday – this is in stark contrast to, for instance, the *Christmas Oratorio*. Among the secular compositions Bach chose to *parody* and include as models for various movements of the *Christmas Oratorio* there are some which are still occasionally performed like the *Dramma per Musica* "Herkules auf dem Scheidewege" BWV 213 and the congratulatory cantata "Preise dein Glücke" BWV 215. Notwithstanding their high musical value, these secular original compositions have mainly been revived because they are interesting from a historical perspective, but they have never been able to achieve anything like the level of popularity among listeners as the *Christmas Oratorio* has. There are two reasons for this: for one thing, Bach succeeded [with the *Christmas Oratorio*] in taking movements from works originally composed for secular occasions and adapting them to suit their new purpose perfectly even if they originally had been conceived musically with a very different content in mind (this was achieved partially through a reworking and revision of the original music). Simultaneously he was able to fuse this music into an organic unity with the biblical readings (liturgically required Epistle and Gospel readings) and the chorales stipulated for the each Feast Day. And yet it cannot be disputed that the material for quite a few secular works by Bach (to this group belong the secular cantatas used as a basis for movements of the cantatas that comprise the *Christmas Oratorio*) is distinctly a reflection of its time. It would be impossible to revive (and make popular again) in its entirety a composition like the *Dramma per musica* "Tönet, ihr Pauken" BWV 214, a birthday cantata, because the basic attitude or outlook from which it was created is irretrievable in our present age. Attempts to provide new libretti for such compositions as have arisen under the pressure of the prevailing fashion at any given time have failed to gain acceptance for understandable reasons. To tear individual movements, like those, for example, with chorus, from their context, is a procedure that is subject to the most serious artistic reservations. Bach himself has spared us from all these concerns by already having selected and reworked the most valuable parts of these secular compositions and placing them into his great sacred works where they can continue to offer proof of their inexhaustible power and endurance from generation to generation.

V. 20-21:

In many cases Bach even went a step further and prepared for the *parody* version a movement expanded to include larger vocal and instrumental forces. This proved itself to be necessary mainly when the work, during the process of reworking the material, took on a form which made it suitable for repeated use, as for instance, during church services. This was specifically the case when Bach in 1736 reshaped the Weißenfels pastoral cantata from 1725 into the *Easter Oratorio* and had a completely new set of parts prepared for it. [This statement and

some of those which follow need to be corrected in light of all the new, more recent interpretation of the documentary evidence presented elsewhere in this report.]  Here we can undoubtedly also consider the cantata "Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut" BWV 199, regarding the transmission of which I have already given a report on p. 28ff. of the third booklet issued in this series. The fact that, in this instance, a *parody* was already planned but not carried through to its completion allows us to obtain an insight into procedure Bach employed in having such parts for a *parody* version copied out. First he had the vocal parts copied from the original version. Next he wrote the new text under the notes and only after this did he go about adjusting and perfecting the musical lines to make them fit the new text. By recognizing this notation technique used in the *parody* process, it is possible to reconstruct from the oldest parts of the *Easter Oratorio* (with the exception of the recitatives) the authentic score representing the original conception of the true source.

While creating a *parody* Bach would often take the process to its ultimate conclusion and copy out in score form the final version he had arrived at. The score for the *Easter Oratorio* can serve as an example of such a score representing a final version.

V. 15:

An example of a lost concerto grosso:
Movements 1 & 2 are without text to begin with. The 3rd movement with a text at first for the Duetto and later as a choral movement of the *Easter Oratorio* (1736) [now corrected to c. 1738]. These movements also used for the Pastoral Cantata "Entfliehet, verschwindet" from 1725 and in the "Feier des Genius" from 1726.



The Handkerchief of Jesus