

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF MUSIC

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE OF JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH'S *PASSIO SECUNDUM JOHANNEM* – A STUDY OF 25 YEARS OF RECORDED HISTORY  
(1982-2007) AS INFLUENCED BY EVENTS SURROUNDING THE  
HISTORICALLY INFORMED PERFORMANCE MOVEMENT

By  
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Dedicated to my best friend and wife, Claire and my sons William and Colin, for your  
love, patience and encouragement

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates developments in the performance of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion* as evidenced in recordings of the work in the past quarter-of-a-century (1982-2007). These findings are contextualized within currents and trends found in and leading up to the movement known as the Historically Informed Performance (HIP), Bach reception and recently the premise of renewed liberalization of expressive elements often associated with "Romantic -style" performances.

This performance analysis explores available commercial recordings completed between the years 1982 to 2007. Recordings were analyzed to determine particular trends in performing forces, pitch, dynamics, ornamentation, articulation and rhythm. The recent augmentation in the discography of the *St. John Passion* allows for a large number of recordings to be compared and contrasted in hopes of discovering present and emerging trends in contemporary practice of performance. Several inferences can be made regarding the results. First, this study suggests that despite the calls of a return to Romantic inclinations of expression and slower tempos, no observable trend can be deduced from recordings of the *St. John Passion* regarding if performances are becoming faster or slower. Second, the assumption concerning certain nationalities being faster or slower in their interpretations than others could not be demonstrated in this study. Third, conductors fully embraced some aspects of historical practices while ignoring others. Fourth, the diverse representations that these recordings demonstrate suggest that the early music movement has indeed experienced a relaxation from the narrow quest of authenticity to a more liberal approach of being historically aware.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION: PURPOSES AND PROCEDURES

### Purpose of study

The investigation upon the performance practice of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Passio secundum Johannem* as influenced by events surrounding the Historically Informed Performance Movement in the past twenty-five years is an attempt to supplement scholarship in the area of performance analysis and reception. In addition, this present study investigates a myriad of issues regarding Bach polemics of the past twenty-five years as they relate to presenting a synthesis of research about actualization in performance.

Inquiry into this topic seems relevant and opportune given the ever-burgeoning and significant discourse that has emerged in the past quarter-of-a-century in the areas of performance practice, performance analysis, recordings of *Passio secundum Johannem*,<sup>1</sup> new biographies of Johann Sebastian Bach<sup>2</sup> and several essays and books that deal specifically with the *St. John Passion* or the passion genre in general.

In addition, the designation of the past twenty-five years was chosen because of substantial events occurring of great consequence that have created repercussions in the erudition and performance of Bach. Behind these key events are personalities like Joshua Rifkin and Andrew Parrott, for their thesis concerning Bach's vocal forces and Richard Tarsukin's criticism of the early music movement, and several recent writers including Nicholas Kenyon, Uri Golomb and Dorottya Fabian who propose an ensuing restoration of more expressive elements in performance that are often associated as "romantic" in style.

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<sup>1</sup> This is the exact title Johann Sebastian Bach wrote on the autograph score; however, hereafter it will be referred to as *St. John Passion*.

<sup>2</sup> Unless designated differently, Johann Sebastian Bach will be referred to as simply Bach

Many broad questions have emerged as a result of preliminary investigation that will be explored throughout this research. Of particular interest is the reception history of the *St. John Passion* and what can be attributed as a catalyst for the sudden increase of recordings in the past twenty-five years. Available recordings will be analyzed in this case study to determine if particular trends develop in relation to performing forces, tempo, dynamics, ornamentation, articulation and rhythm. Additional consideration is explored regarding the multiple versions available for performance to a conductor of the *St. John Passion* and how conductors manage this choice. When pertinent, conductors who have had the luxury of recording the work multiple times within the designated twenty-five years will be examined to determine consistencies or inconsistencies in artistic decisions made in initial and subsequent performances.

#### A defense for studying performance

Even though the idea that studying performance is apodictic, it is perhaps instructive to make such self-evident values known for the sake of ontology. Israeli-born and Cambridge-trained musicologist Uri Golomb states succinctly, “the experience of music is inseparable from performance.”<sup>3</sup> If the experience of music is contingent upon performance it must be affirmed what is classified as a performance. Nicholas Cook asserts that both process and product are implicit in music and their active relationship with each other identifies “performance in the Western art tradition.”<sup>4</sup> In universal terms, musical performance is the process where musical ideas are actualized (product) and conveyed to a listener.<sup>5</sup> The implications of such a generalized definition suggest that a performance can be both realized “live” or through a recording.

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<sup>3</sup> Uri Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: An Examination of the B minor Mass on Record,” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2004), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Cook, “Between Process and Product: Music and/as Performance,” *Music Theory Online* 7.2 (April 2001), <http://mto.societymusictheory.org/issues/mto.01.7.2/mto/01.7.2.cook.html> (accessed September 8, 2007).

<sup>5</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007, s.v. “music performance.” Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-9110118> (accessed September 8, 2007).

### What is performance practice?

Performance practice is a subdiscipline of musicology that examines how performance was practiced.<sup>6</sup> While this definition will seem somewhat redundant with the idiom of performance analysis there is a subtle but critical delineation between the two. The focus of performance practice deals with early repertory, which for many years focused primarily on European music, for which there exist no sonic recordings from that time period.<sup>7</sup> As a result, physical objects such as recovered treatises, organology, iconography, and a myriad of other tools and documents aid the researcher to theorize how performances might have sounded.

### What is performance analysis?

On the other hand, performance analysis is the direct study of recordings to gather information about musical works.<sup>8</sup> The recordings themselves act as source documents but it also takes into account performance attitudes, gesture, social context and audience response.<sup>9</sup>

Confusion over performance practice and performance analysis can partially be blamed on the recent latitude of interpretation of what is actually considered “early music.” In its inception and infancy, early music was more or less considered a repertory confined to Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque eras. However, particularly in the last two decades, this has been liberally expanded in some circles, to include repertory in the Romantic and early twentieth century. This expanded vision of early music includes works that may have existing sonic recordings. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the advent of Edison’s ingenious, albeit by today’s standards primitive, invention of sound recording was created which forever revolutionized the way we listen and perform. While there is an availability of recordings for some of the repertory in the late nineteenth and early

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<sup>6</sup> José A. Bowen, “Performance Practice versus Performance Analysis: Why Should Performers Study Performance?” *Performance Practice Review* 9.1 (Spring 1996): 16.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Bowen, “Performance Practice versus Performance Analysis,” 18.

<sup>9</sup> Bowen, “Performance Practice versus Performance Analysis,” 19.

twentieth centuries, their value is largely discounted by many scholars<sup>10</sup> because of the low fidelity present on these recordings.<sup>11</sup>

### A rationale of using recordings to document performance

The scholarly examination of sonic recordings is an emerging and contemporary analytical exercise in musicology that has become increasingly viable with improved technology in recording. This dissertation is based upon similar studies such as Philip 1992; Fabian 2003; Golomb 2004, in which recordings were analyzed to discover how perceptions of contemporary Bach reception and ideology are captured in the actualization of performance manifested through sound recordings.<sup>12</sup>

This case study explores commercial recordings available in the past quarter-of-a-century of the *St. John Passion* to determine if there are trends that have developed in regards to performance. Represented are both edited recordings and those recordings that are marketed as “live”. Authors like Gracyk 1997; Davies 2001; and Auslander 2005 have discussed the social impact of a decreasing audience in live performances and an increase of digital consumer listeners – those who buy recordings for access to musical works. While that topic is worthy for discussion it is outside the parameters of this study. Instead, this study accepts de facto, based on scholarly writing and discourse, prevalence and acceptance in society, that recordings are merited as performances.<sup>13</sup>

Fabian and Golomb discuss potential problems relying on recordings as evidence of performance intention. The issue lies with whom to credit the performance intention. In the case of edited recordings, it can be hard to ascertain how much influence an editor has had on the final product.<sup>14</sup> Bernard Sherman in his book, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*, chronicles in an interview with Malcolm Bilson how Bilson’s intentional contrametric rubato playing in a Mozart concerto was left out of the

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<sup>10</sup> A counter argument is made by Teri Noel Towe that early recordings, though rare, are valuable in exposing erroneous beliefs regarding performance practice of Bach in the nineteenth century. See Teri Noel Towe, “Present Day Misconceptions about Bach Performance Practice in the Nineteenth Century,” (accessed June 5, 2007) <http://www.npj.com/homepage/teritowe/jspbpm00.html>.

<sup>11</sup> Bowen, “Performance Practice versus Performance Analysis,” 17.

<sup>12</sup> Uri Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: An Examination of the B minor Mass on Record,” (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2004), 1.

<sup>13</sup> For further research into this issue read (Auslander 2005; Gracyk 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception,” 15.

final product because, in his opinion, the editors mistook it for inaccurate playing.<sup>15</sup> However, live recordings are not immune to minor degrees of editing to remove lapses of non-performance or “dead” time and events like noise in a particular performance.<sup>16</sup> Acknowledging these problems bears witness to the fact that while recordings are not perfect and ideal evidence of performance intentions, there is not at this time another reliable or viable substitute.<sup>17</sup>

### Listening methodology

One of the difficulties for establishing and sanctioning a methodology for listening is the inevitable reliance on subjective measurement. Conventional practice relies heavily on human perception and emotion.<sup>18</sup> George Brock Nannestad outlines in a published presentation that there are objective measurements that are possible to obtain from recordings.<sup>19</sup> Equipment is available that can establish precise pitch, envelope, tempo and dynamics.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, this equipment, which depending on the quality of the technology is not without suspect, is unavailable and cost prohibitive for this study.

One of the most objective criteria that is often employed in analyzing recordings is charting tempo.<sup>21</sup> In Uri Golomb’s research he attempted to employ a timing program created by Nicholas Cook;<sup>22</sup> however, Golomb was unable to produce satisfactory results leaving him to use a traditional metronome.<sup>23</sup> In this study, an attempt will be made to use Nicholas Cook’s timing program to ascertain performance’s strictness or flexibility in regard to tempo.

Cook 1999; Lowe 2002; and Golomb 2004 caution against the propensity to obsess and focus on tempo exclusively when largely it only represents one element of

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<sup>15</sup> Bernard Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 309.

<sup>16</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception,” 15.

<sup>17</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception,” 16.

<sup>18</sup> George Brock-Nannestad, “Using Recordings for Documenting Performance.” (paper presented at the Third Symposium of the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music CHARM April 20-22, 2006: Day two). <http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk> (accessed June 30, 2007), 3.

<sup>19</sup> George Brock-Nannestad, “Using Recordings for Documenting Performance,” 10.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Uri Golomb (2004) uses the terminology “tempo mapping.”

<sup>22</sup> Nicholas Cook’s timing program may be found by accessing the following website: <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~musicbox/charm5.html>

<sup>23</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception,” 31-32.

performance.<sup>24</sup> However, since it has long been debated that one characteristic of the early music movement is faster tempos, charting tempos cannot be ignored in the expectation of establishing any positive or negative correlations between tempo and recordings in the past twenty-five years. It is reasonable to assume this fixation of charting tempos is due to pressure researchers feel to provide *éclaircissement* to their studies in the form of empirical measurement. Other than tempo, recordings will be analyzed to determine if particular trends develop in relation to performing forces, dynamics, ornamentation, articulation and rhythm. Analytical techniques as described above allow correlations to be drawn from following “historical trends in performance as measured across a large number of recordings of the same piece on the other.”<sup>25</sup>

#### *St. John Passion as a case study*

The significant discography that has emerged of the *St. John Passion* makes it an ideal candidate to study possible developments in performance over the past quarter-of-a-century.<sup>26</sup> The benefit from such a study permits comparisons and contrasts to be drawn from a great number of approaches to the same work.<sup>27</sup> However, one unfortunate limitation is that in the effort to make this study manageable, performers who did not commercially record the *St. John Passion* will be restricted from the research.

The biblical story and events leading up to the crucifixion are laden with potentially potent dramatic possibilities of expressiveness. This was a perfect canvas for Bach to paint, through composition, a dramatic work of such magnitude as to rival the operatic genre. If authors like Nicholas Kenyon, John Butt, Uri Golomb and Dorottya Fabian are correct that objective performances<sup>28</sup> of early music are *démodé* and performances are demonstrating more expressive qualities, it would seem reasonable that a dramatic work

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<sup>24</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception,” 31-32.

<sup>25</sup> Nicholas Cook, “Analytical techniques.” <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~musicbox/charm5.html> (accessed September 10, 2007), 1.

<sup>26</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception,” 26.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Objective performances are those that place strict adherence to the written score and avoids at all cost interpreting, altering or revising a musical work.

such as the *St. John Passion*, that has enjoyed increased popularity in the past quarter-of-a-century, would show characteristics of such expressions.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Many authors use various terms for the theory of increased expression. Terms such as “romantic,” “neo-romantic,” “expressive,” “sumptuous,” “luxuriant,” and “greater sonority” are all words used to describe the belief that performances are becoming more expressive.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE HISTORICALLY INFORMED MOVEMENT

The enterprise of performing and listening to music in contemporary society is an impressive but more divergent phenomenon than a century ago. A recent 2005 study from Early Music America indicates that 98.5 million adults in America listened to early music on the radio or on a recording over the course of a year.<sup>30</sup> Other impressive findings indicate that 21.4 million adults (10% of American adults) attended a live performance of early music during that year while 6.9 million adults (3% of American adults) participated in rehearsing or performing early music throughout that year.<sup>31</sup> These numbers provide evidence that early music is a thriving endeavor widely accepted by practicing musicians and the public as well.

#### What is early music?

The consensus is that the term “early music” refers to repertory from before 1800 but also can imply a specific approach to performance. A retrospective look into the movement indicates that several analogous terms have been used to describe the movement. Designations such as “early music,” “authenticity movement” and “historically informed movement” all have been used to describe the movement popular in the past century. Each of these designations has served the movement in similar but different ways, sometimes drawing stiff criticism. Each of these terms will be explored in the following summary of the movement.

#### Antecedents of the Historically Informed Movement

The fascination and appeal of historical performance practice and early music repertory has enjoyed a rich, albeit controversial, history. Some consider the movement in its full maturation, surviving a timid inception and infancy experienced in the middle of the twentieth century and a tumultuous adolescence of *Sturm und Drang* proportions occurring in the later part of the twentieth century. Reflection upon the movement is rational to establish criteria for qualitative evaluation of accomplishments and to avoid

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<sup>30</sup> Early Music America, *A Study of Early Music Performers, Listeners, and Organizations*, 2005.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

subjective opinion dependent on memory.<sup>32</sup> The following is a chronological overview of the movement with the expectation of tracing antecedent catalysts for the inception, growth and acceptance of the movement.

Until recently, much of the discourse regarding the history of the “early music revival” would trace its early development after the Second World War. While it is true that significant activity occurred after the Second World War, it fails to acknowledge that there was prior interest and endeavors that forged paths, then laid and reacted to philosophical and theoretical foundations that greatly influenced the influx of activity during the middle of the twentieth century. Of late, several publications (Cohen and Snitzer, 1985; Haskell, 1988; Hartmann, 1988, 1992; Klis, 1991; Sherman, 1998; Elste, 2000; Fabian, 2003, *et al.*) have explored the movement in a broader context, recognizing its beginnings as well as its proliferation into the mainstream of music performance.<sup>33</sup>

### Early Music - The Denouement of the Nineteenth Century

Music performance before the nineteenth century was mainly concerned with the creation of new compositions and less so with the posterity of works. Clear exceptions were the performance of earlier works in liturgical settings,<sup>34</sup> composers like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart who adapted the music of Bach and reorchestrated the music of Handel.<sup>35</sup> However, in the nineteenth century an expanding and increasingly affluent middle class fractured the public into assorted groups based on performance taste.<sup>36</sup>

Reference to this fracturing can be perceived in the notorious debate and controversy between Romantic composers Richard Wagner and Johannes Brahms. It has long been acknowledged that the Romantic “traditionalist composers,” Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms, to name a few, had an insatiable veneration for composers of the past and resurrected many works that had fallen out of public favor. By the end of the

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<sup>32</sup> Nicholas Cook, “Words about music, or analysis versus performance,” in *Theory into Practice – Composition, Performance and the Listening Experience* (Leuven UP: Orpheus Institute, 1999), 9.

<sup>33</sup> Dorottya Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975: A Comprehensive Review of Sound Recordings and Literature*. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 29.

<sup>34</sup> Bernard D. Sherman, “Authenticity in Musical Performance” from *The Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, ed. Michael J. Kelly, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, <http://www.bsherman.org/encyclopedia.html> (accessed June 14, 2007).

<sup>35</sup> Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 4.

<sup>36</sup> Sherman, “Authenticity in Musical Performance,” (accessed June 14, 2007).

century a segment of society had emerged that defined what we know today as the concert audience – a courteous and civil group experiencing the music of classic masters.<sup>37</sup>

Frederick Neumann suggests that the waning of the patronage system around 1800 contributed to the decreased demand for new music.<sup>38</sup> Generally, patrons expected from their employees new music to be composed frequently for social events so to lavishly demonstrate the patron's status and wealth. However, the nineteenth century brought about dramatic and unprecedented changes in social and technological circles. Ideals of democracy and revolutions began to sweep the European continent, bringing about an end to feudalism, juxtaposed with the explosion of the Industrial Revolution brought about the rising bourgeoisie class as the new consumer of music.<sup>39</sup>

It should be noted that generally the Romantic concept of valuing compositions of the past meant simply to resurrect the repertoire (made easier with new and less expensive technologies), reorchestrate if desired and perform to reflect contemporary taste, and to study theoretically music of the past as compositional models. It was not concerned with considerations of performance practice as evidenced by the accounts of large performing forces used in performances of composers such as Bach and Handel. Contrary to this established norm was the unique character of Hector Berlioz. Prominently known for his immense and extensive use of orchestrations and textures in his own music and his occasional negative remarks concerning Bach, Berlioz nonetheless chided those who incessantly reorchestrated compositions of established masterpieces like those of Bach in his 1862 publication, *A Travers Chants*.<sup>40</sup>

What is often associated as music interpretation in the nineteenth century reflected primarily a German predilection. Jürg Stenzl and Irene Zedlacher (1995), who explore the history of musical interpretation over the past 150 years, cite several illustrations that provide evidence that the German approach, not necessarily practiced by

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<sup>37</sup> Sherman, "Authenticity in Musical Performance," (accessed June 14, 2007).

<sup>38</sup> Frederick Neumann, *New Essays on Performance Practice*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 6.

<sup>39</sup> Neumann, *New Essays on Performance Practice*, 7.

<sup>40</sup> Peter Le Huray, *Authenticity in Performance*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 2.

the French and Italians, characteristically incorporated expressive devices such as phrase rubato and superfluous crescendi and decrescendi.<sup>41</sup>

Interestingly enough, the romantic ideal of autonomous and transcendent art resonated in the next century in the form of *Werktrue*, the idea of recreating the score to reveal the composer's intentions and the work's original performance.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, as Glen Carruthers (1992) suggests, even in the Nineteenth Century there was a school of pianists whose teachings advocated that Bach's keyboard works should be played in a literal and objective style, thus adhering as closely to the written score as possible.<sup>43</sup>

A seed of historical awareness was planted by the Society of Saint Cecilia, founded in 1868. The society and the movement for which it is named, Caecilian movement, was particularly influential in continental countries with large Catholic populations. The movement sought to reclaim the historical forms of plainchant in the liturgy and to support polyphony in the conservative style of Palestrina.<sup>44</sup>

The conclusion of the nineteenth century brought about much promise as well as many uncertainties. The promise of technology to improve people's lives would be a constant theme explored and debated in the coming century. In addition, the close of the nineteenth century lacked a clear and decisive course that would be explored in the arts. Evidence of this is visibly indicative in popular architecture known as the "neo styles." Neo-Gothic, Neo-Baroque and Neo-Classical all were styles explored from architecture's historical past rather than creating a sustained interest in a new and genuine style. Such experiences in architecture foreshadowed those that would besiege music in the coming century as exemplified in neo-classical ideology.

### Early Music - The Dawn of the Twentieth Century

The dawn of the twentieth century to after the Second World War possessed actions, individuals, and groups who were tremendously important to the foundation, development and implementation of ideas concerning early music and performance

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<sup>41</sup> Jürg Stenzl and Irene Zedlacher, "In Search of a History of Musical Interpretation, *The Musical Quarterly* 79.4 (Winter 1995), 688.

<sup>42</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Glen Carruthers. "Subjectivity, objectivity and authenticity in nineteenth – century Bach interpretation." *Canadian University Music Review* 12.1: 95-112.

<sup>44</sup> Neal Zaslaw, "Reflections on 50 years of early music," *Early Music* 29.1 (February 2001): 6.

practice. Publications from two pioneers, Edward Dannreuther (1844-1904) and Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940), both who immigrated to England, provided insightful advice concerning interpretation of early music. German-born Edward Dannruether's two-volume 1889-1890 work, *Musical Ornamentation*, and French-born Arnold Dolmetsch's 1915 work, *The Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, marked early efforts to shift the paradigm from simply resurrecting earlier repertoire to focus on performance practice. For example, Dolmetsch's chapter devoted to expression, emphasizes that even authors writing in the eighteenth century were trying to convey a way to reproduce with "absolute precision the execution of the music as intended by its composer."<sup>45</sup> While both these works were influential, Dolmetsch's more so than Dannruether's, the majority of the writing was concerned with elements of ornamentation.<sup>46</sup>

Contemporary to these early efforts was the influential personality of Wanda Landowska (1879-1959). Landowska's passion for the harpsichord began when she traveled to Berlin to study composition with Heinrich Urban, popular teacher for notables such as Paderewski and Hofmann.<sup>47</sup> While in Berlin, she became acquainted with many historic instruments housed at the Hochschule für Musik, including the harpsichord.<sup>48</sup> Landowska's inspiration was experienced through her popular public concerts as well as her 1904 book, *La Musique Ancienne*. She is credited in the rediscovery of much of the keyboard repertoire as well as the harpsichord revival.<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that while Landowska was intensely focused on resurrecting past repertoire, she did not promote the idea that there was only one singular correct way to perform this past repertoire. This is illustrated in her famous quote, "If Rameau himself would rise from his grave to demand of me some changes to my interpretation of his *Dauphine*, I would answer, 'You gave birth to it; it is beautiful. But now leave me alone with it. You have nothing more to say; go away!'"<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, (London: Novello, 1915), 1.

<sup>46</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 29.

<sup>47</sup> Howard Schott, "Wanda Landowska: A Century Appraisal," *Early Music* 7.4 (October 1979): 467.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 30.

<sup>50</sup> Denise Restout, ed., *Landowska On Music*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1981), 407.

Another revival ensuing in the 1920s that took place in Continental Europe, particularly in Germany, was that of the baroque organ.<sup>51</sup> One advantage this inquiry had over others was that many extant baroque organs were more or less unaltered from their original condition, leading scholars and performers to understand their incipient character of tone.<sup>52</sup> This knowledge served reconstruction efforts and the building of new instruments, which were to be built in the baroque character.<sup>53</sup> The interest that was ignited through the organ revival sparked repercussions in the performance of other instruments such as the recorder, viol and lute. These pursuits, and the individuals that influenced them, were indicative of a new sub discipline in musicology that the Germans referred to as *Aufführungspraxis*, roughly translated as performance practice.<sup>54</sup> By 1931, when Arnold Schering and Robert Haas both published monographs on the subject, many significant articles and treatises concerning *Aufführungspraxis* had already been published in Germany.<sup>55</sup>

Between the two wars nationalistic expressions surfaced that displayed an interest in ancient melodies and forms. Composers like Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bartok and Respighi based many of their new compositions on tunes and harmonies of the past.<sup>56</sup> Neal Zaslaw, in his brief survey of the early music movement, brings to light the curious dichotomy that was often explored in the twentieth century. Nationalism as explored by the above composers can be viewed as a reaction to the previous Romantic era of perceived excess. Paradoxically, the neo-classical compositions of composers like Stravinsky, Hindemith, Milhaud, Casella, Prokofiev, de Falla and Copland searched for musical inspiration from the past. Thus, composers rejected the immediate past but embraced other repertoires for inspiration. The paradox of embracing vis-à-vis rejecting the past can be reconciled when the term ‘neo –classical’ is explained as an inaccurate designation of reviving techniques and forms of Classical composers.<sup>57</sup> Rather the

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<sup>51</sup> Dorottya Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 30.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Neal Zaslaw, “Reflections on 50 years of early music,” 5.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Neal Zaslaw, “Reflections on 50 years of early music,” 6.

<sup>57</sup> In Germany the term ‘neue Sachlichkeit’ was used and can be roughly translated as new dispassion or new objectivity.

movement occurred as a reaction to the “extreme indulgences of the past” and sought economy of expression.<sup>58</sup>

The creation in 1933 of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis located in Basel, Switzerland, represented a formalized entity whose purpose was to research pertinent issues and questions regarding the performance of early music and implement such findings in practice.<sup>59</sup> The academy’s syllabus promoted the study of ornamentation, continuo playing, notation and other courses related to early music.<sup>60</sup> The academy and research center is still in existence, making it the oldest institution of its type in the world and bolstering the argument against the notion that early music is nothing more than a short-lived fad. One of the academy’s most influential alumni, Gustav Leonhardt, graduated in 1950 and would be a major thrust in the early music movement and is well known for his collaboration with Nikolaus Harnoncourt in recording all of J.S. Bach’s cantatas beginning in 1971.<sup>61</sup>

In 1939, Igor Stravinsky’s Norton lectures at Harvard proposed that matters of performance were of an ethical nature.<sup>62</sup> His “value-laden” rhetoric can be seen in the following quotes: “Between the executant...and the interpreter...there exists a difference in make up that is of an ethical rather than of an esthetic order, a difference that presents a point of conscience.”<sup>63</sup>

*The Saint Matthew’s Passion* by Johann Sebastian Bach is written for a chamber-music ensemble. Its first performance in Bach’s lifetime was perfectly realized by a total force of thirty-four musicians, including soloists and chorus. That is known. And nevertheless in our day one does not hesitate to present the work, in complete disregard of the composer’s wishes, with hundreds of performers, sometimes almost a thousand. This lack of understanding of the interpreter’s obligations, this arrogant pride in numbers, this concupiscence of the many, betray a complete lack of musical education.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Arnold Whittall, “Neo-classicism,” *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 11 December 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/shared/views/article.html?section=music.19723>>

<sup>59</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 30.

<sup>60</sup> Dorottya Fabian Somorjai, “Musicology and Performance Practice: In Search of a Historical Style with Bach Recordings,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* T.41, Fasc. 1/3 (2000), 78.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Le Huray, *Authenticity in Performance*, 2.

<sup>63</sup> Igor Stavinsky, *Poetics of Music*, Bilingual edition, 163.

<sup>64</sup> Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, 173.

Stravinsky's assertions provided encouragement for those advocating for authentic performances and later fuel for attacks denouncing authenticity, most notably by Richard Taruskin, who names Stravinsky above others as the custodian of neo-classicism. Neo-classicism is described by Stenzl and Zedlacher (1995) as the second interpretative approach of music that emerged in the 1920s and thus concluded the era of *laissez-faire* expressiveness.<sup>65</sup> The new style, whose ideology continues to govern today, dismissed the idea of interpreting musical works but rather advocated for the “candid communication” of those works.<sup>66</sup> In other words, conductors and performers should avoid at all cost interpreting, altering or revising a musical work. Rather, strict adherence to the written score is encouraged. The urtext ultimatum weighed heavily on many and the enterprise of performance for several decades, and while the attacks by Taruskin and others have mitigated its effect, continues to pervade the venture of performance today.

Princeton musicologist Arthur Mendel (1905-1979) is also credited by Richard Taruskin as influencing countless individuals in the pursuits of truth as represented in gathering scientific evidence over personal expressions.<sup>67</sup> Mendel, who had been a pupil of Nadia Boulanger in the 1920s, was a choral conductor specializing in the music of Bach and Schütz.<sup>68</sup> Taruskin portrays Mendel as a positivist authoritarian musicologist who admonished performers, some famous like Harnoncourt, for going on “intuition” and not exhausting all of the scientific evidence before coming to conclusive decisions.<sup>69</sup>

Events and ideologies as discussed above regarding early music from the turn of the century to after the Second World War must be viewed in context of a myriad of philosophical currents that were part of the belief landscape. The chaos and brutality of the First World War ended the world’s naïveté. In reaction to the chaos, many people sought order and precision; where they found a sympathetic understanding in the belief of modernism and positivism. Modernism, in epistemological terms, is the conviction of breaking with traditional practices and positivism seeks authentic truth and progress through ordered science. These obsessions decline the personal and subjective in favor of objective scientific explanations.

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<sup>65</sup> Stenzl and Zedlacher, “In Search of a History of Musical Interpretation,” 689.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 146.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

Furthermore, the conviction known as historicism was also present in society. Principle to historicism is the belief that history is a ‘discoverable reality’ and that creations of art have an enduring quality.<sup>70</sup> Beliefs of historicism around the middle of the century were embodied and exemplified in Suzanne Langer’s work, who believed that art works are symbolic of human feelings, preserved through time, and await rediscovery.<sup>71</sup>

However, like many philosophies there are inherent paradoxes. For example, in modernism the listener should prefer the music made new rather than of the past.<sup>72</sup> Many critics of the movement would assert that instead of embracing music of a modern era performers chose instead to make a new performance style on repertory of the past. Richard Taruskin points out the term modernism is a misnomer because to accept that modernism is pertaining to the present means that all humans, since we cannot live at any other time than the present, have been part of a modernist reality.<sup>73</sup> Therefore, as Taruskin exposes, modernism is more of a commitment to certain ideals than a condition.<sup>74</sup>

Despite these complications, this philosophy, or parts of this philosophy, manifested itself into music circles in various ways. The focus on scientific and objective discoveries found way in the examination of treatises, returning to urtext editions, and recovering lost works. The obsession of finding the one true, authentic interpretation of the composer and transmitting it rather than making an individual interpretation are all hallmarks of modernism and positivism in music. Furthermore, there was a call for a moratorium against pathos as represented by the expressive devices like *tempo rubato* and dynamic excesses.<sup>75</sup> Many recent writers like Kenyon, 1988 and Taruskin, 1995, 2005, have attributed such objectivist and literalist teachings to musical personalities like Stravinsky, Hindemith and Bartók. Together with the increasingly popular influence of

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<sup>70</sup> Roland Jackson, “Invoking a Past or Imposing a Present? Two Views of Performance Practice.” *Performance Practice Review*, vol. 9.1 (Spring 1996): 2.

<sup>71</sup> Suzanne Langer, *Feeling and Form: a Theory of Art*. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1953), 401.

<sup>72</sup> Richard Taruskin, *The Early Twentieth Century*, vol. 4 of *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Taruskin, *The Early Twentieth Century*, 475.

recording studio and recording technology, the demand for objective, precise, and literal execution of the music became the method of choice.

Events leading up to and during the Second World War brought about an exodus of intellectuals in many disciplines primarily from Germany and those areas occupied by Germany. Stenzl and Zedlacher discuss during this time the most recent of the three interpretive approaches, which also had roots in the beginning of the century, commenced and is described as the restoration approach.<sup>76</sup> The restoration approach sought to perform music of earlier eras on restored or replicated original instruments in the manner of when it was composed. The restoration approach, like the *Jugendmusikbewegung* (Youth Music Movement) with which many of the founding and charter members of the restoration approach were associated, sought to break away from the inherited chronological tradition of the immediate past and sought to reclaim the practices of music prior to 1800.<sup>77</sup> Among the intellectuals who fled German control were many musicians who were responsible of influencing several generations in the continental (largely German) approach to early music, scholarship, and performance.<sup>78</sup> Personalities such as Karl Haas, Paul Hindemith and Erwin Bodky greatly contributed to disseminating ideas concerning scholarship and performance to countries such as Great Britain and the United States of America.<sup>79</sup>

German-born conductor and musicologist Karl Haas escaped Nazi persecution by immigrating to London, England where he created the London Baroque Ensemble.<sup>80</sup> While studying at the University of Munich and Heidelberg, Haas concentrated in the music of the viola d'amore where upon his arrival in England he mentored many musicians in playing, as well as other earlier instruments such as the viola pomposa, bassoon, and side drum.<sup>81</sup> Haas possessed an invaluable collection of around five-thousand microfilms of rare music, much of which were still in manuscript form. Many

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<sup>76</sup> Stenzl and Zedlacher, "In Search of a History of Musical Interpretation," 692.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice*, 32.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Arthur Jacobs, "The London Baroque Ensemble," *The Musical Times* (September 1952) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/934444> (accessed October 25, 2007).

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

of these microfilms, as well as some of his early instrument collection, he was forced to sell in his initial years living in London to sustain himself.<sup>82</sup>

As a conductor of the London Baroque Ensemble, Haas initially focused on music of Bach, and other composers that wrote in the time known as the “high baroque,” but slowly expanded their programs to include repertory of virtually unknown or less popular composers.<sup>83</sup> The ensemble was a popular addition for the B.B.C. European Service broadcasts during the war but it was not until early 1946 that many radio listeners in England became familiar with the group.<sup>84</sup> In 1951, the group released its first gramophone record, which brought such high acclaim as to afford them continued popularity making them one of the most influential ensembles in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>85</sup>

Composer and German émigré Paul Hindemith began teaching at Yale in 1940 after leaving the inhospitable climate in Germany. Hindemith’s advocacy for early music was shaped prior to his arrival in the United States during his tenure as instructor at the Berlin Hochschule, which housed a collection of early instruments.<sup>86</sup> His early music activity in the United States found educational opportunity in venues such as the Berkshire Music Center, informally known as Tanglewood, where he directed many early music performances.<sup>87</sup> Hindemith’s performances with the Collegium Musicum at Yale consisted of composers including Perotin, Dufay, Josquin, Gabrieli and Monteverdi with many performances using period instruments.<sup>88</sup> Many of these performances survive through commercial recordings that demonstrate characteristics of Hindemith’s interpretations as lively tempos, abrupt dynamic changes, carefully handled polyphonic entries and punctuating subsidiary material by making them louder and often staccato.<sup>89</sup> Six years after Stravinsky, Hindemith also lectured at Harvard, reiterating many of the same complaints as Stravinsky regarding interpretative freedom of performers.<sup>90</sup> Even as

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<sup>82</sup> Jacobs, “The London Baroque Ensemble,” (accessed October 25, 2007).

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Johann Buis, “Hindemith and Early Music: An American Encounter,” *Early Music America* 2.2 (Summer 1996): 29.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 32.

<sup>89</sup> Buis, “Hindemith and Early Music: An American Encounter,” 31.

<sup>90</sup> Le Huray, *Authenticity in Performance*, 2.

early as 1950, the clarion call came from Hindemith for a complete restoration of baroque instruments but at this time it was largely ignored even by chamber orchestras specializing in Baroque repertoire including the legendary Schola in Basel.<sup>91</sup>

Even though the name of Erwin Bodky is not as well known as Paul Hindemith, Bodky was very influential through his founding of the Boston based Cambridge Society for Early Music and his book concerning performance practice of early keyboard music as well as a book specializing in J.S. Bach's keyboard works.<sup>92</sup> Bodky's purpose for the Cambridge Society for Early Music was unapologetic in its function and its reason for existence, "to offer the musical public of Boston and Cambridge a series of concerts devoted to the music of the Renaissance, the Baroque and the early Classical periods, and to perform the music in a manner faithful to the styles...yet not in terms of dry pedantry."<sup>93</sup>

### Early Music – The Middle of the Twentieth Century

The end of the war brought about disclosure and realization of the horrors of war and the staggering toll of human lives. Many countries and races that had faced near annihilation struggled to recapture the essence of their existence. The destruction that had occurred not only destroyed lives but many historical buildings and treasured artifacts as well. This period, rampant with disillusionment, sought refuge in the glories of the past to deal with the horrors and guilt of the present. Recollections by Jean-Pierre Rampal, the celebrated flautist from France, demonstrates this way of thinking, "The beat to which the city marched was one dear to my heart. Baroque music was the sentiment of the day. Bach, Haydn, Handel, Vivaldi & Co., with their precise, measured music, gave the public the security and sense of order that the war had taken away. You knew where the music was going and what it would do."<sup>94</sup>

Germany, in the wake of ruin, raced to preserve their national heritage and was one of the first to promote early music after the war.<sup>95</sup> Deutsche Grammophon inaugurated the Archiv label in 1945 with the first recording released two years later with

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<sup>91</sup> Fabian Somorjai, "Musicology and Performance Practice," 78.

<sup>92</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 32.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Anthony Tommasini, "Obituary of Jean-Pierre Rampal. *New York Times*, May 21, 2000, national edition.

<sup>95</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 33.

a purpose of “documenting...the rediscovery and innovative interpretation of early music by the great performers of the day.”<sup>96</sup> The first director of the Archiv label was musicologist Fred Hamel who had a vision that the label would “document German musical monuments.”<sup>97</sup>

Hamel had studied with Arnold Schering and Friedrich Blume and had used his position early on at Archiv to promote recording works “in their complete authentic form” and “using specialist performers playing period instruments whenever possible.”<sup>98</sup> These revolutionary efforts were short lived after Hamel’s successor Hans Hickmann abandoned such efforts and made early music marketed on the Archiv label only such that the repertoire was early but not necessarily the performance style of the artists recorded.<sup>99</sup>

Activity in performance practice and early music after the Second World War seemed to shift stage from primarily a German monopoly to one that was spreading inside and outside the continent, particularly in London and Amsterdam.<sup>100</sup> Scholar Dorottya Fabian describes the movement moving in two different spheres. She generalizes that the movement was usually approached either in a pragmatic/practical approach in English-speaking countries or in a theoretical/empirical approach in German-speaking countries.<sup>101</sup>

The 1950s witnessed a fury of profuse and significant publications and events regarding early music and performance practice. This decade began a thirty-year (1950-1980) venture in attempting to gather and communicate factual information concerning early music and performance practice.<sup>102</sup> Explanation and interpretation was typically absent from this approach; rather a laundry list of rules and specific details gleaned from treatises were circulated in interested circles. The influx of copious information concerning early music and performance practice can be blamed for countless individuals mistakenly crediting the middle of the century as the initial stages of inquisitiveness

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<sup>96</sup> Deutsche Grammophone, “Arkiv Produktion.” <http://www.deutschegrammophon.com> (accessed October 20, 2007).

<sup>97</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 33.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music*, 12.

<sup>101</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice*, 16.

<sup>102</sup> Fabian Somorjai, “Musicology and Performance Practice,” 81.

concerning early music and the performance practice of it. Many of these publications dealt with the performance of Bach's choral works, which will be explored more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Perhaps no one group is as consequential in experimenting and publicizing ideas concerning performance practice of early music than Concentus Musicus Wein and its director, Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Nikolaus Harnoncourt founded the ensemble in 1953 and the early years were devoted to research, meticulously copying manuscripts, and experimenting with various ideas and sounds concerning performance. Four years passed before the group performed a public concert in 1957 with Harnoncourt directing the ensemble from the cello.<sup>103</sup> Harnoncourt's self-professed mantra has been, "The music of every period can best be brought to life and is most convincingly realized using the resources of the time."<sup>104</sup> The influence of Harnoncourt and the growing popularity of Concentus Musicus Wein secured Vienna as an important center for research and experimentation during the 1950s.<sup>105</sup>

English performer and musicologist, Thurston Dart, became the ideal persona blending both his experience in performance and scholarship into his 1954 survey book, *The Interpretation of Music*.<sup>106</sup> Dart's influence as a pedagogue influenced many musicians, most notably two of his students of importance in contemporary early music and performance practice circles, Sir John Eliot Gardiner and Christopher Hogwood.

One of the most influential and often cited books in English-speaking countries was Robert Donington's comprehensive 1963 book with subsequent revisions in 1974 and 1989, *Interpretation of Early Music*.<sup>107</sup> This publication proved to be as significant as Dolmetsch's 1915 book on earlier generations.<sup>108</sup> Fabian postulates that the first publication of Donington's book (1963) coincided with an era of study and growing specialization<sup>109</sup> A systematic and methodical approach to teaching performance on instruments largely forgotten ensued that resulted with subsequent generations learning

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<sup>103</sup> Official Nikolaus Harnoncourt website [http://www.styriarte.com/harnoncourt/index\\_en.php](http://www.styriarte.com/harnoncourt/index_en.php) (accessed October 25, 2007).

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Fabian Somorjai, "Musicology and Performance Practice," 79.

<sup>106</sup> Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music*, 12.

<sup>107</sup> Fabian Somorjai, "Musicology and Performance Practice," 80.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

how to master historical instruments such as the viol, recorder, sackbuts and shawms. An increased quantity of musicians who had the training and capacity to perform on early instruments propagated early music ensembles and concerts, which paved the way for a renaissance in performance style and an opportunity for the recording industry.

American Sol Babitz was doing equally important work in the fields of Baroque instrumental techniques such as fingering, bowing and exploring performance style in rhythm and articulation.<sup>110</sup> While already publishing articles in various journals in the 1950s it is his Early Music Laboratory and annual newsletter *Bulletin* for which he is best known. The newsletter was published modestly out of his Los Angeles home and focused on experiments with historical instruments.<sup>111</sup> Despite the newsletter's unassuming means of publication, it influenced many, including subscribing early music notables such as Leonhardt and the Kuijken brothers.<sup>112</sup>

### Authenticity

It is difficult to discover the contextual origin for the phrase “authentic performance.” In England, the phrase “authentic performance” seemed to become increasingly in vogue during the 1970s.<sup>113</sup> The study and writing about performance practice seemed to explode in England as confirmed with the launching of the journal *Early Music* in 1973, specifically relating to early music repertoires and their interpretation. In its first issue, editor J.M. Thomson relates how ten years prior the embarking on such an endeavor would have been unfeasible.<sup>114</sup>

However, critiques of authentic performance and *Werktreue*<sup>115</sup> ideology were already present in the 1950s. Theodore W. Adorno, in his 1955 thoughts collected in an essay entitled *Bach defended against his devotees* is known as the first thorough criticism of the early music movement through the context of the German Bach revival.<sup>116</sup> Adorno

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<sup>110</sup> Fabian Somorjay, “Musicology and Performance Practice,” 81.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 1.

<sup>114</sup> J.M. Thomson, “Editorial,” *Early Music* 1.1 (January 1973): 1.

<sup>115</sup> The idea of one true interpretation of a work

<sup>116</sup> Dorottya Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement: A Historical Review,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 32.2 (December 2001): 157.

was skeptical of ideas of authentic performances and of *Werktreue* as illustrated in the following quote:

The musical score is never identical with the work; devotion to the text means the constant effort to grasp that which it hides...an interpretation which does not bother about the music's meaning on the assumption that it will reveal itself of its own accord will inevitably be false since it fails to see that the meaning is always constituting itself anew.<sup>117</sup>

Virtually unknown to many are the German authors Harald Heckmann and Wilhelm Fischer who challenged the notion of one correct manner of performance and the relationship of musicology and performance.<sup>118</sup> Commonly known is the 1957 collection of English essays written in honor of Archibald Thompson Davison. Donald Grout, commonly quoted by Richard Taruskin, concludes in his essay that “historical authenticity in the performance of old music is unattainable.”<sup>119</sup> Aldrich is also clear in his belief that “the whole quest for authenticity in musical revivals is a strictly twentieth – century phenomenon.”<sup>120</sup>

Dorottya Fabian has spent a great deal of time tracing the use of the term authenticity and has come to the conclusion that musicians and scholars in continental Europe came to regard “authenticity” as a futile utopian attempt fifteen years before English speaking countries.<sup>121</sup> As demonstrated in quotes like Wanda Landowska’s, “I am sure that what I am doing in regard to sonority, registration etc., is very far from the historical truth,” initial interest in early music had different views concerning authenticity than practitioners and scholars in the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>122</sup> It is interesting to note from the listed examples that there have always been opinions regarding authenticity throughout the twentieth century that ran counter and independent from the accepted consensus and the bandwagon *du jour*. Even the early music patriarch Nikolaus Harnoncourt in 1978, during what could be viewed as approaching the height of rhetoric

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<sup>117</sup> Theodor Wesendunk Adorno, ‘Bach defended against his devotees’ in *Prisms* trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press), 144.

<sup>118</sup> Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement,” 158.

<sup>119</sup> Donald Jay Grout, “On historical authenticity,” *Essays on music in honour of Archibald Thompson Davison.* (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 1957), 346.

<sup>120</sup> P. Aldrich, “The ‘Authentic’ Performance of Baroque Music,” *Essays on music in honour of Archibald Thompson Davison.* (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 1957), 161.

<sup>121</sup> Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement,” 154.

<sup>122</sup> Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement,” 155.

concerning authenticity, believed claims of authenticity were fraudulent and absurd, “Ich tue das nicht, und ich habe das auch noch nie gemacht (I don’t do this and I have never done this).<sup>123</sup> Further evidence of Harnoncourt’s position on authenticity comes from his own opinion in his monumental and historical endeavor to record all of Bach’s cantatas. In the sleeve notes of the first volume, he states publicly:

We do not in the least regard this new interpretation as a return to something that has long passed, but as an attempt at releasing this great old music from its historical amalgamation with the classical – symphonic sound and, by means of the transparent and characteristic selection of old instruments, at finding a truly modern interpretation.<sup>124</sup>

Likewise in the following statement: “I would never use the word authenticity for my work...it can only be authentic me not authentic Bach, Biber, Handel or Telemann.”<sup>125</sup>

Despite these clear arguments from influential scholars and performers against the pursuit of authenticity, early music’s acceptance into the mainstream and popular press mitigated their effect and message. Instead, the media, press and commercial recording companies realized the potential for marketing recordings as ‘authentic,’ prompting buyers to replace older recordings in hopes to obtain the best interpretation that reflected the composer’s original wishes (*Werktreue*). The overwhelmingly successful commercial use of the label authenticity became divorced from its negative connotations, thus for a time practically silencing its critics, and providing beneficial rewards for recording companies in sales and catapulting performers and conductors into notoriety and fame.

Fabian believes that the attack on authenticity in the late 1980s, led namely by Richard Taruskin, Laurence Dreyfus and others, was misdirected. Instead of attacking the scholarly community, blame should have been attributed to commercial propaganda fueled by the music industry that touted “authentic recordings” in reviews, interviews, and liner notes. While certainly the recording industry was instrumental in circulating claims of authentic performances through media propaganda outlets, it comes down to the paradox of what came first – the chicken or the egg? Meaning, it is difficult to ascertain if consumers were influenced by the recording industry or if the industry was responding to a perceived niche or need in society. Perhaps instead of laying negative

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<sup>123</sup> Fabian, “The Meaning of Authenticity and the Early Music Movement,” 155.

<sup>124</sup> Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Das Kantatenwerk*, J.S. Bach, vol. 1 Teldec, SKW 1/1-2, 1971, 8.

<sup>125</sup> Nicholas Anderson, “Never too early,” *BBC Music Magazine*, (March 1994): 48.

blame, a healthier approach is to view the phenomenon resulting from the symbiotic relationship of the recording industry and consumer demand – a mutual relationship that both benefited from each other and contributed in augmenting claims of historical verisimilitude.

#### Towards the Millennium - The Institutionalization of Early Music

The institutionalization of early music and performance practice is evidenced by its acceptance into mainstream practices in the latter part of the twentieth century. Prior, there was specialization, a clear delineation between performers of early music and performers in the mainstream classical world. As Heidi Waleson relates, early music training in educational programs in North America began to teach “convergence rather than specialization.”<sup>126</sup> This pedagogical move ensured early music’s broader appeal in the latter part of the twentieth century.

However, this pedagogical success also had negative implications. Laurence Dreyfus criticized that while the educational institutions had successfully contributed to the propagation of early music, it also taught conservative uniformity. The uniformity of approaches taught in early music became formulaic and confused and shrouded as truth, which realistically stifled much of the essence of early music, its improvisatory nature.<sup>127</sup>

During the 1970s and for the majority of the 1980s early music was at its height of increased popularity and widespread acceptance. However, the late 1980s brought about a dramatic change in how performance practice would be viewed. One of the most famous critical essays concerning the early music movement is Richard Taruskin’s contribution to Nicholas Kenyon’s 1988 book, *Authenticity and Early Music*, called “The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past” which was followed by *Text and Act* in 1995 that provided a synoptic reading of his foremost criticisms. While not the first or only voice to deliver early music a *coup de grâce*, American musicologist Richard Taruskin has been credited as the chief pundit of the early music movement, and has particularly been disparaging concerning claims of authenticity. Taruskin and his cadre

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<sup>126</sup> Heidi Waleson, “Early Music Meets Higher Education,” *Early Music America* 5.3 (Fall 1999): 31.

<sup>127</sup> “The Early Music Debate: Ancients, Moderns, Postmoderns,” *The Journal of Musicology* 10.1 (Winter 1992): 116.

are of the opinion that the Early Music Movement's *raison d'être* is less about historical correctness and more à la mode or reflective of contemporary objectivist values.

So is Early Music just a hoax? Not at all. It is authentic indeed, far more authentic than its practitioners contend, perhaps more authentic than they know. Why? Because, as we are all secretly aware, what we call historical performance is the sound of now, not then. It derives its authenticity not from historical verisimilitude, but from its being for better or worse a true mirror of late-twentieth century taste. Being the true voice of one's time is (as Shaw might have said) roughly forty thousand times as vital and important as being the assumed voice of history. To be the expressive medium of one's own age is...a far worthier aim than historical verisimilitude. What is verisimilitude, after all, but perceived correctness? And correctness is the paltriest of virtues. It is something to demand of students, not artists.<sup>128</sup>

The decade of the 1990s brought about a plethora of books and essays that debated and contested matters of authenticity and philosophical justifications for performance practice. Particularly potent for early music criticism was the jubilee year of 1995 that witnessed the publication of Richard Taruskin's *Text and Act*, and Peter Kivy's *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance*. Refer to the following bibliography that provides corroboration of how thriving the literature was concerning the early music movement either directly or indirectly.

Peter Kivy's 1995, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* acquiesces that there is not one singular authenticity, rather proposes there are four. The "composer authenticity" is preoccupied with the composer's original vision of the work; second, the "sonic authenticity" is concerned with reconstructing the physical materials available that the composer would have employed, i.e. instruments and venue; third, "personal authenticity" places importance on the performer's artistic decisions concerning expression and interpretation; and lastly, "sensible authenticity" ponders meaning that an audience derives from a performance.<sup>129</sup> Roland Jackson offers a reductionist view of Kivy's list into: one, performance practice (encompassing composer and sonic authenticity), and two, mainstream (entailing personal and sensible

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<sup>128</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 166.

<sup>129</sup> Peter Kivy, *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

authenticity).<sup>130</sup> The quagmire that the word authenticity presented spurred a sanitizing of terminology to the innocuous phrase historically informed performance.<sup>131</sup>

### Trends and currents in a new Millennium

The business, practice, and critique of early music is a rapidly changing enterprise and experience. For that reason, it is difficult to predict categorically the future for early music and performance practice. As with any temporal period, there are many viable philosophies that coexist but may not concur with each other. Whatever the future may hold there are realities that we can grasp now that give testament to how the face of music making has noticeably changed, not only within centuries, but also within decades.

An account from Baroque specialist Nicholas McGegan serves as an excellent example when he relates a situation to *Early Music America* as part of their 2005 study generously funded by the National Endowment for the Arts. The account provides anecdotal evidence, amongst a host of statistical data, in how the approach and practice of music has dramatically changed.

Today's string players use a subtler vibrato for Bach or Mozart than they might for Elgar. I was astonished a few years ago to have to ask the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra to use *more* vibrato in a Beethoven Symphony; apparently their then music director, Sir Simon Rattle, preferred to have the Viennese classics virtually vibrato free. The whole climate has changed. When I started in the 1980s there was one ubiquitous symphonic style for playing everything from the B – minor Mass to Tchaikovsky. That's not the case any more.<sup>132</sup>

The criticism brought against early music, performance practice, and authenticity by Richard Taruskin and others is now, in turn, being challenged by a new generation of writers. In a critical review of Taruskin's book, *Text and Act*, John Butt capitalizes on perceived inconsistencies within Taruskin's argument and takes Taruskin to task for his capricious implication that postmodernism is the salvation of all that is wrong with modernism.<sup>133</sup> Postmodernism, like the other “isms” explored in this dissertation is a complex, sometimes paradoxical term, arduous to define, save within a specific context.

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<sup>130</sup> Roland Jackson, “Authenticity or Authenticities? – Performance Practice and the Mainstream,” *Performance Practice Review* 10.1 (Spring 1997): 2.

<sup>131</sup> Hereafter designated as HIP.

<sup>132</sup> Early Music in America, *A Study of Early Music Performers, Listeners, and Organizations*, 2005.

<sup>133</sup> John Butt, “Acting up a text: the scholarship of performance and the performance of scholarship,” *Early Music* 24.2 (May 1996): 326.

Butt credits Taruskin as one of the first to use the term postmodernism in music circles and summarizes that Taruskin defines it as challenging the *status quo* of reliance of authority over personal expression.<sup>134</sup> However, Butt questions the logical sequence of Taruskin's argument in his *Text and Act* as follows: Authenticity is not being historically accurate or restoring a work to its original performance, rather authenticity is being a voice true to the times. The obsession of historical performance in the twentieth century is a symptom of modern values, not of the past, and to that end, authenticity is a true reflection, a true voice, of modernism. However, in his book Taruskin vilifies the modernist view and recommends postmodernism to cure all that is wrong. "Now he must mean either that modernism is, in fact, not the voice of the times, or (probably closer) that postmodernism *should* be the voice of the times; this would seem to generate an authenticity more by edict than description."<sup>135</sup> John Butt, in his book, *Playing with History* (2002) presents an excellent and thought-provoking argument that illustrates the complexity of narrowly defining modernism and postmodernism as well as providing a view of the HIP movement since Taruskin's debut as HIP's *bête noire*.

Uri Golomb, a former doctoral student of John Butt, contests the view that Taruskin and others have had since the 1980s concerning Early Music as monolithic, restrictive and depersonalized. Golomb claims that Taruskin and his followers choose to ignore that the Early Music establishment, and the performances it provides, represents diversity, variety and instead of sterile performances, are laden with rich expression.<sup>136</sup> In addition, Golomb states that an account that is more comprehensive and broader in scope concerning the history of Early Music is required rather than the narrow period that virtually ignores events and personalities outside the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.<sup>137</sup> The continual obsession with retrieving material resources (concerning historical evidence of performance practice) is valued more than attempts to perform early music in a historical-informed manner, and truly acknowledges it as a contemporary endeavor set in a contemporary context. The comprehensive view espoused by Golomb

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<sup>134</sup> Butt, "Acting up a text," 328.

<sup>135</sup> Butt, "Acting up a text," 331.

<sup>136</sup> Uri Golomb, "Modernism, Rhetoric and (De-) Personalisation in the Early Music Movement" (Seminar paper presented King's College London, August 1998).

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

avoids generalizations and acknowledges a myriad of ideologies and possible performances within early music.

Several writers like Roland Jackson suggest that the pendulum of expression may be swinging back favoring more liberal use of expressive devices. Enough years have passed since the condemnation of authenticity which has allowed for writers to suggest perhaps that the *Zeitgeist*<sup>138</sup> of historicism present for the majority of the twentieth century has been replaced with a new *Zeitgeist* of presentism. Like Taruskin, who used recordings<sup>139</sup> to buttress his thesis of an onslaught of objectivism throughout the twentieth century that lead to musical interpretations that were lighter and quicker;<sup>140</sup> this dissertation aims to use the *St. John Passion* as a comprehensive case study to test, among other things, if within a period of a quarter-of-a-century (1982-2007) expressive devices are more noticeable, possibly providing evidence of an emerging presentist attitude among performers in contemporary society.

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<sup>138</sup> *Zeitgeist* - The spirit of the time

<sup>139</sup> Although not a comprehensive study, Taruskin compared nine recorded versions of Bach's Brandenburg Concerto no. 5 between the years of 1935 and 1985.

<sup>140</sup> Jackson, "Invoking a Past or Imposing a Present?," 4.

## CHAPTER 3

### CURRENTS IN BACH INTERPRETATION

Theoretically, the reception, interpretation and performance of Bach's works should reflect a mirror's image or run parallel to the attitudes regarding performance practice outlined in the previous chapter. However, an introspective view leads one to discover there can be critical differences in perceptions of performance practice, the various images of Bach and how one approaches performing his works. Additionally, consequential events regarding Bach erudition are important enough to deserve specific mention outside a survey of events pertaining to the performance practice of early music. Surveying the consequential events in Bach research, as well as the various suggested images of Bach, provides a conceptual framework to make possible correlations to certain conductors who interpret Bach's *St. John Passion* based possibly on their perception of Bach. Throughout this chapter, special attention will be made to highlight the various images of Bach that have evolved. Later within this dissertation, certain conductors will be analyzed to discover if they empathize with one image of Bach in particular and if it shapes their performance in a particular way.

#### The Nineteenth Century – Achievements in Bach scholarship

The Bach revival in the nineteenth century is so famously recorded in the legendary Eduard Devrient (1801-1877) account<sup>141</sup> of Felix Mendelssohn's 1829 resurrection of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*.<sup>142</sup> As with many of history's attributions, it is likely that many more contributed to the "Bach revival" than the singular personality of Mendelssohn. Particularly influential to Mendelssohn was Carl Friedrich Fasch (1736-1800) and Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758-1832). This pedigree of influence centered on the revival of choral singing in Germany through the creation of the Berliner Singakademie,

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<sup>141</sup> David and Mendel suggest that Devrient's recollection concerning the events leading up to the 1829 performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* may have been somewhat romanticized and/or embellished considering it was written so long after the event. See Christoph Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*. (London and New York: Norton, 1998), 508.

<sup>142</sup> Karl Hochreither's perception of this event states that this performance dramatically changed the context of Bach's works. No longer were Bach's works primarily used for a liturgical function but are now part of the concert repertory for which they were not originally intended. See Karl Hochreither, "Some Reflections on the Performance of Bach's Vocal-Instrumental Works," *Bach* 13.2 (April 1977):4.

organized loosely in 1789 by Carl Friedrich Fasch.<sup>143</sup> During the years that Fasch conducted the choral organization they presented numerous concerts that featured the music of J.S. Bach. Fasch's pupil and Mendelssohn's teacher, Carl Freidrich Zelter, became conductor of the Berliner Singakademie in 1800.<sup>144</sup> Zelter, as influenced by his teacher Carl Friedrich Fasch, became famous for his performances of historical sacred music, which ranged from sixteenth and seventeenth century polyphony to the motets and cantatas of Bach.<sup>145</sup> Gerhard Herz (1911-2000) states that Zelter, like other performers in the nineteenth century, revered Bach's genius but that did not prevent him from making changes to make it contemporaneous.

Every one is steeped in his own time, and Zelter could not transcend the bounds of his generation. For him [Zelter], who was the greatest representative of the Berlin *liederschule*, Bach had to be seen in this perspective; that is, he had to be modernized. Zelter revised Bach's church compositions for himself alone, in the belief of serving Bach's cause thereby. In doing so, he did not dispute the seriousness and profundity of Bach's perception. Only what was dated was to be removed.<sup>146</sup>

The examples of Fasch and Zelter show that interest in Bach's music went several years prior to Mendelssohn. Regardless of to whom credit should be given for the so-called "Bach revival," it is obvious that by the Nineteenth Century many began championing Bach's music. Throughout the course of the Nineteenth Century, noteworthy milestones occurred in scholarship that not only shaped criticism and opinion of the day, but also contributed toward our contemporary understanding concerning the life and music of Bach.

In 1850, a century after Bach's death, the society known as the *Bach-Gesellschaft* was formed to undertake the momentous achievement of preparing Bach's complete corpus without editorial additions for publishing by the firm of Breitkopf & Härtel.<sup>147</sup> The four founding members included Moritz Hauptmann, cantor of St. Thomas in Leipzig and professor of the Leipzig Conservatory; Otto Jahn, classical philology

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<sup>143</sup> Raymond A. Barr, 'Fasch, Carl Friedrich Christian,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 11 December 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/shared/views/article.html?section=music.09345>>

<sup>144</sup> Hans-Günter Ottenberg, 'Zelter, Carl Friedrich,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 11 December 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/shared/views/article.html?section=music.30917>>

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Gerhard Herz, *Essays on J.S. Bach*. Ann Arbor, Michigan:1985 p. 95.

<sup>147</sup> Christoph Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*. (London and New York: Norton, 1998), 503. A revised and enlarged edition of *The Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (London and New York: Norton, 1972).

professor at Leipzig University and author of the first scholarly biography of Mozart; Carl Ferdinand Becker, music historian and teacher at the Leipzig Conservatory and organist at St. Nicholas; and the most famous of the foursome, composer Robert Schumann who also served in the capacity of music director in Düsseldorf.<sup>148</sup> A host of other influential musical figures, too many to name here, worked on the project from 1851 to its completion in 1900. However, special mention should be made concerning Wilhelm Rust<sup>149</sup> (1822-1892), editor-in-chief who began in 1853 on the project, served until his death, and contributed no less than 26 of the 46 volumes to the endeavor.<sup>150</sup> While far from error free, the project and Rust's efforts set standards for future musicological editions and provided the most comprehensive and detailed study of Bach for many years.<sup>151</sup>

The nineteenth century gave rise to several substantial and important biographies concerning the life and work of Bach.<sup>152</sup> One cannot ignore the early efforts of Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818) who wrote the first biography fifty-two years after Bach's death in 1802. *On Johann Sebastian Bach's Life, Art, and Work: For Patriotic Admirers of True Musical Art* is an eighty-two page work of Bach, which contained important accounts from Bach's sons Carl Philipp Emmanuel and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach.<sup>153</sup> Forkel's biography was written to present Bach in a heroic style, essentially turning the work into a hagiography, during a time when nationalistic sentiments were elevated in

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<sup>148</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 503.

<sup>149</sup> At the 300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Bach Celebration (February 2, 1985) held at UNC Chapel Hill, NC, Robert Marshall suggested that Rust tampered with some of the autograph scores that were awaiting publication in the Bach-Gesellschaft. Most of the egregious additions were in the form of added slurs to reflect aesthetic expectations of the nineteenth century. Marshall's contention is that performers cannot unequivocally rely on the Urtext edition to reflect Bach's intention. Alexander Silbiger, "Johann Sebastian Bach: 300<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration," *The Journal of Musicology* 4.1 (Winter 1985-86): 116.

<sup>150</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 504.

<sup>151</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 504.

<sup>152</sup> There are four biographies of Bach written in the nineteenth century. The two that will be mentioned here are Spitta and Bitter. Many scholars dismiss the significance of C.L. Hilgenfeldt. *Johann Sebastian Bach, Wirken und Werken: ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig, 1850 because it virtually duplicates Forkel's work and Edward Francis Rimbault, ed. *Johann Sebastian Bach: his life and writing: adapted from the German of Hilgenfeldt and Forkel, with additions from original sources*. London, 1869 as a translation of Forkel's and Hilgenfeldt's work with inconsequential additional material. See Daniel R. Melamed and Michael Marissen, *An Introduction to Bach Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 33.

<sup>153</sup> Martin Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*, trans. John Hargraves (Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Books, 2006), 9.

German territories.<sup>154</sup> During the writing of the biography, most Germans were resisting the ideals of the French Enlightenment as well as Napoleon's attempt of domination.<sup>155</sup> During this time the Germans found pride in the fact that Bach represented and promoted cultural unity and served as an example of the achievements and ingenuity of the German people.<sup>156</sup> Forkel's biography was diligent in providing as much evidence as possible from the reports of Bach's sons. However, he was not as careful in avoiding adding subjective opinion into the work.<sup>157</sup>

Unfamiliar to many is the 1865 two-volume biography, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, completed by a Prussian government official, Carl Heinrich Bitter.<sup>158</sup> It, too, is an impressive scholarly achievement with a sizeable scope of sources used and assessments of Bach's music. This is the first known Bach biography to utilize modern methods of archival research.<sup>159</sup> In addition, Melamed and Marissen make mention that Bitter's biography was the first to elevate, followed by Spitta, Bach's image as a "Great Pious Lutheran."<sup>160</sup> Despite its merits, the Bitter biography was eclipsed within the decade by what is commonly known as "the Spitta."<sup>161</sup>

In 1873 and 1880 Philipp Spitta (1841-1894) wrote perhaps the most recognized and famous Bach biography, *J.S. Bach*, which chronicled the life of Bach in a detailed, comprehensive, and almost entirely objective manner. The two-volume biography, even by today's standards, is a remarkable accomplishment given the resources available to Spitta during his research. In the work, Spitta focused on the philological, historical, aesthetic and theological-intellectual aspects of Bach's compositions.<sup>162</sup> Many scholars marvel at how accurate many of his ideas and theories were concerning Bach when they have only been recently corroborated with hard evidence.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 418.

<sup>155</sup> Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*, 9.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid.

<sup>157</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 418.

<sup>158</sup> Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*, 10.

<sup>159</sup> Daniel R. Melamed and Michael Marissen, *An Introduction to Bach Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 33.

<sup>160</sup> Melamed and Marissen, *An Introduction to Bach Studies*, 34.

<sup>161</sup> Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*, 11.

<sup>162</sup> Geck, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*, 13.

<sup>163</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 505.

It is no surprise, based on these biographies, that Uri Golomb (2004) suggests that two contrasting, but sometimes integrating, conceptions evolved in the nineteenth century concerning the iconic status of Bach. Bach, the religious composer and Bach the heroic cerebral intellect, would be explored in the coming century as evidenced through thoughts expressed in writings as well as evidence of performance captured through recordings.<sup>164</sup>

### The Dawn of the Twentieth Century – Bach scholarship

Dramatic transformations have been witnessed within the twentieth century concerning the critical opinion and performance of Bach's life and music. The century opened with Albert Schweitzer,<sup>165</sup> at the original behest of his organ teacher Charles Marie Widor, contributing "an aesthetic and practical study" of Bach drawing on historical information provided by Spitta.<sup>166</sup> Schweitzer's original 1905 publication was in French. However, a subsequent, more detailed and expanded version was translated into German three years later in 1908.<sup>167</sup>

Arnold Schering began publishing material in the 1920's, advocating for smaller chamber performing ensembles for Bach performance. Schering researched manuscript parts that were used by Bach's singers and instrumentalists, which normally consisted of one surviving copy of each vocal line. He interpreted the bulk of the evidence and two different sections in the *Entwurff*<sup>168</sup> to conclude that a maximum of three singers shared a part, thus three singers for a balance of four voice parts should account for a chamber size choir of a dozen.<sup>169</sup> Within each voice part consisted a principal singer (*Concertist*) who was responsible for singing recitatives and arias and leading in choruses and

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<sup>164</sup> Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception," 5.

<sup>165</sup> There are those who consider Schweitzer's biography the end of an inclination to portray Bach in a Romantic approach. See Alfred Mann, "A Document from the Hand of Arthur Mendel," *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 20.3 (1989) 4.

<sup>166</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *J.S. Bach*, trans. Ernest Newman (New York: Dover, 1966), 1:iv.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> The *Entwurff*, as it is commonly known, is the memorandum written by Bach to the Leipzig town officials in August of 1730 entitled, "Short But Necessary Draft for a Well – Appointed Church Music, with Certain Modest Reflections on the Decline of the Same." The two sections used by Schering to support his thesis comes from the majority of the opening section and the second half of Section 2. See Christoph Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*. (London and New York: Norton, 1998), 145.

<sup>169</sup> Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2000), 189.

chorales. The two additional supporting singers (*Ripienisten*) stood on either side of the *Concertist* reading from his music.<sup>170</sup> Additionally, Schering supported the use of all-male (boys/men) choirs<sup>171</sup> and the sole use of organ in accompanying Passion recitatives of Bach.<sup>172</sup>

Schering's ideas stood in stark contrast from the practice of presenting Bach's choral works with forces of mammoth proportions as traditionally practiced in the Romantic era. Regardless of the number of submissions supporting his conclusions (1920, 1922, 1926, 1941) he was largely ignored by many practicing musicians and other scholars who interpreted the same evidence differently. Many of the discrepancies of opinion came down to scrutinizing the grammatical syntax of Bach's writing. For example, opposing views claimed that Bach was not satisfied with the number of his choir and wanted "at least three sopranos" and that Bach always hoped and preferred more. However, as will be seen in the latter half of the twentieth century, the nagging issue regarding the size of ensembles in Bach's day as well as his own preferred proclivity for their size would not die.<sup>173</sup> With minority voices refusing to be silent, it continued to stay an issue, although somewhat in the background until the early 1980s.

A fundamental reference tool in English for any library of Bach research was published in 1945 known as *The Bach Reader*. Editors Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel assembled a manageable number of relevant documents concerning Bach, collection of letters of Bach, references of how Bach was viewed by his contemporaries, as well as chronicling the early biographical attempts and renewed interest by Romantic Bach enthusiasts. Revised in 1966 and expanded by Christoph Wolff in 1998, this contribution to Bach research has been most valuable.

### Modern Bach Research

Customarily scholars agree that modern Bach research came into existence around 1950. The year marked the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bach's death as well as the centenary anniversary of the Bach-Gesellschaft organization. This remembrance was not only

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<sup>170</sup> Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, 189.

<sup>171</sup> For a list of recordings who used an all-male choir for the *St. John Passion* in the years between 1982-2007, consult Appendix H.

<sup>172</sup> Fabian Somorjai, "Musicology and Performance Practice," 80.

<sup>173</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 85.

marked by the completion of Wolfgang Schmeider's *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Weke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV)*,<sup>174</sup> but also the ambitious idea to complete a subsequent edition of Johann Sebastian Bach's oeuvre, succeeding the *Bach-Gesellschaft*. The project known now as the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*,<sup>175</sup> was launched by two separate but cooperative entities, The Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut Göttingen and the Bach-Archiv Leipzig, separated at the time by a divided Germany, and published by Bärenreiter-Verlag in Cassel and Deutscher Verlag für Musik in Leipzig.<sup>176</sup> By 1954 volumes began being published that could boast of critical and scholarly "urtext" editions that were user-friendly based on the fact that a majority of the volumes used modern clefs.<sup>177</sup> The *Neue Bach Ausgabe* provided at least three important achievements: the discovery of spurious works in the Bach canon, rediscovery of many lost compositions and a new understanding of Bach's compositional chronology.<sup>178</sup>

The amended awareness of Bach's compositions, due in large part to the dating efforts of Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen, was significant in that it provided evidence that the majority of Bach's religious Leipzig works, thought to be around 150 compositions, was composed within the initial five years (1723-1727) of his appointment.<sup>179</sup> The repercussions of these findings seem to tear down the perceived Romantic image of Bach as the lifelong devoted religious composer. For decades many viewed Bach as the servant of the Lutheran Church who spent the majority of his life composing humbly for *Soli Deo Gloria* (Glory to God alone).

With modernist undertones, an objective reappraisal of Bach's image ensued that promoted a secularized persona. Friedrich Blume proposed in the 1960s that the findings of Dürr and Dadelson suggest waning importance Bach placed on his sacred duties, turning instead to secular endeavors as well as a secular self-image. Following Blume's

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<sup>174</sup> A revised second edition was published in 1990.

<sup>175</sup> Its official title is *J.S. Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Weke*

<sup>176</sup> Melamed and Marissen, *An Introduction to Bach Studies*, 89.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Robert Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography," *The Musical Quarterly* 84.3 (Fall 2000): 497.

view, Dürr cautioned that a more evenly balanced interpretation was needed concerning Bach's sacred vs. secular persona.<sup>180</sup>

Apart from the academic pursuits, Bach's music was experiencing milestone performances and recordings. Many of these recordings were heavily influenced by research done and disseminated in the 1950s. Examples like Wilhelm Ehmann who recommended that smaller size choirs promoted clearer textures, ability for precise rhythms and homogenous tone colors, and Arthur Mendel, who raised questions concerning choice of tempo, tempo relations and lowering pitch.<sup>181</sup> David Willcocks and Thurston Dart's 1960 recording of the *St. John Passion* (29 singers and 24 instrumentalists) and Nikolaus Harnoncourt's 1968 *B minor Mass* shows an early attempt for eighteenth-century practices of lighter textures and employing copies of historical instruments.<sup>182</sup> Many other performances, inspired by recapturing the historical approach, ensued – too many to name here except one other groundbreaking project. In 1971 Nikolaus Harnoncourt, in collaboration with Gustav Leonhardt, embarked on the adventurous project to record all of Bach's cantatas, a project fully realized in 1989.

At a November 1981 American Musicological Society meeting in Boston, Massachusetts, musicologist, pianist and conductor, Joshua Rifkin unveiled his thesis concerning the size and service of the chorus Bach used to perform his cantatas and concerted vocal works. Rifkin notes that while Arnold Schering was on the right track to deviate from the accepted practice of presenting Bach with colossal, Romantic-style forces, the evidence suggests different conclusions concerning the actual number of performers. The crux of Rifkin's thesis rests on the numerous instances where the original performing materials from Bach's vocal works contain only one copy of each voice part with no indication of where *concertist* or *ripienisten* sing.<sup>183</sup> Schering acknowledged this inconsistency but proposed that the lack of indication for which vocal part was to sing could be reconciled with the idea that the singers would follow the designations written at the top of the score such as recitative, aria, chorus, etc. However,

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<sup>180</sup> For a bibliographic reference list see Daniel R. Melamed and Michael Marissen, *An Introduction to Bach Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 34.

<sup>181</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 36-37.

<sup>182</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 39.

<sup>183</sup> Joshua Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus," reprinted in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2000), 189.

Rifkin discounts this plausibility because titles such as these occur too infrequently in Bach's vocal works for it to be considered a conventional way of designation. Rifkin proceeds to dissect the *Entwurff*, the document traditionally used by Schering and others to support the idea of chamber-sized choirs for Bach performance.

Because there are so few personal documents of Bach, and fewer regarding detailed facts regarding Leipzig performances, the August 23, 1730, memorandum written to the Leipzig town officials known as the *Entwurff*, is not only highly treasured but also highly contested regarding the interpretation of its contents. Bach chose to title the correspondence "Short But Most Necessary Draft for a Well-Appointed Church Music, with Certain Modest Reflections on the Decline of the Same."<sup>184</sup> Rifkin admits that taking the two sections of the memorandum (majority of the opening section and the second half of Section 2) out of context as Schering does, tempts one to draw the same conclusions that Bach utilized a chamber choir of a dozen, three from each voice part, for his concerted vocal works.<sup>185</sup>

Bach's responsibilities as Leipzig's music director required he administer the music of the city's four churches, Thomaskirche, Nikolaikirche, Petrikirche and Neue Kirche. To provide music for each church Bach divided, according to ability, the fifty-five resident pupils from the Thomasschule (referred to as *alumni*) and prefects (deputy conductors), into four distinct choirs as shown below from highest to lowest ability.<sup>186</sup>

Choir 1	Sang the major service at Thomaskirche or Nikolaikirche with Bach himself directing the cantata or concerted music.
Choir 2	Sang the minor service at Thomaskirche or Nikolaikirche and once a year joined first choir for a performance of a Passion on Good Friday.
Choir 3	Sang at the Neue Kirche
Choir 4	Sang at Petrikirche.

In addition to the *alumni*, the city supplied Bach with seven salaried instrumentalists and one apprentice. But as Rifkin points out Bach's concerted music demands more instrumentalists than the eight provided, in which Bach would utilize an

<sup>184</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 145.

<sup>185</sup> Joshua Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus," reprinted in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2000), 194.

<sup>186</sup> Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus," reprinted in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, 193.

*ad hoc* group of a few university students with the difference taken from the *alumni*.<sup>187</sup> The *Entwurff* lists a total of seventeen cantata singers to service the first two choirs, three of whom were prefects. One of the three prefects would be responsible for leading the third choir, which reduces the total number to sixteen. With alumni having to fulfill instrumental roles, Rifkin outlines a best case scenario that Bach would have at his disposal nine qualified vocalists, if they remained healthy.<sup>188</sup> Thus, Rifkin points out that given the extant evidence of one surviving original vocal part compounded with the resources that Bach had available to him as outlined in the *Entwurff*, it would be logical to conclude that most of his concerted works were performed by the *concertists*, one singer per part.

This revolutionary position caused an immediate outbreak of stiff criticism from the scholarly community. Since Rifkin's presentation in 1981, much time and resources have been spent in debating this issue. With only a minority cadre initially supporting Rifkin, his thesis has been slowly gaining acceptance in the scholarly community following years of debates, correspondence and books in the twenty-five years up to the present.<sup>189</sup> The scholarly community has been forced to reinterpret the word "choir" not in contemporary terms but tracing the Lutheran practice of *coro favorito* that Bach inherited from Schütz.<sup>190</sup>

The tercentenary anniversary of Bach's birth in 1985 provided the opportunity for many scholars to assess Bach's significance in the modern era as well as discussions that centered around the position of Bach interpretation and the state of Bach scholarship. Christoph Wolff, in an editorial written for *Early Music*, discusses the advancements in Bach's research as well as acknowledging where the research is lacking. Wolff mentions the *Bach-Dokumente* and the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* as the two major achievements in the past thirty-five years.<sup>191</sup> Likewise, Wolff comments positively concerning the multi-faceted image that has emerged since 1950. Instead of viewing Bach in an abstract,

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<sup>187</sup> Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus," reprinted in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, 194.

<sup>188</sup> Rifkin, "Bach's Chorus," reprinted in Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, 196-197.

<sup>189</sup> For a sample list of discussions concerning Bach's vocal forces see Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2000), 209-211. and Don Smithers, "The Emperor's new clothes reappraised: or Bach's musical resources revealed," *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*, 28 (1997), 77-81.

<sup>190</sup> Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, 3-4.

<sup>191</sup> Christoph Wolff, "Bach from 1985 to 2000," *Early Music* 13.2 (May 1985): 162.

heroic, one-dimensional way, he feels that a preferred approach is recognizing numerous images that Bach presents like Bach the church musician, the virtuoso, the teacher, the biblical scholar, the businessman, the family man, etc. promotes a comprehensive multidimensional depiction.<sup>192</sup> Wolff advocated that progressing to the millennium required a richer understanding of Bach's relationship with his contemporaries as well as further studies in philosophical and theological studies as demonstrated by work of scholars such as Eric Chafe.<sup>193</sup>

A worthy individual to converse on matters of Bach interpretation would be Helmut Rilling, the name that many associate as a conservative bastion against a changing and revolutionary tide of performance practice. Rilling, in a speech to celebrate the completion of the last recording of his fifteen-year project to record all of Bach's sacred cantatas, lists three distinctive groups within the gamut of Bach interpretation. One is the "symphonic approach,"<sup>194</sup> inherited from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as characterized by large choirs and orchestras and modern instruments. Rilling identifies conductors such as Kurt Masur and Herbert von Karajan as archetypes of this approach.<sup>195</sup> The purpose of this approach is to present Bach as part of, perhaps as the originator, of a long lineage of great heritage immersed within the German symphonic tradition.

Second are interpreters like Leonhardt and Harnoncourt, who seek to reconstruct as much as possible the "historically authentic" sound of Bach's original performances.<sup>196</sup> Rilling uses the analogy of stripping away various layers of varnish to restore a painting to its original condition.

Last, the approach that Rilling himself identifies as his preference, is the religious factor that includes many church musicians in Protestant, mainly Lutheran, churches.<sup>197</sup> Rilling admits that while this group, when compared to the other two categories is usually lacking in resources (for example unbalanced groups and professional capabilities) they

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<sup>192</sup> Wolff, "Bach from 1985 to 2000," 162.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Although Rilling did not specifically label this as the symphonic approach, the context in which he lists its characteristics are indicative of such.

<sup>195</sup> Helmut Rilling, "Bach's Significance," *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 26.3 (1985):4.

<sup>196</sup> Rilling, "Bach's Significance," 5.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

have the advantage of presenting Bach in the context for which it was originally written – the church.<sup>198</sup> Rilling’s view of Bach’s self-image is rather simplistic: over the course of Bach’s life, he consciously chose to spend the majority of it carrying out responsibilities for the church. The breadth and scope and of his talent certainly could have provided him opportunity to work exclusively in a court as a *Kapellmeister*.<sup>199</sup> For Rilling, Bach’s conscious choice of vocation, and where the majority of his compositional energies lie, provides enough convincing evidence that a performer cannot blindly approach Bach’s music without addressing its inherent religious dimensions.

In the year 1999, just shy of the new century, John Butt explores the recordings of Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos, Goldberg Variations and the final volume of cantatas since 1980 and notes a relaxation, liberalization, and diversification to the dogmatic, chaste and strict ideology that characterized performances that claimed various titles such as “early music,” “authentic” or “historical performance.”<sup>200</sup> Butt recounts how early in the movement many found the tone of the strings as strident and edgy but as time has gone by this has gently softened to include more resonance, due to a new generation of interpretive players.<sup>201</sup> In addition, early recordings of the HIP movement were characterized by dry and detached articulations. However Butt considers that this has been transformed into longer note lengths and subtler articulations.<sup>202</sup>

### Bach in the Twenty-First Century

The survey of consequential events in Bach scholarship and interpretation in the twentieth century is staggering. It is difficult to comprehend that the twenty-first century could yield as much advancement in Bach research. However, the year 2000 served as not only the beginning of a new century and a new millennium, but also produced several books, including two additional Bach biographies from German-born musicologists Christoph Wolff and Martin Geck, that assisted to commemorate the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bach’s death. John Butt postulates that perhaps the renewed interest in biographical

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<sup>198</sup> Rilling, “Bach’s Significance,” 5.

<sup>199</sup> Rilling, “Bach’s Significance,” 6.

<sup>200</sup> John Butt, “Bach Recordings since 1980,” p. 191 in *Bach Perspectives: The Music of J.S. Bach Analysis and Interpretation*, David Schulenberg, ed. 181-198.

<sup>201</sup> Butt, “Bach Recordings since 1980,” 182.

<sup>202</sup> Butt, “Bach Recordings since 1980,” 183.

portrayals of Bach, not only since 2000, but also in the past quarter-of-a-century is symptomatic of a devaluing of the score or *Werktrueue*, often associated with modernist values, and more about the postmodern attraction to humanistic and restorative aspects of art such as composer biographies.<sup>203</sup>

Scholar Christoph Wolff added to his already rich Bach résumé with a celebrated biographical portrait *Bach: the Learned Musician*. In a review, David Ledbetter suggests that Wolff's contribution that intensely focuses on the objective and scientific realm of Bach's life accomplishments, is a celebrated conclusion to the objective twentieth century *Sachlichkeit*.<sup>204</sup> For Wolff, Bach is examined in the context of the scientific revolution sweeping Europe in the seventeenth century, and provides supporting evidence that he deserves recognition as one of the leading intellects of the world. Wolff's discourse is prompted by the quote of German poet and writer Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, "Was Newton als Weltweiser war, war Sebastian Bach als Tonkünstler" (what Newton was as philosopher, Sebastian Bach was as composer).<sup>205</sup>

Originally published in 2000 and then translated into English six years later, Martin Geck provides readers with a responsible, albeit less-celebrated, inquiry than the Wolff biography. Furthermore, in the year 2000 Andrew Parrott published *The Essential Bach Choir*, which served to answer critics' requests for a thorough encapsulation of the thesis first proposed by Rifkin and defended by Parrott and others of one-voice-per-part (commonly known as OVPP) singing of Bach's concerted works. Two years later, Rifkin responded himself with a shorter book, *Bach's Choral Ideal*, which reexamines the legendary *Entwurff*. Since the disturbance that ensued over a quarter-of-a-century ago concerning Rifkin's revolutionary idea of Bach's choir, many people have been persuaded by his case. No one to date has presented compelling evidence to dismiss

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<sup>203</sup> John Butt, "The Postmodern Mindset, Musicology and the Future of Bach Scholarship," *Understanding Bach* 1 (2006) 12. (Accessed 8 January 2008), <[http://www.Bachnetwork.co.uk/ub2\\_contents.html](http://www.Bachnetwork.co.uk/ub2_contents.html)>

<sup>204</sup> David Ledbetter, "Wolff's Bach," *Early Music* 29.1 (February 2001): 128.

<sup>205</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000), 1. Wolff has used this quote to develop additional studies concerning Bach's self-image as well as his thoughts concerning music of the seventeenth century. See Christoph Wolff, "Bach's Music and Newtonian Science: A Composer in Search of the Foundations of His Art," *Understanding Bach* 2 95-106, Christoph Wolff, "Defining Genius: Early Reflections of J.S. Bach's Self-Image," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 145.4 (December 2001) 474, Christoph Wolff, "Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship," *The Journal of Musicology* 22.4 (Fall 2005), 511, Christoph Wolff, "J.S. Bach and the legacy of the seventeenth century," in *Bach Studies 2*, Daniel R. Melamed, editor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 200.

Rifkin's thesis. This dissertation will evaluate recordings post Rifkin's minimalist call of Bach's concerted works, to observe if theory and practice have wedded or if there continues to be a disconnect between the two.

Robert Marshall has spent much of his career contemplating Bach the phenomenon,<sup>206</sup> and makes the point that the year 2000 not only observes the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bach's death but also marks the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the modern era of Bach research.<sup>207</sup> While Marshall hails the achievements in Bach scholarship over the past fifty years, he is critical of the impoverished state of a psychological understanding of Bach. Marshall believes a Freudian-like analysis, similarly completed of monumental figures such as Michelangelo, da Vinci, Luther, Gandhi and musical personalities like Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert, is overdue.<sup>208</sup> While he admits the scarcity of personal documents by Bach is one reason for the delay of such a psychobiography, he points to obvious factual events such as his father's remarriage, being orphaned at an early age, filial tension, conflicts with civic and church authorities, as well as Marshall's perceived overtones of sexual innuendos, all provide a multiplicity of opportunities to see Bach in a unique perspective.<sup>209</sup> This perspective, if fully convincing, could chip away at the iconic image of Bach and humanize the composer.<sup>210</sup>

Five years later, Christoph Wolff (2005) objected to Marshall's references of sexual innuendos particularly regarding the Geyersbach incident.<sup>211</sup> Rather, Wolff concludes the incident amounts to nothing more than Bach ridiculing Geyersbach's poor talent on the bassoon and demonstrates Bach's temper.<sup>212</sup> Perhaps, more importantly, Wolff's same essay contributes to our understanding of how Bach himself was able to contribute to his own legacy of genius. Again no personal document of Bach survives

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<sup>206</sup> Read Robert Marshall, "Truth and Beauty: J.S. Bach at the Crossroads of Cultural History," *Bach* 21.2 (Summer 1990) 3-14.

<sup>207</sup> Robert Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography," *The Musical Quarterly* 84.3 (Fall 2000): 497.

<sup>208</sup> Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography," 500.

<sup>209</sup> Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography," 503.

<sup>210</sup> Robert Marshall, "Toward a Twenty-First-Century Bach Biography," 500.

<sup>211</sup> The excerpt of the Geyersbach incident may be found in *The New Bach Reader*, p. 43. Further opinion on the incident may be found in Sara Botwinick, "Fear not the Zippel Fagottist! A Tale of Avoidance and Prejudice" *Bach Notes* 4 (Fall 2005) 8-9. and Sara Botwinick, "From Ohrdruf to Mühlhausen: A Subversive Reading of Bach's Relationship to Authority," *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 35.2 (2004) 1-59.

<sup>212</sup> Christoph Wolff, "Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship," *The Journal of Musicology* 22.4 (Fall 2005) 509.

that concretely sheds light on how he viewed himself in the annals of history. However, his actions do suggest that he consciously made steps to provide a legacy of how he viewed himself and how he would like to be remembered.

Bach's obituary written in 1750 by Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach and Johann Friedrich Agricola, and published four years later, described Bach's natural talent, his work ethic and his originality in terms of composition. Bach was able to contribute to these character descriptors by first researching his genealogy and demonstrating the musical thread that ran throughout his family's pedigree of musical talent and that it was natural and innate.<sup>213</sup> Second, his work ethic is alluded to in the account of copying his brother's manuscripts by moonlight, a story undoubtedly retold to C.P.E. Bach by his father, and corroborated with quotes such as, "What I have achieved by industry and practice, anyone else with tolerable natural gift and ability can also achieve."<sup>214</sup> Lastly, the part of his obituary that reads, "His melodies were strange,<sup>215</sup> but always varied, rich in invention, and resembling those of no other composer," suggests that Bach and others, were conscious of a significant disparity between the consistent level of craftsmanship present in Bach's compositions that was lacking in his peers.

While there has been debate over the amount of uniformity present in Bach interpretation there is, as never before, a nationalistic diversity among the performers and researchers. Fifty years ago the majority of influential personalities of Bach interpretation would have featured a preponderance of musicians from Germany or England. Not so anymore. Featured among those who are considered to be an authority in Bach research and performance are many Americans, Argentineans, Australians, Belgians, Dutch, Japanese, French, Korean, Israelis, Italians, Swedes, Taiwanese, to name a few, that shows a globalization in colossal proportions in terms of Bach interest and research.<sup>216</sup>

Nicholas Baumgartner, thanks to two generous awards from the Theodore Presser (1997) and the Thomas J. Watson Fellowship (2000), has spent several years following modern German Bach interpretation and consequently became fascinated, among many other things, in the upsurge of British, Dutch, Belgian and French Bach interpretive

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<sup>213</sup> Wolff, "Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship," 513.

<sup>214</sup> Wolff, ed. *The New Bach Reader*, 346.

<sup>215</sup> Wolff describes that the word "strange" has been translated from the German word *sonderbar*, which can be more accurately translated as "apart or away from others."

<sup>216</sup> Refer to Appendix I for a list of nationalities for the conductors who were used in this dissertation.

recordings.<sup>217</sup> On both occasions, Baumgartner interviewed numerous performers to gain anecdotal insight into Bach interpretation. Many intriguing themes emerged from the interviews that perhaps provide hints on current Bach interpretation. Most German interpreters are closely affiliated with the Lutheran Church and experience Bach's music regularly in a religious context while many Americans are exposed to Bach's music in an academic setting or through a concert performance.<sup>218</sup> While the European Union is unifying markets, Baumgartner states there is no one singular "European" Bach interpretation.<sup>219</sup> Baumgartner attributes the level of awareness to the religious components in Bach's music as one of the most obvious determining factors to different approaches.<sup>220</sup>

In his 2004 doctoral dissertation, Uri Golomb examines ideology and performance by way of conductors' views on Bach's music and their interpretation of Bach's *B minor Mass*.<sup>221</sup> He places conductors' interpretation of the *B minor Mass* into categories such as Lutheran Bach, Rhetorical Bach, Musician Bach and Neo-Romantic Bach. Golomb uses a matrix to consider how much intensity<sup>222</sup> performers attribute to music and second, how it manifests itself into the performance.<sup>223</sup> Thus he feels that interpreters have four choices available to them when approaching a musical work as expressed in the following matrix:<sup>224</sup>

1. +/+ The music is expressive, and therefore should be performed expressively
2. +/- The music is so expressive that it could or should be performed inexpressively
3. -/+ The music is not expressive, but should be performed expressively

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<sup>217</sup> Nicholas Baumgartner, "European Bach Interpretation at the Turn of the Millennium," *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 33.1 (2002): 1-2.

<sup>218</sup> Nicholas Baumgartner, "Currents in Bach Interpretation in Contemporary Germany," *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 30.2 (1999): 22.

<sup>219</sup> Baumgartner, "European Bach Interpretation at the Turn of the Millennium," 3.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid.

<sup>221</sup> It could be argued that their image of Bach could influence performance also.

<sup>222</sup> Golomb defines Intensity as expression that emerges through musical structure (Absolute Expressionism) and not as representing specific symbolic meaning (Referential). See Uri Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: An Examination of the *B minor Mass* on Record" PhD diss., Kings College, Cambridge University, 2004), 4.

<sup>223</sup> Uri Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach Performance and Reception: An Examination of the *B minor Mass* on Record" PhD diss., Kings College, Cambridge University, 2004), 25.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

4 -/- The music is not expressive, and should not be performed in an expressive manner

Scholarship, reception, and performance of Bach have changed radically since a corps of Romantic personalities, most famously Mendelssohn, resurrected his music. Much that has been accomplished has been positive; for example, just last year in 2007, the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* celebrated the momentous feat of completing the critical editions of Bach's entire known corpus. Englishman Peter Williams was added to the ranks of biographers in 2007 with his book, *J.S. Bach: A Life in Music*. Just as this chapter has sought to identify various images and perceptions of Bach, which could explain and enlighten various performance interpretations of his music, the next chapter will investigate the history and reception of the *St. John Passion* to establish particular trends that have emerged regarding its interpretation.

## CHAPTER 4

### ORIGINS AND VERSIONS OF THE ST. JOHN PASSION

Approaching the *St. John Passion* for performance presents a daunting task for a conductor. Its complex history, changes, corrections and deletions of four known versions leave the conductor sorting through an abundance of performance considerations and issues. Rather than lamenting the fact there can never be one “definitive version” of the *St. John Passion*, there is room to acknowledge, appreciate and celebrate various interpretations. These interpretations can be documented using sound recordings as evidence. In addition, it is possible to theorize that by examining choices that conductors in the past quarter-of-a-century have made concerning the *St. John Passion* points to trends or currents in the larger arena of performance and culture. Investigation into the compositional history of the *St. John Passion* is merited to fully appreciate its complex history and choices that conductors make regarding the work.

#### Origins of the Passion Genre

Proleptical attempts to reenact the Passion story in the Christian church can be traced as far back as the Fourth Century. It is believed that until the Thirteenth Century, a single presenter recounted the events surrounding the crucifixion, but during time, this developed into division of parts, including a *turba chorus*, which added to the dramatic nature of the monophonic passion.<sup>225</sup> Gradually around the Fifteenth Century, polyphony was introduced into the Passion genre out of which two forms developed and emerged, known as responsorial and through-composed.<sup>226</sup> These two forms served as archetypes well into the Seventeenth Century. The responsorial passion, also known as choral Passion or dramatic Passion, was composed in a style that presented the Evangelist’s role monophonically while the words of Christ and the crowd (*turba*) sections were set

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<sup>225</sup> Kurt von Fischer, “Monophonic Passion,” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11 February 2008), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu>>

<sup>226</sup> Kurt von Fischer, “Beginnings of the polyphonic Passion,” *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11 February 2008), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu>>

Polyphonically in various ways. In contrast, the through-composed, also known as the motet Passion, portrayed the complete text of each role polyphonically.<sup>227</sup>

While many regional developments occurred to the Passion genre during these times, the next significant event with considerable repercussions was the spirit of Reformation that was sweeping Europe in the sixteenth century. Kurt von Fischer attributes to the Reformation the lack of interest in England and in France, with its heavy Calvinist persuasion, in musically setting the Passion narrative.<sup>228</sup> Presenting the Passion story in the vernacular is the most obvious contribution the Reformation played in the long-term development of the genre. Despite the theological ramifications occurring in Europe, the Passion continued to be a popular genre that was composed in both monophonic and polyphonic settings.

In northern seventeenth-century Germany, in and around Hamburg, the pioneering of a new style developed, circa 1640-1650, that fused dramatic elements from the oratorio with the passion and became known simply as the oratorio-passion. Compositionally, monody was organic in its construction as demonstrated with its figured bass notation.<sup>229</sup> Textually, the Gospel retained central importance but it became increasingly popular to insert poetic passages that were sentimental and moral in tone. In addition, the events in the Passion account that were powerfully pregnant with drama such as Judas's betrayal, the denial of Peter and the bloodthirsty calls for crucifixion from the throng became increasingly conspicuous in the narrative.<sup>230</sup> These elements were achieved with instruments that accompanied reflective episodes, sinfonias, parallel biblical texts, madrigalian verses (non-strophic poems with liberties in length of line, metrical composition and rhyme) and hymns.<sup>231</sup> These events, which invested in the dramatic, coincided with another dramatic genre that was increasingly becoming popular in Germany and was influential in the maturation of the Passion – the operatic form.

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<sup>227</sup> von Fischer, "Beginnings of the polyphonic Passion," (Accessed 11 February 2008).

<sup>228</sup> Kurt von Fischer, "Catholic Passion after 1520," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11 February 2008), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu>>

<sup>229</sup> Kenneth E Miller, "Passion Settings of the German Baroque: A Survey." *American Choral Review* (January 1975): 12-18.

<sup>230</sup> Homer Ulrich, *A Survey of Choral Music*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Group/Thomson Learning, 1973, 109.

<sup>231</sup> Werner Braun, "17<sup>th</sup> century Passion," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11 February 2008), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.fsu.edu>>

The histrionic form known as the Oratorio-Passion came belatedly to the city of Leipzig. Its conservative atmosphere, as demonstrated by the failed enterprise into opera, had long been accustomed to the traditional monophonic chanted Passions. Bach's predecessor, Johann Kuhnau, presented a modern polyphonic oratorio-passion in Leipzig only two years prior to Bach's accepting the Leipzig post.<sup>232</sup> This fact demonstrates an important fact: while it is assumed that Bach represents the height of the Passion, he was indebted to many personalities prior to his venture into the genre.

The *St. John Passion* as far as we know was Bach's first setting of the Passion. There is no documented evidence of one librettist for the text, but we do know that Bach chose for his first version to set chapters 18 and 19 of the Gospel of John with its emphasis in Christology (demonstrating the divine nature of Christ as indeed of God and existed in the beginning with God) with synoptic inserts of dramatic stature like Peter's weeping (Matthew 26: 75) and the earthquake which split the temple veil (Matthew 27: 51-52). Fourteen congregational hymn stanzas as represented in the chorales which are generally believed to have been chosen by Bach himself and twelve original pieces (opening and closing choruses, eight arias, and two ariosos), which nine are closely modeled after the very popular poetic setting of the Passion narrative by Barthold Heinrich Brockes, a Hamburg senator.<sup>233</sup> The synoptic and poetic mingling with the St. John Gospel was not atypical of the day as Dürr contends that when listeners heard one gospel they contextualized with events as noted in the other three gospels.<sup>234</sup>

#### Reconstructing the multiple versions of the *St. John Passion*

After Bach's death, the parts for the *St. John Passion* were inherited by the second of five sons, Carl Philipp Emmanuel. In 1790, Carl Philipp Emmanuel's estate refers to a vocal piece (*Singstücke*) as *Eine Passion nach dem Evangelisten Johannes mit Flöten und Hoboen Eigenhändige Partitur, und auch in Stimmen*. Mendel will later identify these

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<sup>232</sup> Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *The Musical Dialogue: Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart*. Portland, Oregon, Amadeus Press, 1989, 167.

<sup>233</sup> Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion: Genesis, Transmission and Meaning*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, 2.

<sup>234</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 32.

parts as the “B” parts in his *Kritischer Bericht*.<sup>235</sup> The next reference to the *St. John* is found in the inventory catalogue of the *Berliner Singakademie* compiled by S.W. Dehn prior to 1854.<sup>236</sup> It is highly likely they were in the library of the *Berliner Singakademie* long before 1854 because on May 15, 1815 Carl Friedrich Zelter began rehearsing the *St. John Passion* with the Singakademie.<sup>237</sup> In 1854-55, the Berlin Royal Library acquired the parts and now today they are kept at the Berliner Staatsbibliothek.<sup>238</sup>

It is important enough to point out that to untangle the quagmire of the various parts, autograph corrections, insertions, deletions, restorations of previously deleted parts involved in the multiple versions of the *St. John Passion* much is owed to the indispensable work of Arthur Mendel’s editing of the *St. John Passion* for the Neue Bach-Ausgabe. Prior to this, there was the edited score in the Bachgesellschaft by Wilhelm Rust who relied heavily on the haphazard chronology developed by Philipp Spitta.<sup>239</sup>

Between the publishing of the two editions only one additional part has been discovered, identified as Peter/Pilate, B19<sup>z</sup> in the Neue Bach Ausgabe, that now only exists in photostatic form due to the original copy being lost in the events during or after World War II.<sup>240</sup> Mendel’s conclusions concerning the various extant manuscript sources of the *St. John Passion* are drastically different from Spitta and Rust. The crux for Mendel’s research lies in the evidence presented by Dürr and Dadeslon that revolutionized the chronology of Bach’s works, which cast doubt on the previous datings of the surviving sources of the *St. John Passion* as well as the evidence left by the sources.

Mendel’s research highlights that most of the surviving parts predate the only extant original score, which in areas shows Bach’s own handwriting as well as other copyists. There is also the thorny issue that there are discrepancies between the surviving score and parts. The original score is usually referred to as either Source A or Score

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<sup>235</sup> Helmut J. Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973: a conductor’s analysis in preparation for a performance.” PhD diss., Indiana University, 1981, 5.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

P28.<sup>241</sup> Aside from these difficult issues, Mendel was able to ascertain through the work of Dürr and Dadeslon as well scrutinizing handwriting comparisons of Bach's various copyists the following:<sup>242</sup>

1. The earliest parts as written on paper 1 were previously identified incorrectly by Rust as the middle parts.
2. The middle parts as written on paper 2 were previously identified incorrectly by Rust as the older parts.
3. The multiple inserts on paper 3 indicates a third phase of composition.
4. The multiple inserts on paper 4 and 5 indicates a fourth phase of composition.

The *St. John Passion* was the first large work that Bach composed subsequent to his acceptance of the Leipzig position. While there has been some conjecture that Bach had written out the first set of parts for the *St. John Passion* while still in his Cöthen post, most scholars, like Alfred Dürr, agree that this false assumption stems from Spitta's erroneous connection of manuscript watermarks.<sup>243</sup> Other scholars like Chafe (1982) speculate that, while Bach was an industrious composer, he needed a longer time frame to compose in the Passion genre.<sup>244</sup> Alfred Dürr counters this argument with the example of Mattheson's completion of a Passion according to St. John, *Das Lied des Lammes*, in two weeks and four days as indicated at the end of the score.<sup>245</sup> The implication made here by Dürr is that if Mattheson were able to accomplish composing a Passion in a fortnight and four days, certainly Bach would have been able to finish the task in addition to his other responsibilities.

#### Version 1 – 1724

The 1724 score is known as the first version of the *St. John Passion* that served as a prototype for the other three subsequent versions. Four days prior to its premiere in the Thomaskirche on Good Friday the town council moved the vesper service to Leipzig's

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<sup>241</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 4.

<sup>242</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 6.

<sup>243</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 2.

<sup>244</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 56.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

other principal church, the Nicolaikirche.<sup>246</sup> The evidence states that Bach's reaction to the directive was the request that the harpsichord located there be repaired in good order.<sup>247</sup> The original 1724 score is lost but the preservation of the violin 1 and 2, four vocal ripieno parts, and continuo parts serves as an aid to help reconstruct the score.<sup>248</sup> The compositional style of the first version is less ostentatious than its sister 1749 version as indicated by a lack of embellishments and notes that fill out intervals.<sup>249</sup> The enigmatic question of how involved transverse flutes were used in the first version is shrouded by the complex matter that Score A, written around 1739, lacks indications for transverse flutes. However, Version 2, written in 1725 does indicate their presence.<sup>250</sup> Peter Dirksen states that the lack of transverse flutes are in line with the standard instrumentation (two oboes, strings and continuo) for the first year of Leipzig cantatas.<sup>251</sup> In the first version, Bach composed only three bars for movement 33 which Dürr suggest Bach may have used the libretto based on Mark 15:38.<sup>252</sup>

### Version 2 – 1725

A year later Bach chose to revise his initial version with a few textual and musical variants. More material for this version survived than the initial 1724 version, with only transverse flutes, oboes, and viola parts missing in the initial chorale chorus, “O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß” which replaced “Herr, unser Herrscher.”<sup>253</sup> Fortunately, the missing parts for “O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß” can be reconstructed because Bach used the chorus in the closing of the first half of the 1736 *St. Matthew Passion*.<sup>254</sup> This E-flat major chorus is believed by Mendel to have originated in the Weimar period

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<sup>246</sup> Peter Dirksen. “The Earliest Version of the St. John Passion.” Liner notes. *J.S. Bach: St. John Passion*. Channel Classics CCS SA 22005, 2004.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid.

<sup>248</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion*, 3.

<sup>249</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion*, 4.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Dirksen. “The Earliest Version of the St. John Passion.” Liner notes. *J.S. Bach: St. John Passion*.

<sup>252</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion*, 4.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

in a lower key of D major; however, in Dürr's opinion this has not been conclusively determined.<sup>255</sup>

Other modifications Bach made in the second performance included the insertion of the Bass aria (movement 11+), "Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe" after the chorale (movement 11) "Wer hat dich so geschlagen," and this aria is also believed to have its provenance in the Weimar period. Tenor aria (movement 13<sup>II</sup>) "Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel" replaced "Ach, mein Sinn" (movement 13<sup>I</sup>); Tenor aria (movement 19<sup>II</sup>) "Ach windet euch nicht so, geplagte Seelen" replaced both Bass aria, "Betrachte, meine Seel" (movement 19) and Tenor aria, "Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken (movement 20) from version 1. The seven-bar dramatic telling of the ripping of the temple veil in Movement 33 "Und siehe da, der Vorhang im Tempel zerriß" replaced its earlier version. Dürr suggests that this altering had textual implications in that the new text, Matthew 27: 51-52, flows better into the tenor arioso (movement 34), "Mein Herz, in dem ganze Welt" than the previous Mark 15: 38 text.<sup>256</sup>

The chorale chorus "Christe, du Lamm Gottes, (movement 40<sup>II</sup>) replaced the straightforward chorale in version 1, "Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein" (movement 40<sup>I</sup>).<sup>257</sup> This extensive chorale chorus was used previously in the cantata *Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn* (BWV 23) that served as Bach's audition piece for the Leipzig post. This prior use contributes to speculation that perhaps it was at some time part of another Passion from the Weimar period.<sup>258</sup> However, at this point this is mere speculation with no concrete evidence substantiating this idea.

Several enigmas present themselves with the 1725 version. First, why did Bach feel compelled to produce a different version, with textual insertions that are more apocalyptic<sup>259</sup> in tone, of the *St. John Passion*? There are those who feel the additions of the elaborate chorale choruses in version 2 corresponded with the 1724-1725 cantata cycle. Dürr cautions that while this could be the case, it must be remembered that for a Good Friday evensong, there would not have been a chorale sermon, for which the

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<sup>255</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 5.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Daniel R. Melamed, "Bach's St. John Passion: Can We Really Still Hear the Work – and Which One?" in *The World of Baroque Music*, George B. Stauffer, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006, 235-252.

chorale cantata was supposed to accompany. Therefore, the idea of functional utility for using chorale-based choruses to compliment the sermon seems to be negated. Second, since the majority of the movements are like the first version, why did Bach not recycle the 1724 parts as opposed to recopying parts for the 1725 version? One theory is that Bach loaned the parts out, save four ripieno parts and a few other instrumental parts that were duplicates, and found himself without them when it came time to prepare for a 1725 passion performance for Good Friday.<sup>260</sup>

### Version 3 – circa 1730

The third version of the *St. John Passion* is difficult to date, the years between 1728 and 1732 are customarily assigned to it. The hallmarks of this version are its return to the elements of the initial 1724 version for movements 1, 19-20; the deletion of movement 11+; the deletion of the final chorale; and the cutting of the St. Matthew passages.<sup>261</sup> The removal of the verses from St. Matthew begs the question if church authorities forced Bach to expunge the text, as most scholars believe. If so, Dürr raises the quandary why he would have challenged this mandate by reinstating the text in his 1749 version? Had the climate changed that he felt at liberty to do so?<sup>262</sup>

Two movements that were new to this third version, an aria and an instrumental sinfonia, have not been recovered and considered lost since Bach removed them from the fourth version (1749).<sup>263</sup> The first twelve movements (specifically to 12<sup>b</sup>) in version 3 match those in the first version.<sup>264</sup> However, version 3 diverges from the first version in 12<sup>c</sup> when it stops after 31 measures with a cadence in B minor.<sup>265</sup> As already mentioned, an aria, identified as 13<sup>III</sup> but now lost, replaced the earlier movements of 13 and 13<sup>II</sup>.<sup>266</sup> Scholars suggest that this could have been a tenor aria with string accompaniment and continuo in a key that helps link the key structure of B minor in movement 12<sup>c</sup> to the next

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<sup>260</sup> Daniel R. Melamed, “The Passions: Versions and Problems.” *Goldberg* 34 (June – August 2005): <http://www.goldbergweb.com> (accessed August 2, 2007).

<sup>261</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion*, 7.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid.

<sup>263</sup> Melamed, “Bach’s St. John Passion: Can We Really Still Hear the Work – and Which One?,” 235-252.

<sup>264</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion*, 8.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

chorale written in this version as G major. Since the beginning of this chorale is in minor that would mean linking B minor in 12<sup>c</sup> to E minor for this version. Hence, it is possible the aria was either in E minor or in G major.<sup>267</sup>

As just mentioned, movement 14, identified as the chorale that comments on Peter's as well as humankind's act of denial, was written in G major instead of A major.<sup>268</sup> Movements 15 through 32 in the third version are identical to version 1 but in movement 33<sup>III</sup> evidence suggests that a sinfonia, that is now lost, was inserted to replace movements 33 to 35.<sup>269</sup> All that is known regarding this movement was that violin 1 and continuo were scored to play. No known reference of violin 2, viola or woodwind parts exists for this now lost sinfonia.<sup>270</sup>

There are other scoring alterations for version 3 that Dürr cautions should not necessarily be perceived as a matter of changing taste but rather out of necessity for instruments or instrumentalists unavailable at the time. For example, in movements 19 and 20 solo violins with mutes replaced violas d'amore and an obbligato organ replaced the lute in movement 19.<sup>271</sup>

#### Version 4 – circa 1749

While it is difficult to unequivocally assign a specific date, scholars agree that based on handwriting evidence, this version demonstrates the final adaptation of the *St. John Passion* written in the latter years of Bach's life. This version, in all intensive purposes, is similar to version 1 as characterized by a return to the St. Matthew text additions, return to the final chorale designated as movement 40 and the amendments to the free poetry text.<sup>272</sup> However, Bach does retain movement 33 in its augmented state with the St. Matthew libretto that is a feature from version 2. Dürr theorizes that the textual revisions over the course of time leaned toward a greater rationality. Yet it cannot be ruled out that these changes were strongly suggested or even mandated by church

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<sup>267</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 8.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 9.

officials, as well as it cannot be dismissed that textual alterations were made even after Bach's death.<sup>273</sup>

In addition, a number of supplemental parts were added that have scholars guessing if Bach meant to supplant older parts or if this was a conscious decision to augment the instrumentation in version 4. Parts added to version 4 were 1 violin part 1; 1 viola part; 1 continuo part for "pro Bassono grosso"; and 1 harpsichord part. The designation of "pro Bassono grosso" has conjured up rich debate as to what Bach actually meant. Some believe that it is simply a double bassoon part, while others interpret it to mean for ripieno bassoon.<sup>274</sup> Another highly contested issue revolves around what instrument Bach intended to replace the lute in the Bass aria, "Betrachte, meine Seele" designated as movement 19.<sup>275</sup>

#### Score A – end of the 1730's

Somewhere toward the end of the 1730s Bach made the decision to replace the original score identified as Score X, with a new copy that is denoted as Score A.<sup>276</sup> This score can be characterized as possessing two sections. The first section that begins from bar 1 of the work and ends in bar 42 (the tenth sixteenth note in the Evangelist's part and the third quarter note in the continuo) in movement 10 was written in Bach's own hand.<sup>277</sup> These movements show that while they were modeled after versions 1 and 4 there were several changes that Bach made that are indicative of his *modus operandi* at this junction of his life that is characterized as improving existing compositions as if he were intent on leaving a musical legacy. The second section is not written out by Bach but rather is a copy of the lost original score known as score X.<sup>278</sup> As Dürr points out, the implication of the unfinished score is that Bach never completed his final revision of the *St. John Passion* and raises the question why Bach neglected in finishing the work. Mendel in his *Kritischer Bericht* refers to the incident on March 17, 1739, where the Council imposed an injunction that Bach could not perform the Passion music for the

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<sup>273</sup> Dürr, Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion*, 10.

<sup>274</sup> Dürr, Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion*, 9.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> Dürr, Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion*, 10.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

upcoming Good Friday service scheduled a week later on the 27<sup>th</sup> due to the Council's objections over the text. However, perhaps this is a story that overly romanticizes Bach's struggles and lays all the blame on the Church and Council officials when perhaps, as Dürr points out, it was also a matter of running out of time to complete the score and instead either use an older set of parts, perform a different work altogether, or the least likely scenario- perform no Passion at all.<sup>279</sup>

### Schumann edition 1851

Whereas Felix Mendelssohn is closely associated to the *St. Matthew Passion*, Robert Schumann early on recognized and championed the *St. John Passion* as a masterpiece. After several years of becoming acquainted with the work through score analysis, he was so captivated by it that he wanted it to be included in his first season as director of music of Düsseldorf in 1850.<sup>280</sup> After carefully "modernizing" the score to reflect the current performance taste as well as instruments available to him, Schumann performed the *St. John Passion* on Palm Sunday, April 13, 1851.

Schumann's 1831 *Trautwein* score used in his 1851 Düsseldorf performance still survives with Schumann's indications concerning matters of ensemble, dynamics and articulation. Various movements were deleted based on reasons such as soloists finding the movements too difficult, inappropriate for their voice, or not being able to substitute modern instruments for the nearly obsolete historical instruments in the Baroque. What movements were deleted is somewhat unclear. In the textbook copy of the Düsseldorf performance housed in the Robert Schumann Haus in Zwickau, five movements after the Evangelist's recitative about Christ bowing his head and dying known as *Und neiget das Haupt*, movement 31 in the *NBA*, are missing. The copy then picks back up with the Chorale, *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn* (O help, Christ, Son of God). Schumann lowered this chorale a semi-tone either because of the high tessitura or to plan a smoother flow of key scheme.<sup>281</sup> Part of the deleted scenes would be the athletic recitative concerning the ripping of the temple veil known as movement 33. A concert review in the *Rheinische*

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<sup>279</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 11.

<sup>280</sup> Hermann Max. "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the version by Robert Schumann (1851)." Liner notes. *JS Bach/ arr. Robert Schumann Johannes-Passion*. CPO, 2006.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

Musik-Zeitung printed in May 24, 1851, suggests that this recitative was after all performed.<sup>282</sup> Other evidence corroborates that perhaps movement 33 was performed. In Schumann's score he made a notation that the orchestration for this movement would be "with quartet," an indication that he used to mean a dramatic full-voice string accompaniment instead of the violoncello, double bass and piano used throughout the other recitatives.<sup>283</sup>

Schumann also did not perform movement 20, the tenor aria, *Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken* (Consider, how his blood-tinged back) perhaps due to not being able to obtain a viola d'amore or reconcile using another instrument to take its place.<sup>284</sup> The baritone, Joseph Schiffer, who was performing the bass arias as well as the role of Jesus, corresponded with Schumann a week prior to the performance and relayed to him his inability to perform the two bass arias with choir due to the fact he received the music in an untimely manner and the movement 24, *Eilt, ihr angefochten Seelen* (Hurry, you besieged souls) was set in a tessitura too low for him.<sup>285</sup> Schiffer did however perform the arioso in movement 19, *Betrachte, meine Seele* (Ponder, my soul) as verified in Schumann's score where the violas d'amore are replaced with muted violins and the lute with double violas and clarinet.<sup>286</sup>

Under the advice of Moritz Hauptmann, Schumann wanted to use the timbre of the cor anglais as a substitute for the viola da gamba part in movement 30, the alto aria, *Es ist vollbracht* (It is accomplished!). Unfortunately, Schumann could not obtain a cor anglais for the aria and instead used a solo viola for the reflective sections and two trumpets for the triumphant section.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Max. "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the version by Robert Schumann CPO, 2006.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

Table 1. A summary of the different versions of Bach's *St. John Passion*.<sup>288</sup>

NBA no.	Version 1 (1724)	Version 2 (1725)	Version 3 (1728/30?)	Part autograph (1739)	Version 4 (1749)	Schumann edition (1851) arr. Schumann*
1. Chorus	Possibly without flute	Replaced by movement 1, version 2 "O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde"	Return to version 1	Slightly revised	Same as version 1	
7. Alto				Revised	Continuo revised after 1739 score, upper parts same as Version 1	
9. Soprano	171 bars, possibly with 2 recorders?			164 bars (epilogue shortened)	Text revised, 172 bars	
11+. Tenor		Inserted after no. 11 erased				

<sup>288</sup> Masaaki Suzuki. "The different versions of Bach's *St. John Passion*." Liner notes. *J.S. Bach Johannespassion*. (BIS, 1998), and Hermann Max. "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the version by Robert Schumann (1851)." Liner notes. *JS Bach/arr. Robert Schumann Johannes-Passion*. CPO, 2006.

Table 1 Continued

NBA no.	Version 1 (1724)	Version 2 (1725)	Version 3 (1728/30?)	Part autograph (1739)	Version 4 (1749)	Schumann edition (1851) arr. Schumann*
12c. Evangelist	16 bars	16 bars	9 bars (without quote from gospel of St. Matthew) ending in B minor	Back to 16 bars with quote from gospel of St. Matthew	same	
13. Tenor		Replaced by movement 13, version 2 “Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel”	Replaced by now lost aria movement 13, version 3	Same as Version 1		
14. Chorale	A major	A major	Possibly changed to G major	A major	Same	
19. Bass	With 2 violas d'amore (or 2 violins), liuto obbligato	Replaced by movement 19, version 2 “Ach windet euch nicht so, geplagte Seelen”	Back to movement 19, version 1 with 2 violins <i>con sordino</i> , organ obbligato	Viole d'amoure e lieuto accompaniment	Same as version 3	Schumann designates a clarinet and violas to replace the lute part. Also the violas d'amore were replaced with violins <i>con sordino</i>
20. Tenor	2 violas d'amore, viola da gamba	Omitted	With 2 violins <i>con sordino</i>	2 viole d'amoure	Text replaced, music same as Version 3	Deleted by Schumann
21b.Chorus	Violins 1, 2		Some		Some	
25b.Chorus	double soprano/alto		violins double windparts?		violins double windparts?	

Table 1 Continued

NBA no.	Version 1 (1724)	Version 2 (1725)	Version 3 (1728/30?)	Part autograph (1739)	Version 4 (1749)	Schumann edition (1851) arr. Schumann*
24. Aria						Deleted by Schumann because soloist could not master aria
30. Alto			In middle section viola da gamba doubles alto (octave lower)	In middle section viola da gamba doubles continuo part		Solo viola (replaced viola da gamba) and first cello used as string accomp.. Also two trumpets are in middle section of aria
32. Bass with Chorus	Chorus possibly without strings					Deleted for unknown reasons
33. Evangelist	Only 3 bars (possibly with quotes from gospel of St. Matthew	7 bars (quotes from gospel of St. Matthew	Nos. 33-35 replaced by now lost Sinfonia	Same as Version 2	Same as Version 2	
34. Tenor	Possibly without winds	With 2 flutes, 2 oboe da caccia	Omitted	With 2 flutes, 2 oboe da caccia	With 2 flutes, 2 oboe da caccia or oboe d'amore?	

Table 1 Continued

NBA no.	Version 1 (1724)	Version 2 (1725)	Version 3 (1728/30?)	Part autograph (1739)	Version 4 (1749)	Schumann edition (1851) arr. Schumann*
35. Soprano	Possibly without flutes, with 2 violas d'amore?	With 1 flute, 1 oboe da caccia	Omitted	With 2 flutes, 2 oboe da caccia	With 1 flute plus violins <i>con</i> <i>sordino</i> , 1 oboe da caccia	Deleted aria, Schumann had intended for basset horn to replace the oboe da caccia
40. Chorale		Replaced by movement 40, version 2 (Christe, du Lamm Gottes) (last piece of of BWV 23)	Omitted (ends with no. 39)	Same as version 1	Same as version 1	

\* Schumann made many alterations not only deleting several movements and replacing instruments he regarded as obsolete but also copiously adding dynamics and articulations.

## CHAPTER 5

### RECEPTION AND PRACTICES OF ST. JOHN PASSION PERFORMANCES

Throughout its compositional history the opinion and reception of the *St. John Passion* has garnered controversy and encountered criticism of inferiority to the *St. Matthew Passion*. There is the infamous incident of 1739 where the Leipzig Town Council forbade Bach to perform the planned Passion music, thought by many scholars to have been the *St. John Passion*, based on opposition regarding the text. Recent discourse has centered around the possible presence of anti-Semitic currents interwoven within the Gospel of John, and Luther's and Bach's involvement in propagating such tendencies. Furthermore, the *St. John Passion* has been often portrayed, unrightly so, as an inferior work when compared to Bach's other large-scale vocal works such as the *St. Matthew Passion* and the *Mass in B minor*. This chapter will explore several documented performances of the *St. John Passion* to provide a tableau of what early performances in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were like. In addition, the debates concerning the compositional value, proposed anti-Semitic orientation in the *St. John Passion* and the recent increase of books and recordings of and about the *St. John Passion* will be investigated.

#### Bach's own performances of the *St. John Passion*

What is known regarding the earliest performances of the *St. John Passion* during Bach's lifetime? First in practical terms, as indicated with its multiple versions, the *St. John Passion* was a working, changing and breathing work that responded to the unique needs of Bach during his tenure at St. Thomas. Undoubtedly, we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that while we can discover largely the original conditions, much of what happened will always remain elusive. Helmuth Rilling recognized this predicament when he mentioned that while we have original instruments and original performance practices,

we still lack the important assurance of our practices that would come with original listeners.

Daniel Melamed's contribution to *The World of Baroque Music: New Perspectives* edited by George Stauffer, "Bach's St. John Passion: Can We Really Still Hear The Work – and Which One?" also addresses this concern. Even though we may be successful in recreating variables of a concrete nature such as the exact balance of vocal and instrumental performing forces, utilizing period instruments, using a choir made up of boys and men and returning the performing spaces back to their original dimensions, there is only so far one can go before the exercise becomes futile. There will always be intangibles that we will not be able to capture.

Melamed goes through a laundry list of things that are impossible for us to recreate in works like the *St. John Passion*. For example, centuries ago vocal physiology was much different from today, possibly due to climate, nutrition and health.<sup>289</sup> Although we know very little about rehearsal techniques in the eighteenth century it is safe to say they were much different from techniques we utilize today. Instrumental players usually stood not sat, and singers read from individual parts without a contextual reference to what other parts were doing. Different pitch standards in the Baroque and those specifically used by Bach are still highly debated and may never come to conclusive answers. Conjecture regarding how the eighteenth-century listener would encounter the *St. John Passion* for the first time is difficult because it was heard within a liturgical context, not in a concert hall. Customarily half of the work was performed before the sermon and the latter half after the sermon. Furthermore, there is the issue that contemporary listeners cannot recreate the original listener's experience due to the fact that our listening is heavily influenced by over two hundred and fifty years of diverse music that Bach's audience was not exposed to. Parenthetically, Melamed suggests that given the opportunity we may not enthusiastically embrace the original sound of those first performances. Given our partiality to pristine interpretations as influenced by the age of recordings, which affords performers the luxury of correcting undesired blemishes in

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<sup>289</sup> Melamed, "Bach's St. John Passion: Can We Really Still Hear the Work," 236.

the recording studio, the original performances of Bach and his contemporaries could sound too amateurish for us to appreciate or desire.<sup>290</sup>

Thankfully, the softening of rhetoric from “authentic performance” to “historically-informed performance” recognizes the fact that there is a limit to how far one can realize a historical performance. This philosophy encourages the performer to research the historical implications but remain open to the idea that the performance will nonetheless be realized in a contemporary context and for a contemporary audience. This dissertation investigates the choices conductors make in balancing historical choices in a contemporary context.

Leading back to the initial question: what is known regarding the earliest performances of the *St. John Passion* during Bach’s lifetime? First, the vocal issues will be examined. Despite the number of vocalists in Bach’s concerted works there is still a contentious issue among many; we can at least say that most contemporary performances of Bach’s works feature choirs that even the most liberal number of twelve singers advocated by Arnold Schering and others, far exceed that number. One matter that is not debated is that Bach’s vocal resources were boys who sang the soprano and alto parts while the adult males would sing alto (male falsettists), tenor or bass. Most scholars, as first demonstrated by Joshua Rifkin and supported by other esteemed scholars like Andrew Parrott, John Butt and Daniel Melamed, accept the number of singers as eight that would perform the *St. John Passion*. While this radical idea challenges many to redefine the accepted notion of what a choir is, there has been to date no compelling evidence to challenge Rifkin’s thesis as first presented in 1981.

To understand these conclusions, and how they relate to the *St. John Passion*, scholars reference the 1725 version of the *St. John Passion* – the version practically in complete form. The surviving extant materials, viewed with the perspective of Rifkin’s findings, afford researchers to deduct a highly plausible performance scenario. As customary of the day, each vocal part for the principal singers (concertists) of the *St. John Passion* includes all of the music written for that particular vocal range.<sup>291</sup> For example, the copy of the soprano vocal part would include the soprano line for all of the choruses

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<sup>290</sup> Melamed, “Bach’s St. John Passion: Can We Really Still Hear the Work,” 237.

<sup>291</sup> Melamed, *Hearing Bach’s Passions*, 24.

and chorales as well as any soprano solos.<sup>292</sup> Even more astounding is the fact that the tenor vocal part included the athletic task of not only singing the tenor part for the choruses and chorales but any tenor solo work and the additional heavy load of the Evangelist! The parts for the 1725 version corroborate Rifkin's assertion that Bach's core vocal ensemble was made up of four skilled concertists who sang throughout the performance—not only the complete choral movements but any additional solo work composed for that part as well.

However, evidence suggests that four additional singers known as the ripienists augmented the performing concertists for the *St. John Passion*. These additional parts show that the ripienists were responsible for singing with the concertists on the choruses and chorales as well as singing minor roles. Material evidence that ripienists were used in the *St. John Passion* may be found in the fact that the role of Peter is not found in the concertist's music but rather in the bass ripienist's copy.<sup>293</sup> Further substantiation for the use of ripienists is found in the bass aria, "Mein teurer Heiland." This movement is scored for a florid bass solo, which is juxtaposed against a four-part chorale. The conventional practice would place the bass solo with the bass concertist, which would mean the bass part in the four-part chorale could only have been performed by the additional bass ripienist.<sup>294</sup> Thus, the consensus of scholars interprets the evidence as supporting the notion that the performing vocal forces for Bach's *St. John Passion* were made up of eight singers: four principal concertists and a supportive cast of four additional singers known as ripientists.<sup>295</sup> Interestingly enough, many feel there may have been two additional singers who joined the octet to perform minor roles in the *St. John Passion*.<sup>296</sup>

### German Performances in the Nineteenth Century

One reason why Joshua Rifkin's minimalist theory, concerning Bach's choir, was and still is difficult to come to terms with is that contemporary society's construct of a choir is grounded in the context of nineteenth-century choral societies. The descriptions

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<sup>292</sup> Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions*, 24.

<sup>293</sup> Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions*, 26.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions*, 27.

of these organizations usually refer to large vocal forces of over one hundred voices. The following paragraphs will explore the nineteenth-century performances of the *St. John Passion* in Germany, England and the United States.

In 1830, a year after of the legendary performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* conducted by Felix Mendelssohn, the vocal scores of both passions were published in Berlin.<sup>297</sup> Three years later in 1833, the first documented performance of the *St. John Passion* occurred since Bach's death. The revivification of the *St. John Passion* is not credited to Mendelssohn but rather to the little known persona of Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen. Rungenhagen's place in history is that he succeeded Carl Friedrich Zelter in the post of directing the *Berlin Singakademie*.<sup>298</sup> Reviews of the performance hint at the inequality already present in the nineteenth century that many viewed the *St. John Passion* as a substandard composition when compared to the *St. Matthew Passion*.

Consider this review from the musicologist Carl von Winterfield who reported that the *St. John Passion* "will never be able to make a similar impression on a larger audience as the other one [*St. Matthew Passion*] because...it lacks the swift, immediate impression, the effectiveness of the other. Most people would find it difficult to listen to the first chorus independently and with understanding."<sup>299</sup> Despite disparaging remarks of this nature, a year later in 1834 the full score of the *St. John Passion* was published in Berlin.<sup>300</sup>

As already mentioned in the previous chapter, Robert Schumann is known through correspondence to have had an intense attraction to the *St. John Passion*. When Schumann served as editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (New Journal of Music) he was exposed to an essay by Eduard Krüger that compared the two passions and supported the often overlooked advantages of the *St. John Passion* over its latter sister, the *St. Matthew Passion*.<sup>301</sup> Schumann published the essay over seven installments in the journal and it may have served as a catalyst for his studies with the work. Prior to Schumann's

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<sup>297</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 15.

<sup>298</sup> Traditionally it is referenced that Mendelssohn had the aspiration to succeed Zelter as director of the Berlin Singakademie. With Zelter's death, and the succession of Rungenhagen to the post, Mendelssohn and others believed it was his Jewish heritage that caused him to be denied the position.

<sup>299</sup> Max. "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the version by Robert Schumann," CPO, 2006.

<sup>300</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 15.

<sup>301</sup> Max. "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the version by Robert Scumann," CPO, 2006.

performance of the majority of the work in 1851 he used many of the choruses and chorales in performances. For example, the Dresden choral society that Schumann founded in 1848 performed individual movements of the *St. John Passion* apparently only accompanied by piano.<sup>302</sup>

Organist and composer, Philipp Wolfrum (former student of Joseph Rheinberger) founded the choral society *Heidelberger Bachverein* in the bicentenary of Bach's birth, 1885.<sup>303</sup> Thirteen years later, in 1898, there is evidence Wolfrum conducted the *St. John Passion* in Heidelberg. In 1987, his conducting score of the *St. John Passion* was discovered and it showed typical nineteenth century performance decisions that were customarily made to the work. The score has numerous dynamic indications and two deletions of significant nature. The tenor da capo aria, "Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rükken," was, according to Leaver, customarily deleted in performances because of its length and difficulty.<sup>304</sup> The length of the chorus "Ruht wohl" was reduced considerably. The conducting score provides a chronicle of how over four known performances of the *St. John Passion* by Wolfrum much of what was previously cut or deleted was reinstated.

The performance options chosen by Wolfrum show an interesting perspective into the choices a nineteenth-century conductor would approach a work of Bach. One of the most glaring differences is Wolfrum's rescoreing of the continuo part. He rescores the accompaniment part for either string or wind instruments exclusively and interestingly enough without the organ or other keyboard continuo.<sup>305</sup> Examples of this practice are confirmed in the alto aria, "Von den Stricken meiner Sünden" where Wolfrum wrote out parts for violins 1 and 2 and viola, and in the tenor aria, "Ach, mein Sinn," parts for two clarinets in C were added.<sup>306</sup> Wind instruments like clarinets and bassoons were added to the orchestral texture of the choruses within the *St. John Passion*.<sup>307</sup> In the bass arioso, "Betrachte, meine Seele," Wolfrum clearly intended for the harp or piano to replace Bach's original scoring of lute or harpsichord.<sup>308</sup> One of the most revealing aspects of

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<sup>302</sup> Max. "Notes on the Performance of Bach's St. John Passion in the version by Robert Scumann," CPO, 2006.

<sup>303</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 23.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.

<sup>305</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 24.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

Wolfrum's score shows that the original instrumentation for the chorales is assigned as *colla parte* (instrumental doubling). However, Wolfrum purposefully counters this when he notates in blue pencil the chorale movements with the term *a cappella*.<sup>309</sup>

### English Performances in the Nineteenth Century

The popularity of Bach's Passions wasn't confined just to German territories. England was also discovering its inherent drama as detailed in an 1832 advertisement that announced the season performances of both Bach's passions billed for oratorio concerts at the King's Theatre in London.<sup>310</sup> For unknown reasons those performances never came to fruition but the advertisement does provide evidence that the English were aware of their existence and were considering their revival contemporaneously alongside the Germans. The fact that the English had such a keen idea of the German music scene should come as no surprise. Richard Taruskin points out that Bach's best-known religious pieces, referred to as part of his "Testaments," were those that were similar to the oratorios of the cosmopolitan composer George Frideric Handel.<sup>311</sup>

Cross-fertilization of musical ideas, forms, and genres between German sovereign states and England continued with Franz Joseph Haydn, who became smitten with Handel's oratorio work and used it as a model for his own oratorios, *The Creation* of 1798 and *The Seasons* of 1801.<sup>312</sup> The next heir to the German and English musical *affaire de coeur* was Felix Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn made several trips to England, the first occurring in 1829. In 1846, he premiered his oratorio *Elijah* for the Birmingham Music Festival. It is safe to assume that Mendelssohn's reverence for Bach and interest in reviving his works proved very influential to the music circles in England. Is it mere coincidence that after Mendelssohn's visits in England there was an upsurge of activity in reviving the works of Bach?

The England Bach Society, founded in 1849, performed an English translation of the *St. Matthew Passion* in 1854.<sup>313</sup> The first English version of the *St. John Passion* was published by Novello in 1872 with the first English performance, admittedly with several

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<sup>309</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 24.

<sup>310</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 16.

<sup>311</sup> Taruskin, *The Early Twentieth Century*, 375.

<sup>312</sup> Taruskin, "The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 385.

<sup>313</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 16.

movements omitted, conducted by Joseph Barnby and occurring that same year on March 22.<sup>314</sup> A subsequent performance of the *Saint John Passion* took place five years later on Good Friday of 1875 by conductor Otto Goldschmidt.<sup>315</sup> While the name Goldschmidt may not be familiar to many, his wife was the famous Swedish singer, Jenny Lind. Goldschmidt was not without his own credentials being that he studied in Leipzig and for a time was a pupil of Felix Mendelssohn.<sup>316</sup>

With the spirit of momentum, Goldschmidt went on to enlist eighty singers and rehearsed for six months in hopes to perform the *Mass in B minor*.<sup>317</sup> On April 26, 1876, he recorded in his diary that the first complete English performance of Bach's *Mass in B minor* was a success. However, a review of the concert from the *The Musical Times* critic noted that while it was an achievement he questioned Goldschmidt's choices of instruments. Specifically the reviewer had issue that Goldschmidt substituted clarinets in the "Gloria" with trumpets. He goes on to say, "Supposing that Bach's music should find such an acceptance with an English public as to warrant the frequent performance of his works, it becomes a question whether a resuscitation both of the oboe d'amore and the viola da gamba would not be advisable."<sup>318</sup> The review foreshadows currents in the early music movement and demonstrates that there were individuals who were interested in performance practice in the late nineteenth century.

Obviously, this current of opinion as expressed in the above review did not go unnoticed. When Goldschmidt resigned in 1885, The Bach Choir chose as his successor Charles Villiers Stanford. His attention to details regarding original instrumentation is demonstrated by his 1895 incomplete performance of the *St. Matthew Passion* in German. Stanford secured Arnold Dolmetsch to play the harpsichord while Dolmetsch's daughter, Hélène, played the viola da gamba.<sup>319</sup> Likewise, during Stanford's next concert season of 1896 arrangements were made to purchase an oboe d'amore for a performance of the *St. John Passion*.<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 16.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> "Choir History of The Bach Choir" <http://www.thebachchoir.org/uk/history.htm> (accessed March 11, 2008).

<sup>317</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 16.

<sup>318</sup> *The Musical Times* 17, 1876, p. 500.

<sup>319</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 17.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

### American Performances in the Nineteenth Century

After many years of saving his money a young Fred Wolle left in 1884 to study organ with Joseph Rheinberger in Munich.<sup>321</sup> The timing of his year-and-a-half long visit could not have been better since he was able to witness the 1885 bicentenary celebration of the birth of Bach.<sup>322</sup> During the spring of that same year, Wolle attended a concert in Munich of the *St. John Passion* with soloists from the Royal Munich Opera Company. The performance greatly influenced Wolle who, on his return to the United States, began to make plans to perform the work.

After clearly thinking through his plans, Wolle realized it was not prudent to begin a newly formed choir, referred to in those days as the Bethlehem Choral Union, with such a demanding work. Therefore, he went about building the choir's musical ability and concert repertoire. Following a performance of the *Messiah*, Wolle began rehearsing the *St. John Passion* for about four months. On June 5, 1888, the 115 member Bethlehem Choral Union became distinguished as the first choir to perform the *St. John Passion* in its entirety.<sup>323</sup> Robin Leaver surmises that the orchestra was made up of only strings with the wind obbligato parts found in the arias, being supplied by the organ which Wolle himself would play.<sup>324</sup> Evidence suggests that the piano accompanied the majority of the work, particularly the choruses and possibly replaced the lute and harpsichord in the bass arioso "Betrachte, meine Seel."<sup>325</sup>

Therefore, based on the evidence of the American debut, the *St. John Passion* featured performing forces that were not typical of the day but were chosen and based on pragmatic decisions. Whereas most performances in the nineteenth century featured an augmented orchestra with a large wind instrument representation, Wolle's performance played with minimal string support. The small string complement perhaps was not by choice but rather was a decision based on the difficulty in securing other instrumental parts from London.<sup>326</sup> Since reviews specifically mention Wolle's conducting with a baton it is also safe to say that, on the choruses only, string and piano would accompany.

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<sup>321</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 17.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid.

<sup>323</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 17.

<sup>324</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 26.

<sup>325</sup> Ibid.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid.

Interestingly enough Wolle's conducting tempi were reported to be fast. While there are no specific accounts concerning his tempos being fast in this particular 1888 concert there were reports of his fast tempi in a concert featuring Handel's *Messiah*. Of particular interest to this dissertation is a 1905 review from a music critic of the *Cincinnati Times-Star* who observed Wolle conducting the *St. John Passion* in 1905, celebrating the fifth Bethlehem Bach Festival: "In the choral numbers the tempos were startling and radically rapid, but through this means considerably enhanced the effective character of the text. The chorus, "Crucify, Crucify," was sung as a veritable outburst of mob passion, and "We have a law" in the same dramatic manner."<sup>327</sup> This account contradicts the accepted belief that tempos prior to the mid-twentieth century were dreadfully slow. Returning to that first 1888 performance of the *St. John Passion* recalls the striking fact that the role of the Evangelist was not sung but rather was read in expressive narratives by a local Moravian minister named Rev. Edwin Gottlieb Klose.<sup>328</sup>

#### Performances in the Twentieth Century

Discovering and reconstructing performances in the Twentieth Century has as an added luxury the dawn of the recording era that has captured and preserved many of these performances. Despite this added technology, the *St. John Passion* still seemed to be plagued with the judgment of "inferiority" compared to other works of Bach. Teri Noel Towe points out that of the three large-scale vocal works of Bach, the *St. John Passion* was last to have a complete recording made.<sup>329</sup> However, of these few early recordings, one in particular focused on the rarely performed Bass aria, "Himmel reiße" from the 1725 version.<sup>330</sup> Rarer still is the fact that the chorale melody intoned in this movement featured one soprano rather than the soprano section.<sup>331</sup>

Towe's account of the few recordings made prior to 1950 indicates how off the radar this dramatic work must have been. Of the rare recordings made most of them featured abridged versions of the extensive choruses "Herr, unser Herrscher" and "Ruht

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<sup>327</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 27.

<sup>328</sup> Leaver, "The Revival of the St. John Passion," 28.

<sup>329</sup> Teri Noel Towe, "St. John Passion," in *Choral Music on Record*. Alan Blyth, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 11.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

wohl.” The pathos filled aria, “Es ist vollbracht” (It is finished) has become perhaps one of the most celebrated of Bach’s arias; however, prior to the middle of the Twentieth Century, only three recordings featured the aria.<sup>332</sup>

Several of these recordings feature unlikely performing forces or practices. For example, in the early 1930s a 300-member chorus from Brussels Royal Conservatory presented the work in French<sup>333</sup> while a recently published recording from 1938 reveals that Austrian conductor, Erich Kleiber, led the Buenos Aires Colon Theatre Orchestra and Chorus in a performance of the *St. John Passion* in Buenos Aires, Argentina. There were those conductors that were ahead of their time. For example, German musicologist Fritz Stein recorded in the late 1930s excerpts of the *St. John Passion* that, according to Towe, were performed attentive to stylistic performance.<sup>334</sup>

The year 1950 was not only a milestone for celebrating the bicentennial anniversary of Bach’s death but also served as the year two recordings were issued that advanced the popularity of the *St. John Passion*. Austrian conductor Ferdinand Grossman’s 1950 recording is virtually complete except he decided against taking the repeats of the da capo opening and concluding choruses. In the fall of 1950, a true complete interpretation conducted by Robert Shaw was made of the *St. John Passion*.<sup>335</sup> However, this recording would also fall short for purists because Shaw chose to perform the work with an English translation. Regardless of how successful these recordings were, it should be tempered with the realization that they were completed twelve years after the first complete recording of the *St. Matthew Passion* and an unbelievable thirty years after the *Mass in B minor*.<sup>336</sup> This additional fact could be interpreted by many as part of an overall perspective on the inadequacy of the *St. John Passion*.

With the early efforts of a few performances in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and a tremendous advancement in the later part of the twentieth century, much progress has been made in establishing the *St. John Passion* as a masterpiece in its own right. It is safe to say that for over a century Bach’s *Mass in B minor* was the undisputed chef d’oeuvre. In the passion genre, the *St. Matthew* took ranking over its earlier sister,

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<sup>332</sup> Towe, “St. John Passion,” 11.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid.

<sup>335</sup> Towe, “St. John Passion,” 12.

<sup>336</sup> Ibid.

the *St. John Passion*. While no one can argue that these works are indeed spectacular creations of art, what can be attributed as the bias against acknowledging the *St. John Passion* in the same class?

First, unlike Bach's other large-scale works, the lack of one definitive version discouraged many conductors to program the work. Perhaps without the clarification of one particular version gave the impression that the *St. John Passion* was an undistinguished work in Bach's corpus. Additionally, there are often two generalizations made when making decisions concerning a work's value. There is the assumption that works composed later in a composer's life are always more sophisticated than those composed early in the composer's career. Second, works that are compositionally longer are often judged as superior when compared to shorter counterparts. Despite its various versions, the core of *St. John Passion*, when compared to works such as the *Mass in B minor* and *St. Matthew Passion*, is both compositionally early in Bach's oeuvre as well as shorter in length. The three factors explored above could account for the many years in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that the *St. John Passion* suffered neglect.

In the middle of the Twentieth Century, the fortune of the *St. John Passion* began to change. In addition to the two important 1950 recordings by conductors Grossman and Shaw, G. Schirmer published an edited vocal score of the *St. John Passion* in 1951. The vocal score included forty-three pages of introductory notes by musicologist Arthur Mendel. Mendel's unique and impressive foreword provided detailed information regarding the *St. John Passion* and performance practice suggestions on a myriad of issues such as history and structure, performing forces, notational conventions, chorale fermatas and expressive devices such as dynamics, ornamentation and articulation. This introduction followed by Mendel's historic editing of the *St. John Passion* for the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* in 1973 distinguishes him as perhaps the one singular personality that transformed the work from obscurity to a recognition of its deserved esteem.

However, it should be pointed out that while Mendel's work was indisputably important to the exposure and dissemination of the *St. John Passion* in the later half of the twentieth century, the musical establishment's attitude and climate, as influenced by the early music movement had also changed. No longer did musicians subscribe entirely to the evolutionary position of musical works. The ideology of the evolutionary view is

persuaded that popular “classical” works in contemporary society’s repertory are worthy because they have survived from the past. In contrast, those works that have fallen into anonymity are often due to their mediocrity and should remain in the shadows. While in certain situations this could be considered true, one of the successes that came out of the early music movement was an avid interest in recovering lost works. Many of these works demonstrate they do not fit the stereotypical model of evolutionary thought. Numerous examples of recovered works have turned out to be masterpieces and only became obscure due to reasons including lost manuscripts rather than the notion that they are mediocre.

While the *St. John Passion* was never lost throughout the years, musicologists, performers, and the listening public began to regard the work on its own merits as a *tour de force*, not better or worse than Bach’s other large-scale works, but as different. The interest of research concerning the *St. John Passion* grew substantially after Arthur Mendel’s published 1973 *St. John Passion* edition and his 1974 *Kritischer Bericht* for the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*. In 1981, Julius Hereford’s doctoral student, Helmut Roehrig published his dissertation that analyzed the *St. John Passion* in light of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*. However, one would be remiss in not recognizing that perhaps the influence of technology, if not the number one force, was a major contributor in thrusting and catapulting the popularity of such works like the *St. John Passion*.

In 1982, with the introduction of the compact disc, it became much cheaper to produce recordings. Record companies sought to “cash in” on the rising demands for early music. Consumers who were looking for recordings of obscure works and historically informed interpretations were on the rise. As a result, many record companies sought to record, release and market recordings as obscure and “authentic” or “historically-informed” in hopes of convincing the public that their listening library needed the “correct” performance of a particular work. Even though these were marketing ploys by record companies, it undoubtedly benefited the public with the presentation of works that previously were unknown by many or, in the case of the *St. John Passion*, increased its popularity as one of the most performed works in Bach’s repertory. As a direct consequence, there have been close to eighty known commercial

recordings made of the *St. John Passion* and certainly numerous performances since the advent of the compact disc.

Toward the last years of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century three high profile books were published that were specifically oriented in exploring and examining the *St. John Passion*. The first of the three tackled the possibility of anti-Semitic connotation in the *St. John Passion* and if or how Luther and Bach helped in diffusing such suggestions. Michael Marissen's 1998 *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism, and Bach's St. John Passion* is one of many writings in the past twenty-five years that has become fascinated with composers potential anti-Semitic traces and how it potentially was woven into a composition.

Alfred Dürr's *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion: Genesis, Transmission and Meaning* was first published in 1998 and then reprinted with English translation in 2002 making a great endeavor to succinctly present Arthur Mendel's research as noted in his 1974 *Kritischer Bericht* (still in German) to scholars and the general public as well. Dürr methodically explains the history and controversial issues surrounding the different versions and the original parts. Also included is the formal design and textual interpretation of the various versions. Lastly, he addresses a few performance practice issues one faces when programming the work. The last contribution of the three, Daniel R. Melamed's *Hearing Bach's Passions*, was published in 2005. Melamed begins his book by framing the inquiry into the *St. John Passion* against matters of "authenticity" and historically informed performances. He elaborates concerning performance practice of the passions during Bach's time and illustrates that while we attempt to reconstruct much of what went on in Bach's performances, there is much that is not attempted or is virtually impossible to recreate.

All three of these additions to the annals of Bach research focus on the importance of the critical study of hermeneutics and theology. The special emphasis in acknowledging that the interpretation of the text is essential in an overall understanding of the work suggests a move away from positivism in music. The positivistic view shuns matters of theology as an inadequate base for knowledge. However, it is interesting to note that in reviews and other critical writings of recordings of the *St. John Passion* that those who praised are noted for their vivid interpretation of the text, an amazing detail

when many of today's listeners are not fluent in the German language, much less the dated poetic symbolism. Perhaps what is meant is the expressive performance is one that captures the essence of the passion narrative.

## CHAPTER 6

### CASE STUDY

As stated before, the intention of this dissertation is to investigate available recordings to determine trends in performance practice of Bach's *St. John Passion*. During the course of writing this dissertation document, thirty-eight out of seventy-nine known commercial recordings were obtained for study. This total number far exceeds previous and similar studies like Fabian's 2003 study that examined 15 out of 26 recordings of the *St. John Passion* recorded on or before 1976.<sup>337</sup> Similarly, Golomb's 2004 dissertation examined 17 out of 70 recordings of the *Mass in B minor*.<sup>338</sup> The percentage of available recordings to those secured are: 48% of commercial recordings were obtained for this study whereas Fabian (2003) secured 58% and Golomb (2004) 24%.

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<sup>337</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 275.

<sup>338</sup> Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach's Performance and Reception," 29.

### Available Recordings 1982-2007

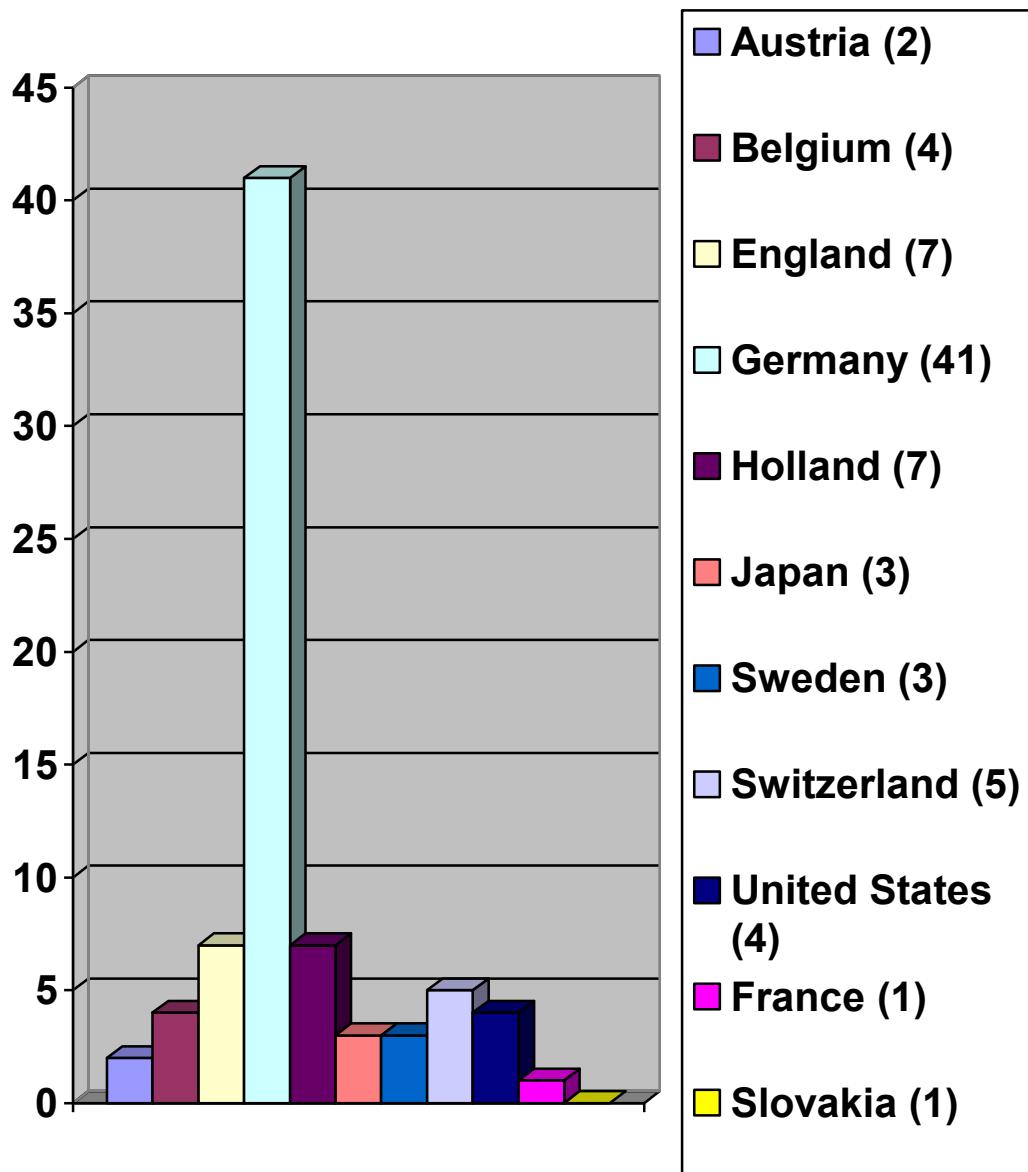


Figure 1. Available Recordings broken down by nationality for the years 1982-2007.

## Obtained recordings 1982-2007

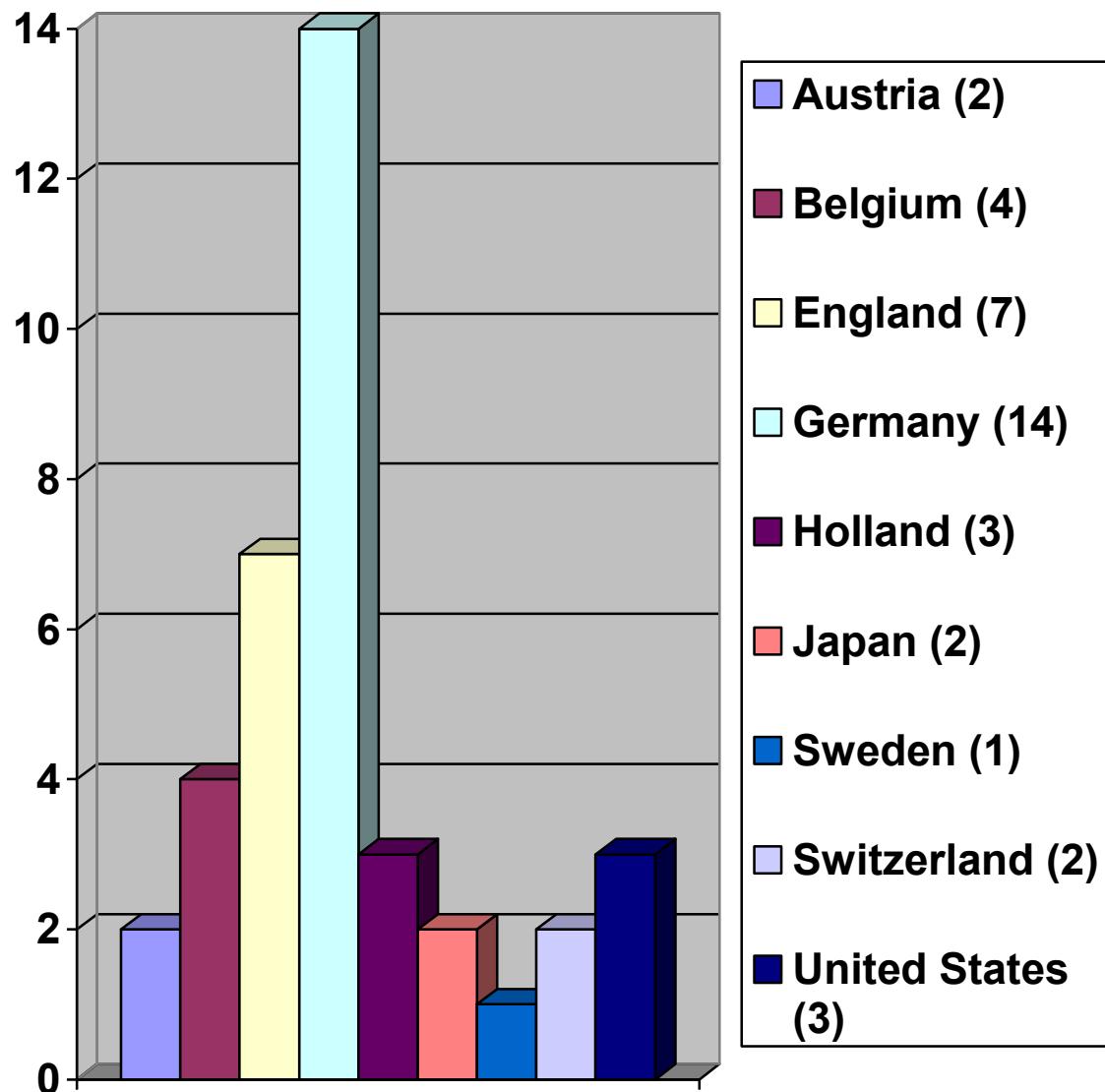


Figure 2. Obtained Recordings broken down by nationality for the years 1982-2007.

This present study will examine all of the choruses and chorales within the *St. John Passion* as well as two additional movements, “Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen” and “Mein teuer Heiland, laß dich fragen” that feature solo voices and choir. The performing forces, tempo, duration, dynamics, articulation, ornamentation, rhythm and pitch will be examined and discussed.

It is the expectation of this dissertation to answer several questions that have emerged through researching the significant literature related to the dissertation topic. Does the evidence of durations suggest that within the last twenty-five years are performances, using recordings as evidence, are becoming faster or slower? Can a connection be drawn between particular nationalities who consistently represent an inclination of being fast or slow within the *St. John Passion*? Do the interpretations of the *St. John Passion* show a trend of individuality or generalization in recordings? Do recordings in the past twenty-five years demonstrate tendencies that are often associated with romantic expressiveness? How do the actualization of performance reconcile with the theoretical body of literature? Meaning, does the research within performance practice and Bach find their way into the recordings studied? Lastly, how do conductors who have performed the *St. John Passion* more than once show degrees of uniformity or divergence in their interpretation?

#### Tendencies toward individuality or generalization

Alan Blyth, in his book, *Choral Music on Record*, chides that the “internationalisation of musical performance” seems to proliferate near identical recordings that shy away from individual expressions to a more generalized approach.<sup>339</sup> Additionally, one cannot forget Richard Taruskin’s evaluation that the HIP Movement declines the personal (personal interpretations) for the objective (generalized), cookie cutter approach.<sup>340</sup> However, in examining thirty-eight recordings of the *St. John Passion* a wealth of personal and individual expressions were found. For example, Simon

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<sup>339</sup> Alan Blyth, ed. *Choral Music on Record*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, vii.

<sup>340</sup> Personal expressions of the *St. John Passion* have also been realized through staging the work. For example, the English National Opera and Chorus, conducted by Stephen Layton, presented a staged version of the *St. John Passion* in London Coliseum in April 2000 and again in March of 2002. On American shores, conductor Robert Spano led the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra (reduced orchestra) and Chamber Chorus in a staged performance of the Passion in March 2007.

Carrington's 2006 live recording of the 1725 version features the Jacob Handl's sixteenth-century motet, "Ecce quomodo moritur justus" (Behold how righteous one dies). This motet would have traditionally been sung for the Good Friday Vesper service following the presentation of the second half of the passion performance. This is the first and only commercial recording to date known to include this motet with the *St. John Passion*. Certainly, this was a conscious and individual artistic expression on Carrington's part to include the motet. However, there can be no doubt that it was also the hope to recreate for the listener a historically informed recording that took into account part of the liturgy that was experienced in Bach's day.

Another unique recording is Hermann Max's 2006 recording of the *St. John Passion* featuring an arrangement made by Robert Schumann. This recording provides insight into how Romantic composers, like Robert Schumann, took masterpieces from the Baroque and pragmatically transformed them using performance conventions of the era. Schumann not only added a wealth of dynamics and articulations not found in Bach's original, he also added instruments like the trumpet and clarinet. Additionally, this recording prominently features the forte piano for the recitatives that Schumann scored to replace the organ or harpsichord.

Eric Milnes's 1996 recording features a unique performance that utilizes concertists creatively. For example, in the chorus, "Herr, unser Herrscher," Milnes employs concertists in contrapuntal entries like measures 33 and 58. This demonstrates a historical awareness on Milnes's part concerning concertists and rapienists in Bach's time but also shows a liberal interpretation of the practice of alternating the concertists with full choir.

Despite the popularity of using historical instruments, it would be negligent not to point out Craig Smith's *sui generis* decision to use the fluegelhorn in his 1999 recording of the 1725 version of *St. John Passion*. This nineteenth and twentieth century valve brass instrument was chosen by Smith for its focused mellow tone to double the chorale melody in the opening and closing choruses in the 1725 version.<sup>341</sup> Smith's atypical choice to use the fluegelhorn in the axis of early music in America, Boston,

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<sup>341</sup> For this information, I am indebted to the recollection of Michael Beattie, Chorus Master and Organist for the 1999 recording who has recently assumed the current position of Associate Conductor of Emmanuel Music since the death of Craig Smith in 2007.

Massachusetts shows an open-mindedness that has developed within the early music community for diverse interpretations.

These are several conspicuous examples of how conductors elected to demonstrate individual choices and expressions in performing the *St. John Passion*. Many more examples will be pointed out when analyzing individual movements within the *St. John Passion*. How does one reconcile statements as Alan Blyth's, who believes that recordings are timid and indifferent in seeking fresh interpretations and instead seek the simplified approach of imitating? First, for many years the complex history and multiple versions of the *St. John Passion* is one major reason it stood in the shadows of other works. However, on the positive side, its various versions provide license for a myriad of performance possibilities that serve as a catalyst for creativity and different interpretations. Furthermore, since the work is not ensconced in tradition, like many other works in the canon of Western Art music, it has enjoyed a freedom that has allowed it to be performed in many ways. Lastly, as discussed before, there has been a mitigating of purist attitudes concerning performance practice. Just as the change of rhetoric from “authentic” performances to “historically informed performances” has transpired, so too have the actualization of performances that feature a variety of performance options.

### Performing Forces

Conductors examined in this dissertation made a variety of choices regarding the structure of choirs for performing the *St. John Passion*. While many conductors chose mixed choirs, seven recordings (Harnoncourt 1985, Weyand 1990, Harnoncourt 1993, Cleobury 1996, Beringer 1997, Leusink 2001 and Higginbottom 2002) used all-male choirs with one recording (Harnoncourt 1985) featuring not only an all male-choir but also all-male soloists. Many conductors, in the pursuit of historical correctness, sought out boys' choirs and male falsettists to perform Bach's works. However, this proved difficult due to the decline in the number of boys' choirs, outside of England, and additionally in many cases, the music of Bach proved too difficult due to its inherent intricacy and complexity. In response, several scholars sought out to unearth evidence that would support the use of mixed choirs.<sup>342</sup> While proof of isolated cases did surface,

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<sup>342</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*,” 74.

composers like Mattheson who experimented with women singing in the church and Telemann and Fasch who apparently preferred women soloists to boys, the factual evidence could not link Bach with the use of mixed choirs.<sup>343</sup>

The fact that in England there has remained an unbroken tradition of using all-male choirs in cathedrals, and for many years monopolized the market for countertenors, it is understandable why it became a locus for early music.<sup>344</sup> The revival of solo falsettists is attributed to Alfred Deller, who in 1954 sang the “Agnus Dei” aria from the *Mass in B minor*.<sup>345</sup> The recordings secured for this dissertation demonstrate the popularity of adding male falsettists to the choral ensemble. Eleven known recordings of thirty-eight feature countertenors (Gardiner 1986, Herreweghe 1987, Kuijken 1987, Christophers 1989, Slowik 1989, Koopman 1993, The Scholars Baroque 1993, Suzuki 2000, Leusink 2001, van Veldhoven 2004 and Carrington 2006). These ten recordings show strong English representation with four of the ten recordings from England, three recordings from Holland, one recording from Japan (whose conductor Suzuki studied with Dutch conductor Koopman), one recording from Belgium and one from America. No German recordings of the St. John Passion utilize countertenors to my knowledge. Perhaps this is due to the countertenor’s fashionable association with England and because many scholars have called into question the historical legitimacy of countertenors. Taruskin states,

The countertenor is the very emblem of Early Music... There is no evidence that falsettists participated in any of these repertoires when they were current. The voice was born in the English cathedral choir, and owes its modern currency to the success of Alfred Deller... Their excellence has bred emulation, establishing the English cathedral style as an international sonic norm for Early Music, and the model on which Early Music vocal production in all ranges is based.”<sup>346</sup>

When it comes to Bach’s vocal works, it can be dangerous to stereotypically assert that all English conductors utilize countertenors. For example, American musicologist and conductor Joshua Rifkin believes positively that Bach made use of countertenors;

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<sup>343</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 74.

<sup>344</sup> It is interesting to note that while England can boast an unbroken tradition of all-male choirs, of the thirty-eight recordings obtained from 1982-2007, the seven recordings that display all-male choirs, four are German choirs, two are English choirs and one is Dutch.

<sup>345</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 75.

<sup>346</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 165.

however, one of Rifkin's biggest defenders and supporters, English conductor, Andrew Parrott, disagrees with this hypothesis.<sup>347</sup>

No doubt, the topic of choir size has monopolized performance practice, particularly over the past twenty-five years (but always present throughout the century), and has greatly influenced the artistic decisions made by conductors regarding choir size. Represented choir sizes are diverse but overall they are much smaller than in previous decades of the early nineteenth century. Only two of the thirty-seven obtained recordings follow closely the one voice per part (OVPP) concertist theory with an additional ripienist singer per vocal part added in singing the chorales. The Scholars Baroque Ensemble, notorious for their performances without a formal conductor, 1993 recording features 2 sopranos, 2 countertenors, 2 Tenors and 2 Basses. Eleven years later in 2004, Dutch conductor Jos van Veldhoven followed suit with concertists singing one voice per part and ripienists joining in on the chorales. While the majority of recordings obtained feature chamber choirs, very few ventured into minimalist interpretations like OVPP.

As mentioned before, given that Rifkin's theory regarding one voice per part has gained wide acceptance within the scholarly community and no credible explanation to date has surfaced to repudiate the evidence, there still seems to be a vast chasm between theory and actual contemporary practice of performance. Why hasn't practice caught up with research? It is highly plausible that many conductors approaching the *St. John Passion*, and largely any vocal works of J.S. Bach's, are intimately aware of the historical considerations regarding choir size. While these conductors go to great length to be historically informed in many ways, they seem, based on the evidence to consciously select choirs that are considerably larger than in Bach's time. The fact is that overall, society's choral aesthetic has largely not changed to reflect the strong evidence for minimistic interpretations of Bach's works. Our contemporary concept and definition of what a choir is has changed dramatically and is in stark contrast to conventional choirs in the eighteenth century. As a result, most modern performance venues are constructed in such a manner that make it difficult, albeit not impossible, for a choir of a quartet or octet to dramatically and convincingly present an effective performance of Bach's works. Furthermore, since the explosion of larger choral entities like choral societies in the

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<sup>347</sup> Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach's Performance and Reception," 141.

nineteenth century and university choirs in the twentieth century, it is difficult to imagine these organizations ceasing to want to perform Bach's concerted vocal works or the public demand for such popular works to wane due to performances that are historically questionable.

Indeed, there have been trailblazers like Rifkin and Parrott who have presented one voice per part interpretations. Nevertheless, it seems that most, while they perhaps would agree with the theories advocated by Rifkin and Parrott, do not choose to actualize the theory in performance. Numerical characteristics of the thirty-eight choirs studied for this dissertation show that three recordings feature less than ten choristers, nine recordings feature 10-19 choristers, seven recordings feature 20-29 choristers, two recordings feature 30-39 choristers, two recordings feature 40-49 choristers, zero recordings feature 50-59 choristers, one recording features 60-69 choristers choristers, one recording features 70-79 choristers and thirteen recordings with no information available regarding the choir roster.

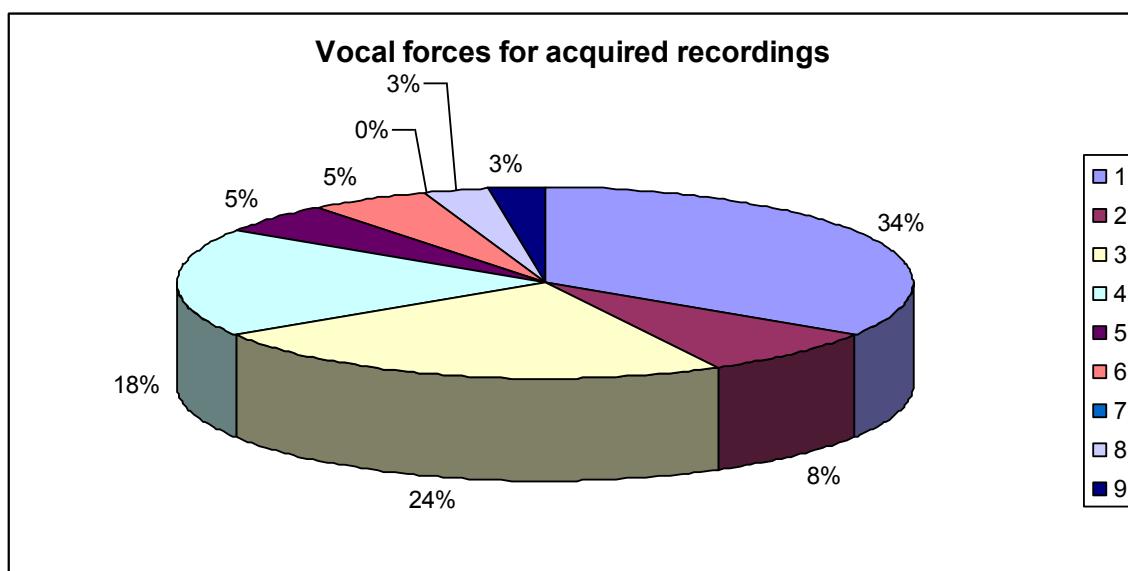


Figure 3. Vocal forces for acquired recordings.

1. 13 recordings (34%) no information was available
2. 3 recordings (8%) less than 10 member choir
3. 9 recordings (24%) featuring 10-19 member choir

4. 7 recordings (18%) featuring 20-29 member choir
5. 2 recordings (5%) featuring 30-39 member choir
6. 2 recordings (5%) featuring 40-49 member choir
7. 0 recordings (0%) featuring 50-59 member choir
8. 1 recording (3%) featuring 60-69 member choir
9. 1 recording (3%) featuring 70-79 member choir

While there are numerical differences in the choral ensembles as well as all-male choirs versus mixed choirs, the choral sound is virtually consistent throughout the aggregate recordings. Given the dramatic gravitas of the work the choral sound consistently found on the acquired recordings is full and commanding (degrees of fullness depends on the movement). Overall, the recordings demonstrate a high level of artistry but this too is heard in degrees. Tasteful vibrato is used but is never so overt as to distract from the vocal line. Several recordings feature choirs singing with a voluptuous sound like Guttenberg (1991), the well known traditionalist Helmut Rilling (1996) and Hempfling (2004), but even this sound is far from the excessive vibrato in early twentieth century performances that many early music pioneers found objectionable.

The recordings show an aesthetic of sound I believe is a conciliatory middle ground from two polar extremes that has been present throughout the past couple of centuries. The two polar extremes can be best described as a large full vibrato void of informed historical practice as characterized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries leading up to and sometime after World War II. The other extreme is the *senza vibrato* stage that became popular after World War II but has since been attacked by voice pedagogues and vocal scientists. Contemporary conductors recognize neither extreme is particularly desirable. This point is demonstrated in Martha Elliott's 2006 book, *Singing in Style*,

In recent years both taste in singers and ideas about appropriate voices for certain repertoires have changed dramatically... Bach Passions, for example, can be presented with a full modern orchestra, large chorus, and "opera singers" as soloists or, on the other extreme, with period instruments and a smaller complement of singers who are "early music specialists," or with any kind of combination of elements in between. Even within the early music world, the quest for authenticity, which was primary goal ten or twenty years ago, has lost some of

its intensity today. Both musicologists and performers are deciding that it is not possible, nor in many cases desirable, to re-create the exact conditions of the first performance. This then leaves performers with a wealth of historical information to choose from in order to create modern performances that are vivid, energized, interesting, and compelling for today's audiences.”<sup>348</sup>

In the late eighties and early nineties Hans-Joachim Schulze and Joshua Rifkin debated the intended size of Bach’s orchestra. Schulze states for many years the research promoted by Charles Sanford Terry’s book *Bach’s Orchestra* in 1932 regarding Bach’s instruments had been regarded as conventional wisdom until rather recent controversial theories that have called into question Bach’s performing forces.<sup>349</sup> Schulze advocated that Bach had an inclination for a larger, more “opulent” string complement.<sup>350</sup> Rifkin, as might be expected, suggests that with the available resources in Bach’s time a more modest interpretation of Bach’s instrumentation should be pursued. This debate, like the number of singers, brings us back to the *Entwurff* in hopes of clarification. In Bach’s draft, he listed a favorable number of instrumentalists to be:

2-3 first and second violins

2 first violas

2 second violas

2 cellos

1 violone

2 or 3 oboes

1 or 2 bassoons

3 trumpets

1 timpani

What do the included recordings tell us about how conductors have chosen to apply theories such as the two expressed above? Obviously, the choices conductors made regarding the size of the orchestra directly correlates to the size of the choir chosen. An overwhelming majority of the recordings featured one or more instruments that are often

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<sup>348</sup> Martha Elliott, *Singing in Style: A Guide to Vocal Performance Practices*. New Haven: Conn. (Yale University Press): 2006, 3.

<sup>349</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Johann Sebastian Bach’s orchestra: some unanswered questions,” *Early Music*, 17.1 (Feb. 1989): 3.

<sup>350</sup> Joshua Rifkin, “More (and Less) on Bach’s Orchestra,” *Performance Practice Review*, 4.1 (Spring 1991): 5.

touted as original instruments. More often than not, this actually means instruments that are copies of originals. Only one of the thirty-eight recordings did not include an instrument that would be considered “historical” in the eighteenth century sense of the word. The lone recording without any “historical instruments” was Hermann Max’s presentation of Robert Schumann’s arrangement of the *St. John Passion*.<sup>351</sup> This interesting recording, that prominently features Romantic inclinations like the pianoforte accompanying recitatives, clearly would not be expected to include Baroque instruments because Max’s purpose was to present an interpretation that demonstrated Romantic style performance practice. Even Helmut Rilling, who argued for many years the advantage of using modern instruments, incorporated a viola da gamba in his 1996 *St. John Passion*. Unlike the choices regarding choir size it seems that choosing early instruments, or copies of early instruments, is an accepted practice, demonstrated by a consensus of the conductors studied in this dissertation. Whether it was an entire orchestra made up of historical instruments or just a few like the viola da gamba or oboe da caccia, conductors seem to feel strongly that it is paramount to perform the *St. John Passion* with early instruments. Thus, the recordings examined here provide credibility to the reality that historical instruments that used to be part of the periphery in the early to middle of the twentieth century, have now evolved to exist in the mainstream.

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<sup>351</sup> It could be argued that Max’s 2006 recording featuring Schumann’s version of the *St. John Passion* demonstrates period performance and instruments indicative of the Romantic era.

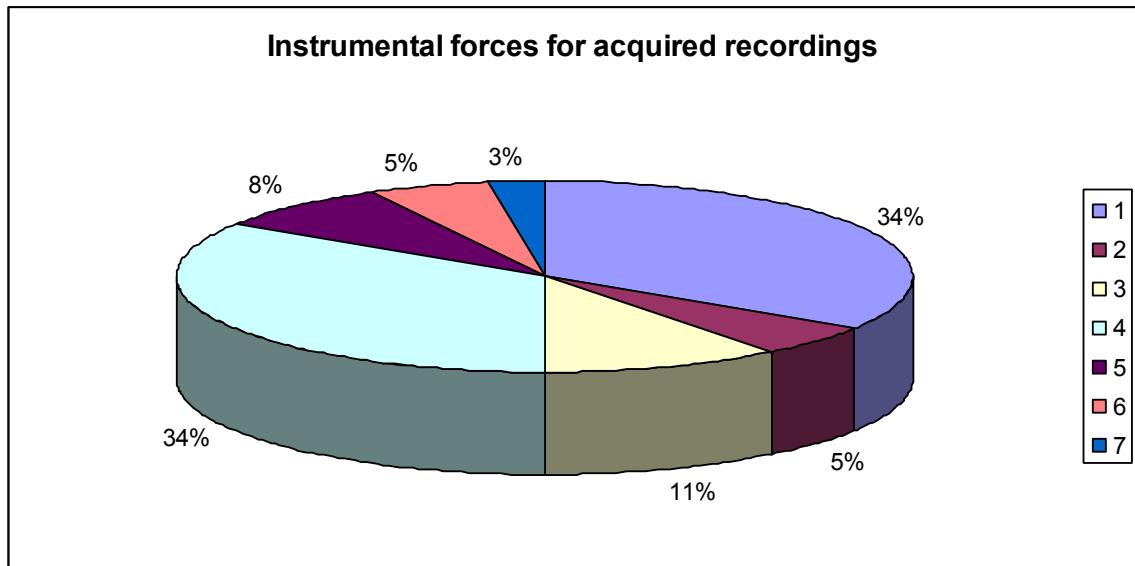


Figure 4. Instrumental forces for acquired recordings.

1. 13 recordings (34%) no information or incomplete information was available
2. 2 recordings (5%) featuring 10-15 member orchestra
3. 4 recordings (11%) featuring 16-20 member orchestra
4. 13 recordings (34%) featuring 21-25 member orchestra
5. 3 recordings (8%) featuring 26-30 member orchestra
6. 2 recordings (5%) featuring 31-35 member orchestra
7. 1 recordings (3%) featuring 36-40 member orchestra

One of the most interesting choices that conductors make in the *St. John Passion* is what continuo instrument, harpsichord or organ, is chosen to accompany the recitatives. This point will only be addressed slightly since this dissertation looks at the choruses and chorales and two arias with choral accompaniment. Fabian (2003) attends to this subject when she writes that nineteenth century scholars and notably Arnold Schering in the 1920s deemed the practice of accompanying the narrative recitatives with the harpsichord as historically inaccurate.<sup>352</sup> Despite scholars' advice, against the practice of

<sup>352</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 60.

employing the harpsichord in Bach's vocal works, the practice seemed to live on. Perhaps as Fabian suggests the reason some conductors continued using the harpsichord was it provided an impression of historical correctness and dramatic flair.<sup>353</sup> Laurence Dreyfus has made the argument that scholars who shunned the use of the harpsichord did so because they were ensconced in the German Lutheran tradition that favored the exclusive use of the organ for sacred music.<sup>354</sup> Dreyfus points to several points of evidence to suggest that the performances incorporated "dual accompaniment" – that is both the organ and harpsichord would play simultaneously within the same movement. However, the organ would still accompany the recitatives.

How do these theories relate to the *St. John Passion*? Based on the extant document and surviving parts, the 1749 version of the *St. John Passion* is the only version that contains a harpsichord score. However, it is plausible to theorize that the other three versions also included a harpsichord but the score has not survived. If this is so, as Fabian points out, this would explain Bach's complaints concerning the condition of the harpsichord for the 1724 version.<sup>355</sup> Dürr also corroborates this theory when he suggests that Bach may have simply realized the harpsichord part in performance for the first three versions.<sup>356</sup> Regardless, in the end, unless a harpsichord score from one of the first three versions surfaces we cannot categorically deny or support this possibility.

Fabian states that in passion recordings after the 1960s the harpsichord became rare, but believes there has been a recent revival in the instrument.<sup>357</sup> In the thirty-eight interpretations of the *St. John Passion* recorded in the years of 1982-2007, twenty-five recordings feature the organ alone in recitatives, five recordings feature the harpsichord alone, seven recordings present the recitatives with organ and harpsichord and one recording uniquely presents the recitatives with the pianoforte. Five (Schreier 1988, Beringer 1997, Masaaki Suzuki's 1998, Daus 1999 and Neumann 1999) of the seven recordings that feature both harpsichord and organ present the recitatives with the harpsichord alone and reserve organ accompaniment exclusively for Jesus's words.

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<sup>353</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 60.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid.

<sup>355</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 61.

<sup>356</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 110.

<sup>357</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 61.

Table 2 Keyboard Continuo Instrument

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Keyboard Continuo Instrument</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	Organ
Gardiner	1986	Organ
Herreweghe	1987	Organ
Kuijken	1987	Organ
Schreier	1988	Harpsichord & Organ (Jesus)
Christophers	1989	Organ
Slowik	1989	Organ
Max	1990	Harpsichord & Organ
Parrott	1990	Harpsichord & Organ
Weyand	1990	Harpsichord
Guttenberg	1991	Harpsichord
Ericson	1993	Organ
Harnoncourt	1993	Organ
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	Organ
Koopman	1993	Organ
Corboz	1994	Organ
Cleobury	1996	Organ
Dombrecht	1996	Organ
Milnes	1996	Organ
Rilling	1996	Organ
Beringer	1997	Harpsichord & Organ (Jesus)
Noll	1997	Organ
Fasolis	1998	Harpsichord
Güttler	1998	Organ
Schulz	1998	Organ
Suzuki	1998	Harpsichord & Organ (Jesus)
Daus	1999	Harpsichord & Organ (Jesus)
Neumann	1999	Harpsichord & Organ (Jesus)
Smith	1999	Organ
Suzuki	2000	Harpsichord
Herreweghe	2001	Organ
Leusink	2001	Organ
Schreier	2001	Organ
Higginbottom	2002	Organ

Table 2 Continued

Conductor	Year	Keyboard Continuo Instrument
Hempfling	2004	Organ
Veldhoven	2004	Harpsichord
Carrington	2006	Organ
Max	2006	Pianoforte

### Expression

It is often noted that the early efforts of historical correctness were bent on stripping away expressive elements to distance and disassociate itself from performance practices of the previous century. During this time, objective interpretations were valued and respected while those that were interpreted with subjective expression became unpopular and often described with pejoratives such as “ignorant,” “a historic” and “anachronistic.” However, of late, objective interpretations have also suffered stiff criticism as being “sterile” and “lifeless.” This approach is also often heard under the mantra “letting the music speak for itself.”

Several writers have suggested a renewed and increasing interest in infusing Bach’s music with degrees of expression. Some have even suggested that the contemporaneous enterprise of performing Bach’s music, as well as other early repertoire, could be referred to as neo-romantic. Fabian (2003) questions and dismisses the application of labeling recordings as neo-romantic stating that writers make these associations because they are ignorant in the differences of Baroque and Romantic expression.<sup>358</sup> If this is so, what constitutes an expressive performance? Roland Jackson, in his Spring 1995 editorial to *Performance Practice Review*, recounts a *Nova* television show entitled *What Is Music?* that pondered the question, what is music expressivity? Jackson noted that it was concluded from experiments conducted that indicators such as subtle to obvious rhythmic and dynamic changes, which were not necessarily in the written score, were gauges of an expressive performance versus the non-expressive performance.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 15.

<sup>359</sup> Jackson, “Performance Practice and Musical Expressivity,” 1-2.

What are the attributes and differences in expressiveness in the Baroque period versus the Romantic period? What are the differences between performances in the beginning to the mid twentieth century from the later half of the twentieth century to current day? All of these questions are important to explore because as time progresses fewer musicians will have lived and be able to recollect the change that performance practice has undergone throughout the twentieth century. Generations have passed to where music schools are now graduating students that were not born prior to 1980. Thus, their sonic world has to various degrees, always been framed within the context and influenced by repercussions of the historically informed movement.

The problem of terms like “romantic” is the inconsistency in which it is often used and the inherent paradoxes present when describing such a state. Most likely, in today’s milieu, one approaches the word negatively because it conjures up thoughts of conductors who performed early music, to some most egregiously of Bach, in a symphonic-operatic manner.<sup>360</sup> However, Golomb (2004) begins with the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which defines the word romantic as “fantastic, imaginative, visionary, and aesthetically more concerned with feeling and emotion than with form and order.”<sup>361</sup> While the first three words in this list are rather ambiguous and not necessarily helpful, the last clause, “aesthetically more concerned with feeling and emotion than with form and order,” is certainly an attribute of romantic inclination. Dorottya Fabian (2003) lists another attribute of romanticism as a “continuous legato and never-ending phrases or melodic lines, covers up the frequent cadence points so typical of baroque music by undulating dynamics, elongated tempo rubato, and a climatic emphasis on suspensions and dissonances.”<sup>362</sup> Haynes affirms this by saying, “The Romantic long-line or ‘climax phrase’ is traditionally the length of a singer’s or wind player’s breath.”<sup>363</sup> This “overarching phrase” is usually presented with a dynamic shape that organically rises and falls through employing a natural crescendo and decrescendo in a sostenuto manner.<sup>364</sup> Additionally, author Kevin Bazzana attributes romantic aesthetics for performance realization as placing primacy to the individual performer before the composer or

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<sup>360</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach’s Performance and Reception,” 37.

<sup>361</sup> Golomb, “Expression and Meaning in Bach’s Performance and Reception, 39.

<sup>362</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 131.

<sup>363</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 184.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

audience.<sup>365</sup> He continues that romanticism accepts an attitude of anachronism in which the road to actualization, the performance, is fashioned so that expressive elements are chosen above consideration of performance practice of any given era.<sup>366</sup>

In contrast, melodic phrases in the Baroque tend to be inherently more complex in nature due the fact they are ordinarily saturated with “twists and turns.”<sup>367</sup> The basic structure of the Baroque phrase is smaller than the Romantic phrase in that its structural component is smaller, often based on motifs rather than long arching phrases. Bruce Haynes conveys that these motifs or units were derivatives of seventeenth-century embellishments and diminutions that a performer would spontaneously improvise.<sup>368</sup> Figures once improvised became so popular that they became formulaic in the process of composition and became closely associated with rhetorical oration. These musical rhetorical figures were the vehicles of expressiveness for composers in the Baroque era.

Before movements within the *St. John Passion* are explored for the presence or lack of expressive elements, each will be introduced to provide a brief but necessary background in each topic. Artistic decisions regarding tempo, dynamics, rhythm, articulation, ornamentation and pitch all contribute to the realization of an expressive performance.

### Tempo

It is often perceived that performances fashioned in romantic ideology are slower and those that ascribe to historically informed performances are quicker. However, José Bowen’s analysis of recordings showed that there was “no overall trend to faster or slower tempo”; rather, he found in some works they became faster, some became slower and in some works, the average tempo did not change as time progressed.<sup>369</sup> Fabian lists several studies that reject the idea that modern performers play faster than previous generations. Robert Philip analyzed recordings made in the 1920s to 1950s and found many examples where the earlier version was actually faster than the later interpretation.

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<sup>365</sup> Kevin Bazzana, *Glenn Gould – The Performer in the Work: A Study in Performance Practice*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 52.

<sup>366</sup> Bazzana, *Glenn Gould – The Performer in the Work*, 52.

<sup>367</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 186.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

<sup>369</sup> José Bowen, “Tempo, Duration and Flexibility: Techniques in the Analysis of Performance,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 16, 1996, 114.

His study suggests that there are periodic fluctuations in tempo choices as a reaction to previous extreme levels, or when a new generation of conductors reacts to the interpretation of the previous vanguard.<sup>370</sup> To further confound and complicate the issue, Uri Golomb feels that pre-HIP tempi are slower in the recordings of Bach.<sup>371</sup>

Previous studies, like Bowen (1996) look at data to determine tempi changes from recordings prior to the Historically Performance Movement to during the movement. However, my research exclusively considers if within the twenty-five years of HIP there are noticeable trends that have developed in relation to tempo. Specifically if there has been a relaxation in tempos toward the end of the time study (1982-2007) that would coincide with rhetoric of a renewed interest in romanticism in music.

In an attempt to provide concrete evidence to this study it was originally conceived that there would be provided a table of metronomic markings of the obtained recordings to supplement the time duration table of complete selected movements. Following examples of previous studies, specifically Golomb (2004), I attempted to gain evidence of tempo by employing a timing program created by Nicholas Cook, found at the following URL address: <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~musicbox/charm5.html>. The attempts were unsatisfactory, producing answers that were unable to be replicated in subsequent trials. After the initial efforts with the timing program, I realized its futility and turned to using a standard metronome for answers. That too provided inconsistent data that could not be considered reliable. The inconsistency of results however did not null the value of the endeavor. On the contrary, the varied readings provide information that conductors' tempos were not static but possessed a wide range of tempos within any given movement.

Bernard Sherman dedicated several writings on tempo and its relationship to Bach's turba choruses in the Passions. In his writings, Sherman joins other scholars like Robert Marshall and Peter Williams in the idea that Bach's tempos were, in part, expressed in the given time signature.<sup>372</sup> According to Sherman, conventional practice of the late seventeenth century used genres and Italian tempo designations to help clarify the

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<sup>370</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 131.

<sup>371</sup> Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach's Performance and Reception," 42.

<sup>372</sup> Bernard Sherman, "Bach's notation of tempo and early music performance: some reconsiderations," *Early Music* 18.3 (August 2000): 455.

intention of tempo but at the core, time signatures remained the prime indicator of tempo.<sup>373</sup> While Bach never wrote specifically about the subject, Sherman points to several of Bach's students, Thieme and Kirnberger, who sought to write down the tenets that were taught them by their teacher. According to other eighteenth-century sources, another consequent factor-affecting tempo is note values, which have "intrinsic speeds."<sup>374</sup> Logically, this belief suggests that a preponderance of faster notes like sixteenth notes may imply a slower tempo than quarter or half notes.<sup>375</sup>

Writings of the time, Penna (1684) and Brossard (1703), chronicled the concept that the tempo of common time with no alteration was referred to as *tempo ordinario* (plain or ordinary tempo).<sup>376</sup> This was known in Germany as *schlechte Tact* and Mattheson specifically associates this to mean the C time signature.<sup>377</sup> Again, it is true that Bach never explicitly used the word *tempo ordinario* but scholars are comfortable in connecting him with the term because it was used in Bach's cousin's (J.G. Walther) *Musical Lexicon* for which Bach served as a promoter.<sup>378</sup> Various numerical assignments have been suggested to correspond to the idea of *tempo ordinario*. As a reference, some scholars have suggested that *tempo ordinario* was reproduced from the normal human pulse while others indicate a range of MM 60 to MM 85.<sup>379</sup> George Stauffer provides an answer that is more concrete assigning a quarter note equaling MM 72 while Robert Marshall, who cites anecdotal evidence of Bach's reported brisk tempos, feels that the quarter was taken around MM80.<sup>380</sup>

Sherman, in an online appendix to his earlier submission to *Early Music*, questions if it were possible that performance conventions in Bach's time dictated turba choruses in passions were to be performed faster than other movements.<sup>381</sup> In the passions, time signatures for the turba choruses are usually written in the preceding recitatives and are not separated by a double bar line to encourage an immediate

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<sup>373</sup> Sherman, "Bach's notation of tempo and early music performance," 455.

<sup>374</sup> Sherman, "Bach's notation of tempo and early music performance," 456.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid.

<sup>379</sup> Bernard D. Sherman, "Do the Turbae Movements in Bach's Passions Undermine the Idea of the Tempo Ordinario?" <http://bsherman.org/turba.htm> (accessed June 14, 2007).

<sup>380</sup> Ibid.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid.

transition in *attaca* fashion. Most of the turba choruses in the *St. John Passion* are simply notated with C, but there are two in 6/4, one in 3/4 and one in C designated additionally with the Italian term “allegro.”<sup>382</sup> Sherman, who has analyzed twenty other period Passions, believes that there is not enough evidence to support the idea that turba choruses were taken at a faster tempo. Other contemporary settings of the passion narrative show that if composers were expecting a movement to go faster than ordinary tempo they would indicate such a desire with a special notational marking. John Butt has espoused the opinion that many people still falsely associate Italian tempo words with literal moods rather than tempo indications. However, sources in Baroque Germany specifically relate Italian tempo words to literally indicate tempo.<sup>383</sup>

Based on evidence supplied from the durations of thirty-eight recordings of the *St. John Passion*, which would be the result of both tempo and expressive license employed by the conductor, there can be no conclusive answer regarding if within the twenty-five years between 1982-2007 recordings have become slower or faster. Graphical interpretation shows that there is no correlation to time progression of recordings within the twenty-five years studied with longer temporal durations. Additionally, there is closer uniformity in duration in the choruses of the *St. John Passion*, particularly if the choruses are brief like “Jesum, von Nazareth” and “Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam.” The chorales within the *St. John Passion* show a greater and wider range of variability.

The discrepancy in diverse tempos and durations within the chorales can partly be attributed to the amount of emphasis the conductor places on the text. Like many topics of performance practice, there are at least two approaches to chorale text. Some advocate for a simple straightforward approach that is not exceedingly sentimental. Walter Blankenburg and Robin Leaver both discourage emphasizing particular words over others.<sup>384</sup> This approach is inclined to point out that chorales are at their essence “congregational” singing thus to belabor over the words distorts their communal purpose.<sup>385</sup> However, others insist that the intended didactic and moral lessons found in

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<sup>382</sup> Sherman, “Do the Turbae Movements in Bach’s Passions Undermine the Idea of the Tempo Ordinario?” (accessed June 14, 2007).

<sup>383</sup> John Butt, “Book review,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 140.2 (1990): 265.

<sup>384</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 105.

<sup>385</sup> Parenthetically, the idea that Bach’s congregation joined in and sang the chorales is also highly contested. Most scholars seem to believe that the congregation did not participate in singing the chorales.

the dramatic chorale text are lost if they are not expressively performed and relayed to their intended audience. Recordings analyzed in this study demonstrate both practices of objective presentations and highly emotional interpretations that bring to life particular words and phrases.

Examples of this are demonstrated in the chorale “Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück. There were many conductors such as Schreier (1989), Weyand (1990), Ericson (1993), Noll (1997), Daus (1999), Smith (1999), Neumann (1999), Leusink (2001) and Hempfling (2004) who did little to highlight particular words or phrases with expression such as contrasting dynamics or tempo. On the other hand, Gardiner (1986) demonstrates conspicuous crescendi and decrescendi within individual phrases. Conductors including Guttenberg (1991) and Fasolis (1998) demonstrate *subito forte* and *accelerando* at the beginning of the phrase “Jesu, blicke mich auch an” (Jesus, also look on me) then softer at “Röhre mein Gewissen!” (Stir my inner conscience.).

Additionally, another contributing factor in how fast or slow the chorales were performed relates to the conductor’s philosophy regarding how long to hold the fermatas written in Bach’s chorales. David Schildkret advances the theory that fermatas in chorales were initially logistic in nature serving even in Bach’s day as a convention to help aid the singer match the text underlay with the musical notes in chorale books, which usually had many strophes.<sup>386</sup> Schildkret goes on to explain that this logistical practice was already customary by the time Bach began his compositional career so that it was more a habitual tradition to add the fermatas than their conveying a musical function. Another popular theory that has circulated are that fermatas that land on half cadences should be held just slightly while those that exhibit the strong harmonic function of dominant to tonic should be held longer. In the end, it is difficult to categorically say the exact function fermatas served in chorales. However, the recordings explored in this study demonstrate a variety of interpretations in the execution of fermatas.

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<sup>386</sup> David Schildkret, “Toward a Correct Performance of Fermatas in Bach’s Chorales,” *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 19.1 (1988): 23-24.

## Dynamics

Most scholars and performers believe that the basic default volume in Baroque music was *forte*.<sup>387</sup> However, the accord becomes less unified when the topic turns to the practice of terraced dynamics.<sup>388</sup> Those in favor of terraced dynamics cite the sonic character of Baroque instruments like the harpsichord and organ as evidence for its use.<sup>389</sup> Conversely, those who favor utilizing expressive crescendos and decrescendos point to the fact that the Baroque period was one grounded in the vocal idiom, in which the voice could demonstrate crescendos and decrescendos. String instruments emulate this ability.<sup>390</sup> In 1985, Robert Marshall published a comprehensive study of Bach's dynamics markings and found that Bach never indicated dynamics beyond *forte* but frequently used a myriad of different shadings of piano. Scholars like Mendel caution those who personally introduce a number of dynamic expressions like crescendos or decrescendos because the composition itself organically possesses dynamic shades by virtue of the thickening or thinning of contrapuntal textures.<sup>391</sup>

As will be demonstrated in individual movements many conductors made decisions to present gradual, long-term gradation in dynamics to increase the dramatic character of the choruses while others presented a more objective uniform approach to volume in the music.

## Rhythm

Discussions of rhythm have focused primarily on dotted rhythms, over dotting and *notes inégales*. These characteristics were more prominent because French Baroque sources discuss matters of rhythm in greater specificity than other sources.<sup>392</sup> As with other issues of performance practice, Roland Jackson states that there is no hard evidence that Bach made use of *notes inégales* (note inequality).<sup>393</sup> Issues and examples of rhythm can become overwhelming, often lost in minutiae with trivial implications. Additionally,

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<sup>387</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 124.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

<sup>391</sup> Arthur Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion* Vocal Score, New York: Schirmer, 1951, xxxvi.

<sup>392</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 170.

<sup>393</sup> Roland Jackson, "Bach and Performance Practice," *Goldberg* 34 (June-August 2005), <http://www.goldbergweb.com> (accessed August 2, 2007): 10.

rhythm alterations can be executed unconsciously. This fact is recognized by Robert Donington who claims, “overdotting...still survives to the extent to which every alert musician will sharpen a crisp rhythm without noticing that he is doing so.”<sup>394</sup>

### Articulation

In the past twenty-five years, much has been written regarding articulation marks used by Bach. In this area particularly valuable is John Butt’s 1990 book, *Bach’s Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J.S. Bach*, that boasts an impressive comprehensive assessment of articulation marks employed by Bach. Mendel focuses on only two articulation markings, the slur and the dot, due to the fact they are the only markings found throughout the *St. John Passion*.<sup>395</sup> The initial note under a slur marking receives an accentuation that is executed by a new bow stroke on a string instrument or the only note tongued of a slurred group in a wind instrument or vocally an increase in volume on the initial note.<sup>396</sup> Dots can be interpreted with the sharpest staccato or a light disturbance of a legato line.<sup>397</sup>

### Pitch

For many years, it has been attractive to perform repertory in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a semitone lower than the modern tuning standard. Often referred to as “baroque pitch,” this practice provides an impression of temperament and tuning that is oversimplified and grossly generalized. It is not relevant to discuss in detail these matters other than to say that “baroque pitch” represents just one of many complex possibilities used in this era. The fashionableness of “baroque pitch” (A= 415) can be demonstrated when comparing pitch standards in the recordings of the *St. John Passion*. Twenty-six of thirty-eight recordings (68%) performed in what is referred to as “baroque pitch” while 12 recordings performed in “modern pitch” (32%).

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<sup>394</sup> Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*. (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1990), 447.

<sup>395</sup> Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion Vocal Score*, xxxvii.

<sup>396</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>397</sup> Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion Vocal Score*, xxxix.

Table 3 Pitch Standards

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Pitch</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	A 415
Gardiner	1986	A 415
Herreweghe	1987	A 415
Kuijken	1987	A 415
Schreier	1988	A 440
Christophers	1989	A 415
Slowik	1989	A 415
Max	1990	A 415
Parrott	1990	A 415
Weyand	1990	A 440
Guttenberg	1991	A 440
Ericson	1993	A 415
Harnoncourt	1993	A 415
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	A 415
Koopman	1993	A 415
Corboz	1994	A 440
Cleobury	1996	A 415
Dombrecht	1996	A 415
Milnes	1996	A 415
Rilling	1996	A 440
Beringer	1997	A 440
Noll	1997	A 415
Fasolis	1998	A 415
Güttler	1998	A 440
Schulz	1998	A 440
Suzuki	1998	A 415
Daus	1999	A 440
Neumann	1999	A 415
Smith	1999	A 440
Suzuki	2000	A 415
Herreweghe	2001	A 415
Leusink	2001	A 415
Schreier	2001	A 440
Higginbottom	2002	A 415
Hempfling	2004	A 415
Veldhoven	2004	A 415
Carrington	2006	A 415
Max	2006	A 440

## Ornamentation

Ornamentation, which is a vital component in musical rhetoric, serves to enhance the musical expressiveness of a work.<sup>398</sup> The degree that Bach integrated ornamentation within his music has been highly contested. Many cite Scheibe's criticism of Bach's practice of writing out ornamentation and assimilating it organically within his compositions as proof that Bach specifically wrote out every ornament he desired, thus requiring the performer not to add additional ornamentation. Others however feel that conventional practice of the day innately guided performers where to provide ornaments and other improvisatory devices, citing as an example the genre of jazz in contemporary society. Arthur Mendel in his forward to the G. Schimer vocal edition of the *St. John Passion* writes:

Because of the essentially improvisatory character of trills, appoggiaturas, and other ornaments, the attempt to write out what metric value each tone is to have can never be successful. I think this may be partly what Schiebe meant in criticizing Bach for writing out so much...what makes a performer convincing is always the illusion of spontaneous -in this sense, improvisatory-expression he is able to create, and the attempt to pin down the rhythm of living music at all in the crudely simple arithmetical ratios of notated meter is [hardly]...possible.<sup>399</sup>

The subject of ornaments is not as essential and paramount to this dissertation because the parts of the *St. John Passion* explored in this dissertation are choruses, chorales and two arias that involve choral accompaniment. However, ornaments, in particular the trill, are employed in certain choruses, chorales and two arias and they will be analyzed to determine how they are interpreted. The most common practice of how to execute the trill was suggested early in the twentieth century by Dolmetsch who used as evidence Couperin's and Quantz's writings on the subject.<sup>400</sup> Dolmetsch writes that this practice places the trill on the beat and starting from above, a practice that he states would have universally been used by Bach as well as his contemporaries.<sup>401</sup> Mendel states that while Bach's writings about ornaments are meager, save for his example in *Clavierbüchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, the evidence corroborates other sources

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<sup>398</sup> Golomb, "Expression and Meaning in Bach's Performance and Reception," 144.

<sup>399</sup> Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion Vocal Score*, xxii.

<sup>400</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 140.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

that the trill initiates on the dissonant appoggiatura.<sup>402</sup> However, others like Emery and Mendel suggested that ornamentation should never be viewed in absolutes but with a flexibility and open-mindness to possible exceptions in interpretation.<sup>403</sup>

### 1 Herr, unser Herrscher (Chorus)

Conductors made many distinctive choices when approaching this monumental chorus. From the opening, conductors made specific choices to either equally and lightly separate the continuo part or, to do as these conductors who all represented continental Europe: Harnoncourt (1985) (1993), Dombrecht (1996), Fasolis (1998), Güttler (1998) and Hempfling (2004), did to strongly accent the first and third beats in each measure. While there were degrees of accent within the recordings, the most notable was Fasolis (1998), who added a strong lower foundation that added an ominous depth that was different from any other interpretation.

The upper winds, who play in dissonances of seconds and tritones beginning in the first measure, were played with initial accents and then decay or blossom into the tone. The degrees of crescendi on these long notes were held within a tasteful and discrete range with no interpretation using a strong and overt crescendo across the bar lines.

More obvious amounts of crescendi were used in the measures leading up to the entrance of the chorus. The majority of recordings began the crescendo in the three measures leading up to the chorus entrance (mm. 16-18). These measures, characterized with a quicker harmonic rhythm, have variable degrees of crescendi from the very obvious and full to the subtle, like Noll (1997). Guttenberg (1991) has a more prolonged crescendo in his recording that began at measure 10.

The tri-declamation statement of “Herr” (Lord) made by the chorus after the eighteen-bar instrumental sinfonia, and subsequently in two other places (mm. 23b-24, 40a-41a) is either approached as the quarter receiving its fullest value or the tone sung with immediate decay. This is often expressed as an eighth note tone followed by an eighth rest and can have the dramatic effect of a distraught outcry for help. Consistently,

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<sup>402</sup> Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion Vocal Score*, xxvii.

<sup>403</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 140.

many of the recordings demonstrated a full-voiced sound with core in a *tenuto* style, but Jos van Veldhoven begins the first two “Herr” with full volume with subsequent decay with the last “Herr” sung soft with a full tenuto value.

Conductors made various decisions regarding inserting trills into the score. The edited *NBA* score by Arthur Mendel of the first movement shows only one marked trill (B flat) at measure thirty-two in the Tranverse Flute 2 /Oboe 2 part. Conductors chose to enhance the music by adding trills in the following places:

Measure 2	F sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 9	C sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 15	F sharp (4 <sup>th</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 18	F sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 20	F sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 32	C sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 48	C sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 48	C sharp (4 <sup>th</sup> beat)	Soprano vocal part
Measure 56	C sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Bass vocal part
Measure 57	F sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Tranverse Flute 1/ Oboe 1 part
Measure 57	F sharp (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Soprano vocal part
Measure 94	C sharp and E flat (3 <sup>rd</sup> beat)	Soprano and Tenor vocal part

Jos van Veldhoven (2004) chose not to insert the written B flat trill at measure thirty-two.

German conductors Noll (1997) and Gütter (1998) had the fastest recordings in the thirty-eight analyzed lasting 7:33 and 7:47, respectively. Belgium conductor, Kuijken (1987) was recorded as the slowest coming in three minutes slower than the fastest recording at 10:34. German conductor Schulz was the second slowest with 10:25. For this movement Hempfling’s 2004 recording is unusual in that it begins with MM72 on the outset and suddenly jumps to MM80 on the anacrusis of measure 21.

Nikolaus Harnoncourt’s 1985 recording demonstrates an array of dynamic shadings, more than any other recording analyzed. Harnoncourt’s dynamics show careful planning in presenting softer dynamics in imitative and lighter textures and louder dynamics in homophonic and thicker textures. Recordings like Kuijken (1987) present an objective treatment of dynamics without variance, with forte as the default.

For this movement two other recordings should be noted for their interesting treatment of vocal forces. Both American Eric Milnes (1996) and Dutchman Jos van Veldhoven (2004) use the concept of concertists to sing selected imitative passages in

measures 58-69a and 78b-86a. The result is a marked contrast in dynamics and vocal quality in these sections with lighter textures.

### 2<sup>b</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> Jesum von Nazareth (Chorus)

This pair of turba choruses responds to the events of Judas's betrayal and represents the officers of the Pharisees and chief priests. The dramatic nature of these turba choruses is achieved in various ways. A conductor may choose a fast tempo to indicate turmoil and chaos. Or, the conductor may choose a moderate or slow tempo but sing at a loud dynamic level to suggest emotional intensity. Of course a combination of fast and loud is also possible.

The thirty-eight consulted recordings show a preference for a full dynamic level with moderate tempo. However, soft renderings and fast tempos were also well represented. The fastest recordings were timed at eight seconds with the slowest at eleven seconds. Two recordings were different enough to deserve mention. All except one recording treated both choruses identically. Fasolis (1998) presented a stronger dynamic level in the first 2b chorus. However, in the second 2d chorus it was starkly quieter. Another quiet, almost whispering, interpretation of these choruses was Harnoncourt's 1993 recording. One last observation concerns the final quarter note that ends both of these short choruses. Various conductors make these quarter notes speak for their fullest value while others make them very brief to promote a seamless transition into the following recitative. One recording (Guttenberg 1991) holds the final quarter note of both choruses for double its value.

### 3 O große Lieb (Chorale)

Arthur Mendel in his introduction to the 1951 G. Schirmer vocal score provides interesting insight into this chorale that speaks of Christ's sacrifice. "O große Lieb" and "Ach großer König" share the same melody written by Johann Crüger. The provenance of the text is derived from, in respective order, the seventh stanza and the eighth and ninth stanzas from Johann Heermann's hymn *Herzliebster Jesu*.<sup>404</sup> When Bach set these tunes he placed a fermata on the third word "Lieb" in "O große Lieb," while there are no

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<sup>404</sup> Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion* Vocal Score, xx.

fermatas present until the end of the first stanza in “Ach großer König.”<sup>405</sup> This deliberate addition of the fermata on the word “Lieb” suggests that Bach intended the fermata to be observed and performed in a way to highlight the word “love.” This contradicts theories like David Schildkret’s that Bach used fermatas only out of habit and convention rather for expressive moments.

This chorale was interpreted in many different ways. Overall most recordings were performed in a calm, reflective manner with a soft dynamic. But Cleobury (1996) and Rilling (1996) did present this chorale with full volume. Rilling’s interpretation changes to an even stronger and fuller dynamic level in the last phrase to underscore the text “and you must suffer.” The duration that the fermatas were held was diverse but none were held out longer than 3 beats, except Weyand (1990) who held the last fermata on “leiden” for five seconds. In terms of phrasing, conductors treated fermatas as a chance to punctuate the phrase and breathe, but two conductors preferred longer phrasing resulting from no breaths being taken at particular fermatas. Beringer (1997), who was the slowest interpretation for this movement at a minute and three seconds, chose to quietly illide the phrases “Ich lebte mit der Welt in Lust und Freuden” with “und du mußt leiden.” Leusink (2001), who was the fastest interpretation for this movement at thirty-six seconds, connected the phrases “O Lieb ohn alle Maße” with “die dich gebracht auf diese Marterstraße!”

### 5 Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich (Chorale)

This chorale reflects on the text “Thy Will Be Done” from the Lord’s Prayer.<sup>406</sup> The text influenced many conductors to choose a softer to medium dynamic to depict a prayerful attitude. However, this did not deter Weyand (1990) and Guttenberg (1991) from presenting the text in a full and loud dynamic. Overall, this chorale was treated with a large degree of objectiveness. Most of the variety present within the recordings dealt with phrasing. Nine recordings lifted after the first comma on the word “gesheh.” Seven conductors showed a preference for a longer phrase by ignoring the fermata on the word “zugleich” and connecting the phrase to end at the second

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<sup>405</sup> Ibid.

<sup>406</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 139.

fermata on “Himmelreich.” Yet most conductors observed each written fermata, taking time for a only a breath, which in actuality turned the quarter notes to simply eighth notes followed by an eighth rest. Conductors from Germany earned the distinction of having the top two fastest and slowest recordings for this chorale. Guttenberg (1991) and Hempfling (2004) were 0:35 and 0:38 respectively while Max (2006) and Daus (1999) both were timed at 1:02.

### 11 Wer hat dich so geschlagen (Chorale)

The duality of Christ’s innocence and mankind’s sinfulness as the root that ultimately causes his suffering is the foundation of this chorale.<sup>407</sup> Several conductors concerned themselves with promoting the prose by ignoring selected fermatas and thus creating longer phrases. Fifteen conductors combined these phrases usually in places where the text is punctuated with commas while twenty-three conductors observed each fermata. Dynamics, which also could be viewed as a tool to interpret text, were also treated in various ways. Sixteen conductors provided no dynamic contrast in the two chorale stanzas while twenty-two did.

In terms of articulation, conductors showed an unusual amount of agreement in separating the last three notes in each stanza on the words “weißt du nicht” and “Marterheer,” respectively. The amount of separation varied but most conductors used tenuto style. However, Harnoncourt (1985) and Schulz (1998) used staccatos to articulate these ending notes more sharply, perhaps to effectively represent the text. Another effort in text description led conductors Noll (1997) and Herreweghe (2001) to alter the notes slightly in the tenor part to promote more discord on the word “Plagen” (torments). This was achieved by replacing the notes in measure 4 of the tenor part E, D#, G# with C, C#, G#.

German conductors Max (1990) and Hempfling (2004) were the fastest versions of this movement, with 1:13 and 1:14 respectively, while German conductor Daus (1999) and Belgium conductor Kuijken were the slowest at 2:17 and 2:12.

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<sup>407</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 140.

### 12<sup>b</sup> Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer (Chorus)

This chorus, which follows Peter's second and third denial of Jesus, represents one of the few explicit indications of tempo by Bach.<sup>408</sup> Marked "Allegro" this turba chorus is a vivid representation of people asking Peter, "Are you not one of his disciples?" Conductors choose many possibilities in painting this text. The text when taken fast and quietly sounds like whispering and gossiping. The recordings of Milnes (1996) and Beringer (1997) best typify this dramatic possibility. Twenty-five conductors chose to stay constant in tempo and dynamics throughout the short seventeen-bar movement. Eight conductors gradually increased the tempo and dynamics. One conductor, Gardiner (1986), chose to increase the tempo but stayed at the same dynamic level. Two conductors, Christophers (1989) and Fasolis (1998), chose to keep the tempo steady but dramatically increased the volume. Four conductors selected to stay softer until the last phrase in which it became suddenly louder, and two conductors started with a full dynamic and became softer at the end. Harnoncourt's (1993) recording was the only one that had a complete break from the preceding recitative to the chorus. All of the other recordings had a seamless attacca. The majority of conductors did not hold out the fermata half note for the full value.

### 14 Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück (Chorale)

This chorale, whose melody is also used for the chorale "Er nahm alles wohl in acht" (NBA 28), closes the first part of the *St. John Passion*. The text, which associates Peter's betrayal of Christ with our own, solicits a remorseful conscience.<sup>409</sup> Overall, conductors preferred to perform this movement at a softer dynamic, particularly in relation to the following chorale, "Christus, der uns selig macht." Many conductors objectively portrayed the text with a uniform dynamic that did not change regardless of the text. However, there were numerous conductors who expressively depicted the text with either subtle or overt dynamic changes. For example, many conductors followed the following dynamic scheme: a piano dynamic with the text, "der doch auf ein' ernstern Blick bitterlichen weinet" (who yet at a solemn glance bitter tears doth weep) then a

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<sup>408</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 140.

<sup>409</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 140.

subsequent forte dynamic at “Jesu, blikke mich auch an, wenn ich nicht will büßen; wenn ich Böses hab getan,” (Jesus, also look on me, when I resist repentance when things evil I have done), changing again to end in a piano dynamic with the phrase, “röhre mein Gewissen,” (stir my inner conscience).<sup>410</sup>

Various decisions were made regarding phrasing. Nineteen conductors performed this chorale observing every fermata without any additional punctuation taken. Two conductors (Gardiner 1986, Max 2006) ignored the first fermata located in bar two on the word “zurück” creating a four-bar phrase. Likewise, two conductors (Cleobury 1996, Max 2006) ignored the fermata located in bar six on the word “Blick” also resulting in a four-bar phrase. Ten conductors made the poetic decision to lift after the first word of “Petrus.”

Tempo results indicate a wide range in data collected. German conductor Hermann Max (1990) performed this chorale the fastest at 0:47 seconds while Dutch conductor Leusink was second at 0:51 and German conductor Hempfling was third at 0:52. German conductors Neumann (1999) and Beringer (1997) were the slowest two conductors at 1:30 and 1:27, respectively, and Belgium conductor Kuijken was third slowest at 1:20. Data analysis demonstrates no observable trend in tempo over the last twenty-five years.

### 15 Christus, der uns selig macht (Chorale)

This chorale, which traditionally followed the sermon in Bach’s day, is the first movement in part two. The chorale recollects the events of Christ’s capture, false accusations against him and the humiliation he suffered through the mocking, scorning and spitting upon from the people.<sup>411</sup> All of the thirty-eight recordings reviewed began this chorale in a full and strong dynamic level from mezzo-forte to forte. However, after four bars into the chorale conductors made various decisions regarding the dynamics. Many used a consistent mezzo-forte to forte dynamic throughout the chorale while others chose dynamic shadings that best reflected the text. For example, Veldhoven (2004) decided to make the phrase beginning in bar five, “der ward für uns in der Nacht als ein Dieb gefangen,” (Who for us was in the night like a thief arrested,) a piano to reflect

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<sup>410</sup> Translations are from Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion: Genesis, Transmission and Meaning*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2000, 144.

<sup>411</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 141.

night. Several conductors elected to make the phrase (starting in measure eleven) loud to reflect the severe text, “und fälschlich verklaget, verlacht, verhöhnt und verspeit,” (and falsely accused, derided, mocked and spat upon,) then turning to a piano dynamic to objectively portray the last phrase, “wie denn die Schrift saget.” (as the scriptures tell us.)<sup>412</sup>

This chorale inspired various decisions regarding phrasing. Twenty-five conductors decided to perform each fermata written in this chorale. Seven conductors chose to ignore the fermata at measure six, “Nacht,” perhaps due to the absence of a comma in the phrase. Thus, this phrase extends into a four bar phrase. Likewise, several conductors chose to perform a four-bar phrase in measures 9-12 by disregarding the fermata at measure 10 on the word “Leut.” Ten conductors punctuated after the first word “Christus.” An overwhelming consensus (all but two conductors Neumann 1999, Hempfling 2004) chose to dramatically portray “verlacht” (scorn) with separation and staccato articulation. Very few of the conductors studied truly held the half-note fermata to its fullest value. Rather most would put the consonant on the later half of the second beat. Many others elected to only hold the fermata out for one count with the consonant and rest occurring on the second beat. In Noll’s (1997) recording he demonstrates the practice of adding half of the original value to the note, thus holding it out for three beats.

In terms of tempo, German conductor Hermann Max (1990) recorded the fastest time for this chorale with 0:46 seconds while Dutch conductor Leusink (2001) and American conductor Milnes (1996) were both at 0:50. The slowest portrayal of this chorale belongs to Belgium conductor Kuijken (1987) at 1:19 with two German conductors, Noll (1997) and Beringer (1997), earning second and third with recording times of 1:11 and 1:10, respectively. No drastic tempo shifts were observed in this chorale.

#### 16<sup>b</sup> Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter (Chorus)

The contrapuntal thickness that Bach composes into this brief movement portrays vividly the tumultuous frenzy of the turba. The ascending chromatic line on “Übeltäter” (troublemaker) is usually voiced in the higher register for each voice part as to guarantee

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<sup>412</sup> Translations in this paragraph are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 144-147.

its delivery. Interestingly enough, to a large degree there is consistency in the thirty-eight recordings obtained for this study.

In the expressive realm of dynamics, given the dramatic nature of this chorus it is not surprising that all of the conductors decided to perform this movement with a forte dynamic. Most of the conductors did not stray from forte throughout the movement except in a few instances. In bars thirty-five and thirty-six several selected to vary the dynamic level with the reiteration of “nicht” (no) by the crowd. For example, conductors Dombrect (1996) and Beringer (1997) went from soft to forte with each reiteration of “nicht.” Conversely, Koopman (1993) and Rilling (1996) decreased volume with each reiteration from forte to piano. Two other conductors, Schreier (1988) and Noll (1997) performed each “nicht” soft then exploded in volume with the subsequent homophonic statement “wir hätten dir ihn nicht überantwortet” (we would not have delivered him up unto thee).<sup>413</sup>

All of conductors presented this chorus with a marcato articulation obviously to render the crowd’s frenzy. Likewise, in terms of ornamentation, every conductor seemed to implement the trills where the score explicitly calls for them and additionally the trills were consistently executed in the same manner. Admittedly, it was sometimes difficult to clearly hear each of the six places where Bach wrote specific trills due to the loudness in dynamic level and contrapuntal thickness.

It seems that tempo is where conductors showed more variance than in other tools of expression. However, even that was relatively consistent, particularly within the last decade, throughout the twenty-five year span of studied recordings. German conductors represented the top three fastest and slowest renderings of this movement with Hempfling (2004) providing the fastest presentation at 0:53 and Weyand (1990) giving the slowest performance at 1:11.

#### 16<sup>d</sup> Wir dürfen niemand töten (Chorus)

This A minor turba chorus that describes the crowd reminding Pilate that it is unlawful for them to kill any man is a truncated and transposed adaptation of “Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter” (NBA 16b).<sup>414</sup> Roehrig points out that Bach added two and a

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<sup>413</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 146-147.

<sup>414</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973, 120.

half beats at the beginning of this chorus while using counterpoint in the upper voices in measures 1 and 2 that is reminiscent of motivic material from the second part of “Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter.”<sup>415</sup> Moreover, the alto and tenor lines are exchanged with measures 14-16 added.<sup>416</sup> The obbligato part featuring a sixteenth-note figuration in the Flute and Violin I part is the same as other previous and ensuing turba choruses like 2a, 2d, 18b and 23f.<sup>417</sup>

This chorus is approached with relative uniformity by conductors reviewed in this dissertation. However, there were a few subtle differences that were present upon review of the recordings. Conductors like Schreier (1988) highlighted the last phrase “wir dürfen niemand töten” of this movement with an increase of dynamics. This homophonic setting of the text follows many measures of contrapuntal interplay. Conductors ended this movement by either holding out the last quarter note a full value or decayed the quarter note. Guttenberg (1991) was the only conductor surveyed who held out the last quarter note longer than its written value, with two beats.

The top three fastest recordings of this movement all belong to German conductors recorded at 0:32 seconds, Schreier (1998), Hempfling (2004) and Max (1990). The top three slowest recordings are Swiss conductor, Corboz (1994) at 0:41, German conductor Schulz (1998) and Austrian conductor Harnoncourt (1993) at 0:39.

### 17 Ach großer König (Chorale)

This chorale shares the same tune and poetic design as the first chorale in the Passion, “O große Lieb” (NBA 3).<sup>418</sup> “Ach großer König” is a whole step higher (A minor) than its antecedent (G minor) and is also harmonized differently featuring an active moving bass line.<sup>419</sup> The text is taken from verses eight and nine of “Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen” and speaks to the great gift of mercy that Christ has bestowed upon man and asks the question, how can one repay through deeds the ultimate act of love?<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>415</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973, 120.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>418</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 79.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

Many conductors took advantage of the two verses within this chorale to be expressive dynamically. Around half of the recordings heard dynamically contrasted the first and second verses, all which presented the first verse louder and the second verse softer. A few conductors even changed dynamic levels within verses usually to reflect the text being sung. For example, Christophers (1989) who presents the second verse in a piano dynamic but sings the last phrase of verse two, “im Werk erstatten?” (in work repay thee?) in a forte dynamic.<sup>421</sup> Harnoncourt (1993) decided to do the opposite by making the last three words of verse two softer.

Tempo analysis shows no particular concrete trend in the recordings examined of this movement. Rather the tempo durations show variable results void of predictability. Several conductors made unique choices in their interpretation of tempo. Harnoncourt (1985) who takes both verses in a forte dynamic chose to add variety by making the second verse faster. In contrast, Beringer (1997) progressively takes the second verse slower and slower. The fastest recording of this movement is by American conductor Milnes (1996) at 1:08 and the slowest is German conductor Max (2006) at 1:46.

All of the conductors examined observed the trill in measure 3 found in the soprano part. In terms of phrasing, many conductors decided to highlight the first phrase, “Ach großer König” by breathing. Curiously, the only two recordings to ignore fermatas in this chorale came from the two latest recordings from 2006. Max (2006) did not breath at the fermata located at measure 9, rather he carried over for a longer phrase, “ausdenken” and “Liebestaten.” Likewise, Carrington (2006) also did not break the fermata on the second verse, also electing for the longer phrase at “Liebestaten.”

The majority of conductors either treated the fermatas as an eighth note followed by an eighth rest for the breath or truly held the tone for one full beat. Max (2006) elongated each fermata, except for the last in each verse, for a full two beats before the breath occurred. Cleobury (1996) held out the final fermatas longer than any other analyzed recording with four full beats in the first verse and five full beats in the second verse. Most conductors treated these fermatas with two beats for verse one and three for verse two.

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<sup>421</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 148-149.

18<sup>b</sup> Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam (Chorus)

This brief four bar turba chorus demonstrates the fury of the crowd as they demand the release of Barrabas, not Jesus. The brevity of this chorus does not provide much opportunity for unique interpretations. However, a few conductors like Schreier (1988), Slowik (1989), Max (1990), Cleobury (1996), Güttler (1998) and Max (2006) in various degrees became increasingly faster which supported the vehemence of the crowd.

While all of the recordings presented a full dynamic to represent the ferocity of the turba, Schreier (1989), Max (1990) and Fasolis (1998) also added a crescendo within the four bars to add tension within the movement. As would be expected, the analysis of the movement duration shows greater consistency within the recordings analyzed with only 3 seconds separating the fastest recording, German conductor Max (1990) at 0:08 with the slowest, German conductor Schulz (1998) at 0:11.

21<sup>b</sup> Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig (Chorus)

This fugal-imitative B flat major chorus derides and jeers Jesus as the “King of the Jews.” The sparser texture encourages a lightness in the opening chorus entrances from nearly all of the recordings heard. Several recordings like Schreier (1988), Weyand (1990), Guttenberg (1991), Corboz (1994), Neumann (1999) and Veldhoven (2004) became *subito forte* at the third beat of measure 11. Conductors Guttenberg (1991), Koopman (1993) and Neumann (1999) crescendo on the quarter note tied to an eighth note on the word “lieber” in measures 11-13.

All of the recordings heard incorporate the written trill found in the Bass and Continuo part in measure 12, second beat. In regard to articulation most of the conductors observed the staccato marks at the end of the movement on the word “König.” However, Cleobury chooses to treat the last staccato as a tenuto mark holding out the last syllable of “König.”

When compared to other movements within the *St. John Passion*, “Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig” shows only a slight differentiation in tempo choices. All three of the fastest versions of this movement are from German conductors, Max (1990) at 0:28, Hempfling (2004) and Güttler (1998), both were also at 0:30. German conductor

Weyand (1990) was documented as the slowest at 0:37 while German conductor Dombrecht (0:35) and Dutch conductor Leusink (2001) were the second and third slowest recordings both at 0:35.

#### 21<sup>d</sup> Kreuzige, kreuzige (Chorus)

The belligerent cries to “Crucify, Crucify” make this chorus a potent display of poignant drama. *In toto* the interpretations were full volume. Rilling (1996) chose dynamic variety by reducing volume in measures 40 and 41 and twenty-seven recordings heard executed an obvious crescendo in bar 50 starting on the third beat of the bass vocal part singing a D above middle C to the end of the movement, two measures later. Two conductors Suzuki (2000) and Herreweghe (2001) added a trill in bar 42.

Other than these cases, variety was best demonstrated through the conductor’s choice of tempo. Hempfling (2004) added to the dramatization by adding an accelerando in the performance. The three fastest recordings were all registered at 0:46, German conductor Max (1990), American conductor Milnes (1996) and German conductor Hempfling (2004). The slowest recordings show that German conductors Rilling (1996) and Weyand (1990) were 0:58 and 0:57 ,respectively, and the third slowest is attributed to English conductor Gardiner (1986) at 0:56.

#### 21<sup>f</sup> Wir haben ein Gesetz (Chorus)

In formal design Bach chose to set this text about the law with the form that is strictly governed by laws of composition, the fugue. Recordings of this F major fugue demonstrate a variety of beginning dynamics but overall conductors chose to present the intial statement of the fugue in a strong forte dynamic. While many conductors chose a uniform forte dynamic throughout there were some who took advantage of the fugue form to add dynamic variety. For example, Schreier (1988), Corboz (1994), Milnes (1996) and Dombrecht (1996) performed episodic sections like measures 80-81 and 85 - 86 noticeably quieter. Choices of dynamics were also used to help create contrast. Schreier (1988) creates contrast by making measure 86 piano then a bar later ends the movement in a frenzied *subito forte*. Some conductors made decisions regarding dynamics that

seem to have no bearing on formal design as evidenced by Rilling (1996), who for no known reason, uses piano in measures 72-81 and ends the movement in a forte dynamic.

Three conductors used trills with discretion. Slowik (1989) added trills in the Soprano and Tenor vocal part on each top line F in measure eighty-eight. Likewise, Veldhoven (2004) added the trill in only the tenor part F in measure eighty-eight while Higginbottom (2001) made the decision for the Soprano part to trill on the D in measure eighty-nine. Other unique artistic decisions were made with Guttenberg (1991) who takes a break after the cadence from the previous recitative before starting the fugue statement. Guttenberg (1991) and Beringer (1997) hold the final note of the chorus for an unusually longer time than their contemporaries. Lastly, Carrington (2006) inserts a fermata and holds the F major chord on the second half of beat one in measure 87, which clearly sectionalizes the last three measures.

The fastest interpretation of this movement belongs to German conductor Max (1990) at 1:06 while Dutchman Koopman (1993) and German Noll (1997) were both timed at 1:09. All three of the slowest interpretations were German conductors. Guttenberg (1991) rendered the movement in 2:08 while Weyand (1990) and Beringer (1997) were timed at 1:32 and 1:27 respectively. The graphical analysis on this movement shows the recordings with a surprising amount of similar time durations, when one disregards momentarily Guttenberg's slowest movement.

### 22 Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)

This chorale explains that Christ's physical bondage and imprisonment allows us to be spiritually free.<sup>422</sup> Dynamically, the majority of the conductors desired a softer dynamic to perform this chorale, but there were a few who performed it in a mezzo-forte while Rilling (1996) sang it in a healthy forte dynamic.

Thirty-seven conductors observed every fermata written in this chorale. Only Guttenberg (1991) preferred a longer four-bar phrase by ignoring the first fermata in the beginning of the chorale. Most performed the fermatas with the tone and the choirs ending consonants occurring within one beat value. There were a few conductors who

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<sup>422</sup> Roehrig, Helmut J. "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973: a conductor's analysis in preparation for a performance." PhD diss., Indiana University, 1981, 142.

elongated the fermatas slightly longer, but never longer than two full beats. However, the last fermata was treated differently, lasting anywhere from 2 to 4 full beats, with most settling in the middle at 3 full beats. Lastly, eight conductors, Slowik (1989), Parrott (1990), Koopman (1993), Harnoncourt (1993), Corboz (1994), Rilling (1996), Daus (1999) and Herreweghe (2001) punctuated or lifted toward the end of the chorale after the word “Knechtschaft” (servitude).

Data from the duration graph shows a variety of chosen tempi demonstrating no consistency in how fast or slow conductors performed this movement in the twenty-five years studied. The top three fastest interpretations of this movement are all German conductors. Hempfing (2004) was the fastest of all recorded at 0:37. Max (1990) and Schreier (2001) were second and third at 0:43 and 0:45 respectively. The top two slowest recordings are also German conductors. Daus (1999) claims the slowest at 1:15 while Weyand (1990) was second at 1:04. American conductor Slowik (1989) was recorded at 1:01, making him the third slowest recording for this movement.

### 23<sup>b</sup> Lässt du diesen los (Chorus)

Structurally, other than different text underlay requiring syllabic adjustment, this chorus is nearly identical to the preceding chorus, “Wir haben ein Gesetz.”<sup>423</sup> The majority of the conductors performed this fugue in a full dynamic volume. Two conductors, Schreier (1988) and Milnes (1996), performed the greater part of this movement in a piano dynamic. However, these two conductors did show dynamic contrast. For example, Schreier and Milnes become *subito forte* in measures thirty-two to the end. Other dynamic shadings are demonstrated in Harnoncourt (1993) who gets softer from a full dynamic level in measure 17 and then gradually builds the dynamic level to measure 25.

The two trills located in this movement (measures 16 and 34) seemed to have been consistently performed. In some recordings it was difficult to categorically affirm if the trill in measure sixteen was executed due to balance and tempo issues. The alto trill in measure 16, which is in their lower range, was easily covered up depending if the

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<sup>423</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 112.

orchestra and chorus were unbalanced or if the tempo was brisk. The soprano and tenor trills in measure 34 were performed by every conductor except Herreweghe (1987).

All but two conductors demonstrated a consistent tempo throughout this movement. Both Schreier (1988) and Slowik (1989) began speeding up in the first ten measures after the initial tempo. The gathered evidence regarding the duration of this movement shows that recordings were rather close in results when compared to other movements within the *St. John Passion*. American conductor Milnes (1996) was distinguished as the fastest recording at 1:06 followed by Dutch conductor Koopman (1993) and English conductor Gardiner (1986) at 1:06 and 1:07. The top three slowest interpretations belong to German conductor Weyand (1990) at 1:20 followed by Smith (1999) at 1:18 and last Belgium conductor Kuijken (1987) at 1:17.

### 23<sup>d</sup> Weg, weg mit dem (Chorus)

The crowd's insistent demands to take Jesus away and crucify him are accounted for in this chorus. The chorus which is modeled after "Kreuzige, kreuzige" (21<sup>d</sup>) has been lowered a half step to the key of F sharp minor.<sup>424</sup> Additionally, three measures were added to the beginning of the chorus.<sup>425</sup> As might be expected, the dramatic nature of this chorus influenced every conductor examined to present it in a full forte dynamic. The sobering dissonances beginning in measures 48 are often hit and decayed in various degrees for effect. However, Fasolis (1998) demonstrated tension in the line by a conspicuous crescendo through the dissonances. One final point regarding dynamics in this movement: many conductors used the basses' higher register, singing a middle C, to expressively marshal a crescendo in all of the parts to the end of the movement.

Most of the recordings analyzed prominently featured the ornamental trill in measure 61 of the continuo part but there were a few recordings (nine) that were difficult to categorically hear the trill being executed due to the loudness or lack of balance of other parts in relation to the trill. Based on the other movements it is not surprising that

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<sup>424</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 124.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid.

Beringer (1997) held out the last note considerably longer than his cohorts to add an additional element of gravitas to the movement.

Milnes's (1996) recording of this movement is at such a fast tempo that it adds an element of fury to the turba. So it comes as no surprise that his interpretation has the shortest duration at 0:49. Second is Dutch conductor Koopman (1993) at 0:52 followed by the third fastest, German conductor Max (1990) at 0:53. German conductor Weyand (1990) has the distinction of being the slowest, recorded at 1:04 while Harnoncourt (1993) and Rilling both performed this movement at 1:01.

### 23<sup>f</sup> Wir haben keinen König (Chorus)

This short, four-bar chorus in B minor has the high priests responding to Pilate's question "Shall I crucify your King?" with "We have no King but Ceaser."<sup>426</sup> Interpretively, conductors demonstrated variety when approaching this brief chorus. While the majority of conductors performed this chorus at a consistent full dynamic level, there were several who chose to perform this chorus softly throughout. Further dynamic diversity is present through several recordings (i.e. Harnoncourt (1985, 1993), Milnes (1996), Beringer (1997) and Noll (1997) that begin soft and crescendos to the end. Lastly, conductors Schreier (1988) and Herreweghe (2001) performed the first "wir" soft and then contrastingly sang the second "wir" loud.

The single ornamental trill located in measure 78 was executed by every conductor. The intial chorus entrance of "wir" was performed either with tone and decay (the majority of conductors chose this option) or singing the quarter note at its fullest value as demonstrated by conductors like Rilling (1996), Fasolis (1998), Güttler (1998) and Neumann (1999). These choices were also exercised in the last word, "Kaiser" followed by the last quarter note in the orchestra.

It would seem, based on how short this chorus is, that there would be less variety in tempo and duration. Based on graph analysis of the twenty-five years studied, the evidence does show a consistency in results around the first decade. However, after 1994, the results show more diversity in the recordings of this particular movement. The fastest recording comes from American Milnes (1996) at 0:07 followed by Austrian conductor

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<sup>426</sup>Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 158-159.

Harnoncourt (1985) and German conductor Max (1990) at 0:08. The slowest recordings of this movement, first goes to another American conductor, Smith (1999) at 0:18 followed by two German conductors Daus (1999) and Max (2006) at 0:12.

#### 24 Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen (Aria &Chorus)

In this G minor Bass aria with accompanying chorus, the soloist pleads for those who are seeking salvation to run to the hill of the cross – Golgotha.<sup>427</sup> By and large, this movement shows a consistency in choices that conductors made in terms of ornamentation. All of the written ornaments in the score, trills in measures 16 and 190 and the slide ornament in measure 126, were observed in all of the thirty-eight recordings analyzed. However, conductors used additional ornaments in this movement. All conductors employed a trill in measure 78 on the dotted eighth note even though there is not one explicitly written. Many conductors provided further ornamentation in the bass vocal line in measures 106-117. Specifically trills were added in measure 110 and measure 116 on the F naturals. Only Scholars Baroque (1993), Schulz (1998), Neumann (1999) and Max (2006) abstained from this practice. A variation on this, conductors Harnoncourt (1985), Schreier (1988), Slowik (1989), Beringer (1997), Smith (1999) and Herreweghe (2001) decided against using a trill in measure 110 but did employ one in measure 116 on the F natural. Other choices regarding ornamentation seemed more individual and not as prevalent in other recordings. For example, Weyand (1990) trills on the B flat in measures 123-124 in the upper instrumental part. Fasolis (1998) and Hempfling (2004) apply a trill in the bass vocal line in measure 131 (B natural) while only Fasolis (1998) trills in measure 174 on beat three in the bass vocal line. Koopman (1993) added a trill in the upper instrumental part in measures 145-146 while Koopman (1993), Cleobury (1996) and Schulz (1998) added a trill 148-149 on the B natural.

Alongside the running melismas in the voice and instrumental parts, dynamics were also used to expressively portray urgency in this aria and chorus. While many conductors used the chorus in a medium dynamic level there were several conductors who decided to use a hushed, almost inaudible, pianissimo that not only evokes excitement but also summons the thought that the chorus is far away. Conductors who

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<sup>427</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 158-159.

used this idea expressively were Schreier (1988), Christophers (1989), Parrott (1990), Cleobury (1996), Dombrecht (1996), Beringer (1997), Daus (1999) and Max (2006). Two conductors used a conspicuous crescendo and decrescendo in this movement Beringer (1997) from measures 159 to 173 and Max (2006) from measures 183-186.

Tempo and duration matters also showed variety. Conductors treated the fermatas in expressive and diverse ways. Several conductors preferred to ignore or gloss over selected fermatas. Case in point, Schreier (1988) ignores the fermata at measure 105 while conductors like Noll (1997) and Veldhoven (2004) make fermatas at measures 63 and 105 very short. In Christophers' recording (1989) the soloist reenters before the chorus has cut off from its fermata in measure 105. Most conductors chose to hold out the fermatas for a very long time instead of making them momentary. This is best demonstrated in the recordings of Guttenberg (1991), Corboz (1994), Beringer (1997), Smith (1999) and Neumann (1999).

The graph analysis of the movement shows no consistency in duration. This movement demonstrates how conductors made expressively unique and often distinctive choices that in the end affected the total duration of the movement. The top three fastest recordings, which could be construed as being very objective in their interpretations, are Parrott (1990) from England at 3:33 followed by German conductor Dombrecht (1996) also at 3:33 and last, The Scholars Baroque Ensemble from England at 3:38. The top three slowest recordings are all from German conductors. Beringer (1997) and Guttenberg (1991) both were recorded at 4:24 and Schulz (1998) 4:22.

### 25<sup>b</sup> Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König (Chorus)

This chorus is nearly identical to “Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig” (21<sup>b</sup>) except for the somewhat different instrumental parts at the beginning and the altered text which necessitate different rhythmic values.<sup>428</sup> The chorus tells of the chief priests who wanted Pilate to specifically rewrite the title on his cross from “Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews” to “He said, I am the King of the Jews.”<sup>429</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 125.

<sup>429</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 160-161.

Most of the conductors in the review decided to perform this chorus in a full volume. The other consistent element to this chorus is that every conductor executed the trill in measure 25. Beyond this, several conductors made unique and creative artistic decisions within this chorus. The one that was explored the most was an apparent increase in dynamic intensity on the phrase “sondern daß er gesaget habe” (but that he said) from all other phrases within the movement thus underscoring the insult from the chief priests on his claim. Two German conductors, Beringer (1997) and Hempfling (2004), performed this chorus with an added accelerando, indicative of a common technique used by conductors to add to the dramatic nature of turba choruses.

Two other comments in regards to articulation: first, the majority of the recordings performed this chorus in a marcato or martellato style. However, Christophers (1989) and Fasolis (1998) performed this chorus in a legato style. The staccato marks on the last word, “König,” were rarely performed in a true staccato style, rather more in line with tenuto articulation.

The tempo/duration results indicate that duration times were closer in proximity to each other than in other longer choruses and chorales. All three of the fastest recordings of this movement come from German conductors. Noll (1997) was first with 0:28 followed by Hempfling (2004) and Max (1990) both at 0:29. The slowest recordings come from German conductor Weyand (1990), American conductor Slowik (1989) and Austrian conductor Harnoncourt (1993) all at 0:35.

### 26 In meines Herzens Grunde (Chorale)

This E flat major chorale ponders on the sight of Christ hanging on the cross. Like the other chorales already explored, conductors either treated this chorale in an objective manner with uniform tempo, dynamics and releases on fermatas or they used tempo, dynamics and fermatas to expressively describe the chorale text. Those conductors who treated this chorale objectively, without variety in dynamics or phrasing, were in the minority. Many of the conductors began this chorale in a full volume, with less than ten conductors beginning the movement in a softer dynamic. The most common choice that conductors made in dynamic variety was to sing the last phrase, “wie du, Herr Christ, so

milde dich hast geblut' zu Tod!" (How thou, Lord Jesus, so gently Thyself didst bleed to death) in a piano dynamic.<sup>430</sup>

The recordings of this movement demonstrate that many conductors took seriously the responsibility of conveying the poetic text to the listener. The attention to the text is confirmed by the fact that many conductors chose to ignore several fermatas in order to maintain the flow of the poetic line. Frequently the fermata at measure ten, "Bilde," was ignored based on the absence of a comma in the poetry. However, several conductors ignored words on fermatas followed by commas. Gardiner (1986), Guttenberg (1991), Hempfling (2004) and Max (2006) decided to disregard the fermata on the word "Grunde" and carry over the phrase to "dein." Similarly, Guttenberg (1991) and Max (2006) ignored the fermata on "Stunde" and carried over to the word "drauf" thus creating a four bar phrase. The fermata on the word "milde," in measure 14, was overlooked by conductors Cleobury (1996), Beringer (1997), Leusink (2001) and Max (2006). The last five bars of the chorale received special attention by many conductors who broke the phrase up into several smaller units to effectively emphasize the text. This was achieved by breathing after "wie du," "Herr Christ" and "hast geblut."

In terms of the duration and tempo of this movement, German conductors represented nearly all of the top three fastest and slowest interpretations. German conductor Hempfling (2004) was the fastest at 0:43 followed by the German conductor Guttenberg (1991) at 0:44. The third fastest recording of this movement is Dutch conductor Leusink (2001) at 0:45. All three of the top three slowest recordings are from German conductors. First is Daus (1999) at 1:19 followed by Weyand (1990) at 1:17 and third is Neumann (1999) at 1:14. The variety of interpretations within this chorale ultimately affected its tempo and duration as seen in the graph analysis of this movement.

### 27<sup>b</sup> Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen (Chorus)

The gambling of Christ's garments is vividly conveyed in this C major chorus through a fugue whose subject is six measures long.<sup>431</sup> The four trills in this chorus (measures 32, 46, 60, 63) were executed by every recording analyzed. Also consistent

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<sup>430</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 160-161.

<sup>431</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 127.

was the practice of many conductors to implement a crescendo in the sections where the harmonic rhythm increases thereby making these areas noticeably louder than the rest of the movement. These sections are in measures 30-33, 43-47, and 61 to the end. Two conductors, Corboz (1994) and Christophers (1989) start an accelerando from measure 61 to the end.

The durations of this movement show an interesting trend. The beginning and middle of the twenty-five years studied show more variety in the duration of this movement than the latter part of the study from 2000 to present. The top three fastest recordings are American conductor Milnes at 1:12 followed by English conductor Christophers (1989) at 1:13 and lastly German conductor Schreier (1988) at 1:16. The slowest recordings of this movement are from German conductor Weyand (1990) at 1:37, second is Belgium conductor Kuijken (1987) at 1:31 and last, German conductor Schulz (1998) at 1:31.

### 28 Er nahm alles wohl in acht (Chorale)

This chorale melody which appeared beforehand as “Petrus, der nicht denkt Züruck” (no. 14) textually advises man to pattern himself after Christ, who even in the last hour, took care of all things and so as we should have our lives arranged in such order.<sup>432</sup> This chorale seemed to garner many different interpretive ideas from the conductors studied. However, dynamically a preponderance of conductors seemed to have similar dynamic predilections regarding this chorale. Most conductors began in a softer dynamic volume continuing for four lines where at “O Mensch” the volume is suddenly increased. This full volume usually lasted for three lines until the last line, “Und dich nicht betrübe” (and do not be sorrowful) where once again conductors return to a softer reflective dynamic.<sup>433</sup>

In relation to phrasing most conductors observed the bulk of fermatas written in this chorale. The conductors who did observe *Luftpause* did so on words or phrases such as “O Mensch.” Those conductors, Gardiner (1986), Cleobury (1996), Beringer (1997) and Max (2006), who were concerned in creating longer sustained lines in the interest of poetic understanding were inclined to disregard the fermata in bar two. To heighten

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<sup>432</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 143.

<sup>433</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 162-163.

expressiveness, conductors Milnes (1996) and Beringer (1997) held the fermata on the word “Leid” (pain) for an unusually long time in relation to their cohorts. For unclear reasons, Beringer (1997) ignored the fermata in bar 14 while Max (2006) disregarded the fermata in bar 6.

Diversification is seen in the results of the durations for this movement. While most recordings demonstrate subtle changes in tempo, Fasolis (1998) features a conspicuous accelerando beginning in bar nine on the text, “O Mensch.” The top two fastest recordings of this movement belong to German conductors, Hempfling (2004) and Max (1990) at 0:48 and 0:49 respectively. The third fastest recording comes from Dutch conductor Leusink at 0:51. Equally, the top two slowest recordings of this movement also belong to two German conductors, Daus (1999) at 1:34 followed by Beringer (1997) at 1:24. Swiss conductor, Fasolis (1998) performed this movement in 1:22 earning him the right as the third slowest recording.

### 32 Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen (Aria & Chorus)

This virtuosic bass aria accompanied by a homophonic four-part chorus presents several interesting performance considerations. It is worthy to note that the melodies sung by the choir are reoccurring from other chorales. The chorale melody heard in this movement is also used in the previous chorale, “Er nahm alles wohl in Acht” and also in the concluding movement of Part 1, “Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück.”<sup>434</sup> Additional melodic material is from the first movement of Part 2, chorale “Christus, de runs selig macht” and “O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn.”<sup>435</sup> Dorottya Fabian suggests that the balance of choir and soloist should be closely attended. She believes that even though Bach specifically wrote *piano sempre*, the balance between the soloist and choir should be more balanced rather than the choir singing in a subservient role to the soloist. Her basis of such a claim is grounded in the thought that Bach wanted the chorales infused in his vocal-instrumental works to be pervading. Surveying the thirty-eight recordings analyzed for this study, most conductors did not choose the option to have equalization of performing forces. On the contrary, most recordings gave preference to the soloist in

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<sup>434</sup> Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975*, 90.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

terms of balance. Conductors Herreweghe (1987), Kuijken (1987), Slowik (1989), Max (1990), Guttenberg (1991), Ericson (1993), Rilling (1996), Higginbottom (2001) and Carrington (2006) did choose a fuller choral accompaniment for this movement.

Mendel, in his introduction to the 1951 G. Schirmer vocal score of the *St. John Passion*, acknowledges the peculiarity of rhythm between the soloist and the choir. The meter for the soloist and continuo is explicitly 12/8 while the vocal and other instrumental parts are notated as Common time. Mendel believes that Bach implied that the quarter note in the vocal and instrumental parts should equal the dotted quarter note in the soloist and continuo parts.<sup>436</sup> The recordings demonstrate a perfect consensus of the idea as espoused by Mendel regarding proportional rhythmic alignment.

All of the written ornaments in this movement were adhered to. Surprisingly few additional improvisatory ornaments, other than those specifically written out, were explored in this movement. Those that were incorporated seemed to be consistently used by the majority of conductors. For example, there were a few added appoggiaturas in the continuo keyboard. Usually done when the organ was the continuo keyboard instrument, appoggiaturas were added to the first beats of measures 3, 14 and 45. In the bass vocal part trills were added in measure 18 on the B natural, measure 19 on the A sharp (beat three) and measure 37 on the C sharp (beat two).

A few additional comments should be made about decisions that conductors employed that added to the expressiveness of this movement. In various degrees all of the conductors analyzed employed a pregnant pause in measure 40 that is simply notated by Bach as an eighth rest. Distinctiveness was achieved by conductors Hempfling (2004) and Veldhoven (2004) who prominently featured the lute as a continuo instrument, perhaps representing a recent trend of renewed interest in the lute. Max's (2006) recording that features Schumann's edition of the *St. John Passion* uses the pianoforte as the continuo keyboard instrument providing a unique interpretation to the others evaluated.

Durations of this movement show varied results. The fastest interpretation of this movement was represented in the recording by Swiss conductor Ericson (1993) at 3:32.

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<sup>436</sup> Mendel, (ed.) *Bach: St. John Passion* Vocal Score, x.

German conductor Max (1990) was the second fastest interpretation at 3:41 and the third fastest was English conductor Higginbottom at 3:43. The top two slowest recordings of this movement is Austrian conductor Harnoncourt and German conductor Güttler both at 5:17. Lastly, Belgium conductor Kuijken (1987) was the third slowest at 5:08.

### 37 O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)

This chorale addresses our need to depend on Christ's help to avert sin.<sup>437</sup> The tune is the same as "Christus, de runs selig macht" but with a different harmonization as well as being a semitone higher. All recordings except Max's (2006) recording begin this chorale in a full dynamic level. Instead of one uniform dynamic level, many recordings explore several gradations within this seventeen-measure movement. One example of this practice is demonstrated in Dombrecht (1996) who begins and continues forte until measure seven where for one measure he goes to piano. The subsequent measure that speaks of death returns to forte and then the chorale ends piano starting in the last three measures of the movement.

Phrasing was a main concern for many conductors who made artistic decisions to either extend or segregate certain phrases. Those instances that promoted longer phrases were mainly done at fermatas without commas such as "untetan," measure 6 and "Ursach," measure 10. The practice of *Luftpause* to highlight certain words or phrases was employed at words like "hilf," "Christe" and "dafür."

In terms of tempo and duration, the assorted results show that all three of the fastest interpretations are from German conductors. Max (1990) was first at 0:48 followed by Guttenberg (1991) at 0:49 and last Hempfling (2004) at 0:50. The slowest duration of this movement is from German conductor Max (2006) interpreting Schumann's edition of this movement at 1:18. German conductor Daus (1999) was second at 1:16 and Belgium conductor Kuijken (1987) was last of the three at 1:14.

### 39 Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine (Chorus)

The reassuring "Rest well, ye holy bones" is the final chorus in C minor. The text provides comfort that Christ's death grants us salvation, opening to us the gates of heaven

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<sup>437</sup> Roehrig, "The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973," 144.

and shutting those to hell. The chorus begins with a ritornello comprised of twelve bars that repeat throughout the movement that when fully realized brings about an ABAB’A rondo form.

Bach infused this movement with many opportunities for ornamentation. Many were explicitly written out while others were added by the conductor. It is difficult to categorically say without any doubt that all of the ornaments were realized. This is due to the fact that the balance of voices and instruments on a few recordings was so heavy and uneven, it masked if the ornament was executed. Nevertheless, the majority of recordings performed all of the written ornaments in the score. Many conductors felt at liberty to add additional trills within this movement. Added trills were performed in the soprano part in addition to the appoggiatura in measure 61, first beat and measure 65, beat one and also a trill was added in measure 103, beat one.

Like the first chorus, American conductor Milnes (1996) and Dutchman Jos van Veldhoven (2004) wanted to further highlight the inherent lighter textures of the B sections (measures 60-72, 112-124) with the exclusive use of only concertists singing. The contrast of vocal quality and dynamics, evokes an innocence that according to Friedrich Smend, is unified with the intentional compositional choice in the second B section. Smend proposed, through various examples, that when Bach omits the actual bass line and transfers the part to a higher register, a term referred to as *bassett*, he is motivated to do so in an attempt to convey innocence within the composition.

Dynamics were either treated uniformly and objectively, or conversely, were carefully planned and paced by the conductor. For the most part every conductor began the movement in a softer dynamic shade. However, several conductors chose sections like measures 76-80 and 96-100 to be sung even softer. In measures 76-78, Suzuki (2000) chose to sing the first “Ruht wohl” forte and the second “Ruht wohl” in a strikingly contrasting piano. Herreweghe (2001) chose to sing the first B section beginning in measure 60 in a full forte dynamic then contrasting with the soft repeat of the ritornello. Rilling (1996) demonstrated overt crescendi and decrescendi in several sections as in measures 17-19, 37-39 and 44-47.

Regarding articulation, many conductors did carefully observe punctuation with *Luftpause*. Words and phrases like “Ruht wohl,” “ihr heiligen Gebeine” and “nicht” were

given space with breath to enhance their poetic meaning. Yet overall the longer lines were performed in a legato manner. Rilling (1996) represents a few conductors who diverge in sections from legato to a more marcato feel. Case in point “die ich nun weiter nicht beweine,” (which I no longer bewail) was performed in such a marcato style.<sup>438</sup>

The tempo and duration of this movement demonstrate closer results as the twenty five years progressed. Guttenberg’s (1991) recording shows an extreme fluctuation in tempo throughout the movement. One unique fact of this movement is that this is one of the only movements where a German conductor is not represented in the top three fastest or slowest interpretations. Leusink (2001) from Holland was recorded as the fastest interpretation of this chorus at 6:01 followed by Austrian conductor Harnoncourt (1993) at 6:08. The third fastest recording of this movement is from English conductor Cleobury at 6:20. The top two slowest recordings come from Belgium conductors whose recordings are from the same year. Kuijken (1987) and Herreweghe (1987) were marked at 9:06 and 8:31 respectively. Swiss conductor Corboz (1994) was third slowest at 8:18.

#### 40 Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein (Chorale)

The final movement in the Passion is an E flat major chorale which prays for a “peaceful death and the resurrection of the body on the Last Day.”<sup>439</sup> Being the last movement, it is not surprising that for dramatic effect dynamics played a very important part in this chorale. Results from analyzing the thirty-eight recordings show great variety in the way conductors chose dynamics. Given the immeasurable possibilities that conductors chose for dynamic shadings in this chorale, only a few will be explored here. The choices conductors made regarding dynamics show a keen interest in imparting the text to the listener by having dynamics act in response to the text. Phrases were not only terraced dynamically, but recordings like Slowik (1989), Milnes (1996), Beringer (1997) and Daus (1999) demonstrated a gradual pacing of crescendi and decrescendi within particular phrases. While there were many subtle differences regarding dynamics, many had the same overall vision throughout this movement. The majority of conductors like Christophers (1989), Cleobury (1996), Rilling (1996), Dombrecht (1996), Fasolis (1998),

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<sup>438</sup> Translations are from Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s St. John Passion*, 168-169.

<sup>439</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 145.

Güttler (1998), Suzuki (1998), Schulz (1999), Suzuki (2000) and Veldhoven (2004), just to name a few, come to the decision to contrast the beginning phrases separated by the repeat with a forte and piano relationship. Textually this decision makes sense because the repeat speaks of sleeping chambers and rest. Dynamically this was usually followed by an increase of volume to forte in measure 14, then softer at measure 20, “mein Heiland und Genadenthron!” (my Savior and throne of grace). This set the stage to suddenly increase in volume to a forte to highlight and underscore the subsequent phrase “Herr Jesu Christ,” (Lord Jesus Christ). The remaining five measures continued in a forte dynamic as the choir sings “I want to praise you forever.”

While many chorales are conservative in regards to added ornamentation, this chorale does employ a trill in the alto vocal part in measure 11 on the words “Seele” and “und.” It is doubtful that Bach purposefully added the trill to draw attention to text because it comes on the weak syllable of “spirit” and the word “and;” rather, it is probably safer to say the trill was used to simply decorate the alto melodic line. All of the thirty-eight recordings did implement the trills.

Results from phrasing choice of conductors show that the majority of conductors followed the score religiously and incorporated every fermata written in the score.

Fermatas were held at variant lengths but most were held no longer than the value of the note. However, there were conductors who were interested in preserving the poetic text by ignoring particular fermatas in favor of the poetry. For example, conductors like Gardiner (1986), Cleobury (1996), Milnes (1996), Beringer (1997) and Max (2006) ignored the fermatas on the words, “Engelein,” “mein,” “Schlafkämmerlein” and “Pein” to create an extensive phrase but one that is more consistent with the poetry.

Interpreting the duration graph for this movement exhibits the same trend of other chorales with the *St. John Passion*. This chorale shows no observable tendencies regarding duration. Rather the graph shows that within the time period of twenty-five years, save three recordings in the early 1990s, many divergent interpretations were documented. The top three fastest performances of this movement come from German conductor Max (1990) at 1:23 followed second by Dutch conductor Leusink (2001) at 1:31 and third, German conductor Hempfling (2004) at 1:34. The top two slowest recordings of this movement are German conductors Beringer (1997) and Daus (1999)

recorded at 2:52 and 2:47 respectively. The third slowest recording belongs to Swiss conductor Corboz (1994) at 2:19.

### 1<sup>II</sup> O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß (Chorus)

This expansive E flat major adaptation of the chorale “O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß” which replaced the 1724 opening chorus, “Herr unser Herrscher” not only changes the musical character from the outset but also theologically shifts from the omnipotence of “Lord, our ruler” to humanity’s sin and guilt “bewail your great sin.”<sup>440</sup> Many scholars believe that this chorus is recycled, owing its provenance to a lost Weimar passion, but this is a contestable hypothesis which cannot be substantiated. Nevertheless, Bach must have thought highly of it considering he also used it in the 1736 *St. Matthew Passion*.

Seven of thirty-eight recordings feature this chorus as either part of the 1725 version or as an additional appendix to other versions. Of the seven recordings, five present the movement in a lighter manner while conductors Rilling (1996) and Neumann (1999) perform this movement in a heavier style. There are seven places (measures 8, 16, 24, 40, 56, 68 and 72) where the score indicates a trill to be performed. All of the seven recordings fulfilled each of these obligations but all of the recordings went further and incorporated additional ornamental trills. In the seven recordings reviewed supplementary trills were added in the following places:

Measure 15	Beat 1	Violin 1
Measure 19	Beat 2	Soprano and Alto vocal parts
Measure 25	Beat 1	Soprano vocal part
Measure 26	Beat 2	Soprano vocal part
Measure 37	Beats 1 and 2	Soprano and Alto vocal parts
Measure 38	Beat 3	Tenor and Bass vocal parts
Measure 42	Beat 2	Soprano vocal part
Measure 58	Beat 3	Tenor vocal part
Measure 92	Beats 1 and 2	Alto and Tenor vocal parts

The list above indicates that several conductors freely added additional ornaments with the aim of further enhancing the expressiveness of the music.

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<sup>440</sup> Markus Rathey, Liner notes from Carrington, Simon, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach, 1725 Version. Yale Schola Cantorum and Yale Collegium Players. April 2006.

Several conductors utilized gradual increases in dynamics, with the purpose of adding expressiveness. Neumann (1999) shows an increase in volume in the descending continuo line present in measure 51. Additionally, Carrington (2006) shows an increase of volume beginning in measure 90. Rilling (1996) presents an interesting interpretation in phrasing melismas in measures 21-22 and 64-65. Where other conductors surveyed simply connected the three groupings of four eighth notes together, Rilling adds a *luftpause* after each three eighth notes. Lastly, Carrington (2006) made the unique choice from other interpretations to apply a *molto ritardando* in measure 95, five bars before the actual end of the movement.

#### 40<sup>II</sup> Christe, du Lamm Gottes (Chorale)

The provenance of this G minor chorale, composed in the style of an elaborate chorale prelude, is more assured. “Christe, du Lamm Gottes” was used as the final chorale in Cantata no. 23 *Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn*.<sup>441</sup> The text is a German translation of the Latin “Agnus Dei.”<sup>442</sup> Like in the first movement of the 1725 version, Rilling (1996) and Neumann (1999) perform this movement in a fuller sound than their cohort group of conductors. This movement has fewer written trills in the score than the beginning chorus of the 1725 version. Only measures 24 and 57 have definite indications to trill. However, as practiced in the beginning chorus, the conductors reviewed for this movement were assiduous in incorporating ornamentation within the movement. Below is a list of places within the score of this movement that conductors made cognizant decisions to ornament by using trills.

Measure 4	Beat 4	Oboe 1
Measure 8	Beat 4	Oboe 1
Measure 19	Beat 2	Oboe 1
Measure 31	Beat 4	Oboe 1
Measure 38	Beat 2	Oboe 1
Measure 43	Beat 1	Oboe 1
Measure 48	Beat 2	Oboe 1
Measure 53	Beat 2	Oboe 1

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<sup>441</sup> Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach's St. John Passion*, 6.

<sup>442</sup> Roehrig, “The St. John Passion by J.S. Bach in the light of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe edition 1973,” 89.

Lastly, in regards to dynamics, most conductors did not blatantly increase or decrease the volume but rather continued in a consistent volume which was established from the outset. However, Carrington (2006) willfully paces a gradual crescendo in measures 15-18 during the instrumental interlude.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

Chapter 1 functions as an introduction and outlines the purpose, procedures and delimitations of this dissertation. The purpose of this study was to trace and document the practices of conductors through the media-captured performances of the work, *Passio secundum Johannem*, or more commonly known as the *St. John Passion*. The results from the recordings were contextually enriched by the sociological and philosophical currents in modern and contemporary society, the early music movement, Bach scholarship and the reception history and origins of the *St. John Passion*.

Procedures for this study analyzed recordings to determine performing forces, dynamics, ornamentation, articulation, rhythm and tempo/duration. Assessing such criterion depends upon a methodology that inevitably includes subjective measurement. While it is possible to obtain equipment through exorbitant costs, several cognition specialists question even their accuracy. Such reservations have not diminished the validity of such studies as demonstrated by several recent investigations that have served as models for this dissertation.

Numerous parameters were placed in order to focus and manage the topic. First, a temporal restriction of twenty-five years was selected that encompasses the years of 1982 to 2007. The years selected were by no means arbitrary, since 1981/82 represent the year Joshua Rifkin challenged the scholarly community to think differently in regards to Bach's performing forces. Of course, the year 2007 serves as the year this dissertation commenced. Second, there is the technological restriction of only analyzing commercial recordings that were in the media form of a compact disc or DVD recording to ensure a recording quality of the highest caliber.

Bach's *St. John Passion* was chosen as the representative work not only due to personal affinity for the work but to the fact that the work has enjoyed increased popularity in regards to scholarship and performance in the last quarter of a century. Additionally, its dramatic nature suggests that it would be an ideal candidate to draw correlations between early music performances in the past twenty-five years and an

increasing amount of expressive qualities that only a half-a-century ago were subject to ridicule and claims of anachronism.

The value of the present study documents the past and present philosophies, ideology and theories of performance practice and their application upon one representative case study, Johann Sebastian Bach's *Passio secundum Johannem*. What makes this dissertation unique is that prior studies contrast recordings prior to and during the Historically Informed Practice Movement. Yet this dissertation only reviews performances that have been recorded and commercially marketed within the last twenty-five years, thus solely within the period designated as the Historically Informed Performance Movement.

Chapter 2 traces the enterprise of performance within the last century. First, an attempt to clarify the term "early music" recognizes that while it usually means a repertory before 1800, of late this has been liberally expanded by various individuals to encompass music in the nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries. Early music not only designates a particular repertory it also insinuates a manner of performance style. Several other synonyms have been used in conjunction with "early music." Phrases such as the "authenticity movement" and "historically informed performance movement" have additionally been used throughout the century.

One purpose of this chapter is to acknowledge that the antecedents of being "historically aware" occurred much earlier than mid-twentieth century, as many believe. The nineteenth century brought about dramatic upheaval in social and technological affairs. The dissolution of the patronage system decreased the demand for new music and altered its purpose from a social and pragmatic milieu to more of an individual and inspirational endeavor. Social and Industrial Revolutions brought an unfrequented growth and power to the middle or bourgeois class who became the new consumers of music.

Heightened awareness and interest of music from the past were championed by "traditionalist" composers of the Romantic Period. Composers such as Johannes Brahms, Felix Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann, just to name a few, were infatuated with the music of the past and drew upon it regularly for inspiration. These same composers were also responsible for resurrecting past repertoire and introducing it to the public, thus ensuring its continued legacy.

Movements such as the Society of Saint Cecilia, the strong Anglican tradition in England and the Bach revival all contributed to popularizing and propagating works from the past. The revivals of such works were only intent in performing and studying them, not in trying to recapture and perform them in their original conditions. Conductors performed “early music” in the context of their own contemporary and authentic practice of performance. As a result, early works were often arranged to reflect larger performing forces and instruments that were contemporaneous.

The twentieth century was besieged with social crisis and conflict that radically influenced all parts of life. Despite the revulsion of war, a paradigm shift was occurring in music that not only was interested in the music of the past but also its performance practice. One year following the beginning of “The Great War,” commonly known as World War I, Arnold Dolmetsch published in 1915 his work *The Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. This publication, as well as other less well-known publications, represents an interest that was growing in the performance practice of earlier works. Two important movements were present in society during this time that greatly influenced music making. *Neue Sachlichkeit* or New Objectivity was a movement that was opposed to expressionism of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the Neoclassicism movement represented composers who drew inspiration from composers and music of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Within the first decades of the twentieth century, a renewed interest began to mount in historic instruments throughout Europe. Wanda Landowska, the celebrated harpsichordist and avid music historian, was instrumental in bringing about a renewed interest in the harpsichord. Because many organs built during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in their original conditions they became an excellent tool for scholars to gain an understanding of the sonic ideals of the Baroque period. These pursuits led to the resurrection of other instruments like the recorder, viol and lute.

By the 1930s, several publications had emerged that dealt specifically with theoretical aspects of performance practice. The Germans thought it important enough to create a sub discipline within musicology termed *Aufführungspraxis*, which is roughly translated as performance practice. The 1933 founding of the Schola Cantorum

Basiliensis located in Basel, Switzerland, was a significant endeavor because it has focused on how to implement the theoretical aspects of performance practice.

In the latter part of that decade, several celebrated musical personalities were publicly championing performance practice and attempting to recreate the original conditions of particular musical compositions. Probably most well known would be Igor Stravinsky who used educational arenas such as Harvard, as would Hindemith six years after him, to suggest that the quest to replicate the original conditions of a musical composition was the ethical responsibility of the performer to the composer. Strict adherence to the written urtext score was also a premise encouraged. Musicologist Arthur Mendel supported performers to research exhaustively evidence regarding the original conditions concerning a particular work before realizing the work in performance.

The expressed beliefs of Stravinsky and Mendel that discouraged personal, subjective and intuitive performances influenced and resonated with many. Circulating in society during this time were several philosophical doctrines that provided fertile ground for their convictions. The brutality and chaos that ensued by two World Wars and the threat of nuclear holocaust produced a yearning for security, precision, truth and the glories of the past. Many focused on beliefs of modernism, positivism and historicism to escape harsh realities. Tenets of modernism reject the past, in this case the immediate past where technology of the industrial revolution had created many evils in society, and seek inspiration in the present. Positivism seeks truth and progress through science. Lastly, historicism believes that true art has an enduring and timeless legacy that awaits rediscovery.

Despite some inherent paradoxes and complications of each philosophical doctrine, their beliefs permeated into music circles. Modernists in music rejected the perceived excesses of the Romantic period and instead sought economical means of expression, objective renderings and precise execution of music. Positivism in music sought factual knowledge of early music and to scientifically prove matters of provenance and authenticity by the dating of watermarks, papers and the like, interpreting music through the examination of treatises and advocating for the supremacy of the urtext edition over all other opinions. Historicism supported early music, recovering lost works,

lost instruments and rediscovering the methods and practices of how to recreate early music.

Starting around the middle of the twentieth century a significant expansion in the literature regarding early music and performance practice transpired. An example is English author, Thurston Dart, who drew on his credentials as both a performer and musicologist to write a survey book titled, *The Interpretation of Music* in 1953. A decade later, Robert Donington published one of the most influential texts in the field of early music, *Interpretation of Early Music*. Its revisions and reprints (1974, 1989) have secured it as an indispensable early music resource. In America, Sol Babitz was publishing his ideas of early music, specifically on instrumental techniques of fingering, bowing, rhythm and articulation, in an annual newsletter he published out of his home. His influence cannot be overestimated in that many important movers and shakers in the early music field subscribed to Babitz's newsletter.

Additionally, an increase of early music ensembles also occurred. In America, the unprecedented growth of higher education in colleges and universities provided musicians, many who were emigrants and refugees from Continental Europe, the opportunity to teach and share their knowledge regarding early music and form early music ensembles. However, one of the most influential ensembles to begin in this time, Concentus Musicus Wein, was formed in Austria and founded by Nikolaus Harnoncourt in 1953. The research, experimentation and notoriety that this ensemble achieved did much in the way of educating and popularizing early music ensembles.

Currents of positivism that desired and sought truth began to manifest itself in the literature under phrases such as "authenticity" and "Werktrueue." While it is difficult to know whom or where to credit the origins of such designations, we do know that even in the 1950s they were circulating. The prophetic voice of Theodore Adorno voiced his skepticism about such pursuits in 1955. But overall, their use and application in the realm of performance practice steadily grew in the 1970s until some thirty years later when Richard Taruskin's scathing criticism seemed to instigate a period of self-reflection in early music.

While it is difficult to know whom or to what agency to attribute the origins of "authenticity" and "Werktrueue" many believe that their use was magnified and exploited

by the recording industry. With the advent of the compact disc, record companies realized that they could reproduce recordings at a much cheaper cost than ever before. The growth in early music provided a niche in which newer recordings of early music repertoire could be marketed as the “authentic version” or the “true version” of a particular work. These claims were then broadcast and channeled through many music critics who publicly gave favorable reviews to those entities who aspired to be as “authentic” and “true” as possible to the original performance of early music.

The latter part of the twentieth century observed an institutionalization of early music in which early music that used to exist in the periphery now was regarded as mainstream. This accomplishment was achieved because a pedagogical shift occurred in educational institutions worldwide and particularly in North America. Early music as a neophyte venture was taught and transmitted in a unique and specialized way, with only those who desired to learn to play or sing in period style would go to a handful of places in the world and learn in an apprentice style manner. Over time, as early music grew, specialization changed to teaching convergence. In other words, educational institutions recognized that the most marketable vocalists or instrumentalists would be skilled in performing in both period and modern style. As a result, musicians were being taught simultaneously to perform in both styles. This placed early music in the mainstream but not without consequences. The same higher institutions who taught convergence also bred conservative uniformity. This standardization of early music performance stifled that which was the essence of early music, improvisation.

The increased rhetoric and exclusivity of those claiming “authenticity” and “being true to the work” set the stage for several writers in the late 1980s to resist and revolt against such claims. During the middle of the twentieth century there were a “few voices in the wilderness” who were skeptical of such assertions; Richard Taruskin became the chief critic with his notorious essays that took to task what he viewed as bogus claims of the early music movement. In his writings Taruskin contends that the Early Music Movement with their notorious aspirations for “authenticity” and being “true to the work” in actuality has little to do with historical correctness and all to do with reflecting contemporary objectivist values. Further, he exposes that historical correctness is more

like an *a la carte* cafeteria where the performer picks and chooses the items deemed worthy while other considerations are virtually ignored.

The 1990s saw a plethora of books published that dealt with Early Music, performance practice and authenticity. In 1995, Richard Taruskin published *Text and Act*, which served to include his foremost criticisms. Peter Kivy also published in 1995 *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance* that suggest that instead of one restricted and narrow view of authenticity that there are four: composer, sonic, personal and sensible. Roland Jackson offers a reduced view of Kivy's list into two categories: one, performance practice (composer and sonic) and two, mainstream (personal and sensible). The inclination to move away from one absolute authenticity, but to recognize many possible pursuits for achieving historical correctness, demonstrates how the musical establishment was wrestling to reconcile and justify the censure brought to light by Taruskin and many others. As a result, a more liberal phrase, historically informed performance, was adopted to reflect intent of historical correctness, but not an egotistical value laden approach that alludes to only one true authentic interpretation.

Early music in the new millennium still enjoys an overwhelming popularity. While it is difficult to hypothesize the course that Early Music will go within the century there have already been several interesting developments that have occurred. The criticisms of Taruskin and others, now at least a decade old, are now being challenged by a new generation of writers. Performer and musicologist, John Butt, highlights what he believes to be logical inconsistencies within Taruskin's writings. Israeli musicologist, Uri Golomb, a former student of John Butt, feels that Taruskin wrongly portrays Early Music as monolithic, restrictive and depersonalized. Golomb feels that the evidence suggests the contrary, that Early Music is rich in diversity and expressiveness. A point that is also echoed by several other writers who suggest that performances/recording are representing a trend to be more expressive.

Chapter 3 chronicles the currents within Bach scholarship and interpretation. The chapter begins with the legendary revival of the *St. Matthew Passion* by Felix Mendelssohn. While Mendelssohn was extremely important to the revival of Bach, he was by no means the only personality of consequence to resurrect Bach's works. For example, the seed for Mendelssohn's appreciation for Bach was partly planted by

conductors of the *Berliner Singakademie*, founded in 1789. The founder and first conductor of the *Berliner Singakademie*, Carl Friedrich Fasch, frequently programmed the vocal music of Bach at a time when it wasn't as popular to do so. Fasch taught Mendelssohn's teacher, Carl Freidrich Zelter, who like his teacher became the conductor of the *Berliner Singakademie* in 1800. This pedigree of influence on Mendelssohn cannot be denied or overestimated. Fasch, Zelter and Mendelssohn were convinced of the supremacy and genius of Bach's music. However, that did not inhibit them from making changes to his compositions to make his music "breathe" and more contemporaneous in their lifetime.

In the nineteenth century, several Bach biographies of were published. There was Nikolaus Forkel's 1802 account, which included many recollections by Bach's sons, Carl Philipp Emmanuel and Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. Forkel's biography was written amidst high nationalistic sentiments in German territories so it comes as no surprise that Forkel's Bach is portrayed in a heroic manner. The Prussian government official, Carl Bitter, completed a two-volume biography in 1865 that is eminently based on its use of modern methods of archive research. Bitter emphasized Bach's vocational devotion as a Lutheran church musician. In 1873 and 1880 Philipp Spitta completed the most celebrated and cited of all Bach's biographies. Its attention to comprehensiveness and detail is achieved in almost an entirely objective manner. Spitta's contribution to the literature focused on the philological, historical, aesthetic and theological-intellectual aspects of Bach's compositions.

Among the various biographies in the nineteenth century and a century after Bach's death an important venture commenced in 1850, known as the *Bach-Gesellschaft*. The society was formed with the purpose of preserving the posterity of Bach's complete works and to transmit his colossal oeuvre without little to no editorial additions. Members of the society represent many influential music figures of the time, including Moritz Hauptmann, then Cantor of St. Thomas in Leipzig, composer, critic and student of Bach's works, Robert Schumann and Wilhelm Rust, who served as the project's editor-in chief and contributed to an impressive 26 of 46 volumes of the *Bach-Gesellschaft*.

Uri Golomb points out that by the close of the nineteenth century two contrasting, but sometimes integrating images had emerged regarding the iconic status of Bach. Bach

the religious composer deeply devoted to his vocation as church musician, and Bach the heroic cerebral intellect that were both expressed in the writings in the nineteenth century as well as in the coming century.

Twentieth century Bach scholarship began with Albert Schweitzer's biography. Schweitzer's original 1905 publication was published in French at the behest of Schweitzer's organ teacher, Charles Marie Widor. In reality this work draws much of its information from Spitta's biography. Three years later (1908) Schweitzer published a more detailed and expanded version that was also translated into German.

Throughout the 1920s, Arnold Schering began to publish literature that specifically advocated for performing Bach's choral works with smaller choirs. His conclusions came from interpreting two different sections of the memorandum Bach wrote to the Leipzig town officials in August of 1730, commonly known as the *Entwurff*. Schering concluded that a maximum of three singers in each voice part accounted for the size of Bach's choir to add to a dozen choristers. Within each vocal part there consisted a principal singer, commonly known as a concertist, and an additional two supporting singers referred to as ripienists.

Schering's research went largely ignored by the majority of performers and scholars as demonstrated by many continuing to present Bach's vocal works with massive performing forces. Yet Schering forced the dialogue concerning Bach's vocal forces into the forefront of Bach research where it has remained highly debated by later scholars like Wilhelm Ehmann and Joshua Rifkin. Likewise, the *Entwurff* became a highly debated and contested document in regards to its interpretation that even today garners controversy.

In 1945, Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel published a number of documents from and relevant to Bach that have become an indispensable part of Bach research. *The Bach Reader* contains letters from Bach, correspondence that references how Bach was viewed by his contemporaries, as well as information concerning the Bach revival and the biographies of the nineteenth century.

Most scholars agree that in 1950 modern research into the life and music of Bach began. The same year marked the bicentenary of Bach's death as well as the centenary anniversary of the Bach-Gesellschaft. Additionally, 1950 marked the completion of what

is now regarded as one of the most basic of reference tools for Bach research, Wolfgang Schmeider's labeling and identification of Bach's compositions with BWV numbers found in the extensive title, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach: Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV)*. A subsequent second edition was published in 1990.

The year 1950 also launched the ambitious idea to begin a subsequent edition to replace and update the Bach-Gesellschaft. The first volumes of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* began to be published in 1954 and just this past year in 2007, the project was finally completed. These volumes boasted critical and scholarly "urtext" editions complete with user-friendly modern clefs. Throughout the project's history at least three important achievements were attained: one, the discovery of spurious works that had been previously believed to be composed by Bach; two, the rediscovery of many lost compositions; and three, a new understanding of the compositional chronology of Bach.

Scholars Dürr and Dadelson discovered that the majority of Bach's 150 religious compositions composed in Leipzig were actually written within the first five years of Bach's tenure in Leipzig. The amended chronology of Bach's compositions had repercussions on the Romantic image of Bach as the fervent and devoted religious composer who spent all of his life in the service to the church writing religious music.

Recordings in the 1960s and 1970s started to reflect decades of prior research in which smaller performing forces were promoted. For example, Willcocks' and Dart's 1960 recording of the *St. John Passion* with 29 singers and 24 instrumentalists, and Nikolaus Harnoncourt's 1968 *B minor Mass* demonstrated lighter textures and historical instruments. Lastly, Harnoncourt and Leonhardt launched a groundbreaking venture in 1971 to record all of Bach's cantatas. The cantata project, which was officially completed in 1989, boasted recordings steeped in performance practice and featured an all-male choir.

American musicologist and performer Joshua Rifkin set off a firestorm of controversy at a November 1981 American Musicological Society meeting when he proposed that most of Bach's concerted works were originally performed with an ensemble no larger than a quartet. Obviously this stunned the conservative scholarly community that had only recently come to terms with reduced vocal forces of about a

dozen. Since Rifkin's presentation, much ink has been spilled in support or opposition to his thesis. However of late, partially thanks to Andrew Parrott's 2000 book, *The Essential Bach Choir* that summarizes Rifkin's proposals, many scholars are now publicly supporting Rifkin's theory stating that there has been no convincing or credible evidence to disprove Rifkin's argument for Bach's minimalist choir.

In 1985, the tercentenary anniversary of Bach's birth was celebrated and it afforded many scholars to assess Bach's significance in the modern era, the various images and interpretations of Bach and the state of Bach scholarship. Helmut Rilling, who has spent an entire career performing and analyzing the works of Bach suggest three distinct groups within Bach interpretation. One is the symphonic approach that was inherited from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is characterized by large performing forces and modern instruments. This approach sought to portray Bach as part of, or the genesis of, a long lineage of great heritage within the German symphonic tradition. Second are interpreters who seek to historically reconstruct every possible detail of the original performances of Bach's day. Third and last, and the one Rilling associates himself with, are the church musicians in the Protestant churches. Rilling feels strongly that Bach's chosen vocation, and where the majority of his compositions lie, indicate that the performer must address the religious dimensions in his works.

The year 2000 marked another anniversary year, this time the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bach's death and the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of modern Bach research. The years surrounding this new century and new millennium were inundated with new biographical portraits of Bach as well as an obsession over various images of Bach. The sudden emergence of biographies suggest that interest had shifted from *Werktrueue* often associated with modernist values to a postmodern attraction to more humanistic aspects of art such as composers biographies.

Chapter 4 discusses the origins, versions and complex history of the *St. John Passion*. It is believed that reenacting the Passion story in the Christian church was begun around the fourth century. These early attempts presented a single performer recounting the events surrounding the crucifixion but through time, this developed into a division of parts with a turba chorus that added to the dramatic nature of the monophonic passion. Around the fifteenth century, polyphony was introduced to the Passion and soon two

distinct styles formed within the genre that was present even in the seventeenth century. The responsorial Passion also referred to as choral Passion or dramatic Passion set the Evangelist's role monophonically while the words of Christ and turba sections were set polyphonically. In contrast, the through-composed Passion, also known as motet Passion portrayed each role polyphonically.

During the Reformation movement, areas with high Calvinist persuasion like England and France saw a lack of interest in setting the Passion narrative. In contrast, areas like Germany, where Lutheranism and Catholicism represented the majority of the population, only mild repercussions developed such as the switch to the vernacular for Lutheran congregations. Seventeenth century Northern Germany, with Hamburg as its locus, saw a new Passion style emerge that fused dramatic elements of the oratorio with the passion, and became simply known as the Oratorio-Passion. Its figured bass notation demonstrates its inclination to monody and while the Gospel scriptures remained important, it became increasingly vogue to include sentimental and moral poetic passages. The Passion narrative that was overtly dramatic, like Judas's betrayal, Peter's denial and the frenzied crowd calling for Christ's crucifixion, achieved conspicuous importance in the genre.

Bach represents the height of the Passion genre and while there are several scholars who believe he composed a Passion before his acceptance of the Leipzig post or that Bach had begun composing the *St. John Passion* while still employed in his Cöthen post, we can only verify that the 1724 version of the *St. John Passion* was his first endeavor in the genre. The bulk of the libretto comes from chapters 18 and 19 of John with synoptic inserts like Peter's weeping (Matthew 26:75) and the splitting of the temple veil (Matthew 27: 51-52). It is believed that Bach deliberately chose fourteen hymn stanzas that are found in the chorales and an added twelve original pieces in which nine are closely modeled after the popular poetic setting of Brockes, a Hamburg senator. Overall, this version is heavy in Christology, which aims to demonstrate the divine nature of Christ and existed in the beginning with God.

Reconstructing the various versions of the *St. John Passion* can be confusing but the research Arthur Mendel completed when editing the *St. John Passion* for the Neue Bach-Ausgabe has benefited scholars and performers greatly. However, Mendel was

indebted to the revised chronology of Dürr and Dadelson for his research. Mendel's research shows that most of the surviving parts for the *St. John Passion* predate the only extant surviving score.

The 1724 version served as the prototype for the other three subsequent versions. The original 1724 score is lost but there are surviving parts like violin 1 and 2, ripieno vocal and continuo parts. The compositional writing is less elaborate than the later 1749 version as it lacks embellishments and notes that fill out intervals and chords. A matter of uncertainty is if transverse flutes were used in this first version. Their presence in Score A, which was written around 1739 is absent but in Version 2, written in 1725, transverse flutes are scored.

Bach chose to revise the initial 1724 version one year later in 1725. Many scholars feel that the changes made to this version were intent in corresponding with the 1724-1725 cantata cycle. More of this version survives with only transverse flutes, oboes and viola parts missing in the initial chorale chorus, "O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß." Luckily, these missing parts are easily reconstructed because Bach used this same chorus in the closing first half of the 1736 *St. Matthew Passion*. Other modifications made to this second version is an added Bass aria known as movement 11+ "Himmel reiße, Welt erbebe;" a Tenor aria (movement 13<sup>II</sup>) "Zerschmettert mich, ihr Felsen und ihr Hügel" replaced "Ach, mein Sinn" (movement 13<sup>I</sup>); Tenor aria (movement 19<sup>II</sup>) "Ach windet euch nicht so, geplagte Seelen" replaced both Bass aria, "Betrachte, meine Seele" (movement 19) and Tenor aria, "Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken (movement 20) from version 1. The seven-bar dramatic telling of the ripping of the temple veil in Movement 33 "Und siehe da, der Vorhang im Tempel zerriß" replaced its earlier version. The chorale chorus "Christe, du Lamm Gottes, (movement 40<sup>II</sup>) replaced the chorale in version 1, "Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein" (movement 40<sup>I</sup>).

The third version is difficult to date and is often assigned between the years of 1728-1732. For the most part this version returns to the elements of the first 1724 version. Specifically, movement 1, 19-20 was restored and movements 11+, 40<sup>II</sup> and the St. Matthew passages were deleted. Two movements, an aria and an instrumental sinfonia that were new to the third version, are unfortunately lost when Bach removed them for the 1749 version.

Version 4, which is believed to have been written around 1749, demonstrates the final version of the *St. John Passion*. This version is almost identical to the 1724 version except that in several places Bach shows several decades of compositional maturity by enhancing this version with more embellishments and additional notes to fill out intervals for fuller harmonies. Bach does keep movement 33 with the St. Matthew text and in its augmented state that hails from 1725 version. Several additional parts were added to the version that has scholars guessing if it was Bach merely augmenting the instrumentation for this version alone or if it was to supplant older parts.

Toward the end of the 1730s Bach began to replace the original score identified as Score X, with a new copy that is designated as Score A. The score was left into two sections. The first section begins in bar one of the first movement and ends in bar 42 of the tenth movement. This section is modeled after versions 1 and 4 but with several changes. Section 2 was not written in Bach's hand but rather a copy of the lost original score identifies it as score X. It is not known exactly why Bach never finished this score. Many feel that the 1739 incident where the Council served an injunction that Bach could not perform the Passion music scheduled for a week later as the reason Bach never finished this new version.

While history records Felix Mendelssohn's close affinity to Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, Robert Schumann was equally infatuated with the *St. John Passion*. After many years of analyzing the work, Schumann began to make several changes to the score to reflect contemporary taste. On Palm Sunday of 1851, Schumann performed the work for the first time. The hallmarks of this version incorporate the piano in the continuo part, many modern instruments, thicker orchestration and larger performing forces. Several movements were deleted based on making the work shorter and because certain soloists found several movements too difficult. In some areas, Schumann changed keys to suit his personal taste.

Chapter 5 traces the reception and practices of past performances of the *St. John Passion*. The chapter begins with what is known regarding Bach's own performances of the *St. John Passion*. While the actual number of singers remains somewhat a contentious issue among many, there is a consensus that Bach's choir consisted of all males. In regard

to the size of the choir, many scholars agree based on the supportive evidence that eight singers performed the *St. John Passion*.

German performances of the *St. John Passion* in the nineteenth century were strikingly different from those in Bach's day. The first known performances of the *St. John Passion* after Bach's death took place in 1833 with Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen conducting as the Berlin Singakademie. Reviews of that performance indicate one of the obstacles the *St. John Passion* has had to overcome throughout its performance history - namely that the *St. John Passion* is an inferior work to its latter and larger relative, the *St. Matthew Passion*. However, despite these prejudices the full score of the work was published in Berlin in 1834.

As already mentioned Schumann had a long love affair with the *St. John Passion*. Prior to his 1851 performance of the work, Schumann studied the work throughout his life, published several essays regarding its analysis, and performed several individual movements with piano accompaniment when he was conductor of the Dresden Choral Society. When Philipp Wolfrum conducted the *St. John Passion* in 1898, his conducting score shows numerous dynamic indications, deletions of entire arias as well as cuts to the da capos chorus "Ruht wohl." In several areas Wolfrum rescores the continuo part for the either string or wind instruments exclusively and deleted the keyboard part altogether. Lastly, he notates several of the chorale movements with the term *a cappella*.

In England, Novello published the first English version of the *St. John Passion* in 1872. Joseph Barnby conducted the work, minus several movements, that same year in March. A subsequent performance of the work also took place five years later in 1875 by conductor Otto Goldschmidt. While performances of Bach's works were increasingly becoming popular in England in the late nineteenth century, a few critics began to question if interpretive choices that conductors made in performances best demonstrated the wishes of the composer.

In America, the Bethlehem Choral Union, known now as the Bach Choir of Bethlehem, conducted by Fred Wolle performed the *St. John Passion* in its entirety in 1888. The choir was made up of 115 singers with an orchestra made up with strings and wind obbligato parts for the arias. For the continuo, the organ and piano accompanied the

majority of the work. The performance was also unusual for the fact that instead of the Evangelist's role being sung, it was expressively read by a Moravian minister.

Performances of the *St. John Passion* in the early twentieth century often featured large forces. For example in the early 1930s, a 300-member chorus presented the work in French. However, there were a few recordings in the minority, like the German musicologist Fritz Stein's late 1930s recordings that were stylistically more attuned to performance practice. While many performances of *St. John Passion* were often abbreviated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the 1950s an increase interest in complete performances of the work was present.

Around the middle of the twentieth century, the scholarly work of Arthur Mendel had great consequence on the popularity of the *St. John Passion*. His knowledge of the work can be seen in the forty-three pages of introductory notes regarding performance practice considerations located in the beginning preface of the 1951 G. Schirmer *St. John Passion* vocal score. In 1973 Mendel's scholarly work continued with his historic editing of the *St. John Passion* and in 1974 the published notes regarding his findings in the *Kritischer Bericht* for the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*.

All of this work in scholarship added to the work's exposure and increased popularity. In the coming decades, several other significant publications were added to the Passion's bibliography. In 1981, Helmut Roehrig published his dissertation that was a conductor's guide to the *St. John Passion* as influenced with recent developments from the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*. Toward the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, several additional studies were published. In 1998, Michael Marissen looked for the presence of anti-Semitic undertones within the work. First published in German in 1998 and later translated into English in 2002, Alfred Dürr focused in succinctly presenting the history, analysis and meaning of the work. Lastly, in 2005 Daniel Melamed frames his book in a context of contrasting and comparing Bach's Passions. This book devotes time in describing and summarizing the latest scholarship in performance practice matters and how it relates to Bach's Passions.

All of these works in the latter part of the twentieth century and early twenty-first century spend considerable time in dealing with theological matters of Bach's text and

music. The focus of hermeneutics and theology suggest a move away from positivism that rejects matters of theology for knowledge.

Chapter 6 lists the results from analyzing thirty-eight recordings of the *St. John Passion*. Specifically, practices of interpretation were documented from all of the choruses, chorales and two additional movements that feature solo and choral accompaniment. Within each movement distinctive characteristics relating to performing forces, tempo, duration, dynamics, articulation, ornamentation, rhythm and tuning were noted.

Alan Blyth has written that contemporary recordings avoid subjective interpretations of works and instead proliferate a more generalized, cookie-cutter approach where recordings are very similar. Results from listening to thirty-eight recordings of the *St. John Passion* show a wealth of individual choices regarding interpretation that seemingly contradict Blyth's statement. Examples of blatant individual choices range from Simon Carrington's 2006 recording which is the only recording to feature Jacon Handl's motet, "Ecce quomodo moritur Justus," which was traditionally sung during Bach's time after the Passion was sung in its entirety to Hermann Max's 2006 recording that features an arrangement of the *St. John Passion* by Romantic composer, Robert Schumann. In the next section, conclusions will be drawn from the completed analysis of thirty-eight recordings.

### Conclusions

In his 1951 *Requiem for a Nun*, William Faulkner writes, "The past is never dead. It's not even past."<sup>443</sup> This dissertation has attempted to chronicle the personalities, trends and philosophies of the past and present that have shaped contemporary performance. Evidence garnered from thirty-eight recordings provides many correlations that may be drawn concerning numerous interpretations of one work within the context of the historically informed movement.

Surveying the thirty-eight acquired recordings for this study reveals a wealth of individual expressions found to be present. The various versions of the *St. John Passion* stimulated creativity in performance that is not present in works that exist in only one known form. It should also be noted that under the mantle of historically informed

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<sup>443</sup> Spoken by Gavin Stevens toward the end of Act I, Scene III.

performance, conductors were at liberty to present different interpretations that while they may not be unequivocally accurate were nonetheless historically responsible. In other words, choices that conductors made showed an understanding of the historical practices related to the body of literature referencing this music but also shows that many conductors in a pragmatic way pick and chose the elements they regard as essential in achieving a convincing performance of an early music work. Such liberal interpretations were not as prevalent under the auspices of authenticity. To illustrate this point the example of Milnes's 1996 recording of the *St. John Passion* is again cited. In the choruses, "Herr, unser Herrscher" and "Ruht wohl" Milnes uses solo singers (concertists) in contrast with a fuller choir of sixty. While this shows a basic understanding of the principles of *coro favorito*, it is not an exact interpretation of the practice that German musicians from Schütz to Bach knew.

In regards to performing forces, the majority of conductors chose choirs with mixed voices; however, seven recordings feature all-male choirs. Only the singular recording of Harnonocurt's 1985 *St. John Passion* present all-male soloists as well as an all-male choir in the performing forces. While the sizes of the choirs surveyed are immensely smaller than the characteristic performing forces of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, few of them demonstrate the overwhelming evidence that support minimalist one voice per part (OVPP). The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (1993) and Jos van Veldhoven (2004) demonstrate one-voice-per-part (concertist) concept that entails an additional four singers (ripienists) to join in the singing of the chorales. The lack of OVPP interpretations demonstrate that performances have not reconciled with the research literature on this topic and could suggest, that at least for now, conductors chose to reject the historical construct of what a choir was in Bach's time. The majority of conductors (24%) chose vocal forces that were in the form of a mixed choir that consisted of a roster of anywhere between 10-19 members. Additionally, all but one recording employs both male and female soloists.

The use of historical instruments indicates that there is an overwhelming consensus in this matter. All but one recording (Max 2006) indicates in its instrumental roster at least one historical instrument or copy of one. Scholars believe that Bach's orchestra was slightly larger than his vocal forces, a practice that is also demonstrated in

the majority of recordings (34%), who list their roster. The majority of recordings employ an orchestra of 21-25 members, slightly larger than the majority of listed vocal forces of 10-19 voices. A great number of these recordings demonstrate heterogeneous mixing of modern and historical reproductions of historic instruments. Nevertheless, there are those few recordings, which proudly list the provenance of either their true historic instrument or they list the attribution to which the instrument was modeled after. This point is demonstrated in the recordings of Kenneth Slowik (1989) and Nikolaus Harnoncourt (1993) who meticulously list the instrument's origin. To counterbalance this preference for genuinely authentic instruments or at least replicas of historic instruments there are instruments used by conductors that are uniquely artificial to Bach's time. The most obvious example of this is Craig Smith's 1999 recording that features the flugelhorn in several areas to help blend the voices. Of course there is Hermann Max's 2006 recording of Robert Schumann's arrangement of Bach's *St. John Passion* that features the modern instruments and specifically unique to this version, the pianoforte and trumpets.

The topic of tempo has monopolized performance practice discussions for the majority of the past quarter of a century. Performances characterized as Historically Informed have been described as faster than those that are not attuned to performance practice. However, recent studies question the validity of such assertions. Furthermore, several writers suggest that performances are becoming more expressive and slower. In the thirty-eight recordings obtained for this study, the evidence cannot substantiate such claims. While a few movements may show trends in either becoming slower or faster overall the evidence does not support the idea that recordings are becoming either slower or faster. What can be surmised by the available evidence regarding tempo is that there was closer uniformity in the choruses of the *St. John Passion* while the chorales showed a remarkable divergence in recorded duration times. What can be inferred by this fact is that conductors employed more expressive license in the chorales perhaps as an attempt to draw closer attention to the moralizing and didactic poetry found within. Another stereotypical belief is that interpretations of German conductors are slower than other nationalities but based on the evidence in this study that assertion is also false. German conductors consistently were represented in the top three fastest and slowest interpretations of movements within the *St. John Passion*.

While issues of rhythm played a paramount part in the chorales, it was less significant in the choruses. Only one known example was found in the thirty-eight recordings where a conductor conspicuously changed a rhythm in a chorus. However, in the chorales the note values that had a fermata placed over it were performed in various degrees of length. Many different approaches were used when it came to the execution of fermatas. A great number of conductors chose not to hold out the fermatas longer than the original note's value, particularly if it was not at the end of the chorale. Of these conductors, some would occasionally highlight a particular phrase or word by dramatically holding out the fermata. One superb example of this is in the first chorale of the second part, "Christus, de runs selig macht." Conductors placed added emphasis where Christ was spat upon (verspeit) by holding out the fermata an uncomfortable amount of time. There were a few conductors who consistently held out every fermata, usually double the note value, in an objective way, regardless of text meaning or poetic design. Furthermore, either conductors chose to perform the chorales in an objective way (not straying from one uniform volume or rhythm) or conductors highlighted and drew attention to the text by altering and varying the volume and rhythm of certain words and fermatas. These practices may speak to a broader level of how conductors perceive the role of the chorales in Bach's time. It could be argued that those conductors who objectively presented the chorales did so because in a pragmatic way, they were the congregation's song and like hymnody today in congregations, they are usually sung in a uniform tempo and dynamic. However, other conductors who presented the chorales with more attention to nuance and expression thought of them in more of an artistic way and may ascribe to the theory that the chorales in the Passions were never actually sung by the congregation but rather only served the purpose of melodic familiarity for the congregation.

Dynamics played a vital role in individual expressions of conductors. While most scholars believe that forte was the default volume for most works in the Baroque period the conductors examined in this study demonstrated a variety of choices regarding dynamics. Several conductors unapologetically and overtly presented gradual, long-term increase and decrease in dynamics usually to amplify the dramatic events occurring

within the Passion narrative. Others presented the movements in an objective manner, never straying from the dynamic initially introduced from the outset of the movement.

Overall most conductors articulated within a decayed martellato manner. However, occasionally there were moments within the work where expressive legato was employed to contrast with the default marcato articulation. Pitch is one of those categories in early music that has gained tremendous fashionableness and wide acceptance within performances. Twenty-six recordings (68%) of thirty-eight used the lowered A=415, commonly known as “Baroque” pitch standard.

Choices of ornamentation show that nearly all of the conductors followed the ornamentation when specifically written in the score but normally would not go beyond to add additional ornaments. This suggests that many conductors still do not feel comfortable in adding elements of ornamentation, that element of music is as strongly associated as the essence of the Baroque period as monody. Perhaps the spirit of *Werktreue* still looms heavily in this area of contemporary music making. With that said, the larger choruses, “Herr, unser Herrscher” and “Ruht wohl” were more likely to receive additional ornamentation than the shorter choruses and chorales.

In examining the practices and choices that conductors made during the past twenty-five years in this representative work of the *St. John Passion*, several deductions can be made concerning the enterprise of early music in contemporary society. Just like a softening of the authenticity, rhetoric has given way to a more liberal and accepting designation as historically informed practice, so too has early music undergone a period of relaxation and acceptance for various interpretations. No definitive conclusion can be reached regarding if recordings are becoming faster or slower. However, interpretations are demonstrating more artistic decisions that add to the expressiveness of movements, but this fact cannot be construed as the expressiveness that was part of the Romantic ideal. Furthermore, there cannot be any stereotypical designations assigned to conductors of particular nations as being consistently slow or fast. Conductors who were fortunate enough to record the *St. John Passion* more than once showed an unusual amount of consistency in regards to the musical elements of interpretation. This was particularly

true in the sphere of duration, where very little difference was observed in the subsequent recordings.<sup>444</sup>

### Recommendations for Future Research

Performance is an inherent component of experiencing music. Recordings are an increasing important component in tracing the practices of conductors in performances. Missing from this study are representative recordings from conductors of nations like France, Russia, Slovakia, just to name a few, that could add to the richness and variety of the overall interpretations of any given musical work. Throughout this research, recordings from the United States and England were easier to obtain. Additionally, efforts should be made to make recordings more accessible for longer periods. The availability of recordings is unfortunately driven by consumer demand and those that do not do well in an already competitive and narrow market niche are subject to becoming unavailable for listening and or study. Further research should be done on those countries and regions that are not typically included in the United States commercial recordings market for a more accurate portrayal of contemporary performance practice of earlier works.

While this study could not draw concrete conclusions regarding if recordings of this one representative work are becoming faster or slower, perhaps a longer longitudinal study would yield results that showed a preferential trend. Until then continued discussions should occur that ask questions regarding why conductors prefer to follow certain historical practices while ignoring others. These discussions would help define even more contemporary endeavors of performance that may discover and point to larger sociological considerations.

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<sup>444</sup> Duration results of conductors who have recorded the *St. John Passion* more than once may be seen in Appendix K.

## APPENDIX A

### ALPHABETICAL DISCOGRAPHY UNDER CONDUCTOR'S LAST NAME

This Discography seeks to list all the complete commercial recordings of Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion*. The list contains seventy-nine items arranged first alphabetically under the conductor's last name and second chronologically within the twenty-five years between 1982-2007. I am indebted to learning about many of these recordings through the invaluable resource of the Bach Cantatas Website (BCW) administered by Aryeh Oron. The Bach Cantata website may be found at the following URL: <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/>.

#### **Alphabetical under conductor's last name**

Alex, Constantin, dir. *Johannes- Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Preußisches Kammerorchester Prenzlau and European Medical Students' Choir. EMSC. March 1997.

Appel, Thomas, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amberger Sinfonieorchester and Amberger Oratorienschor. Amberger Oratorienschor. March 2001.

Becker – Foss, Hans – Christoph, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester der Hamelner Kantorei and Junge Kantorei und Hamelner Kantorei and der Marktkirche, Hamelner Kammerchor St. Nikolai, Mitglieder Göttinger Vokalensemble. Musikwochen Weserbergland. March 1998.

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

Brüggen, Frans, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and Nederlands Kamerkoor. Philips. February 1992.

Brunner, Armin, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Chamber Orchestra and Chorus of the Schweizer Fernsehen DRS. Relief. 1984.

Cavelius, Andreas, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester der Kölner Kammermusiker and Vokalensemble St. Dionysius. Mobile Livemitschnitt. April 2003.

Christopers, Harry, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Sixteen Choir and Orchestra. Chandos. March 1989.

Cleobury, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Brandenburg Consort and King's College Choir Cambridge. Brilliant Classics. March 1996.

Corboz, Michel, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne and Instrumental Ensemble. Cascavelle Records. February 1994.

Daus, Joshard, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester und Chor Bach – Ensemble and EuropaChor Akademie. Arte Nova. March 1999.

De Wolff, Charles, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concertgebouw Chamber Orchestra and Holland Bach Choir. Fidelio/ Vanguard Classics. June – July 1986.

Dillmar, Anders, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Motettkören I Gamla Uppsala Kyrka. Dillmar. April 2003.

---, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Motettkören I Gamla Uppsala Kyrka. Dillmar. March 2004.

Dombrecht, Paul, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Il Fondamento Vocal and Instrumental. Dutch Vanguard. April 1996.

Ericson, Eric, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Drottningholm Baroque Ensemble and the Eric Ericson Chamber Choir. Vanguard Classics/Proprius. April 1993.

Fasolis, Diego, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vanitas and Coro della Radio Svizzera. Arts. June 1998.

Gardiner, John Eliot, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. English Baroque Soloists and the Monteverdi Choir. Arkiv Produktion 469 769-2. March 1986.

Gesseney, Christophe, dir. *La Passion selon St-Jean*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Instrumentale and Union Chorale de Lausanne. Paudèze Records. 1993.

Gjadrov, Igor, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of the Yugoslav Academies and Faculties. Jugoton. May 1985.

Guglhör, Gerd, dir. *Wege zur Muzik – Bach Johannespassion – Stationen und Strukturen*, by J.S. Bach. Neue Hofkapelle München and Orpheus Chor München. Koch Schwann – Bayerischer Rundfunk. 1995

Güttler, Ludwig, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Virtuosi Saxoniae and Hallenser Madrigalisten. Dresden Classics. May 1998.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985.

---, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1993.

---, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Arnold Schoenberg Choir. Teldec. October – November 2003.

Harzen, Guido, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Junge Philharmonie Düsseldorf and Junger KonzertChor Düsseldorf. Mobile Livemitschnitt. March 2002.

Haselböck, Martin, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Wiener Akademie. 2002.

Hempfling, Volker, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Johann Christian Bach – Akademie and Kölner Kantorei. AVI Music. March 2004.

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre de La Chapelle Royale and Collegium Vocale Gent. Harmonia Mundi France. April 1987.

---, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre et Chœur du Collégium Vocale. Harmonia Mundi France. April 2001.

Higginbottom, Edward, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Novum and the Choir of New College. Naxos. June 2002.

Karius, Wolfgang, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Hamburger Barockorchester and Kammerchor Aachener Bachverein. Aachener Bachverein. March 2002.

Kläsener, Wolfgang, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Orchesterakademie an der Immanuelkirche and Kantorei Barmen – Gemark. Kantorei Barmen Gemark. February 1997.

---, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchesterakademie an der Immanuelkirche and Kantorei Barmen – Gemark. Kantorei Barmen Gemark. March 2003.

Koopman, Ton, dir. *Johannes- Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Erato. March 1993.

Kramm, Herma and Johannes Hömberg, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Universitätschor Münster/Orchester der Kölner Kammermusiker. Musicom. February 1998.

Krause, Joachim, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Concertino Basel and Basler Bach-Chor. Basler Bach-Chor. March 1996.

- , dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Concertino Basel and Gemischte Chor Zürich. Gemischte Chor Zürich. March 1997.
- Kröper, Andreas and Jan Krejci, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Gioia della Musica Praha and Brněnský akademický sbor (Brno Academy Choir). Allegro/ Pickwick. 1991.
- Kuentz, Paul, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Paul Kuentz Chamber Orchestra and Choir. Pierre Verany. 1987.
- Kuijken, Sigiswald, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of La Petite Bande. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi. February – April 1987.
- Leusink, Pieter Jan, dir. *Johannes Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Netherlands Bach Collegium and Holland Boys Choir. Brilliant Classics. January 2001.
- Lutz, Martin, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester La Carona and Schiersteiner Kantorei. Schiersteiner Kantorei Wiesbaden. March 2003.
- Max, Hermann, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach, arr. Robert Schumann. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Classic Produktion Osnabrück. September 2006.
- , dir. *Passio secundum Johannem 1749*, by J.S. Bach. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Capriccio. March 1990.
- Milnes, Eric J., dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Trinity Cathedral Choir and Orchestra. Pro Gloria Musicae. March 1996.
- Neumann, Peter, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Cartusianum and Kölner Kammerchor. MDG. October 1999.
- Newman, Anthony, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Brandenburg Collegium Orchestra and Chorus. Newport Classic. 1986.
- Noll, Christoph Anselm, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Florilegium musicum and Capella pura. Cantabile. February 2001.
- Parrott, Andrew, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Taverner Consort and Players. Virgin Veritas. April 1990.
- Pommer, Max, dir. *The Passion According to Saint John*, by J.S. Bach. Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum and Leipziger Universitätschor. Film for the Humanities. 1984.
- Prentl, Michaela, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian

- and Ensemble Lodron. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian. April 1995.
- Prentl, Michaela, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian and Barockorchester La Banda. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian. April 2006.
- Rathgeber, Karl, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester La Banda and Kammerchor der Hochschule für evangelische Kirchenmusik Bayreuth. EHS. March 2002.
- Rilling, Helmuth, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Sony Classical. 1984.
- , dir. *Edition Bachakademie Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Hänsler. March 1996.
- Roth, Hans – Josef, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Aachener Domchor. Aachener Domchor. March 1995.
- Schets, Joop, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Het Gelders Orkest and Bach Apeldoorn. Cantilena. April 2000.
- , dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Randstedelijk Begeleidings Orkest and Thomaskoor Hogeschool Gorinchem. Cantilena. May 2002.
- Schneidt, Hans – Martin, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Schneidt Bach Choir and Orchestra. Live Notes. November 2001.
- Schnetzler, Wifried, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester ad fonts and Bach-Kantorei. Bach-Kantorei. April 1992.
- Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor), *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Scholars Baroque Ensemble. Naxos. April 1993.
- Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Staatskapelle Dresden and Rundfunkchor Leipzig. Philips. February 1988.
- , dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Coro del Teatro Lirico di Cagliari. Dynamic. November 2001.
- Schulz, Ingo, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Instrumental Ensemble and Ölberg Chor. Music Art. March 1998.
- Sennlaub, Hartmut, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bachorchester Krefeld and Bach – Chor Krefeld. Mobile Livemitschnitt. April 2001.
- Serov, Eduard, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Leningrad Chamber Orchestra of

Old and Modern Music and Boys' Chorus of the Moscow Choral School.  
Melodiya. Mid 1980's.

Slowik, Kenneth, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Smithsonian Chamber Players and Chorus. Smithsonian. March 1989.

Smith, Craig, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Chorus of Emmanuel Music. Koch International. April 1998.

Stenz, Markus, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Gürzenich – Orchester and Chor Köln. Gürzenich – Orchester. April 2006.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. King Records. April 1995.

---, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. BIS. April 1998.

---, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. TDK. July 2000.

Van Asch, David, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. 1994

van Veldhoven, Jos, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Baroque Orchestra and Choir of Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Channel Classics. March 2004.

Von Dohnanyi, Oliver, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Coro Misto and Suk Chamber Orchestra. Pentagon Classics. February – March 1991.

Weyand, Eckhard, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Stuttgarter Hymnus-Chorknaben. Hänsler. April – May 1990.

Winschermann, Helmut, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Deutsche Bachsolisten and Okayama Bach Kantaten Verein. Live Notes. 1995.

Wolf, Jürgen, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Capella St. Nicolai. RAM. April 1995.

zu Guttenberg, Enoch, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium München and Chorgemeinschaft Neubeuern. RCA Victor Red Seal. April 1991.

APPENDIX B  
CHRONOLOGICAL DISCOGRAPHY

**1982**

**1983**

**1984**

Brunner, Armin, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Chamber Orchestra and Chorus of the Schweizer Fernsehen DRS. Relief. 1984.

Pommer, Max, dir. *The Passion According to Saint John*, by J.S. Bach. Neues Bachisches Collegium Musicum and Leipziger Universitätschor. Film for the Humanities. 1984.

Rilling, Helmuth, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Sony Classical. 1984.

**1985**

Gjadrov, Igor, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of the Yugoslav Academies and Faculties. Jugoton. May 1985.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985.

**1986**

de Wolff, Charles, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concertgebouw Chamber Orchestra and Holland Bach Choir. Fidelio/ Vanguard Classics. June – July 1986.

Gardiner, John Eliot, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. English Baroque Soloists and the Monteverdi Choir. Arkiv Produktion 469 769-2. March 1986.

Newman, Anthony, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Brandenburg Collegium Orchestra and Chorus. Newport Classic. 1986.

**1987**

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre de La Chapelle Royale and Collegium Vocale Gent. Harmonia Mundi France. April 1987.

Kuentz, Paul, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Paul Kuentz Chamber Orchestra and

Choir. Pierre Verany. 1987.

Kuijken, Sigiswald, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of La Petite Bande. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi. February – April 1987.

## 1988

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Staatskapelle Dresden and Rundfunkchor Leipzig. Philips. February 1988.

## 1989

Christophers, Harry, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Sixteen Choir and Orchestra. Chandos. March 1989.

Slowik, Kenneth, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Smithsonian Chamber Players and Chorus. Smithsonian. March 1989.

## 1990

Max, Hermann, dir. *Passio Secundum Johannem 1749*, by J.S. Bach. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Capriccio. March 1990.

Parrott, Andrew, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Taverner Consort and Players. Virgin Veritas. April 1990.

Weyand, Eckhard, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Stuttgarter Hymnus-Chorknaben. Hänsler. April – May 1990.

## 1991

Kröper, Andreas and Jan Krejci, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Gioia della Musica Praha and Brněnský akademický sbor (Brno Academy Choir). Allegro/ Pickwick. 1991.

Von Dohnanyi, Oliver, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Coro Misto and Suk Chamber Orchestra. Pentagon Classics. February – March 1991.

Zu Guttenberg, Enoch, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium München and Chorgemeinschaft Neubeuern. RCA Victor Red Seal. April 1991.

## 1992

Brüggen, Frans, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and Nederlands Kamerkoor. Philips. February 1992.

Schnetzler, Wifried, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester ad fonts and Bach-Kantorei. Bach-Kantorei. April 1992.

## 1993

Ericson, Eric, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Drottningholm Baroque Ensemble and the Eric Ericson Chamber Choir. Vanguard Classics/Proprius. April 1993.

Gesseney, Christophe, dir. *La Passion selon St-Jean*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Instrumentale and Union Chorale de Lausanne. Paudèze Records. 1993.

Koopman, Ton, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Erato. March 1993.

The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor), *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Scholars Baroque Ensemble. Naxos. April 1993.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1993.

## 1994

Corboz, Michel, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne and Instrumental Ensemble. Cascavelle Records. February 1994.

Van Asch, David, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. 1994

## 1995

Guglhör, Gerd, dir. *Wege zur Muzik – Bach Johannespassion – Stationen und Strukturen*, by J.S. Bach. Neue Hofkapelle München and Orpheus Chor München. Koch Schwann – Bayerischer Rundfunk. 1995

Prentl, Michaela, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian and Ensemble Lodron. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian. April 1995.

Roth, Hans – Josef, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Aachener Domchor. Aachener Domchor. March 1995.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. King Records. April 1995.

Winschermann, Helmut, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Deutsche Bachsolisten and Okayama Bach Kantaten Verein. Live Notes. 1995.

Wolf, Jürgen, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Capella St. Nicolai. RAM. April 1995.

## 1996

Cleobury, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Brandenburg Consort and King's College Choir Cambridge. Brilliant Classics. March 1996.

Dombrecht, Paul, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Il Fondamento Vocal and Instrumental. Dutch Vanguard. April 1996.

Krause, Joachim, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Concertino Basel and Basler Bach-Chor. Basler Bach-Chor. March 1996.

Milnes, Eric J., dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Trinity Cathedral Choir and Orchestra. Pro Gloria Musicae. March 1996.

Rilling, Helmut, dir. *Edition Bachakademie Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Hänsler. March 1996.

## 1997

Alex, Constantin, dir. *Johannes- Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Preußisches Kammerorchester Prenzlau and European Medical Students' Choir. EMSC. March 1997.

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

Kläsener, Wolfgang, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Orchesterakademie an der Immanuelkirche and Kantorei Barmen – Gemark. Kantorei Barmen Gemark. February 1997.

Krause, Joachim, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Concertino Basel and Gemischte Chor Zürich. Gemischte Chor Zürich. March 1997.

Noll, Christoph Anselm, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Florilegium musicum and Capella pura. Cantabile. March 1997.

## 1998

Becker – Foss, Hans – Christoph, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester der Hamelner Kantorei and Junge Kantorei und Hamelner Kantorei and der Marktkirche, Hamelner Kammerchor St. Nikolai, Mitglieder Göttinger Vokalensemble. Musikwochen Weserbergland. March 1998.

Fasolis, Diego, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vanitas and Coro della

Radio Svizzera. Arts. June 1998.

Güttler, Ludwig, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Virtuosi Saxoniae and Hallenser Madrigalisten. Dresden Classics. May 1998.

Kramm, Herma and Johannes Hömberg, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach.  
Universitätschor Münster/Orchester der Kölner Kammermusiker. Musicom.  
February 1998.

Schäfer, Christoph – Andreas, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester L’arpa festante and Vokalensemble an der Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg.  
Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg. March 2000.

Schulz, Ingo, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Instrumental Ensemble and Ölberg Chor. Music Art. March 1998.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. BIS. April 1998.

## 1999

Daus, Joshard, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester und Chor Bach – Ensemble and EuropaChor Akademie. Arte Nova. March 1999.

Neumann, Peter, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Cartusianum and Kölner Kammerchor. MDG. October 1999.

Smith, Craig, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Chorus of Emmanuel Music. Koch International. April 1999.

## 2000

Schäfer, Christoph – Andreas, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester L’arpa festante and Vokalensemble an der Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg.  
Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg. March 2000.

Schets, Joop, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Het Gelders Orkest and Bach Apeldoorn. Cantilena. April 2000.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. TDK. July 2000.

## 2001

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre et Chœur du Collégium Vocale. Harmonia Mundi France. April 2001.

Leusink, Pieter Jan, dir. *Johannes Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Netherlands Bach Collegium and Holland Boys Choir. Brilliant Classics. January 2001.

Appel, Thomas, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amberger Sinfonieorchester and Amberger Oratoriendorch. Amberger Oratoriendorch. March 2001.

Sennlaub, Hartmut, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bachorchester Krefeld and Bach – Chor Krefeld. Mobile Livemitschnitt. April 2001.

Wilkinson, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion* (excerpts), by J.S. Bach. Capriccio and the William Byrd Singers. William Byrd Singers. March 2001.

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Coro del Teatro Lirico di Cagliari. Dynamic. November 2001.

Schneidt, Hans – Martin, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Schneidt Bach Choir and Orchestra. Live Notes. November 2001.

## 2002

Higginbottom, Edward, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Novum and the Choir of New College. Naxos. June 2002.

Harzen, Guido, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Junge Philharmonie Düsseldorf and Junger KonzertChor Düsseldorf. Mobile Livemitschnitt. March 2002.

Karius, Wolfgang, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Hamburger Barockorchester and Kammerchor Aachener Bachverein. Aachener Bachverein. March 2002.

Rathgeber, Karl, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester La Banda and Kammerchor der Hochschule für evangelische Kirchenmusik Bayreuth. EHS. March 2002.

Schets, Joop, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Randstedelijk Begeleidings Orkest and Thomaskoor Hogeschool Gorinchem. Cantilena. May 2002.

Haselböck, Martin, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Wiener Akademie. 2002.

## 2003

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Arnold Schoenberg Choir. Teldec. October – November 2003.

Kläsener, Wolfgang, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchesterakademie an der

Immanuelkirche and Kantorei Barmen – Gemark. Kantorei Barmen Gemark.  
March 2003.

Lutz, Martin, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Barockorchester La Carona and  
Schiersteiner Kantorei. Schiersteiner Kantorei Wiesbaden. March 2003.

Dillmar, Anders, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Motettkören I Gamla Uppsala  
Kyrka. Dillmar. April 2003.

Cavelius, Andreas, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester der Kölner  
Kammermusiker and Vokalensemble St. Dionysius. Mobile Livemitschnitt. April  
2003.

## 2004

Dillmar, Anders, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Motettkören I Gamla Uppsala  
Kyrka. Dillmar. March 2004.

Hempfling, Volker, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Johann Christian Bach –  
Akademie and Kölner Kantorei. AVI Music. March 2004.

Van Veldhoven, Jos, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Baroque Orchestra and Choir of  
Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Channel Classics. March 2004.

## 2005

## 2006

Carrington, Simon, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach, 1725 Version. Yale Schola  
Cantorum and Yale Collegium Players. April 2006.

Prentl, Michaela, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian  
and Barockorchester La Banda. Chorgemeinschaft St. Sebastian. April 2006.

Max, Hermann, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach, arr. Robert Schumann. Das Kleine  
Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Classic Produktion Osnabrück. September  
2006.

Stenz, Markus, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Gürzenich – Orchester and Chor  
Köln. Gürzenich – Orchester. April 2006.

## 2007

## APPENDIX C

### SURVEY OF REVIEWS

The following reviews are not meant to be a comprehensive list. Rather the included reviews serve as a survey of commercial recordings in the past twenty-five years. Reviews are important in that it provides contemporaneous opinion from reviewers regarding the reception of a particular recording of a musical work.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Edward Higginbottom, *American Record Guide* 67.3 (May/June 2004): 75-76.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Philippe Herreweghe, *American Record Guide* 65.3 (May/June 2002): 69-70.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Craig Smith, *American Record Guide* 64.5 (September/October 2001): 82-83.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Diego Fasolis, *American Record Guide* 62.5 (September/October 1999): 94-95.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conductor Karl-Friedrich Beringer, *American Record Guide* 61.6 (November/December 1998): 88-89.

Althouse, Paul. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Eric Milnes, *American Record Guide* 60.2 (March/April 1997): 80-81.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Frans Brüggen, *American Record Guide* 56.6 (November/December 1993): 77-78.

Althouse, Paul. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Fritz Werner and Harry Christophers, *American Record Guide* 53.5 (September/October 1990): 44-45.

Althouse, Paul L. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Philippe Herreweghe and Hermann Scherchen, *American Record Guide* 51.6 (November/December 1988): 10-11.

Althouse, Paul L. Review for the St. John Passion, conducted by John Eliot Gardiner, *American Record Guide* 50.4 & 5 (Fall 1987): 3-4.

Anderson, Nicholas. "A Passion to be different: review of *St. John Passion*, conducted by Philippe Herreweghe." *BBC Music Magazine* (January 2002): 80.

- Anderson, Nicholas. "Review of *St. John Passion*, conducted by Peter Neumann." *BBC Music Magazine* (August 2000): 80.
- Barker, John W. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Jos van Veldhoven, *American Record Guide* 68.4 (July/August 2005): 61-63.
- Barker, John W. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Ton Koopman, *American Record Guide* 57.5 (September/October 1994): 96.
- Barker, John W. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Stephen Cleobury, *American Record Guide* 61.2 (March/April 1998): 74.
- Chakwin, Stephen. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Peter Schreier, *American Record Guide* 52.5 (September/October 1989): 21-22.
- Gatens, William J. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Peter Neumann, *American Record Guide* 63.5 (September/October 2000): 96.
- Gatens, William J. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Masaaki Suzuki, *American Record Guide* 62.5 (September/October 1999): 95-96.
- Gatens, William J. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Andrew Parrott and Benjamin Britten, *American Record Guide* 59.2 (March/April 1996): 83-84.
- Gatens, William J. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Enoch zu Guttenberg, *American Record Guide* 55.6 (November/December 1992): 74.
- Heatherington, Alan. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Kenneth Slowik, *American Record Review* 54.2 (March/April 1991): 22-23.
- Lock, Graham. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Helmut Rilling. *BBC Music Magazine* (May 1997): 60.
- Lucano, Ralph V. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Helmut Rilling, *American Record Guide* 63.6 (November/December 2000): 99-100.
- Mulbury, David G. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Günther Ramin, David van Asch, and Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *American Record Guide* 58.6 (November/December 1995): 74-75.
- Pratt, George. "Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Edward Higginbottom." *BBC Music Magazine* (June 2003): 72.
- Sherman, Bernhard. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Masaaki Suzuki, *Gramophone Early Music* 62.5 (Summer 1999).

Worrel, Stephen W. Review of St. John Passion, conducted by Craig Smith, *Early Music America* 7.3 (Fall 2001): 14.

## APPENDIX D

### RECORDING PROFILES

Provided below is information regarding the performing forces of individual recordings. Not every recording obtained provided detailed information regarding the make up of the orchestra and choir.

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

#### Choir

18 Treble Boys (Soprano part)  
19 Treble Boys (Alto part)  
12 Tenors  
23 Basses

#### Orchestra

(Incomplete information)

1 Organ  
1 Harpsichord  
1 Cello  
1 Double bass  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboe/oboe d' amore  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Lute

Carrington, Simon, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach, 1725 Version. Yale Schola Cantorum and Yale Collegium Players. April 2006.

#### Choir

6 Sopranos  
6 Altos (1 Counter tenor)  
6 Tenors  
6 Basses

#### Orchestra

5 Violins  
1 Viola  
1 Viola da gamba  
2 Oboes  
2 Flutes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Cello  
1 Double bass  
1 Organ

Christophers, Harry, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Sixteen Choir and Orchestra. Chandos. March 1989.

#### Choir

6 Sopranos  
4 Altos (3 Counter tenors)  
4 Tenors  
4 Basses

#### Orchestra

4 Violin 1  
4 Violin 2  
2 Viola/Viola d'amore  
2 Cello (1 continuo)  
1 double bass  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Lute  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboe/Oboe d'amore/Oboe da caccia  
1 Bassoon  
1 Organ

Cleobury, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Brandenburg Consort and King's College Choir Cambridge. Brilliant Classics. March 1996.

#### Choir

All male choir (No additional information provided)

#### Orchestra

(Not available)

Corboz, Michel, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne and

Instrumental Ensemble. Cascavelle Records. February 1994.

Choir

11 Sopranos  
8 Altos  
11 Tenors  
9 Basses

Orchestra

6 First Violins  
4 Second Violins  
4 Violas  
3 Cellos  
2 Basses  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Lute  
1 Organ  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon

Daus, Joshard, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester und Chor Bach – Ensemble and EuropaChor Akademie. Arte Nova. March 1999.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

Dombrecht, Paul, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Il Fondamento Vocal and Instrumental. Dutch Vanguard. April 1996.

Choir

5 Sopranos  
4 Altos  
4 Tenors  
4 Basses

Orchestra

8 Violins  
3 Violas (2 Viola d'amore)  
2 Cellos (1 Basso continuo)  
1 Viola da Gamba  
1 Violone  
2 Traverse Flutes  
2 Oboes (1 Oboe d'amore)  
1 Bassoon  
1 Organ (also for Continuo)  
1 Theorbo (also for Continuo)

Ericson, Eric, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Drottningholm Baroque Ensemble and the Eric Ericson Chamber Choir. Vanguard Classics/Proprius. April 1993.

#### Choir

10 Sopranos  
8 Altos  
8 Altos  
8 Basses

#### Orchestra

6 Violin 1  
4 Violin 2  
3 Violas  
2 Cellos  
1 Viola da gamba  
2 Violones  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Lute  
1 Organ

Fasolis, Diego, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vanitas and Coro della Radio Svizzera. Arts. June 1998.

#### Choir

5 Sopranos  
4 Altos  
5 Tenors  
4 Basses

#### Orchestra

4 First Violins  
3 Second Violins  
1 Viola  
2 Cellos  
2 Violones  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Oboe d'amore  
1 Oboe da caccia  
1 Oboe  
1 Transverse Flute  
1 Harpsichord  
1 Organ

Gardiner, John Eliot, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. English Baroque Soloists and the Monteverdi Choir. Arkiv Produktion 469 769-2. March 1986.

#### Choir

7 Sopranos  
6 Altos (including 4 Countertenors)  
5 Tenors  
5 Basses

#### Orchestra

6 First Violins  
4 Second Violins  
3 Violas  
2 Violas d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba  
3 Cellos  
1 Double Bass  
1 Lute  
2 Flutes  
4 Oboes, Oboes d'amore  
2 Oboes da caccia  
2 Bassoons  
1 Organ

Guttenberg, Enoch zu, dir. *Johannes Passion* by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft Neubeurn and Bach-Collegium München. BMG Classics April 1991.

#### Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

Güttler, Ludwig, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Virtuosi Saxoniae and Hallenser Madrigalisten. Dresden Classics. May 1998.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Incomplete information)

2 Flutes  
2 Oboe da caccia  
2 Oboe d'amore  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Lute  
1 Cello  
1 Double bass  
1 Bassoon  
1 Contrabassoon  
1 Organ

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985.

Choir

All male choir (No other additional information available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1993.

Choir

(No other additional information available)

### Orchestra

12 Violins  
4 Violas  
2 Violoncellos  
2 Violone  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Lute  
2 Tranverse Flutes  
1 Oboe  
2 Oboe da caccia  
1 Oboe d'amore  
1 Bassoon  
1 Organ

Hempfling, Volker, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Johann Christian Bach – Akademie and Kölner Kantorei. AVI Music. March 2004.

### Choir

(Not available)

### Orchestra

(Not available)

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre de La Chapelle Royale and Collegium Vocale Gent. Harmonia Mundi France. April 1987.

### Choir

4 Sopranos  
3 Altos (including two countertenors)  
4 Tenors  
4 Basses

### Orchestra

4 Violin 1  
3 Violin 2  
2 Violas  
2 Cellos  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Double Bass

2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Lute  
1 Organ

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre et Choeur du Collegium Vocale. Harmonia Mundi France. April 2001.

#### Choir

4 Sopranos  
4 Altos  
4 Tenors  
4 Basses

#### Orchestra

4 Violin 1  
4 Violin 2  
3 Violas  
2 Cellos  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Double Bass  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Organ

Higginbottom, Edward, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Novum and the Choir of New College. Naxos. June 2002.

#### Choir

14 Trebles (Soprano part)  
4 Altos  
4 Tenors  
5 Basses

#### Orchestra

3 Violin 1  
3 Violin 2  
2 Violas  
2 Viola d'amore  
2 Viola da gamba

3 Cello  
2 Double Bass  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Lute  
1 Organ  
1 Harpsichord

Koopman, Ton, dir. *Johannes- Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Erato. March 1993.

Choir

7 Sopranos  
6 Altos (including 1 countertenor)  
7 Tenors  
7 Basses

Orchestra

8 Violins  
2 Violas  
2 Cellos  
1 Double Bass  
2 Oboes  
2 Flutes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Contrabassoon  
1 Lute  
1 Organ

Kuijken, Sigiswald, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of La Petite Bande. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi. February – April 1987.

Choir

4 Sopranos  
4 Altos (including 1 countertenor)  
4 Tenors  
4 Basses

Orchestra

4 Violin 1  
3 Violin 2

2 Violas  
2 Cellos  
1 Violoncello  
1 Violone  
1 Double Bass  
1 Transverse Flute  
2 Oboes  
2 Bassoons  
1 Organ  
1 Lute

Leusink, Pieter Jan, dir. *Johannes Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Netherlands Bach Collegium and Holland Boys Choir. Brilliant Classics. January 2001.

#### Choir

23 Sopranos (Trebles)  
6 Countertenors  
6 Tenors  
5 Basses

#### Orchestra

7 Violins  
3 Violas  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Cello  
1 Viola da gamba  
2 Double bass  
2 Oboes  
3 Traverse Flutes  
1 Lute  
2 Bassoon  
1 Organ

Max, Hermann, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach, arr. Robert Schumann. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Classic Produktion Osnabrück. September 2006.

#### Choir

7 Sopranos  
7 Altos  
7 Tenors  
7 Basses

### Orchestra

8 Violin 1  
8 Violin 2  
4 Viola  
3 Cello  
2 Double Basses  
1 Fortepiano  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
2 Clarinet  
2 Bassoons  
2 Trumpets

Max, Hermann, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem 1749*, by J.S. Bach. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Capriccio. March 1990.

### Choir

4 Sopranos  
4 Altos  
4 Tenors  
5 Basses

### Orchestra

2 Flute/ Flauti traversi  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Double Bassoon  
1 Viola da gamba  
10 Violins  
3 Violas  
2 Cellos  
1 Double bass  
1 Harpsichord  
1 Organ

Milnes, Eric J., dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Trinity Cathedral Choir and Orchestra. Pro Gloria Musicae. March 1996.

### Choir

13 Sopranos  
18 Altos  
14 Tenors

15 Basses

Orchestra

4 Violin 1  
4 Violin 2  
2 Viola  
2 Cello  
1 Bass/Viola da gamba  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Harpsichord  
1 Organ

Neumann, Peter, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Cartusianum and Kölner Kammerchor. MDG. October 1999.

Choir

5 Sopranos  
5 Altos  
4 Tenors  
4 Basses

Orchestra

4 First Violins  
4 Second Violins  
2 Violas  
1 Viola da Gamba  
2 Cellos  
1 Violone  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Harpsichord  
1 Organ

Noll, Christoph Anselm, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Florilegium musicum and Capella pura. Cantabile. March 1997.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

Parrott, Andrew, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Taverner Consort and Players.  
Virgin Veritas. April 1990.

Choir

2 Sopranos  
2 Altos/Countertenors?  
2 Tenors  
2 Basses

Orchestra

(Not available)

Rilling, Helmuth, dir. *Edition Bachakademie Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Hänsler. March 1996.

Choir

15 Sopranos  
11 Altos  
9 Tenors  
11 Basses

Orchestra

6 First Violins  
5 Second Violins  
4 Viola  
1 Viola da gamba  
3 Cello  
2 Double Basses  
2 Flute  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Contra Bassoon  
1 Organ

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Staatskapelle Dresden and Rundfunkchor Leipzig. Philips. February 1988.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Coro del Teatro Lirico di Cagliari. Dynamic. November 2001.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

Schulz, Ingo, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Instrumental Ensemble and Ölberg Chor. Music Art. March 1998.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

3 First Violin  
2 Second Violin  
2 Viola  
1 Cello  
1 Double bass  
1 Viola da gamba  
2 Oboe  
2 Flute  
1 Bassoon  
1 Organ

Slowik, Kenneth, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Smithsonian Chamber Players and Chorus. Smithsonian. March 1989.

Choir

3 Sopranos  
3 Altos (including 2 countertenors)  
3 Tenors  
3 Basses

### Orchestra

4 First Violins  
3 Second Violins  
2 Violas  
2 Viola d'amore  
2 Cello  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Violone  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
2 Oboe d'amore  
1 Oboe da caccia  
1 Bassoon  
1 Contrabassoon  
1 Lute  
1 Organ

Smith, Craig, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Chorus of Emmanuel Music. Koch International. April 1999.

### Choir

6 Sopranos  
5 Altos  
4 Tenors  
5 Basses

### Orchestra

4 First Violin  
4 Second Violin  
2 Viola  
1 Cello  
1 Bass  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 English Horn  
1 Bassoon  
1 Fluegelhorn  
1 Viola da Gamba  
1 Organ

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. BIS. April 1998.

Choir

5 Sopranos  
5 Altos  
5 Tenors  
5 Basses

Orchestra

6 Violins  
2 Violas  
2 Cellos  
1 Double Bass  
1 Viola da gamba  
2 Flauto traverse  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Double Bassoon  
1 Organ  
1 Harpsichord

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. TDK. July 2000.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Not available)

The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor), *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Scholars Baroque Ensemble. Naxos. April 1993.

Choir

2 Sopranos  
2 Counter tenors  
2 Tenors  
2 Basses

Orchestra

5 Violins

1 Viola  
1 Cello  
1 Violone  
2 Flutes  
2 Oboes  
1 Bassoon  
1 Organ  
1 Lute  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Viola da gamba

van Veldhoven, Jos, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Baroque Orchestra and Choir of Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Channel Classics. March 2004.

#### Choir

2 Sopranos (1 Concertist, 1 Ripienist)  
2 Altos (1 Concertist-Countertenor, 1 Ripienist)  
2 Tenors (1 Concertist, 1 Ripienist)  
2 Bass (1 Concertist, 1 Ripienist)

#### Orchestra

2 Violins  
1 Viola  
1 Cello  
1 Viola da gamba  
1 Double bass  
1 Oboe  
1 Theorbo  
1 Organ  
1 Harpsichord

Weyand, Eckhard, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Stuttgarter Hymnus-Chorknaben. Hänsler. April – May 1990.

#### Choir

All male choir (No other additional information available)

#### Orchestra

(Not available)

zu Guttenberg, Enoch, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium München and Chorgemeinschaft Neubeuern. RCA Victor Red Seal. April 1991.

Choir

(Not available)

Orchestra

(Incomplete information)

2 Flutes  
2 Oboe/Oboe da caccia  
1 Viola da gamba  
2 Viola d'amore  
1 Lute  
1 Organ  
1 Cello  
1 Double bass  
1 Harpsichord

## APPENDIX E

### VERSIONS

#### **Version 1 (1724)**

Kuijken, Sigiswald, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of La Petite Bande. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi. February – April 1987.

van Veldhoven, Jos, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Baroque Orchestra and Choir of Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Channel Classics. March 2004. (reconstructed by Pieter Dirksen)

#### **Version 2 (1725)**

Carrington, Simon, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach, 1725 Version. Yale Schola Cantorum and Yale Collegium Players. April 2006.

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre et Choeur du Collegium Vocale. Harmonia Mundi France. April 2001.

Neumann, Peter, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Cartusianum and Kölner Kammerchor. MDG. October 1999.

Smith, Craig, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Chorus of Emmanuel Music. Koch International. April 1999.

#### **Version 3 (1728/30) Cannot be reconstructed**

#### **Version 4 (1749)**

Güttler, Ludwig, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Virtuosi Saxoniae and Hallenser Madrigalisten. Dresden Classics. May 1998.

Hempfling, Volker, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Johann Christian Bach – Akademie and Kölner Kantorei. AVI Music. March 2004.

Max, Hermann, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem 1749*, by J.S. Bach. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Capriccio. March 1990.

Parrott, Andrew, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Taverner Consort and Players. Virgin Veritas. April 1990.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. BIS. April 1998. (plus 3 arias from 1725 Version)

## **Version 5 (1851)**

Max, Hermann, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach, arr. Robert Schumann. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Classic Produktion Osnabrück. September 2006.

### **Neue Bach Ausgabe Version edited by Arthur Mendel(Compilation of Score A, Version 4 with original text of of Version 1)**

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

Christophers, Harry, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Sixteen Choir and Orchestra. Chandos. March 1989.

Cleobury, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Brandenburg Consort and King's College Choir Cambridge. Brilliant Classics. March 1996. (with 5 movements from 1725 version)

Corboz, Michel, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne and Instrumental Ensemble. Cascavelle Records. February 1994.

Daus, Joshard, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester und Chor Bach – Ensemble and EuropaChor Akademie. Arte Nova. March 1999.

Dombrecht, Paul, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Il Fondamento Vocal and Instrumental. Dutch Vanguard. April 1996.

Ericson, Eric, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Drottningholm Baroque Ensemble and the Eric Ericson Chamber Choir. Vanguard Classics/Proprius. April 1993.

Fasolis, Diego, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vanitas and Coro della Radio Svizzera. Arts. June 1998.

Gardiner, John Eliot, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. English Baroque Soloists and the Monteverdi Choir. Arkiv Produktion 469 769-2. March 1986.

Guttenberg, Enoch zu, dir. *Johannes Passion* by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft Neubeurn and Bach-Collegium München. BMG Classics April 1991.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1993.

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre de La Chapelle Royale and Collegium Vocale Gent. Harmonia Mundi France. April 1987.

Higginbottom, Edward, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Novum and the Choir of New College. Naxos. June 2002.

Koopman, Ton, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Erato. March 1993.

Leusink, Pieter Jan, dir. *Johannes Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Netherlands Bach Collegium and Holland Boys Choir. Brilliant Classics. January 2001.

Milnes, Eric J., dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Trinity Cathedral Choir and Orchestra. Pro Gloria Musicae. March 1996.

Noll, Christoph Anselm, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Florilegium musicum and Capella pura. Cantabile. March 1997.

Rilling, Helmuth, dir. *Edition Bachakademie Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Hänsler. March 1996.

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Staatskapelle Dresden and Rundfunkchor Leipzig. Philips. February 1988.

Schulz, Ingo, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Instrumental Ensemble and Ölberg Chor. Music Art. March 1998.

Slowik, Kenneth, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Smithsonian Chamber Players and Chorus. Smithsonian. March 1989. (plus 3 arias from 1725 version)

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. TDK. July 2000.

The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor), *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Scholars Baroque Ensemble. Naxos. April 1993.

Weyand, Eckhard, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Stuttgarter Hymnus-Chorknaben. Hänsler. April – May 1990.

APPENDIX F  
MODERN VERSUS PERIOD INSTRUMENTS

**Modern Instruments\***

Max, Hermann, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach, arr. Robert Schumann. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Classic Produktion Osnabrück. September 2006.

\* While Schumann's version of the *St. John Passion* demonstrates instruments considered modern or very close to the modern equivalent of today, it could be argued that Schumann's version and performance was a period interpretation of the nineteenth century.

**Period Instruments**

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

Carrington, Simon, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach, 1725 Version. Yale Schola Cantorum and Yale Collegium Players. April 2006.

Christophers, Harry, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Sixteen Choir and Orchestra. Chandos. March 1989.

Cleobury, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Brandenburg Consort and King's College Choir Cambridge. Brilliant Classics. March 1996.

Corboz, Michel, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne and Instrumental Ensemble. Cascavelle Records. February 1994.

Daus, Joshard, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester und Chor Bach – Ensemble and EuropaChor Akademie. Arte Nova. March 1999.

Dombrecht, Paul, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Il Fondamento Vocal and Instrumental. Dutch Vanguard. April 1996.

Ericson, Eric, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Drottningholm Baroque Ensemble and the Eric Ericson Chamber Choir. Vanguard Classics/Proprius. April 1993.

Fasolis, Diego, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vanitas and Coro della Radio Svizzera. Arts. June 1998.

Gardiner, John Eliot, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. English Baroque Soloists and the Monteverdi Choir. Arkiv Produktion 469 769-2. March 1986.

Guttenberg, Enoch zu, dir. *Johannes Passion* by J.S. Bach. Chorgemeinschaft Neubeurn and Bach-Collegium München. BMG Classics April 1991.

Güttler, Ludwig, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Virtuosi Saxoniae and Hallenser Madrigalisten. Dresden Classics. May 1998.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1993.

Hempfling, Volker, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Johann Christian Bach – Akademie and Kölner Kantorei. AVI Music. March 2004.

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre de La Chapelle Royale and Collegium Vocale Gent. Harmonia Mundi France. April 1987.

Herreweghe, Philippe, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestre et Choeur du Collegium Vocale. Harmonia Mundi France. April 2001.

Higginbottom, Edward, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Novum and the Choir of New College. Naxos. June 2002.

Koopman, Ton, dir. *Johannes- Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra and Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Erato. March 1993.

Kuijken, Sigiswald, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Choir of La Petite Bande. Deutsche Harmonia Mundi. February – April 1987.

Leusink, Pieter Jan, dir. *Johannes Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Netherlands Bach Collegium and Holland Boys Choir. Brilliant Classics. January 2001.

Max, Hermann, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem 1749*, by J.S. Bach. Das Kleine Konzert and Rheinische Kantorei. Capriccio. March 1990.

Milnes, Eric J., dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Trinity Cathedral Choir and Orchestra. Pro Gloria Musicae. March 1996.

Neumann, Peter, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Cartusianum and Kölner Kammerchor. MDG. October 1999.

Noll, Christoph Anselm, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Florilegium musicum and Capella pura. Cantabile. March 1997.

Parrott, Andrew, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Taverner Consort and Players. Virgin Veritas. April 1990.

Rilling, Helmuth, dir. *Edition Bachakademie Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium Stuttgart and Gächinger Kantorei Stuttgart. Hänsler. March 1996.

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Staatskapelle Dresden and Rundfunkchor Leipzig. Philips. February 1988.

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Coro del Teatro Lirico di Cagliari. Dynamic. November 2001.

Schulz, Ingo, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Instrumental Ensemble and Ölberg Chor. Music Art. March 1998.

Slowik, Kenneth, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Smithsonian Chamber Players and Chorus. Smithsonian. March 1989.

Smith, Craig, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Chorus of Emmanuel Music. Koch International. April 1999.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. BIS. April 1998.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. TDK. July 2000.

The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor), *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Scholars Baroque Ensemble. Naxos. April 1993.

van Veldhoven, Jos, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Baroque Orchestra and Choir of Nederlandse Bachvereniging. Channel Classics. March 2004.

Weyand, Eckhard, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Stuttgarter Hymnus-Chorknaben. Hänsler. April – May 1990.

zu Guttenberg, Enoch, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach-Collegium München and Chorgemeinschaft Neubeuern. RCA Victor Red Seal. April 1991.

## APPENDIX G

### LIVE RECORDINGS

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

Carrington, Simon, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach, 1725 Version. Yale Schola Cantorum and Yale Collegium Players. April 2006.

Christophers, Harry, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Sixteen Choir and Orchestra. Chandos. March 1989.

Corboz, Michel, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vocal de Lausanne and Instrumental Ensemble. Cascavelle Records. February 1994.

Daus, Joshard, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchester und Chor Bach – Ensemble and EuropaChor Akademie. Arte Nova. March 1999.

Dombrecht, Paul, dir. *Passio secundum Johannem*, by J.S. Bach. Il Fondamento Vocal and Instrumental. Dutch Vanguard. April 1996.

Ericson, Eric, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Drottningholm Baroque Ensemble and the Eric Ericson Chamber Choir. Vanguard Classics/Proprius. April 1993.

Fasolis, Diego, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Ensemble Vanitas and Coro della Radio Svizzera. Arts. June 1998.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985.

Hempfling, Volker, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Johann Christian Bach – Akademie and Kölner Kantorei. AVI Music. March 2004.

Milnes, Eric J., dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Trinity Cathedral Choir and Orchestra. Pro Gloria Musicae. March 1996.

Noll, Christoph Anselm, dir. *Johannespassion*, by J.S. Bach. Florilegium musicum and Capella pura. Cantabile. February 2001.

Schreier, Peter, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Orchestra and Coro del Teatro Lirico di Cagliari. Dynamic. November 2001.

Schulz, Ingo, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Instrumental Ensemble and Ölberg Chor. Music Art. March 1998.

Suzuki, Masaaki, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Bach Collegium Japan. TDK. July 2000.

## APPENDIX H

### ALL MALE CHOIR

Beringer, Karl – Friedrich, dir. *Johannes – Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Münchener Kammerorchester and Windsbacher Knabenchor. Bayer Records. August 1997.

Cleobury, Stephen, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. The Brandenburg Consort and King's College Choir Cambridge. Brilliant Classics. March 1996.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1985. (including all male soloists)

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus, dir. *Johannes-Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Concentus Musicus Wien and Tölzer Knabenchor. Deutsche Grammophon – Unitel. 1993.

Higginbottom, Edward, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Collegium Novum and the Choir of New College. Naxos. June 2002.

Leusink, Pieter Jan, dir. *Johannes Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Netherlands Bach Collegium and Holland Boys Choir. Brilliant Classics. January 2001.

Weyand, Eckhard, dir. *St. John Passion*, by J.S. Bach. Stuttgarter Hymnus-Chorknaben. Hänsler. April – May 1990.

## APPENDIX I

### NATIONALITY OF CONDUCTORS

The following list includes all of the 79 known complete commercial recordings made in the years of 1982-2007 of the *St. John Passion*. The list is arranged by nationality of conductor. Under each country, the conductors are alphabetically arranged by last name with the year of recording(s) indicated in parenthesis. Those that are in bold typeface designate recordings that were available for review during the time of this dissertation. This perspective affords the reader to draw preliminary conclusions concerning which countries are producing the most or least commercial recordings of the *St. John Passion*. In addition, the reader is able to ascertain which perspectives were unable to be included in this dissertation. Two caveats, one in the case of The Scholars Baroque Ensemble, which has no formal conductor, I chose to place them in the country where they were founded and continue to perform, in this case, England. Second, several recordings feature a conductor of one nationality and the performing forces will be from an altogether different country. In this case, the recording is still placed under the conductor's nationality. My gratitude is extended to Aryreh Oron, web master for the *Bach Cantatas Website*, whose resources helped in compiling this list.

#### **Austria**

**Nikolaus Harnoncourt (1985, 1993)**

#### **Belgium**

**Paul Dombrecht (1996)**  
**Philippe Herreweghe (1987, 2001)**  
**Sigiswald Kuijken (1987)**

## **England**

**Simon Carrington (2006)**  
**Harry Christophers (1989)**  
**Stephen Cleobury (1996)**  
**John Eliot Gardiner (1986)**  
**Edward Higginbottom (2002)**  
**Andrew Parrott (1990)**  
**The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (1993)**

## **France**

Paul Kuentz (1987)

## **Germany**

Constantin Alex (1997)  
Thomas Appel (2001)  
Hans-Christoph Becker-Foss (1998)  
**Karl-Friedrich Beringer (1997)**  
Andreas Cavelius (2003)  
**Joshard Daus (1999)**  
Gerd Guglhör (1995)  
**Enoch zu Guttenberg (1991)**  
**Ludwig Güttler (1998)**  
Guido Harzen (2002)  
Martin Haselböck (2002)  
**Volker Hempfling (2004)**  
Wolfgang Karius (2002)  
Wolfgang Kläsener (1997, 2003)  
Herma Kramm (1998)  
Joachim Krause (1996, 1997)  
Andreas Kröper (1991)  
Martin Lutz (2003)  
**Hermann Max (1990, 2006)**  
**Peter Neumann (1999)**  
**Christoph Anselm Noll (1997)**  
Max Pommer (1984)  
Michaela Prentl (1995, 2006)  
Karl Rathgeber (2002)  
**Helmuth Rilling (1984, 1996)**  
Hans-Josef Roth (1995)  
Christoph- Andreas Schäfer (2000)  
Hanns-Martin Schneidt (2001)

**Peter Schreier (1988, 2001)**

**Ingo Schulz (1998)**

Hartmut Sennlaub (2001)

Markus Stenz (2006)

**Eckhard Weyand (1990)**

Helmut Winschermann (1995)

Jürgen Wolf (1995)

## **Holland**

Frans Brüggen (1992)

**Ton Koopman (1993)**

**Pieter Jan Leusink (2001)**

Joop Schets (2000, 2002)

**Jos van Veldhoven (2004)**

Charles de Wolff (1986)

## **Japan**

**Masaaki Suzuki (1995, 1998, 2000)**

## **Russia**

Eduard Serov (mid 1980s)

## **Slovakia**

Oliver von Dohnányi (1991)

## **Sweden**

Anders Dillmar (2003, 2004)

**Eric Ericson (1993)**

## **Switzerland**

Armin Brunner (1984)

**Michel Corboz (1994)**

**Diego Fasolis (1998)**

Christophe Gesseney (1993)

Wilfried Schnetzler (1992)

## **United States**

**Eric Milnes (1996)**  
Anthony Newman (1986)  
**Kenneth Slowik (1989)**  
**Craig Smith (1999)**

## APPENDIX J

### TIMING TABLES

The tables that follow list the temporal lengths of complete choral movements or those that feature soloist and choir within the *St. John Passion*. In an effort to acquire every available commercial recording of the *St. John Passion*, thirty-eight recordings were successfully obtained. Of these, two were DVDs and 36 were Compact Discs.

In examining length of time, I measured the length of the actual performance from onset to final decay, not the listed length time of the track. Tracks usually include many seconds of “lead in” or “dead” time thus not truly reflecting the actual time of performance. Timing the movements was accomplished with a stopwatch that included information regarding minute, second and one-hundredth of a second. In the performances that were recorded in reverberant spaces care was taken to determine the precise moment the primary sound terminated from consequent multiple echoes.

Submitted entries are arranged according to year. In the case of more than one recording for a given year, the entries are arranged alphabetically under the conductor’s last name. For the movements where it is not self-explanatory, I have noted the actual measure I began timing using as reference the edited urtext edition of the *St. John Passion* by Arthur Mendel, published by Bärenreiter TP 197.

**Table 4 *Herr, unser Herrscher* (Chorus)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	9:11 <sup>53</sup>
Gardiner	1986	9:07 <sup>41</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	10:03 <sup>38</sup>
Kuijken	1987	10:34 <sup>97</sup>
Schreier	1988	9:41 <sup>43</sup>
Christophers	1989	9:29 <sup>16</sup>
Slowik	1989	8:26 <sup>50</sup>
Max	1990	8:18 <sup>79</sup>
Parrott	1990	8:43 <sup>22</sup>
Weyand	1990	8:53 <sup>63</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	9:24 <sup>22</sup>
Ericson	1993	9:54 <sup>85</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	9:21 <sup>47</sup>
Koopman	1993	9:40 <sup>28</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	8:23 <sup>93</sup>
Corboz	1994	9:58 <sup>63</sup>
Cleobury	1996	8:27 <sup>16</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	9:13 <sup>50</sup>
Milnes	1996	8:42 <sup>47</sup>
Rilling	1996	8:24 <sup>63</sup>
Beringer	1997	9:17 <sup>60</sup>
Noll	1997	7:33 <sup>46</sup>
Fasolis	1998	8:02 <sup>03</sup>
Güttler	1998	7:47 <sup>18</sup>
Schulz	1998	10:25 <sup>31</sup>
Suzuki	1998	9:01 <sup>94</sup>
Daus	1999	10:02 <sup>53</sup>
Suzuki	2000	9:12 <sup>81</sup>
Leusink	2001	8:44 <sup>66</sup>
Schreier	2001	8:15 <sup>06</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	9:13 <sup>97</sup>
Hempfling	2004	8:01 <sup>34</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	9:57 <sup>13</sup>
Max	2006	9:33 <sup>31</sup>

### *Herr, unser Herrscher (Chorus)*

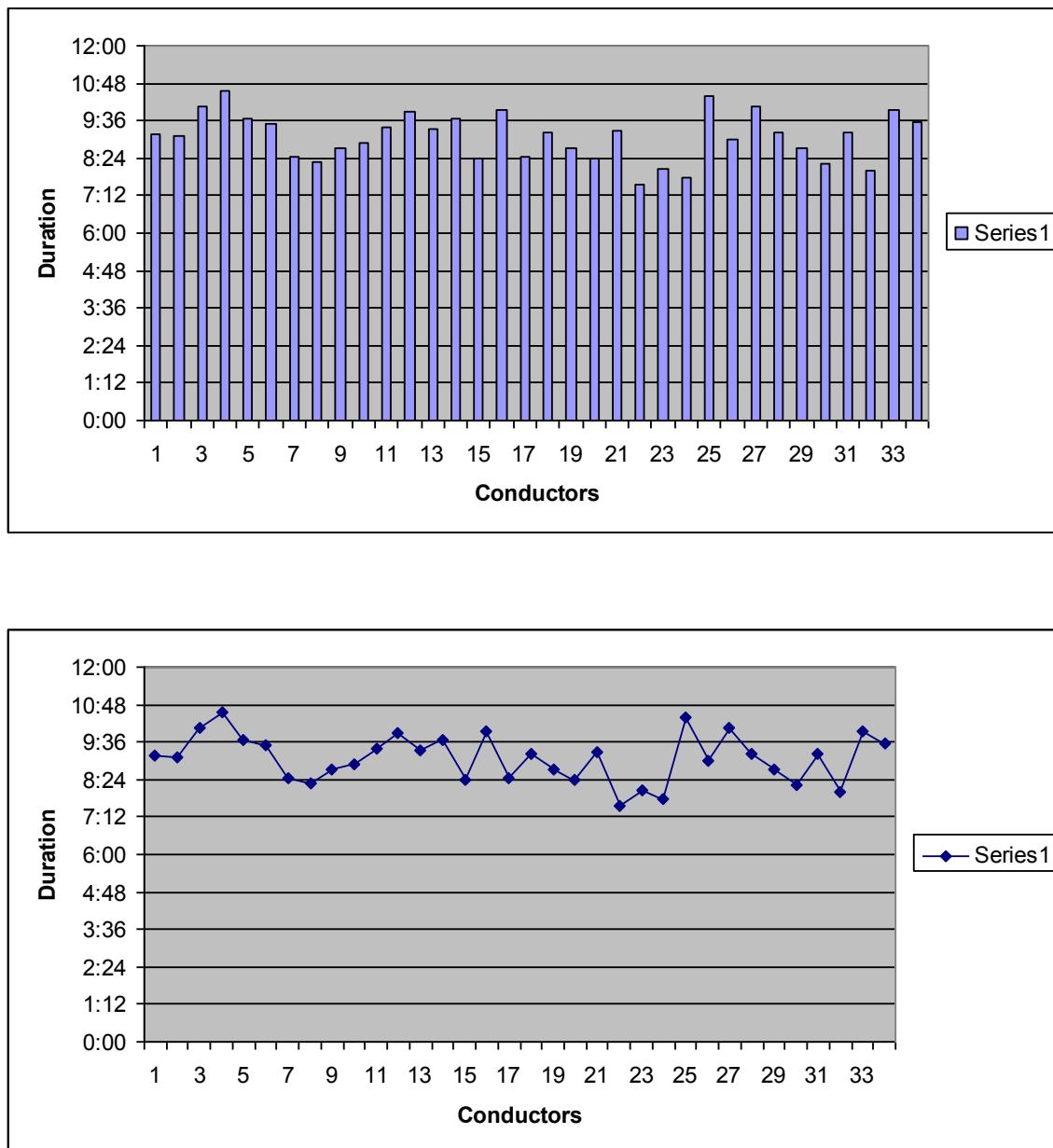


Figure 5. Temporal comparisions for *Herr, unser Herrscher*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989

7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. Koopman 1993
15. The Scholars Baroque 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Beringer 1997
21. Noll 1997
22. Fasolis 1998
23. Güttler 1998
24. Schulz 1998
25. Suzuki 1998
26. Daus 1999
27. Suzuki 2000
28. Leusink 2001
29. Schreier 2001
30. Higginbottom 2002
31. Hempfling 2004
32. Veldhoven 2004
33. Max 2006

**Table 5 Jesum von Nazareth (2<sup>b</sup> Chorus)**

(timing began at downbeat of 2<sup>b</sup> measure 18 and ended after quarter note downbeat in measure 22)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:09 <sup>65</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:08 <sup>75</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:09 <sup>72</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:11 <sup>13</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:08 <sup>62</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:09 <sup>40</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:09 <sup>71</sup>
Max	1990	0:08 <sup>09</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:09 <sup>28</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:10 <sup>65</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:11 <sup>53</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:09 <sup>69</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:09 <sup>85</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:08 <sup>94</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:08 <sup>50</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:11 <sup>10</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:09 <sup>46</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:09 <sup>06</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:08 <sup>78</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:10 <sup>44</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:09 <sup>91</sup>
Noll	1997	0:09 <sup>60</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:09 <sup>90</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:08 <sup>97</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:10 <sup>66</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:09 <sup>50</sup>
Daus	1999	0:10 <sup>19</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:10 <sup>28</sup>
Smith	1999	0:10 <sup>34</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:09 <sup>47</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:10 <sup>53</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:10 <sup>07</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:09 <sup>47</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:09 <sup>91</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:09 <sup>59</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:09 <sup>66</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:09 <sup>87</sup>
Max	2006	0:09 <sup>88</sup>

### *Jesum von Nazareth (2<sup>b</sup> Chorus)*

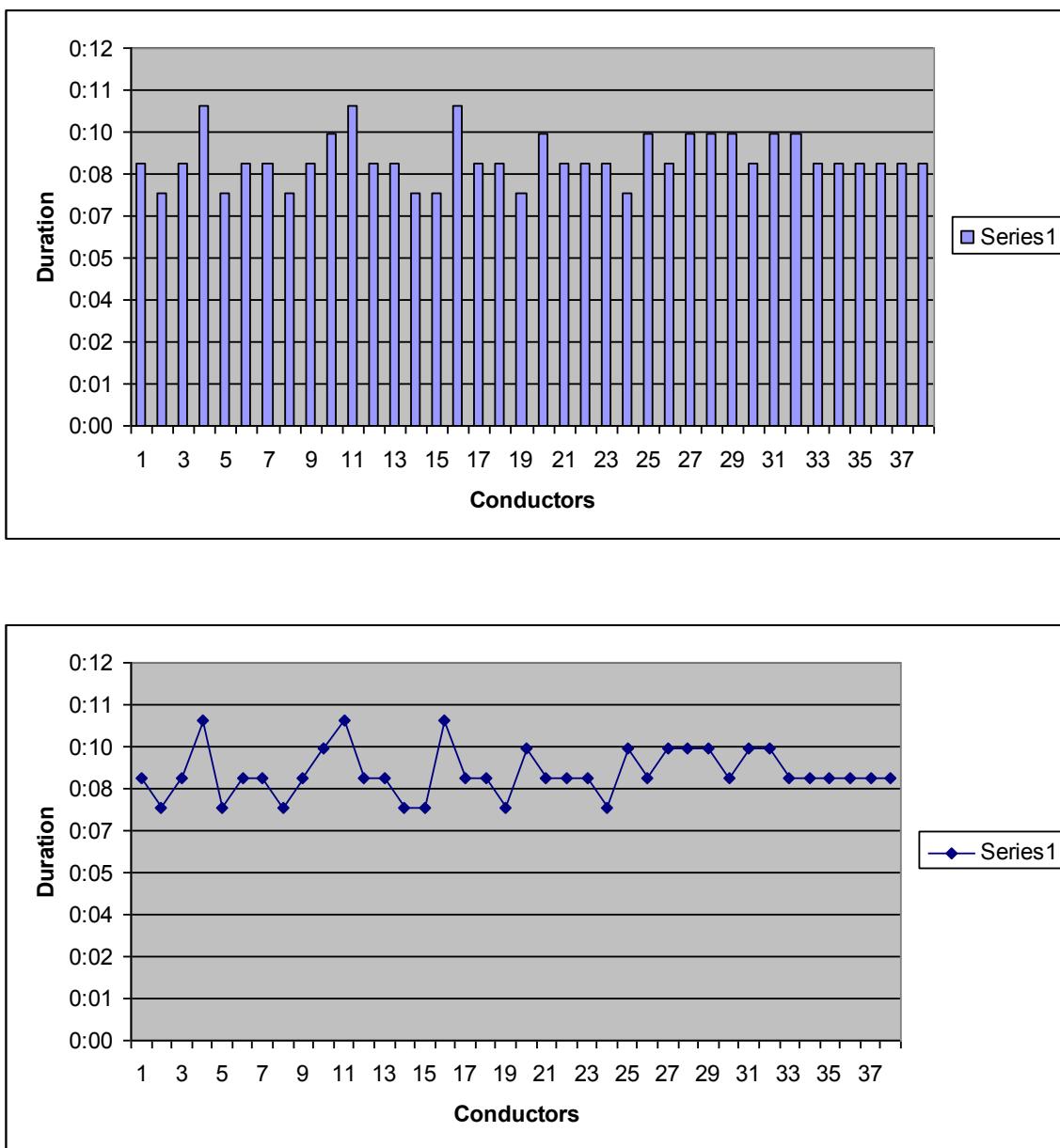


Figure 6. Temporal comparisions for *Jesum von Nazareth* (2<sup>b</sup>).

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 6 Jesum von Nazareth (2<sup>d</sup> Chorus)**

(timing began at downbeat of 2<sup>d</sup> measure 31 and ended after the quarter note downbeat in measure 35)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:09 <sup>34</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:09 <sup>03</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:10 <sup>09</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:11 <sup>06</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:09 <sup>06</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:09 <sup>41</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:09 <sup>78</sup>
Max	1990	0:08 <sup>22</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:09 <sup>47</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:11 <sup>10</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:11 <sup>53</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:09 <sup>66</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:09 <sup>62</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:08 <sup>87</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:09 <sup>00</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:10 <sup>31</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:09 <sup>50</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:09 <sup>12</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:09 <sup>10</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:10 <sup>28</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:09 <sup>78</sup>
Noll	1997	0:09 <sup>91</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:09 <sup>84</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:08 <sup>97</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:10 <sup>18</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:09 <sup>22</sup>
Daus	1999	0:10 <sup>62</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:10 <sup>44</sup>
Smith	1999	0:10 <sup>44</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:09 <sup>31</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:10 <sup>72</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:09 <sup>97</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:09 <sup>78</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:10 <sup>00</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:08 <sup>97</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:09 <sup>35</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:09 <sup>31</sup>
Max	2006	0:09 <sup>31</sup>

### *Jesum von Nazareth (2<sup>d</sup> Chorus)*

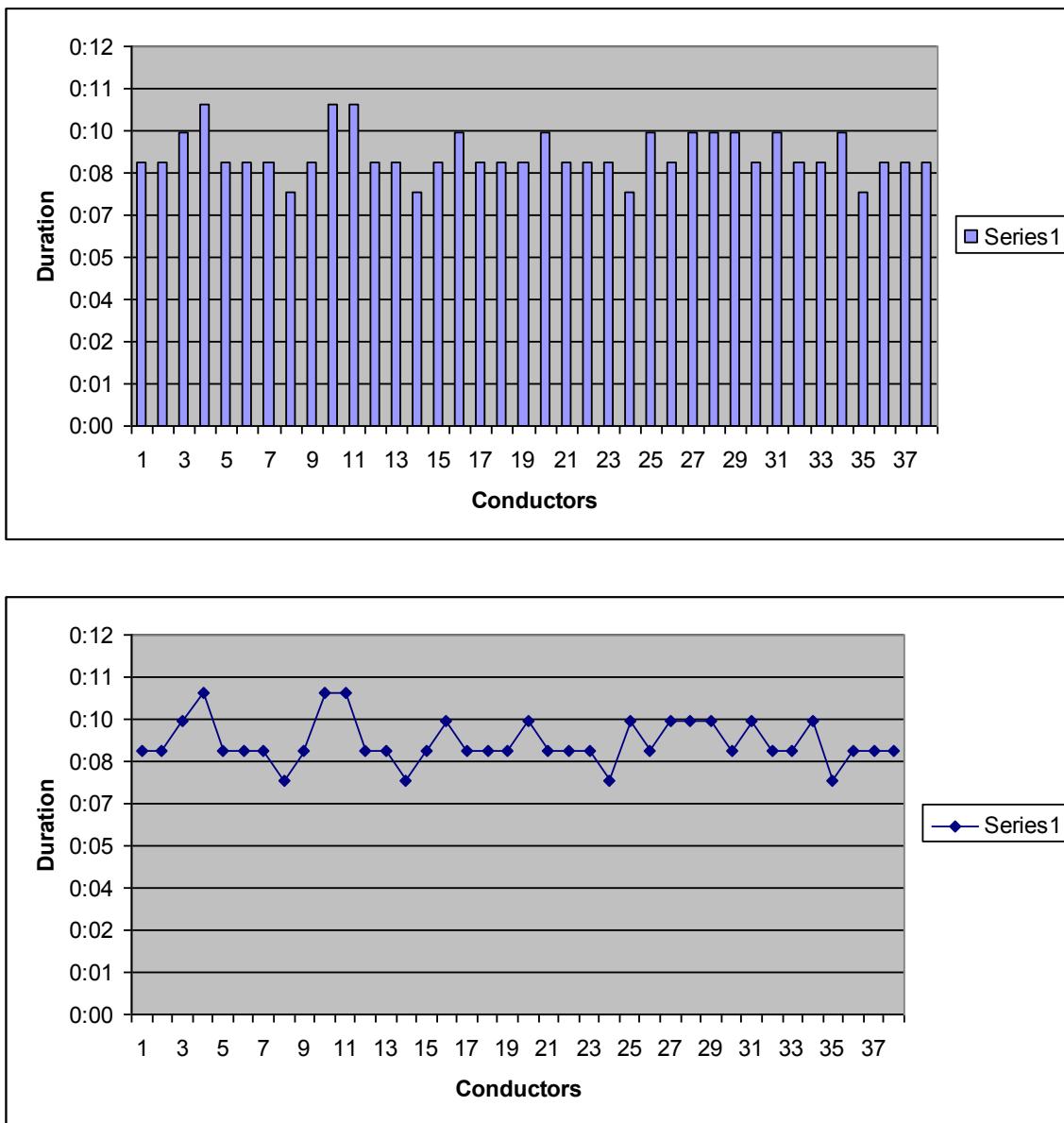


Figure 7. Temporal comparisions for *Jesum von Nazareth* (2<sup>d</sup>).

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 7 *O große Lieb* (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:44 <sup>84</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:46 <sup>19</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:54 <sup>78</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:55 <sup>97</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:45 <sup>72</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:43 <sup>19</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:47 <sup>68</sup>
Max	1990	0:36 <sup>94</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:43 <sup>21</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:57 <sup>31</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:00 <sup>10</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:49 <sup>28</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:46 <sup>53</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:45 <sup>09</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:46 <sup>46</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:46 <sup>06</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:42 <sup>31</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:46 <sup>25</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:48 <sup>00</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:47 <sup>09</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:03 <sup>03</sup>
Noll	1997	0:52 <sup>46</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:58 <sup>87</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:49 <sup>50</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:46 <sup>72</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:43 <sup>34</sup>
Daus	1999	0:53 <sup>97</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:53 <sup>13</sup>
Smith	1999	0:59 <sup>03</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:42 <sup>68</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:47 <sup>03</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:36 <sup>93</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:38 <sup>44</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:45 <sup>53</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:39 <sup>53</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:00 <sup>44</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:45 <sup>69</sup>
Max	2006	0:55 <sup>40</sup>

### *O große Lieb (Chorale)*

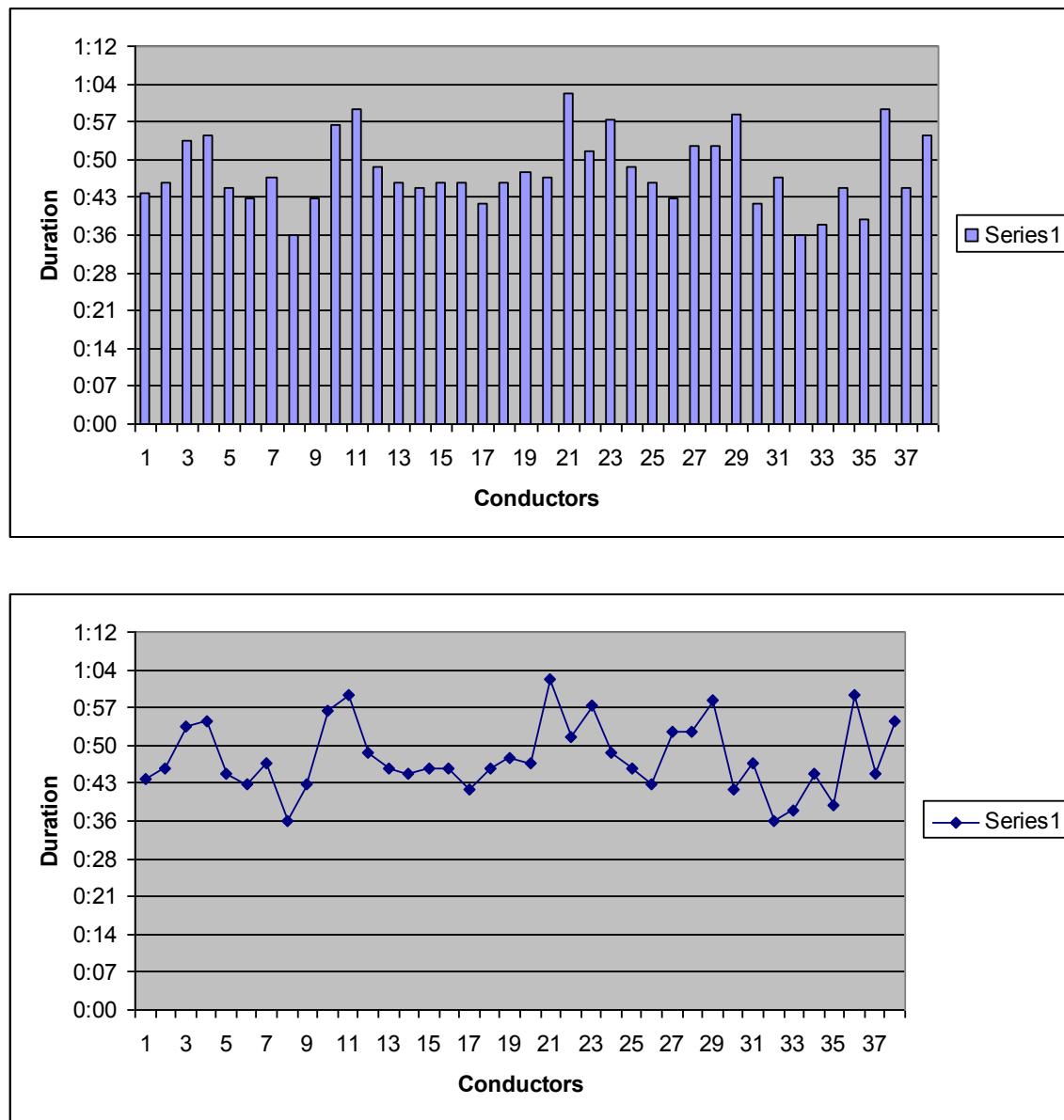


Figure 8. Temporal comparisions for *O große Lieb*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 8 *Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich* (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:48 <sup>82</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:48 <sup>00</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:52 <sup>85</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:00 <sup>47</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:49 <sup>09</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:47 <sup>47</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:49 <sup>44</sup>
Max	1990	0:37 <sup>97</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:48 <sup>06</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:55 <sup>38</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:35 <sup>29</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:49 <sup>97</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:46 <sup>93</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:44 <sup>81</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:48 <sup>47</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:42 <sup>59</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:49 <sup>31</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:48 <sup>66</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:41 <sup>88</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:50 <sup>22</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:54 <sup>75</sup>
Noll	1997	0:59 <sup>22</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:51 <sup>62</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:52 <sup>84</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:52 <sup>25</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:43 <sup>03</sup>
Daus	1999	1:02 <sup>72</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:57 <sup>66</sup>
Smith	1999	0:59 <sup>34</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:42 <sup>90</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:47 <sup>94</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:41 <sup>81</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:44 <sup>44</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:45 <sup>75</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:38 <sup>69</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:45 <sup>63</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:45 <sup>53</sup>
Max	2006	1:02 <sup>75</sup>

*Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich* (Chorale)

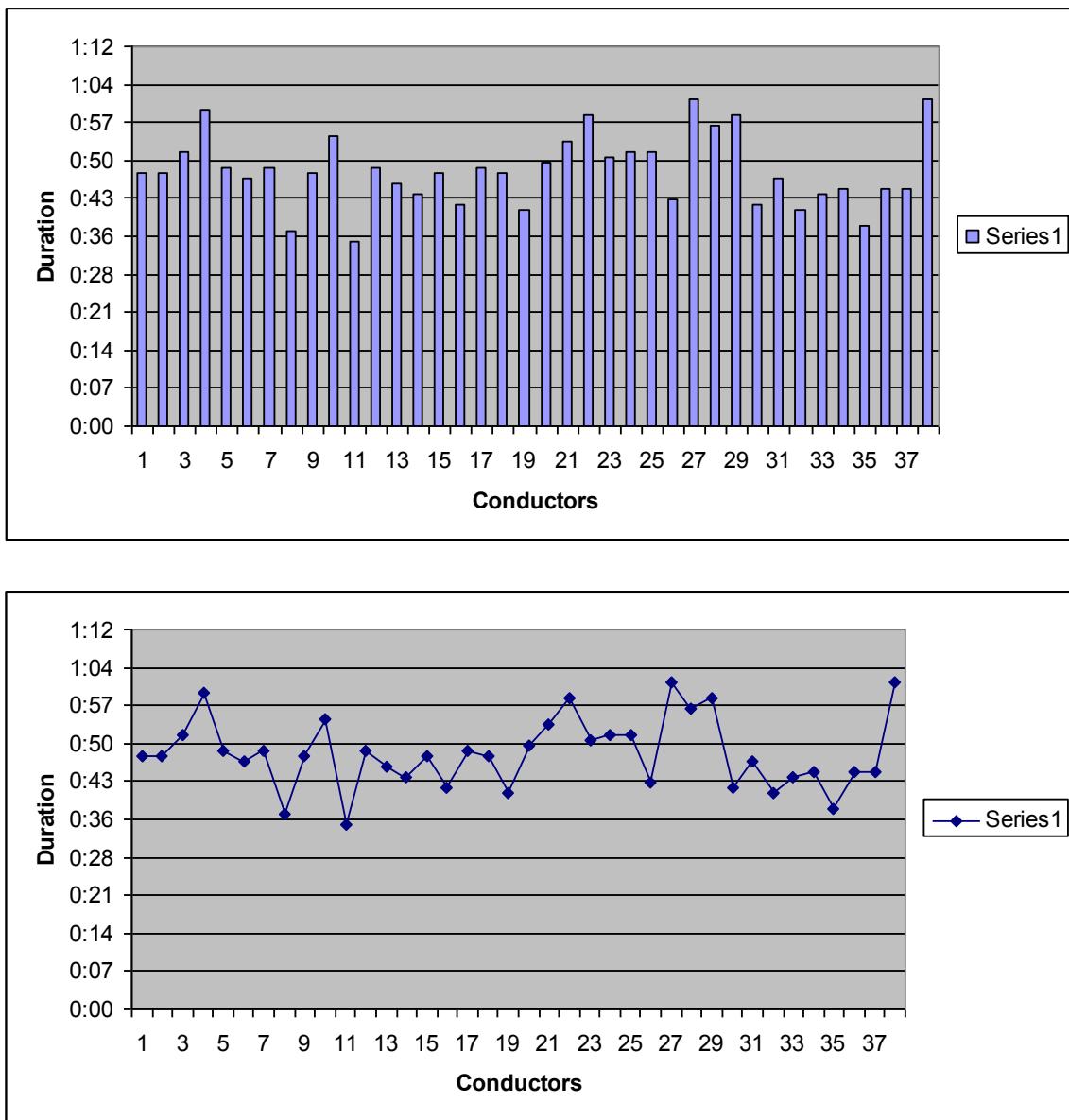


Figure 9. Temporal comparisions for *Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 9** *Wer hat dich so geschlagen* (Chorale)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	1:32 <sup>72</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:28 <sup>72</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:44 <sup>66</sup>
Kuijken	1987	2:12 <sup>07</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:35 <sup>62</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:29 <sup>87</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:35 <sup>06</sup>
Max	1990	1:13 <sup>10</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:36 <sup>97</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:56 <sup>00</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:34 <sup>50</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:36 <sup>18</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:32 <sup>47</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:27 <sup>54</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:35 <sup>69</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:29 <sup>60</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:33 <sup>34</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:32 <sup>75</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:21 <sup>47</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:38 <sup>56</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:54 <sup>22</sup>
Noll	1997	1:51 <sup>50</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:23 <sup>06</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:31 <sup>47</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:38 <sup>04</sup>
Suzuki	1998	1:21 <sup>00</sup>
Daus	1999	2:17 <sup>25</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:49 <sup>75</sup>
Smith	1999	1:53 <sup>41</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:20 <sup>10</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:33 <sup>37</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:22 <sup>16</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:24 <sup>71</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:31 <sup>62</sup>
Hempfling	2004	1:14 <sup>78</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:42 <sup>03</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:24 <sup>50</sup>
Max	2006	1:27 <sup>34</sup>

### *Wer hat dich so geschlagen* (Chorale)

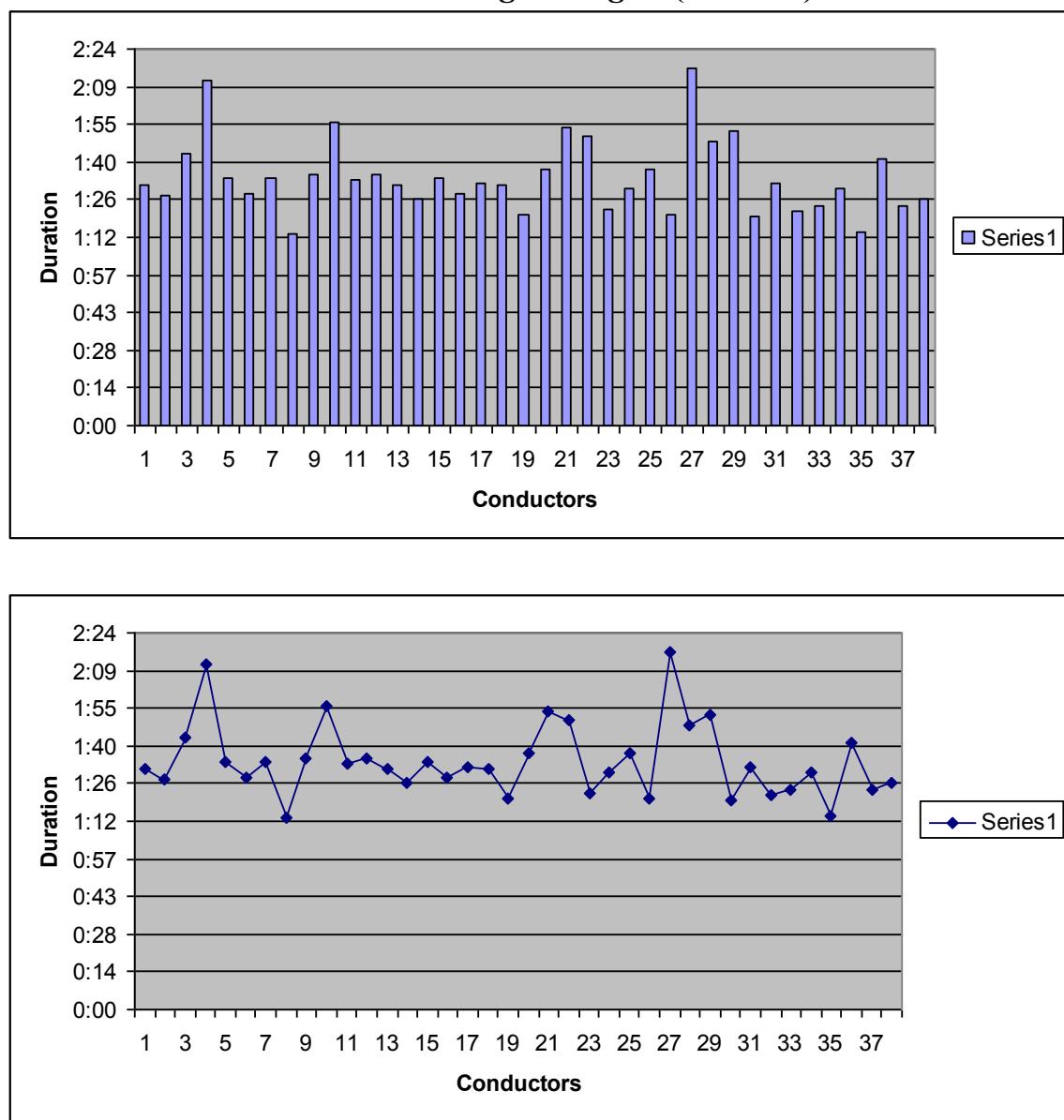


Figure 10. Temporal comparisions for *Wer hat dich so geschlagen*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990

11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 10 *Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer (Chorus)***

(timing began at downbeat of 12<sup>b</sup> measure 6)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	0:25 <sup>37</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:18 <sup>50</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:20 <sup>40</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:28 <sup>31</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:21 <sup>31</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:17 <sup>78</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:21 <sup>06</sup>
Max	1990	0:18 <sup>19</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:19 <sup>25</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:25 <sup>63</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:21 <sup>78</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:20 <sup>78</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:25 <sup>25</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:18 <sup>75</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:18 <sup>15</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:25 <sup>72</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:22 <sup>66</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:21 <sup>56</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:17 <sup>22</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:22 <sup>66</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:20 <sup>90</sup>
Noll	1997	0:20 <sup>72</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:19 <sup>62</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:21 <sup>31</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:22 <sup>62</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:22 <sup>00</sup>
Daus	1999	0:20 <sup>37</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:19 <sup>53</sup>
Smith	1999	0:22 <sup>38</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:21 <sup>03</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:20 <sup>97</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:20 <sup>38</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:21 <sup>56</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:24 <sup>10</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:19 <sup>66</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:19 <sup>84</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:21 <sup>69</sup>
Max	2006	0:23 <sup>19</sup>

### *Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer (Chorus)*

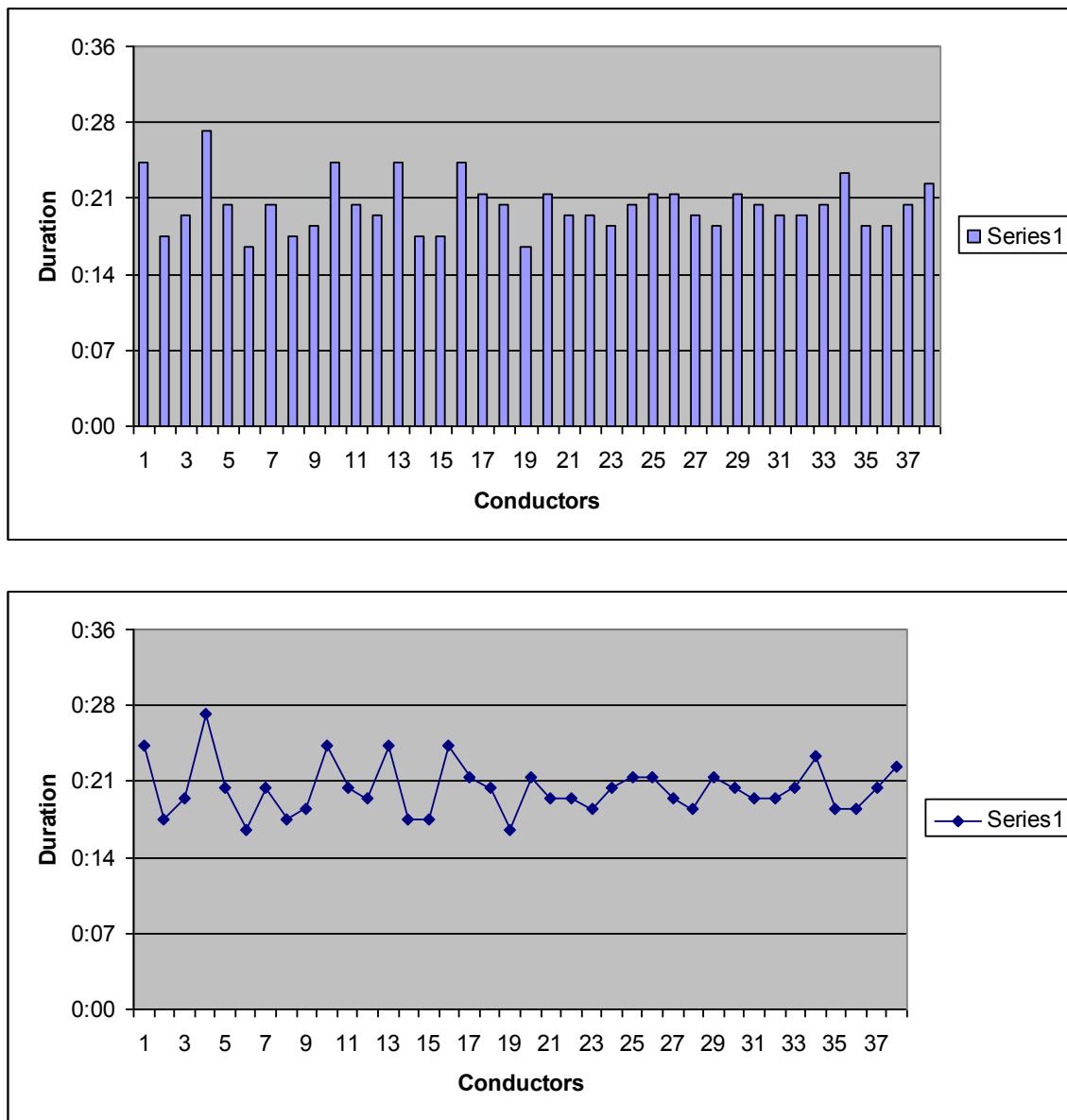


Figure 11. Temporal comparisions for *Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 11 Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	1:01 <sup>29</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:01 <sup>34</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:08 <sup>47</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:20 <sup>44</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:01 <sup>47</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:13 <sup>59</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:58 <sup>32</sup>
Max	1990	0:47 <sup>44</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:07 <sup>06</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:02 <sup>63</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:00 <sup>03</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:00 <sup>62</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:07 <sup>15</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:02 <sup>00</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:05 <sup>94</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:55 <sup>87</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:58 <sup>53</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:06 <sup>81</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:06 <sup>25</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:06 <sup>53</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:27 <sup>16</sup>
Noll	1997	1:14 <sup>44</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:19 <sup>53</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:59 <sup>12</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:11 <sup>69</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:56 <sup>84</sup>
Daus	1999	1:15 <sup>69</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:30 <sup>41</sup>
Smith	1999	1:11 <sup>97</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:01 <sup>22</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:00 <sup>29</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:51 <sup>09</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:58 <sup>53</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:09 <sup>50</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:52 <sup>88</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:18 <sup>09</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:08 <sup>03</sup>
Max	2006	0:58 <sup>82</sup>

### *Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück (Chorale)*

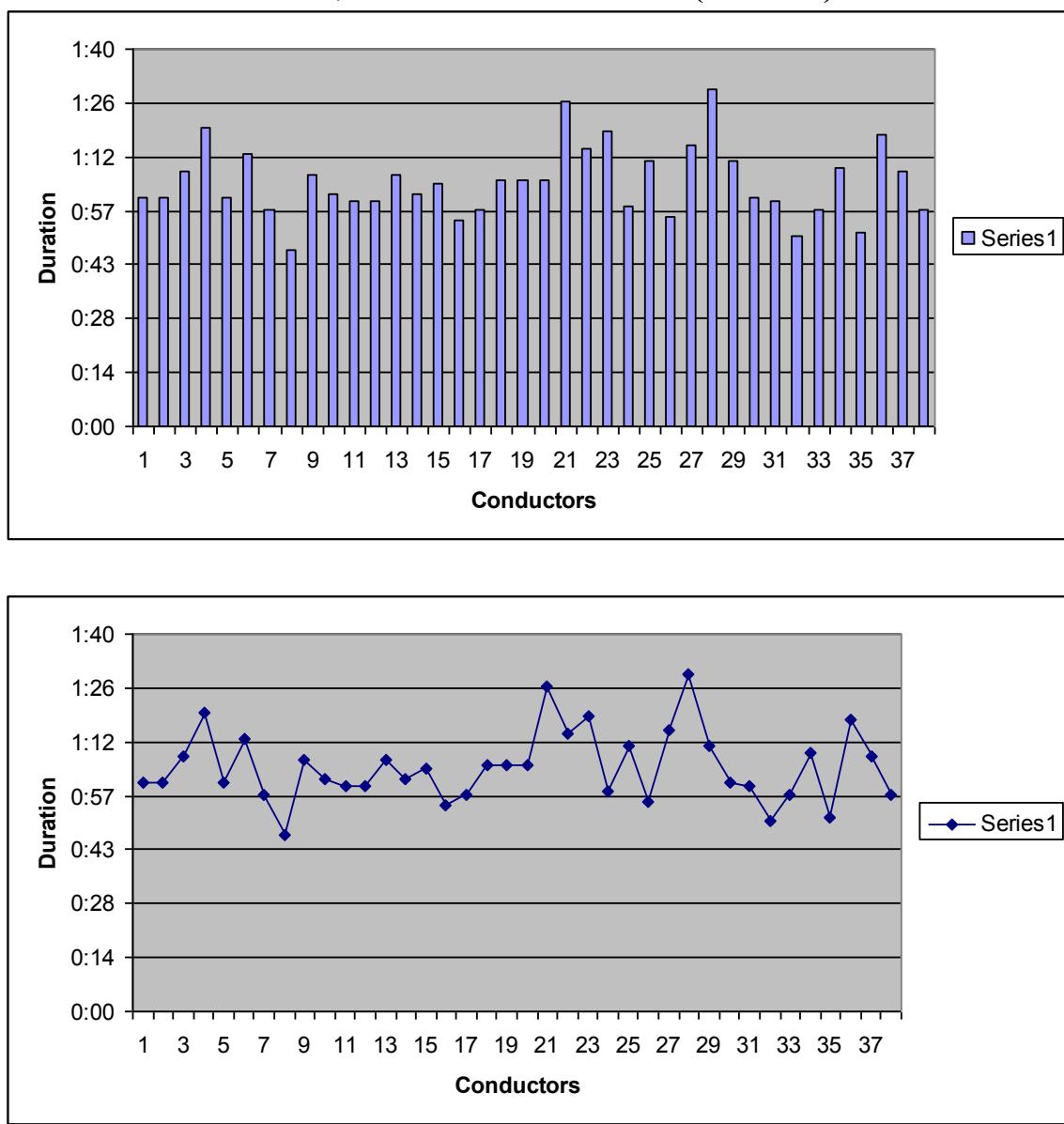


Figure 12. Temporal comparisions for *Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 12 *Christus, der uns selig macht* (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:53 <sup>47</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:03 <sup>81</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:07 <sup>31</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:19 <sup>65</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:57 <sup>97</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:56 <sup>28</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:55 <sup>13</sup>
Max	1990	0:46 <sup>66</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:04 <sup>63</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:59 <sup>40</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:52 <sup>53</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:58 <sup>62</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:56 <sup>34</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:53 <sup>03</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:05 <sup>19</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:51 <sup>10</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:57 <sup>16</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:07 <sup>22</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:50 <sup>72</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:07 <sup>00</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:10 <sup>00</sup>
Noll	1997	1:11 <sup>38</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:00 <sup>06</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:00 <sup>44</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:01 <sup>00</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:51 <sup>56</sup>
Daus	1999	1:09 <sup>28</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:03 <sup>12</sup>
Smith	1999	1:00 <sup>68</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:51 <sup>44</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:57 <sup>69</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:50 <sup>41</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:56 <sup>06</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:54 <sup>16</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:49 <sup>50</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:59 <sup>91</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:01 <sup>09</sup>
Max	2006	1:02 <sup>13</sup>

### *Christus, der uns selig macht* (Chorale)

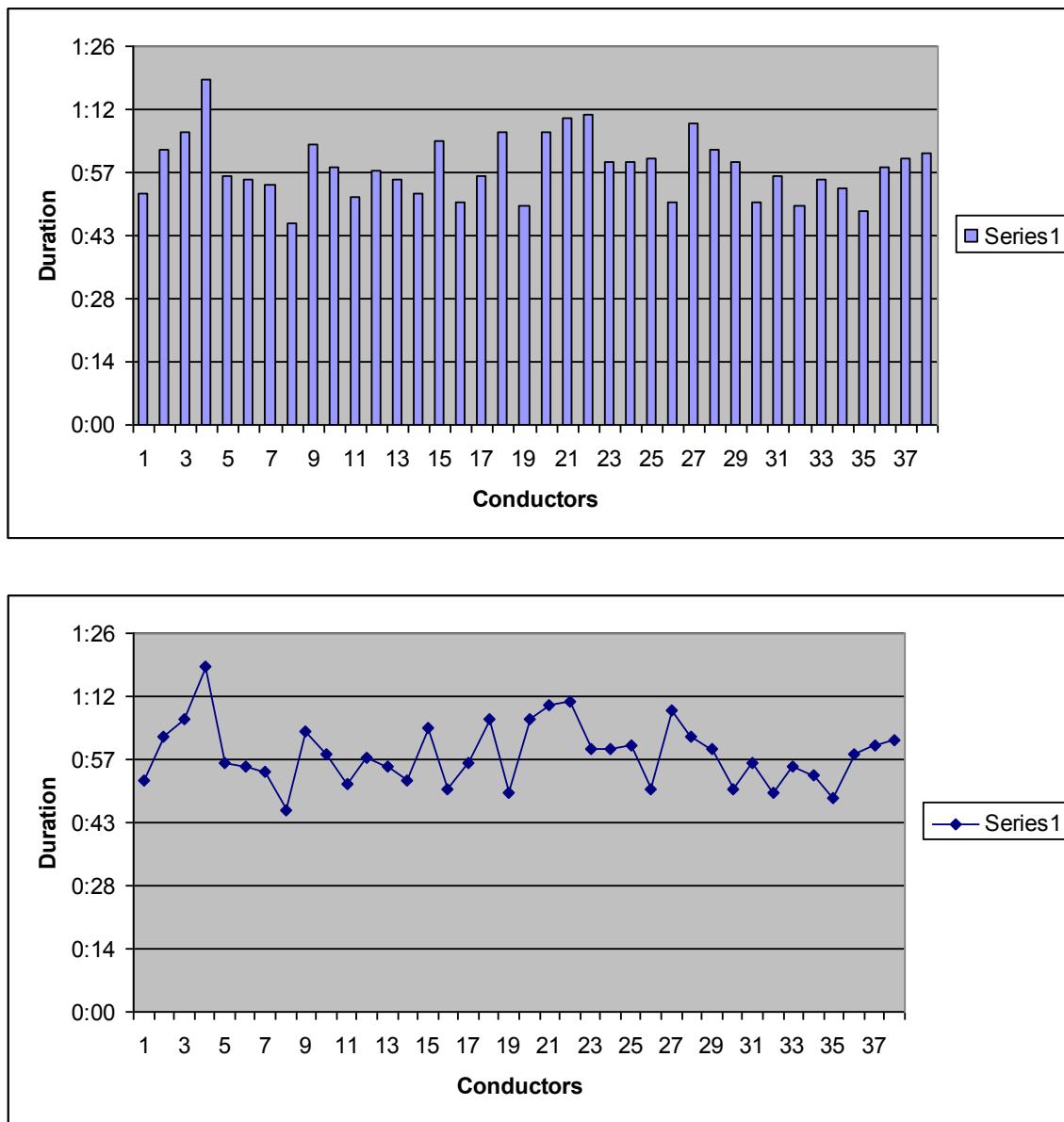


Figure 13. Temporal comparisions for *Christus, der uns selig macht*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 13** *Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter (Chorus)*(timing began at downbeat of 16<sup>b</sup> measure 11)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	1:01 <sup>72</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:05 <sup>47</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:03 <sup>75</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:05 <sup>69</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:57 <sup>75</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:03 <sup>31</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:00 <sup>03</sup>
Max	1990	0:54 <sup>22</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:03 <sup>78</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:11 <sup>03</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:55 <sup>06</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:03 <sup>03</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:05 <sup>75</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:55 <sup>19</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:00 <sup>94</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:02 <sup>03</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:05 <sup>97</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:59 <sup>28</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:56 <sup>96</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:06 <sup>53</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:55 <sup>00</sup>
Noll	1997	0:58 <sup>78</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:04 <sup>82</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:57 <sup>87</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:08 <sup>40</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:57 <sup>22</sup>
Daus	1999	1:03 <sup>75</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:03 <sup>03</sup>
Smith	1999	1:01 <sup>28</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:59 <sup>56</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:00 <sup>88</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:02 <sup>12</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:00 <sup>81</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:59 <sup>79</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:53 <sup>90</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:58 <sup>88</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:59 <sup>43</sup>
Max	2006	0:59 <sup>75</sup>

*Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter (Chorus)*

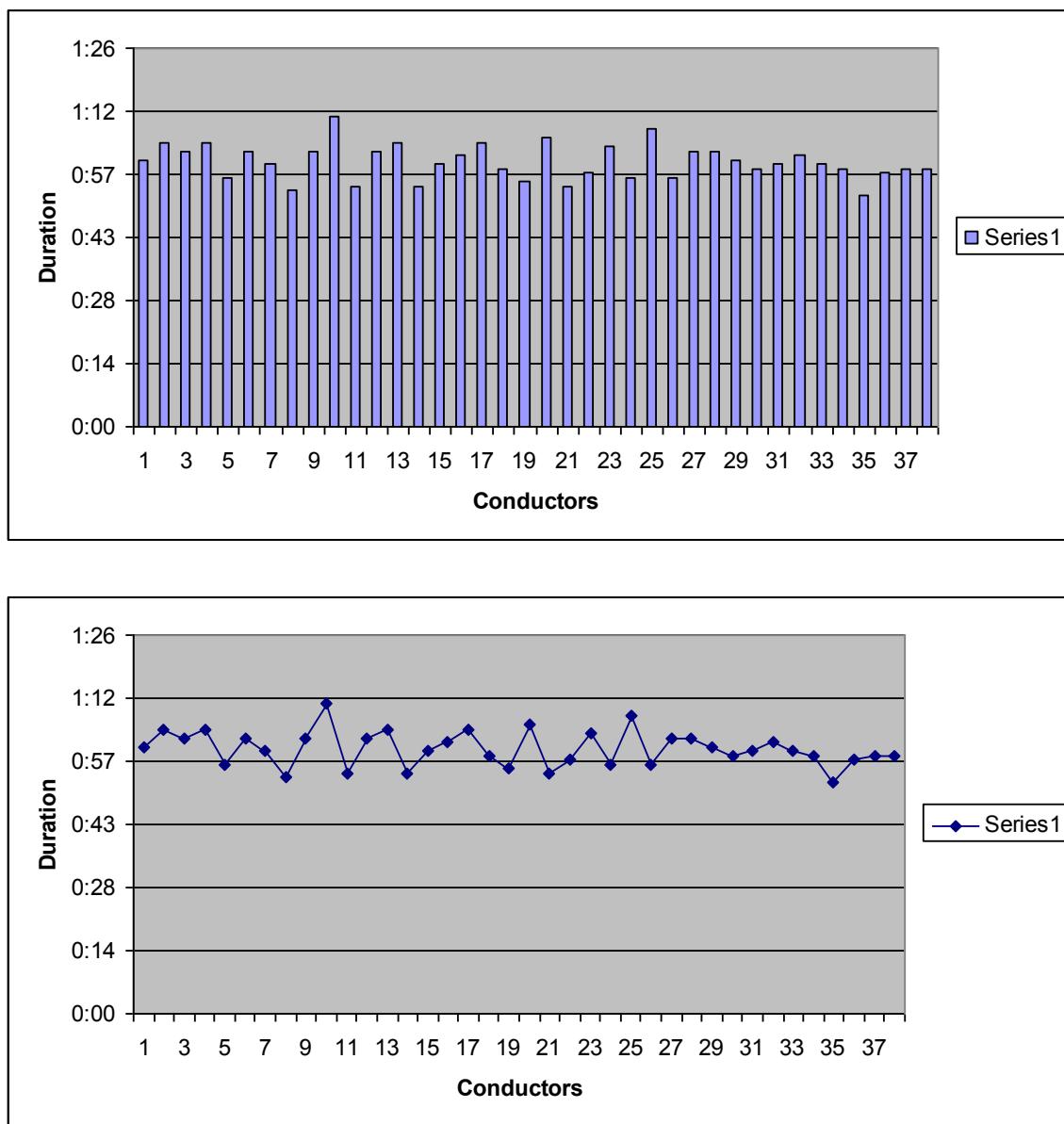


Figure 14. Temporal comparisions for *Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 14** *Wir dürfen niemand töten* (Chorus)(timing began at downbeat of beat three of 16<sup>d</sup> measure 42)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	0:36 <sup>53</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:36 <sup>44</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:37 <sup>53</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:38 <sup>75</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:32 <sup>59</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:36 <sup>94</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:36 <sup>38</sup>
Max	1990	0:32 <sup>85</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:37 <sup>32</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:39 <sup>13</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:34 <sup>97</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:37 <sup>72</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:39 <sup>75</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:33 <sup>91</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:36 <sup>66</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:41 <sup>78</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:38 <sup>66</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:35 <sup>19</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:33 <sup>56</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:37 <sup>66</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:33 <sup>97</sup>
Noll	1997	0:36 <sup>44</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:38 <sup>75</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:34 <sup>41</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:40 <sup>32</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:34 <sup>19</sup>
Daus	1999	0:37 <sup>94</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:38 <sup>35</sup>
Smith	1999	0:36 <sup>28</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:35 <sup>53</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:38 <sup>47</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:38 <sup>32</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:37 <sup>31</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:37 <sup>03</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:32 <sup>69</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:34 <sup>15</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:36 <sup>53</sup>
Max	2006	0:36 <sup>37</sup>

### *Wir dürfen niemand töten* (Chorus)

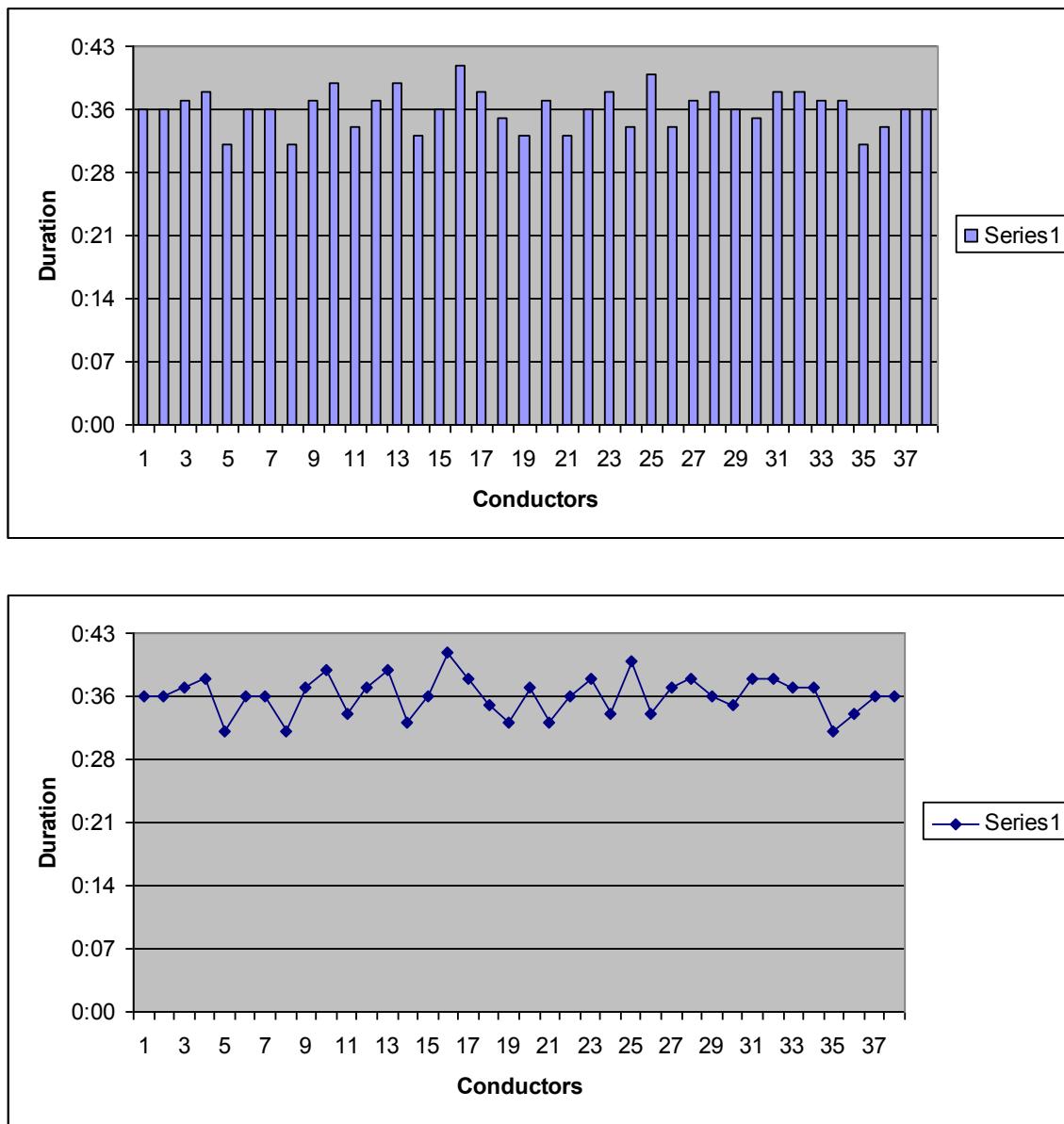


Figure 15. Temporal comparisions for *Wir dürfen niemand töten*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 15** *Ach großer König* (Chorale)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	1:19 <sup>69</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:22 <sup>75</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:32 <sup>25</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:34 <sup>97</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:29 <sup>12</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:13 <sup>63</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:39 <sup>69</sup>
Max	1990	1:15 <sup>35</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:29 <sup>25</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:44 <sup>96</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:36 <sup>93</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:27 <sup>66</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:22 <sup>72</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:22 <sup>47</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:34 <sup>66</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:28 <sup>28</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:24 <sup>56</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:21 <sup>53</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:08 <sup>94</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:32 <sup>00</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:42 <sup>31</sup>
Noll	1997	1:34 <sup>50</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:36 <sup>75</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:29 <sup>50</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:25 <sup>41</sup>
Suzuki	1998	1:20 <sup>00</sup>
Daus	1999	1:41 <sup>19</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:36 <sup>25</sup>
Smith	1999	1:36 <sup>34</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:17 <sup>63</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:21 <sup>62</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:16 <sup>00</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:13 <sup>75</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:36 <sup>62</sup>
Hempfling	2004	1:10 <sup>75</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:29 <sup>09</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:31 <sup>66</sup>
Max	2006	1:46 <sup>68</sup>

### *Ach großer König (Chorale)*

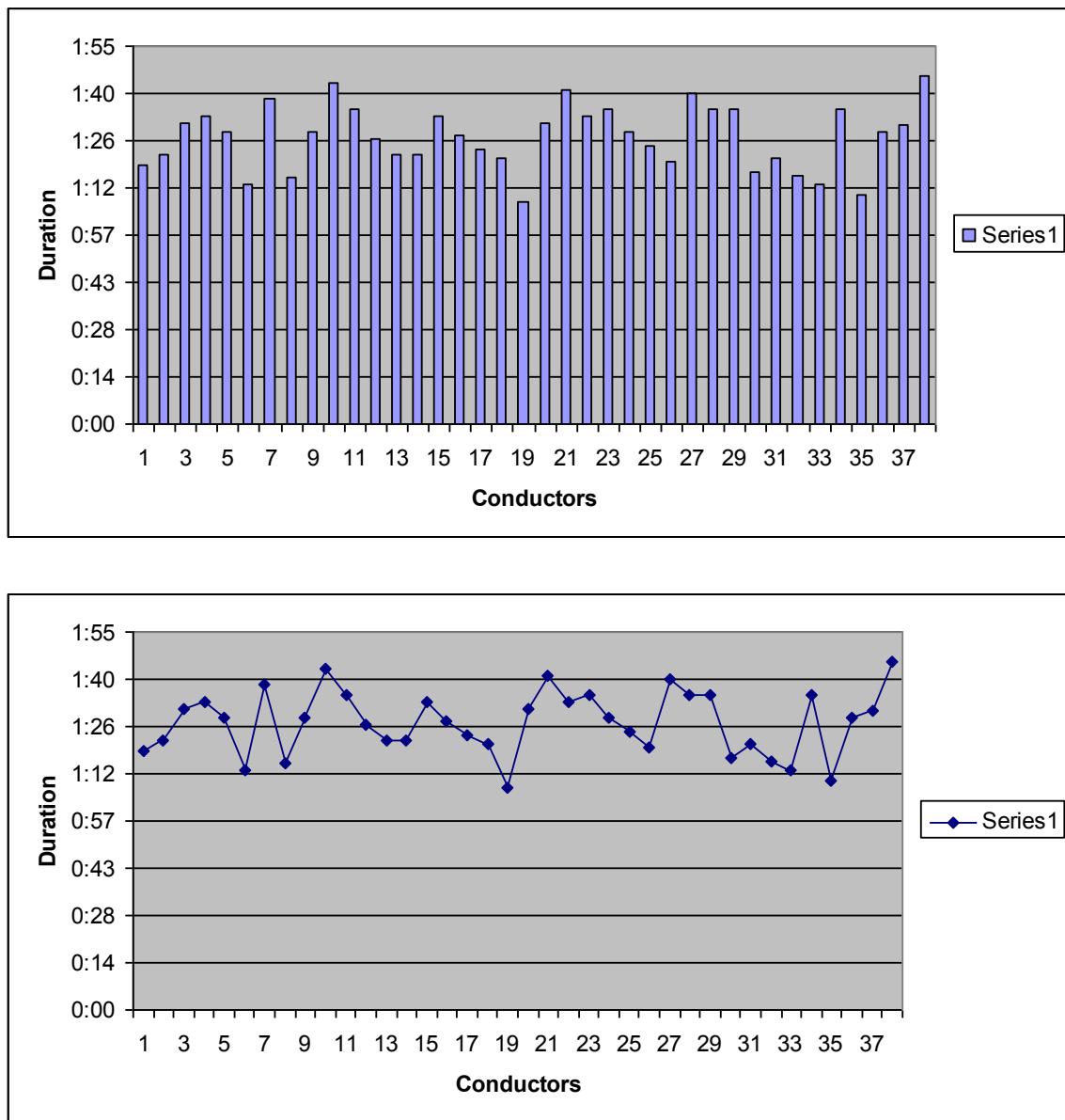


Figure 16. Temporal comparisions for *Ach großer König*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 16** *Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam* (Chorus)

(timing began at downbeat of 18<sup>b</sup> measure 20)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:09 <sup>85</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:09 <sup>16</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:10 <sup>31</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:10 <sup>59</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:09 <sup>38</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:09 <sup>18</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:09 <sup>84</sup>
Max	1990	0:08 <sup>38</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:09 <sup>28</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:10 <sup>88</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:11 <sup>09</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:09 <sup>72</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:09 <sup>72</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:08 <sup>91</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:09 <sup>41</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:10 <sup>91</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:09 <sup>97</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:08 <sup>97</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:09 <sup>31</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:10 <sup>50</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:09 <sup>50</sup>
Noll	1997	0:09 <sup>81</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:10 <sup>03</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:09 <sup>72</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:11 <sup>12</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:09 <sup>25</sup>
Daus	1999	0:10 <sup>53</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:10 <sup>41</sup>
Smith	1999	0:10 <sup>31</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:09 <sup>44</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:10 <sup>87</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:09 <sup>97</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:09 <sup>71</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:10 <sup>19</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:09 <sup>16</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:09 <sup>22</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:09 <sup>13</sup>
Max	2006	0:09 <sup>56</sup>

### *Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam (Chorus)*

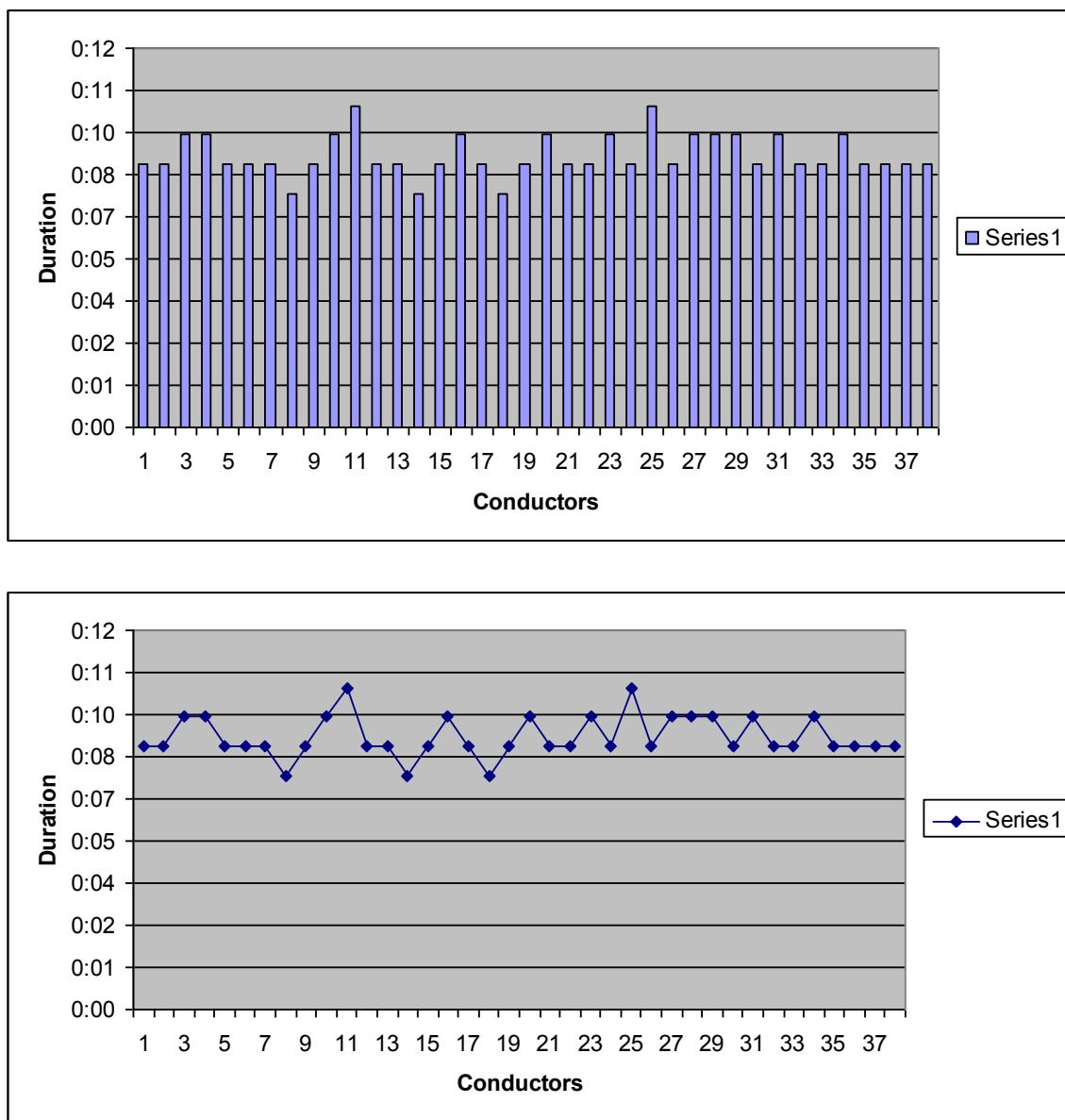


Figure 17. Temporal comparisions for *Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 17 *Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig* (Chorus)**

(timing began at 6/4 meter, downbeat of 21<sup>b</sup> measure 5)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:34 <sup>12</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:32 <sup>87</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:32 <sup>53</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:34 <sup>69</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:32 <sup>66</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:32 <sup>34</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:33 <sup>62</sup>
Max	1990	0:28 <sup>84</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:31 <sup>66</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:37 <sup>38</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:30 <sup>22</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:35 <sup>66</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:36 <sup>56</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:31 <sup>37</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:32 <sup>87</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:32 <sup>25</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:33 <sup>31</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:35 <sup>40</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:30 <sup>72</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:34 <sup>34</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:31 <sup>69</sup>
Noll	1997	0:31 <sup>03</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:34 <sup>71</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:30 <sup>16</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:34 <sup>06</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:31 <sup>44</sup>
Daus	1999	0:34 <sup>97</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:33 <sup>78</sup>
Smith	1999	0:34 <sup>82</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:32 <sup>13</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:33 <sup>65</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:35 <sup>10</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:32 <sup>44</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:34 <sup>44</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:30 <sup>07</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:33 <sup>97</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:31 <sup>72</sup>
Max	2006	0:33 <sup>72</sup>

### *Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig (Chorus)*

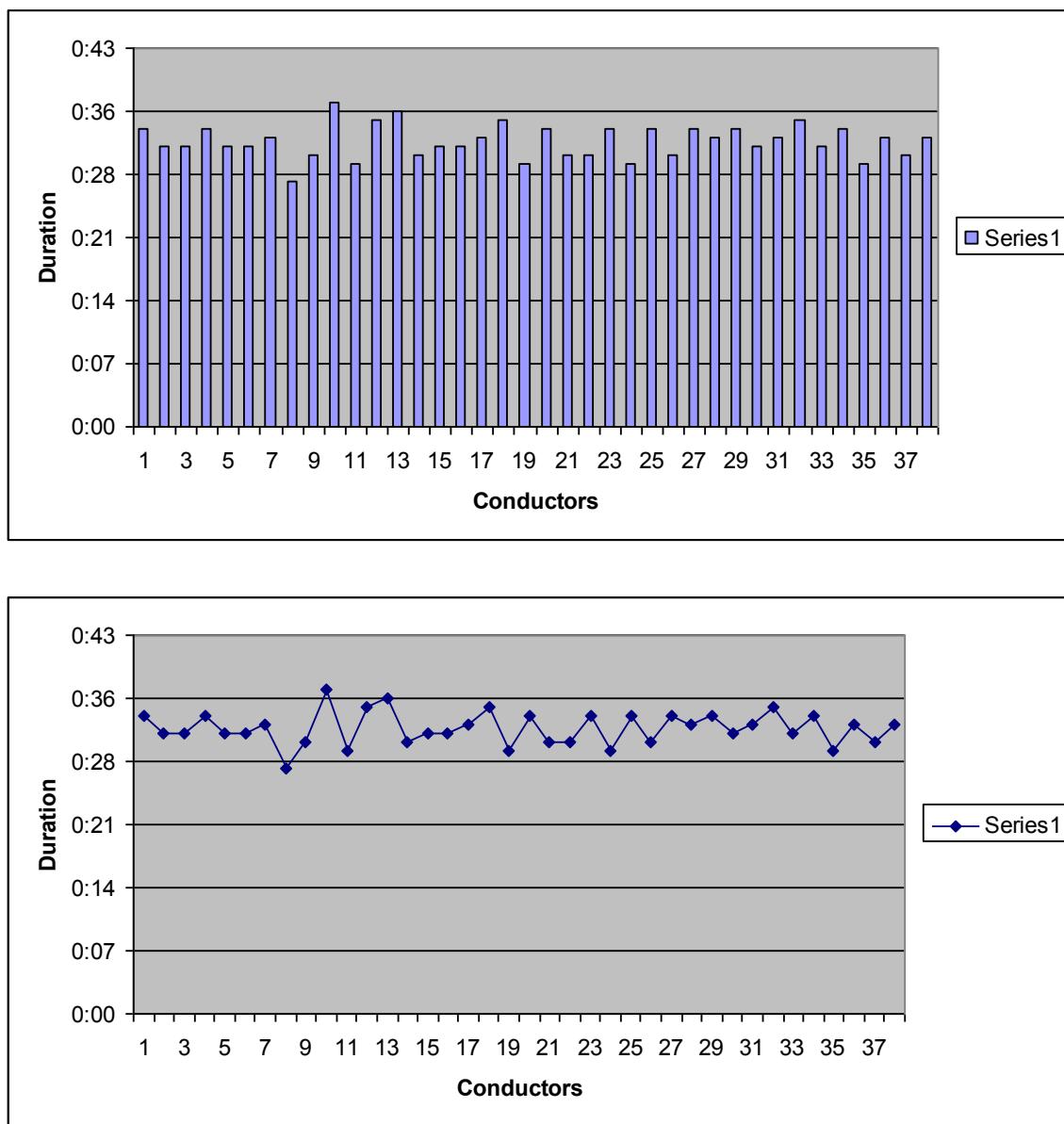


Figure 18. Temporal comparisions for *Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 18 *Kreuzige, kreuzige* (Chorus)**(timing began at downbeat of 21<sup>d</sup> measure 29)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	0:50 <sup>02</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:56 <sup>97</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:55 <sup>69</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:52 <sup>97</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:51 <sup>91</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:52 <sup>31</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:51 <sup>47</sup>
Max	1990	0:46 <sup>03</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:48 <sup>78</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:57 <sup>72</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:55 <sup>47</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:54 <sup>50</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:55 <sup>31</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:47 <sup>94</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:51 <sup>85</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:54 <sup>75</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:52 <sup>60</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:49 <sup>35</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:46 <sup>29</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:58 <sup>37</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:48 <sup>06</sup>
Noll	1997	0:50 <sup>78</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:52 <sup>92</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:51 <sup>69</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:56 <sup>29</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:48 <sup>32</sup>
Daus	1999	0:53 <sup>72</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:53 <sup>75</sup>
Smith	1999	0:52 <sup>97</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:48 <sup>12</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:54 <sup>97</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:52 <sup>31</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:51 <sup>94</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:48 <sup>34</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:46 <sup>44</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:50 <sup>25</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:51 <sup>88</sup>
Max	2006	0:52 <sup>93</sup>

### *Kreuzige, kreuzige (Chorus)*

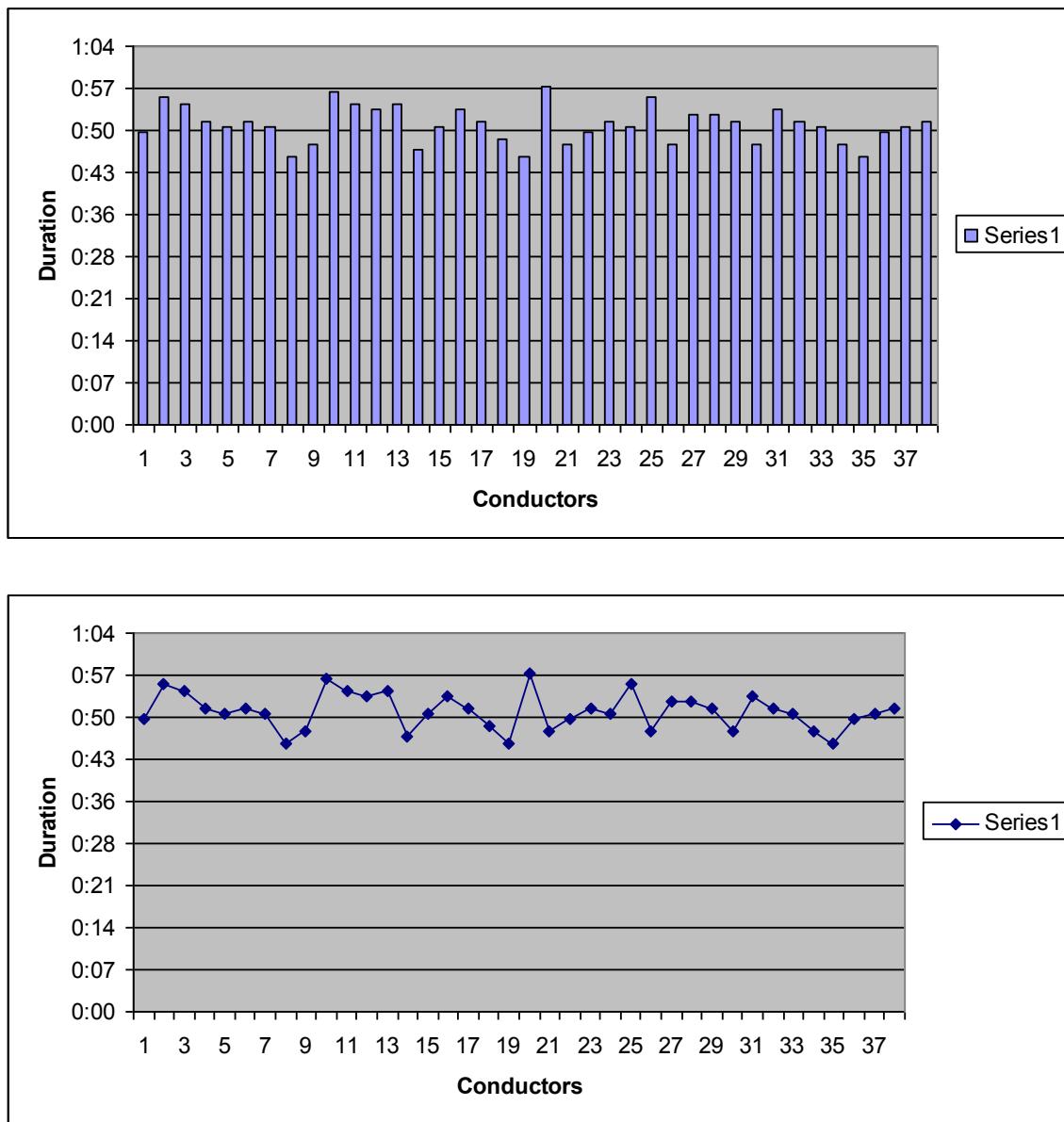


Figure 19. Temporal comparisions for *Kreuzige, kreuzige*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 19** *Wir haben ein Gesetz* (Chorus)(timing began at downbeat of 21<sup>f</sup> measure 57)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	1:10 <sup>16</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:14 <sup>62</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:15 <sup>12</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:15 <sup>94</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:16 <sup>34</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:12 <sup>56</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:11 <sup>28</sup>
Max	1990	1:06 <sup>31</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:12 <sup>84</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:32 <sup>59</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	2:08 <sup>56</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:13 <sup>63</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:13 <sup>16</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:09 <sup>09</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:12 <sup>85</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:10 <sup>00</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:15 <sup>50</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:15 <sup>44</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:09 <sup>66</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:22 <sup>72</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:27 <sup>69</sup>
Noll	1997	1:09 <sup>15</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:15 <sup>07</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:15 <sup>15</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:15 <sup>47</sup>
Suzuki	1998	1:10 <sup>25</sup>
Daus	1999	1:11 <sup>97</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:18 <sup>15</sup>
Smith	1999	1:15 <sup>47</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:09 <sup>19</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:14 <sup>84</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:12 <sup>44</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:14 <sup>47</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:14 <sup>63</sup>
Hempfling	2004	1:13 <sup>54</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:24 <sup>12</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:10 <sup>59</sup>
Max	2006	1:10 <sup>53</sup>

### *Wir haben ein Gesetz* (Chorus)

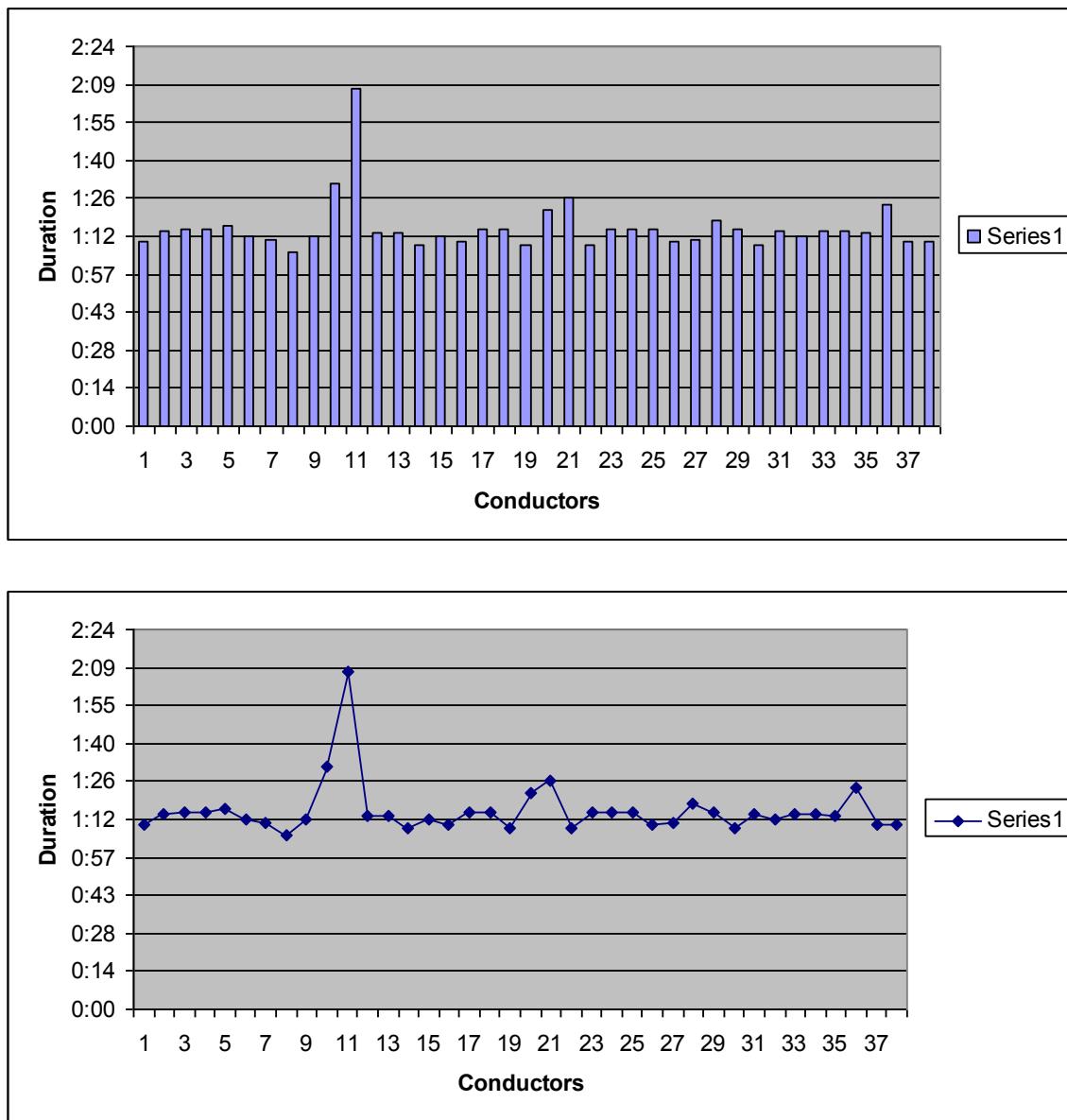


Figure 20. Temporal comparisions for *Wir haben ein Gesetz*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 20 Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:49 <sup>91</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:48 <sup>06</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:53 <sup>59</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:59 <sup>65</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:48 <sup>16</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:51 <sup>68</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:01 <sup>25</sup>
Max	1990	0:43 <sup>50</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:53 <sup>35</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:04 <sup>75</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:50 <sup>50</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:56 <sup>87</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:51 <sup>21</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:50 <sup>19</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:53 <sup>56</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:56 <sup>19</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:49 <sup>56</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:47 <sup>34</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:56 <sup>69</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:54 <sup>06</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:53 <sup>16</sup>
Noll	1997	0:56 <sup>41</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:54 <sup>88</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:46 <sup>06</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:47 <sup>44</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:57 <sup>12</sup>
Daus	1999	1:15 <sup>94</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:57 <sup>12</sup>
Smith	1999	1:00 <sup>60</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:54 <sup>75</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:49 <sup>90</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:40 <sup>44</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:45 <sup>78</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:51 <sup>75</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:37 <sup>72</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:55 <sup>75</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:49 <sup>37</sup>
Max	2006	0:54 <sup>50</sup>

### *Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)*

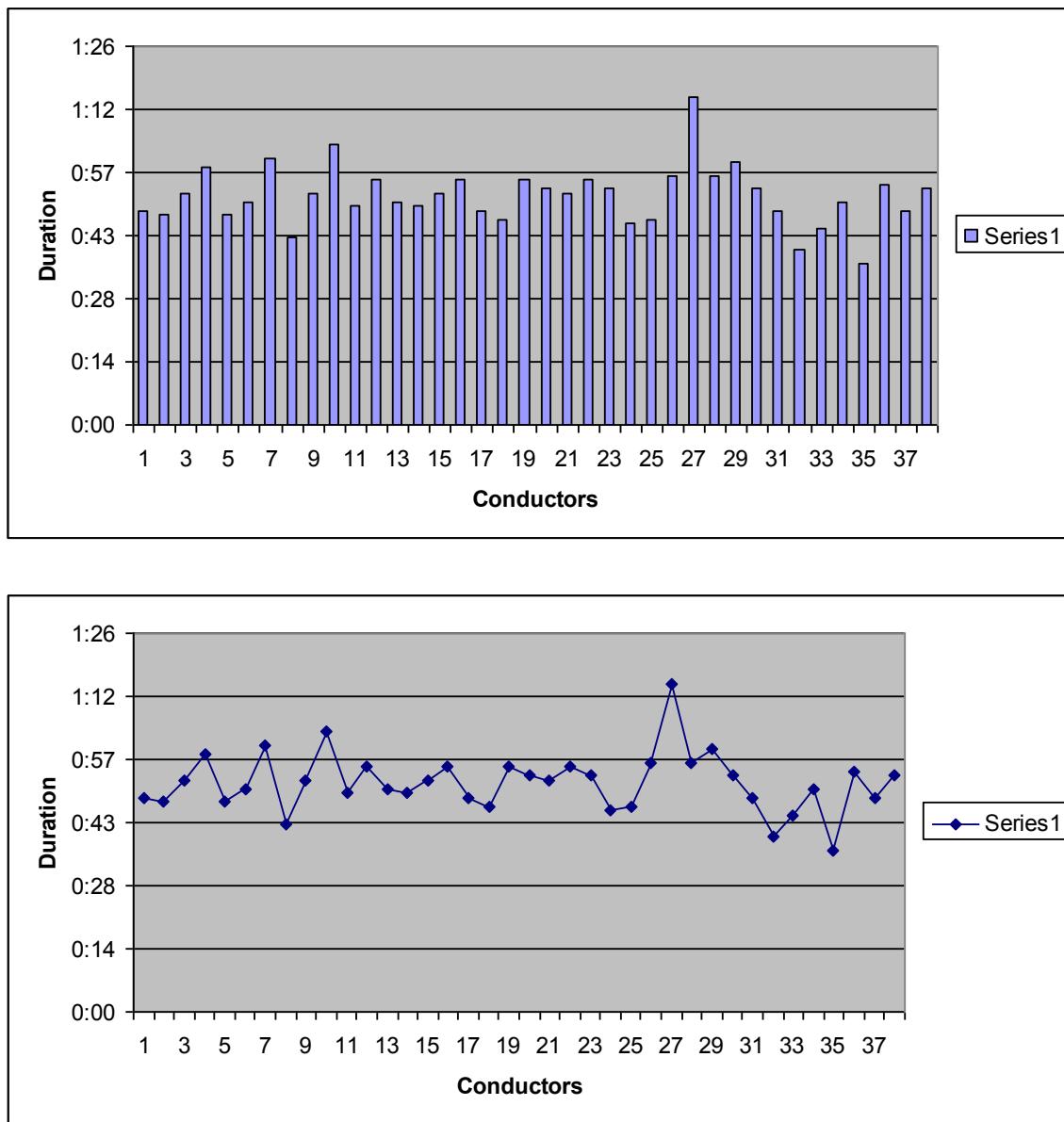


Figure 21. Temporal comparisions for *Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 21 *Lässt du diesen los* (Chorus)**

(timing began at downbeat of 23<sup>b</sup> measure 2)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	1:10 <sup>41</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:07 <sup>94</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:12 <sup>88</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:17 <sup>47</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:09 <sup>00</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:12 <sup>03</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:12 <sup>34</sup>
Max	1990	1:08 <sup>81</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:15 <sup>29</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:20 <sup>31</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:15 <sup>81</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:11 <sup>25</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:13 <sup>41</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:06 <sup>35</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:12 <sup>06</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:10 <sup>66</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:14 <sup>94</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:14 <sup>75</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:06 <sup>25</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:13 <sup>16</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:11 <sup>29</sup>
Noll	1997	1:08 <sup>94</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:13 <sup>41</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:13 <sup>88</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:14 <sup>81</sup>
Suzuki	1998	1:09 <sup>87</sup>
Daus	1999	1:08 <sup>44</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:08 <sup>57</sup>
Smith	1999	1:18 <sup>79</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:09 <sup>37</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:10 <sup>69</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:10 <sup>68</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:13 <sup>22</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:13 <sup>56</sup>
Hempfling	2004	1:08 <sup>59</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:10 <sup>91</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:11 <sup>96</sup>
Max	2006	1:09 <sup>84</sup>

### *Lässt du diesen los (Chorus)*

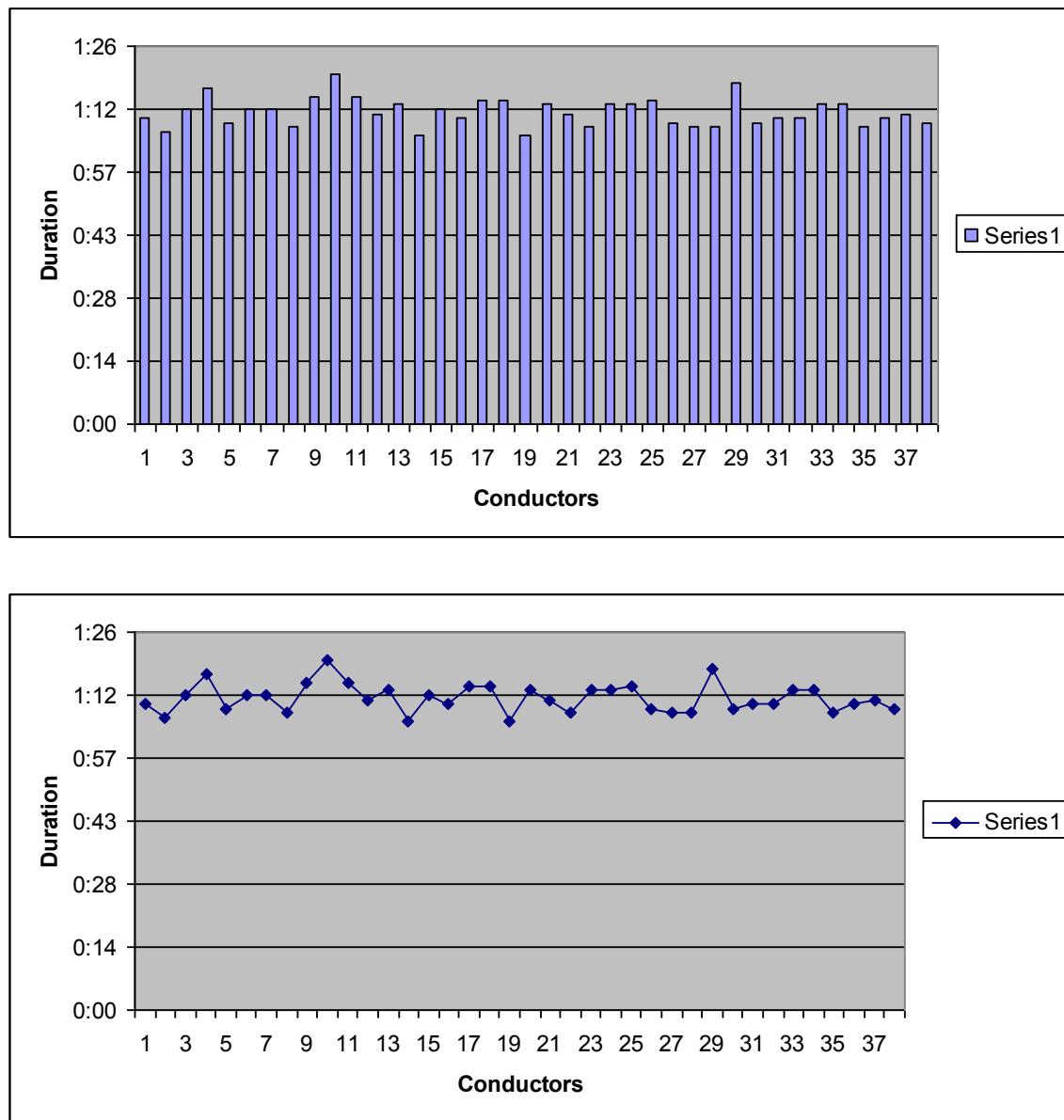


Figure 22. Temporal comparisions for *Lässt du diesen los*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 22 *Weg, weg mit dem* (Chorus)**(timing began at downbeat of 23<sup>d</sup> measure 45)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	0:56 <sup>09</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:57 <sup>84</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:59 <sup>79</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:59 <sup>88</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:55 <sup>72</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:55 <sup>60</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:57 <sup>69</sup>
Max	1990	0:53 <sup>35</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:56 <sup>03</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:04 <sup>50</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:56 <sup>10</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:58 <sup>25</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:01 <sup>00</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:52 <sup>81</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:56 <sup>81</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:57 <sup>78</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:57 <sup>72</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:54 <sup>37</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:49 <sup>28</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:01 <sup>00</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:56 <sup>43</sup>
Noll	1997	0:53 <sup>72</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:56 <sup>25</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:56 <sup>78</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:00 <sup>28</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:54 <sup>28</sup>
Daus	1999	0:57 <sup>66</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:56 <sup>28</sup>
Smith	1999	1:00 <sup>65</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:54 <sup>19</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:59 <sup>94</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:55 <sup>96</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:58 <sup>81</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:54 <sup>15</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:52 <sup>87</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:53 <sup>41</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:55 <sup>06</sup>
Max	2006	0:56 <sup>06</sup>

### *Weg, weg mit dem (Chorus)*

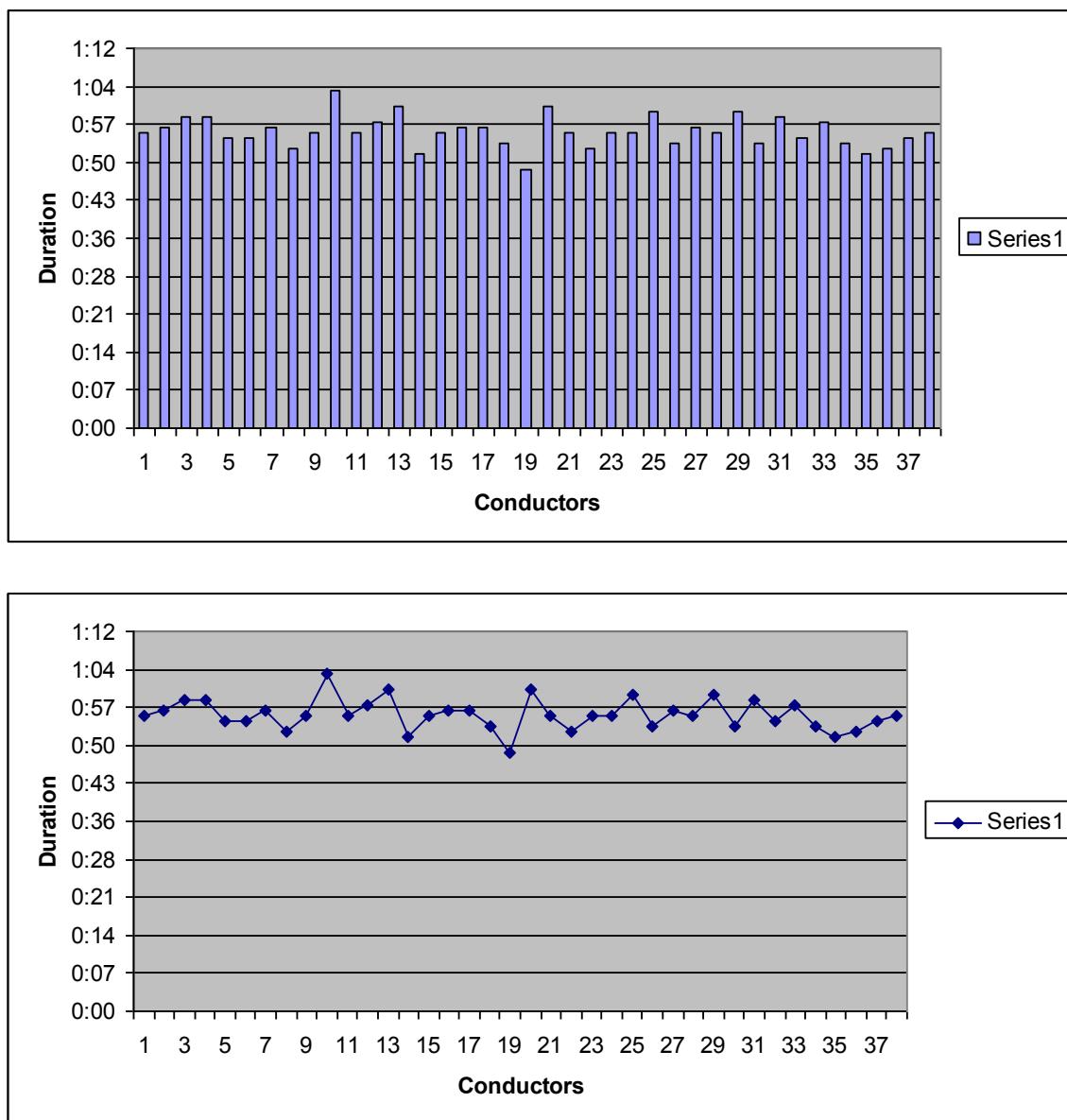


Figure 23. Temporal comparisions for *Weg, weg mit dem*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 23** *Wir haben keinen König* (Chorus)

(timing began at downbeat of 23<sup>f</sup> measure 75)

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:08 <sup>85</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:09 <sup>12</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:09 <sup>72</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:09 <sup>37</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:09 <sup>44</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:09 <sup>03</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:09 <sup>34</sup>
Max	1990	0:08 <sup>90</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:09 <sup>50</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:11 <sup>29</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:10 <sup>60</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:09 <sup>25</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:09 <sup>44</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:09 <sup>15</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:09 <sup>35</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:11 <sup>53</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:09 <sup>91</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:09 <sup>75</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:07 <sup>78</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:09 <sup>63</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:10 <sup>62</sup>
Noll	1997	0:09 <sup>25</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:11 <sup>78</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:09 <sup>97</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:10 <sup>88</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:09 <sup>22</sup>
Daus	1999	0:12 <sup>82</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:10 <sup>34</sup>
Smith	1999	0:18 <sup>35</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:10 <sup>22</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:10 <sup>35</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:10 <sup>12</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:09 <sup>53</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:10 <sup>50</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:08 <sup>75</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:11 <sup>84</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:09 <sup>69</sup>
Max	2006	0:12 <sup>18</sup>

### *Wir haben keinen König (Chorus)*

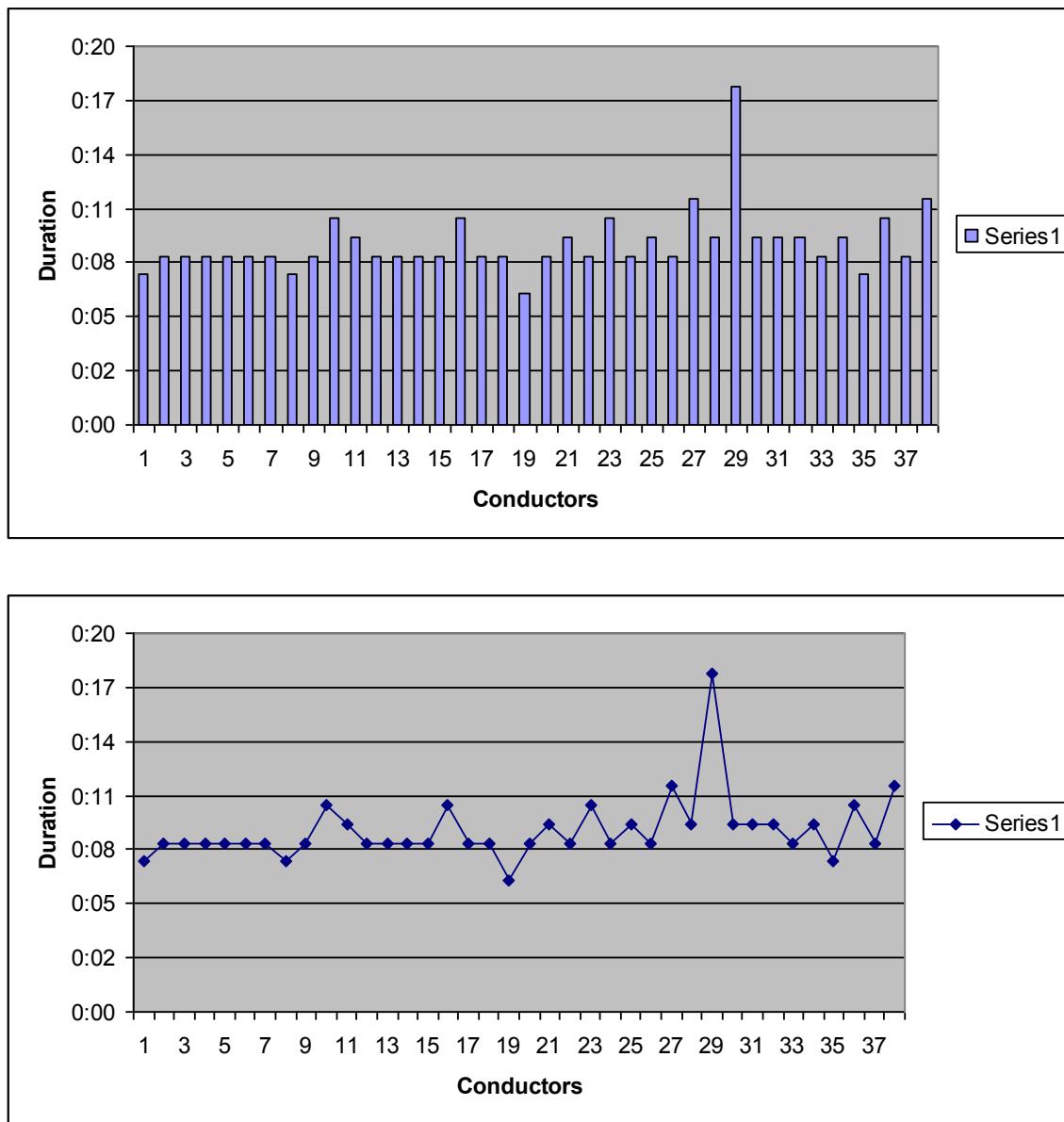


Figure 24. Temporal comparisions for *Wir haben keinen König*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 24 *Eilt, ihr angefochtnen Seelen* (Aria &Chorus)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	4:05 <sup>69</sup>
Gardiner	1986	3:51 <sup>18</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	4:05 <sup>19</sup>
Kuijken	1987	4:22 <sup>22</sup>
Schreier	1988	4:05 <sup>90</sup>
Christophers	1989	4:07 <sup>90</sup>
Slowik	1989	3:55 <sup>12</sup>
Max	1990	3:54 <sup>85</sup>
Parrott	1990	3:33 <sup>19</sup>
Weyand	1990	4:17 <sup>43</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	4:24 <sup>21</sup>
Ericson	1993	3:49 <sup>71</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	4:01 <sup>94</sup>
Koopman	1993	4:03 <sup>41</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	3:38 <sup>75</sup>
Corboz	1994	4:05 <sup>03</sup>
Cleobury	1996	3:59 <sup>50</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	3:33 <sup>38</sup>
Milnes	1996	3:47 <sup>57</sup>
Rilling	1996	3:41 <sup>41</sup>
Beringer	1997	4:24 <sup>28</sup>
Noll	1997	3:48 <sup>18</sup>
Fasolis	1998	3:51 <sup>34</sup>
Güttler	1998	3:52 <sup>97</sup>
Schulz	1998	4:22 <sup>79</sup>
Suzuki	1998	3:49 <sup>00</sup>
Daus	1999	4:09 <sup>16</sup>
Neumann	1999	3:46 <sup>25</sup>
Smith	1999	4:08 <sup>72</sup>
Suzuki	2000	3:39 <sup>28</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	4:05 <sup>28</sup>
Leusink	2001	4:03 <sup>40</sup>
Schreier	2001	4:07 <sup>56</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	4:09 <sup>16</sup>
Hempfling	2004	4:01 <sup>78</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	3:51 <sup>53</sup>
Carrington	2006	3:57 <sup>81</sup>
Max	2006	3:58 <sup>03</sup>

### *Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen (Aria &Chorus)*

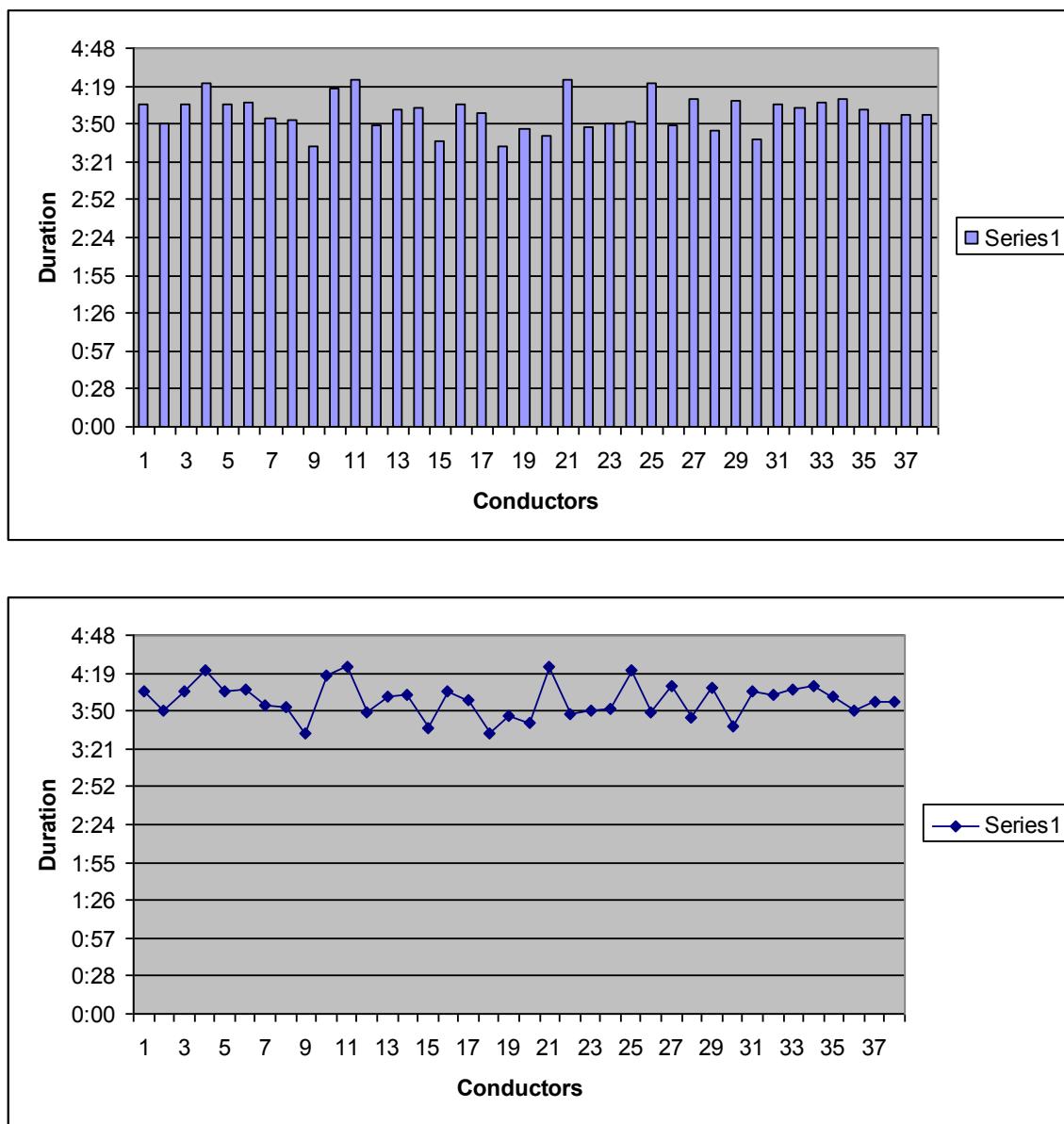


Figure 25. Temporal comparisions for *Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 25** *Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König (Chorus)*(timing began at 6/4 meter, downbeat of 25<sup>b</sup> measure 18)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	0:31 <sup>18</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:31 <sup>57</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:32 <sup>81</sup>
Kuijken	1987	0:32 <sup>75</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:31 <sup>43</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:30 <sup>75</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:35 <sup>43</sup>
Max	1990	0:29 <sup>35</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:31 <sup>22</sup>
Weyand	1990	0:35 <sup>94</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:31 <sup>66</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:33 <sup>53</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:35 <sup>28</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:31 <sup>41</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:32 <sup>63</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:30 <sup>25</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:33 <sup>69</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:33 <sup>94</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:30 <sup>40</sup>
Rilling	1996	0:32 <sup>88</sup>
Beringer	1997	0:30 <sup>81</sup>
Noll	1997	0:28 <sup>59</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:34 <sup>31</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:30 <sup>28</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:33 <sup>59</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:30 <sup>44</sup>
Daus	1999	0:33 <sup>19</sup>
Neumann	1999	0:33 <sup>47</sup>
Smith	1999	0:33 <sup>97</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:30 <sup>97</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:32 <sup>43</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:34 <sup>85</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:31 <sup>12</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:34 <sup>81</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:29 <sup>16</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:33 <sup>94</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:31 <sup>94</sup>
Max	2006	0:30 <sup>00</sup>

### *Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König (Chorus)*

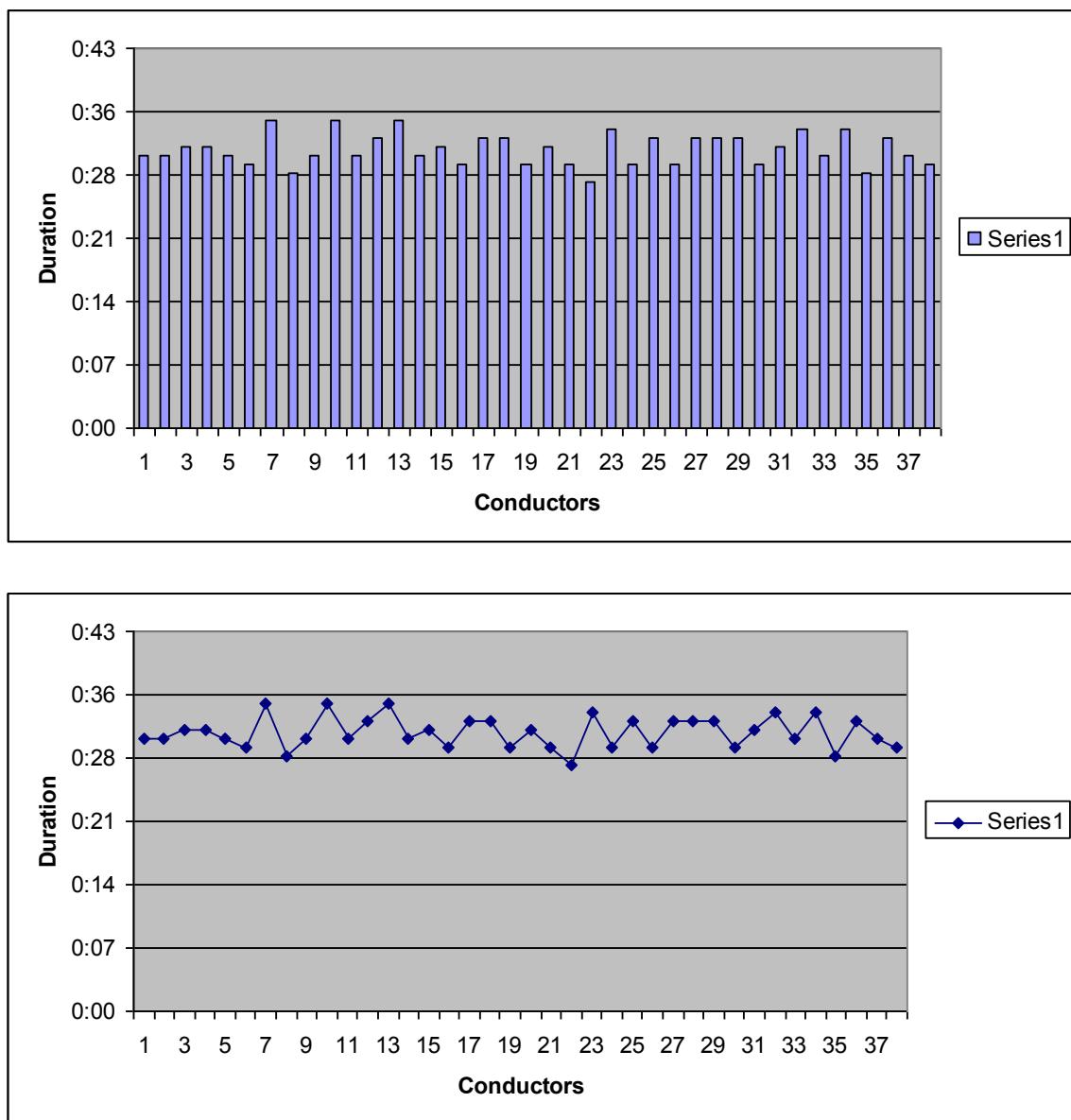


Figure 26. Temporal comparisions for *Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 26 *In meines Herzens Grunde* (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:56 <sup>16</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:52 <sup>34</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	0:55 <sup>09</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:05 <sup>88</sup>
Schreier	1988	0:53 <sup>47</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:55 <sup>59</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:56 <sup>84</sup>
Max	1990	0:47 <sup>97</sup>
Parrott	1990	0:56 <sup>93</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:17 <sup>34</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:44 <sup>91</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:58 <sup>41</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:57 <sup>37</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:48 <sup>60</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	0:56 <sup>94</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:00 <sup>85</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:47 <sup>88</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	0:59 <sup>69</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:52 <sup>54</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:05 <sup>75</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:06 <sup>37</sup>
Noll	1997	1:09 <sup>34</sup>
Fasolis	1998	0:59 <sup>19</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:56 <sup>44</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:57 <sup>37</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:55 <sup>25</sup>
Daus	1999	1:19 <sup>60</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:14 <sup>15</sup>
Smith	1999	1:00 <sup>44</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:53 <sup>22</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:53 <sup>47</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:45 <sup>41</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:48 <sup>63</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:47 <sup>40</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:43 <sup>09</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	0:56 <sup>81</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:51 <sup>35</sup>
Max	2006	1:11 <sup>41</sup>

### *In meines Herzens Grunde* (Chorale)

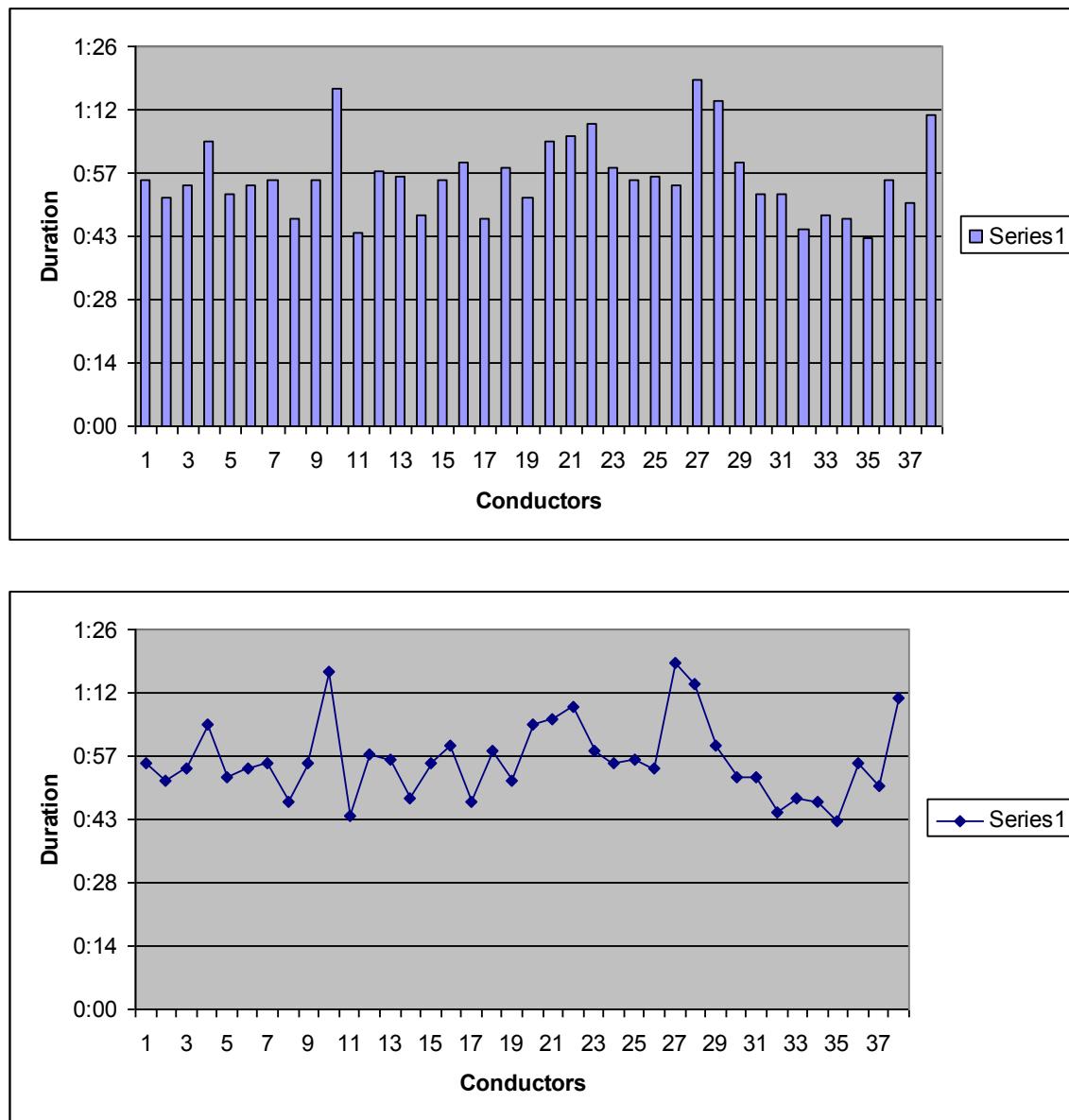


Figure 27. Temporal comparisions for *In meines Herzens Grunde*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990
9. Parrott 1990

10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 27 *Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen* (Chorus)**(timing began at downbeat of 27<sup>b</sup> measure 10)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	1:21 <sup>28</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:17 <sup>59</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:24 <sup>90</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:31 <sup>62</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:16 <sup>28</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:13 <sup>16</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:19 <sup>59</sup>
Max	1990	1:17 <sup>91</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:24 <sup>78</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:37 <sup>38</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:22 <sup>15</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:25 <sup>34</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:28 <sup>28</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:16 <sup>53</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:22 <sup>78</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:30 <sup>25</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:22 <sup>72</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:26 <sup>19</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:12 <sup>84</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:28 <sup>03</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:20 <sup>91</sup>
Noll	1997	1:20 <sup>85</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:21 <sup>60</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:20 <sup>13</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:31 <sup>06</sup>
Suzuki	1998	1:18 <sup>22</sup>
Daus	1999	1:23 <sup>69</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:18 <sup>82</sup>
Smith	1999	1:28 <sup>47</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:19 <sup>18</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	1:24 <sup>41</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:22 <sup>06</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:22 <sup>25</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:18 <sup>97</sup>
Hempfling	2004	1:18 <sup>15</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:22 <sup>25</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:22 <sup>37</sup>
Max	2006	1:25 <sup>63</sup>

### *Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen* (Chorus)

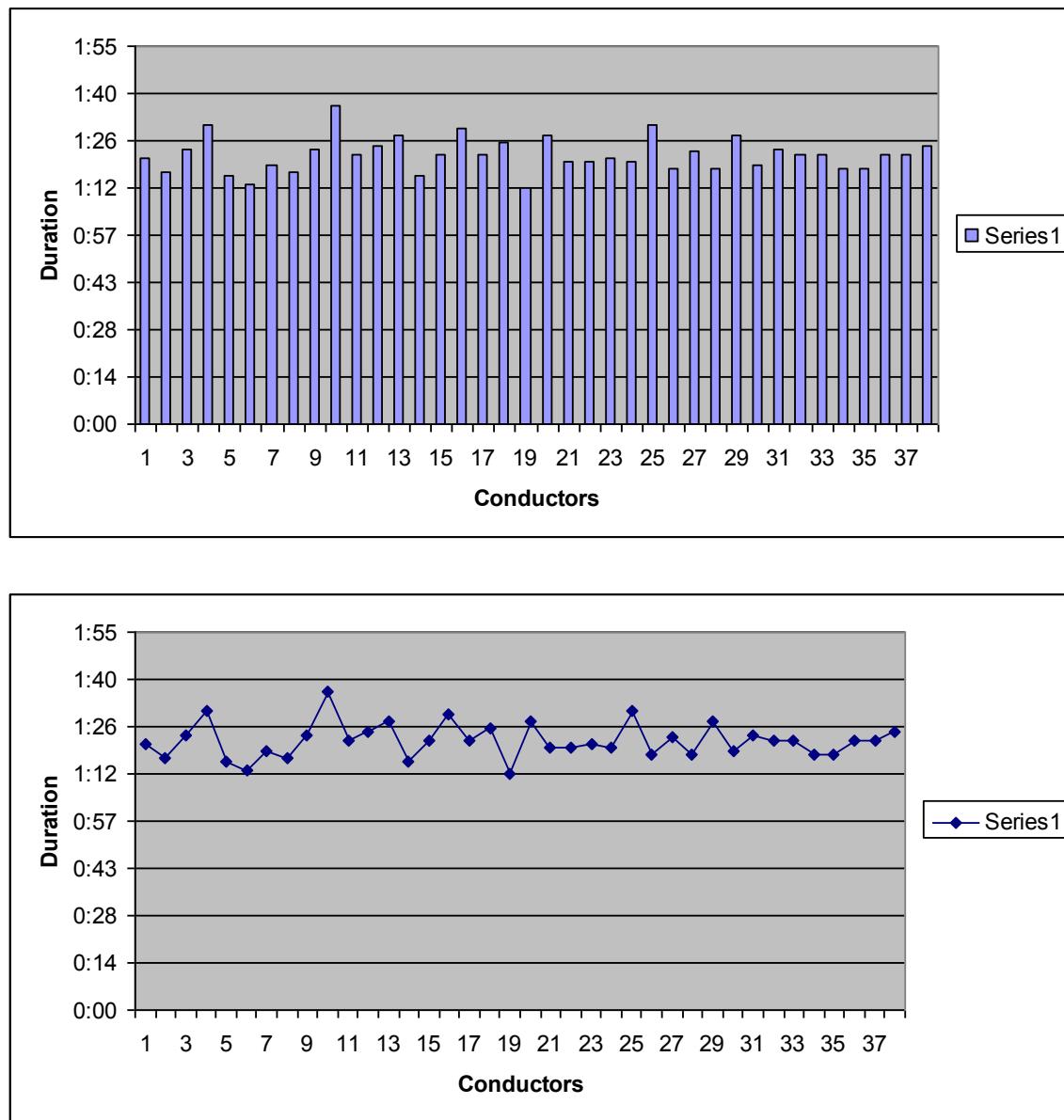


Figure 28. Temporal comparisions for *Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 28 *Er nahm alles wohl in acht* (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:55 <sup>03</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:59 <sup>40</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:01 <sup>28</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:10 <sup>50</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:05 <sup>34</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:10 <sup>38</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:00 <sup>03</sup>
Max	1990	0:49 <sup>69</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:06 <sup>31</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:20 <sup>82</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:59 <sup>56</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:03 <sup>87</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:57 <sup>13</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:56 <sup>59</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:05 <sup>57</sup>
Corboz	1994	1:02 <sup>03</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:54 <sup>41</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:06 <sup>53</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:00 <sup>56</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:18 <sup>16</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:24 <sup>47</sup>
Noll	1997	Not available
Fasolis	1998	1:22 <sup>88</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:05 <sup>28</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:05 <sup>78</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:58 <sup>15</sup>
Daus	1999	1:34 <sup>56</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:05 <sup>75</sup>
Smith	1999	1:01 <sup>41</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:03 <sup>25</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:56 <sup>22</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:51 <sup>06</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:56 <sup>91</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	1:06 <sup>25</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:48 <sup>72</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:12 <sup>18</sup>
Carrington	2006	1:06 <sup>75</sup>
Max	2006	1:07 <sup>62</sup>

### *Er nahm alles wohl in acht (Chorale)*

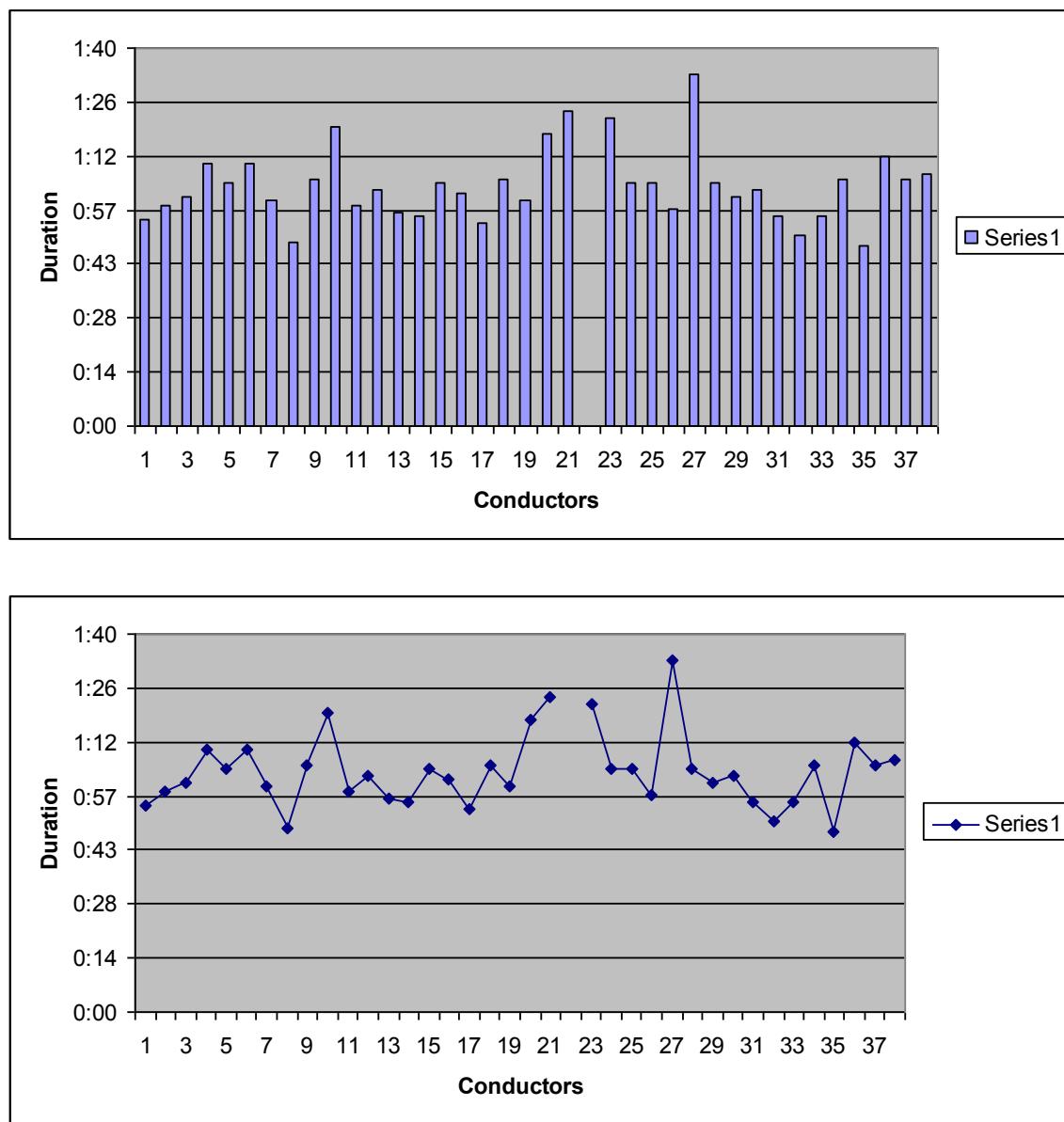


Figure 29. Temporal comparisions for *Er nahm alles wohl in acht*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997                   **(Information not available)**
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 29** *Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen* (Aria & Chorus)

(timing began at third eighth note of measure 1)

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Harnoncourt	1985	5:17 <sup>40</sup>
Gardiner	1986	3:59 <sup>57</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	4:51 <sup>94</sup>
Kuijken	1987	5:08 <sup>47</sup>
Schreier	1988	4:33 <sup>56</sup>
Christophers	1989	4:31 <sup>96</sup>
Slowik	1989	4:54 <sup>28</sup>
Max	1990	3:41 <sup>32</sup>
Parrott	1990	4:41 <sup>69</sup>
Weyand	1990	4:13 <sup>25</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	4:03 <sup>59</sup>
Ericson	1993	3:32 <sup>68</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	5:07 <sup>03</sup>
Koopman	1993	4:37 <sup>84</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	4:27 <sup>72</sup>
Corboz	1994	4:22 <sup>63</sup>
Cleobury	1996	4:39 <sup>03</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	4:12 <sup>22</sup>
Milnes	1996	4:17 <sup>84</sup>
Rilling	1996	4:00 <sup>31</sup>
Beringer	1997	4:37 <sup>75</sup>
Noll	1997	3:50 <sup>56</sup>
Fasolis	1998	4:47 <sup>69</sup>
Güttler	1998	5:17 <sup>06</sup>
Schulz	1998	4:32 <sup>50</sup>
Suzuki	1998	4:24 <sup>78</sup>
Daus	1999	4:18 <sup>28</sup>
Neumann	1999	4:41 <sup>81</sup>
Smith	1999	4:53 <sup>87</sup>
Suzuki	2000	4:23 <sup>44</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	4:39 <sup>81</sup>
Leusink	2001	4:40 <sup>59</sup>
Schreier	2001	4:02 <sup>41</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	3:43 <sup>38</sup>
Hempfling	2004	3:47 <sup>06</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	4:42 <sup>38</sup>
Carrington	2006	4:12 <sup>07</sup>
Max	2006	4:34 <sup>34</sup>

### *Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen* (Aria & Chorus)

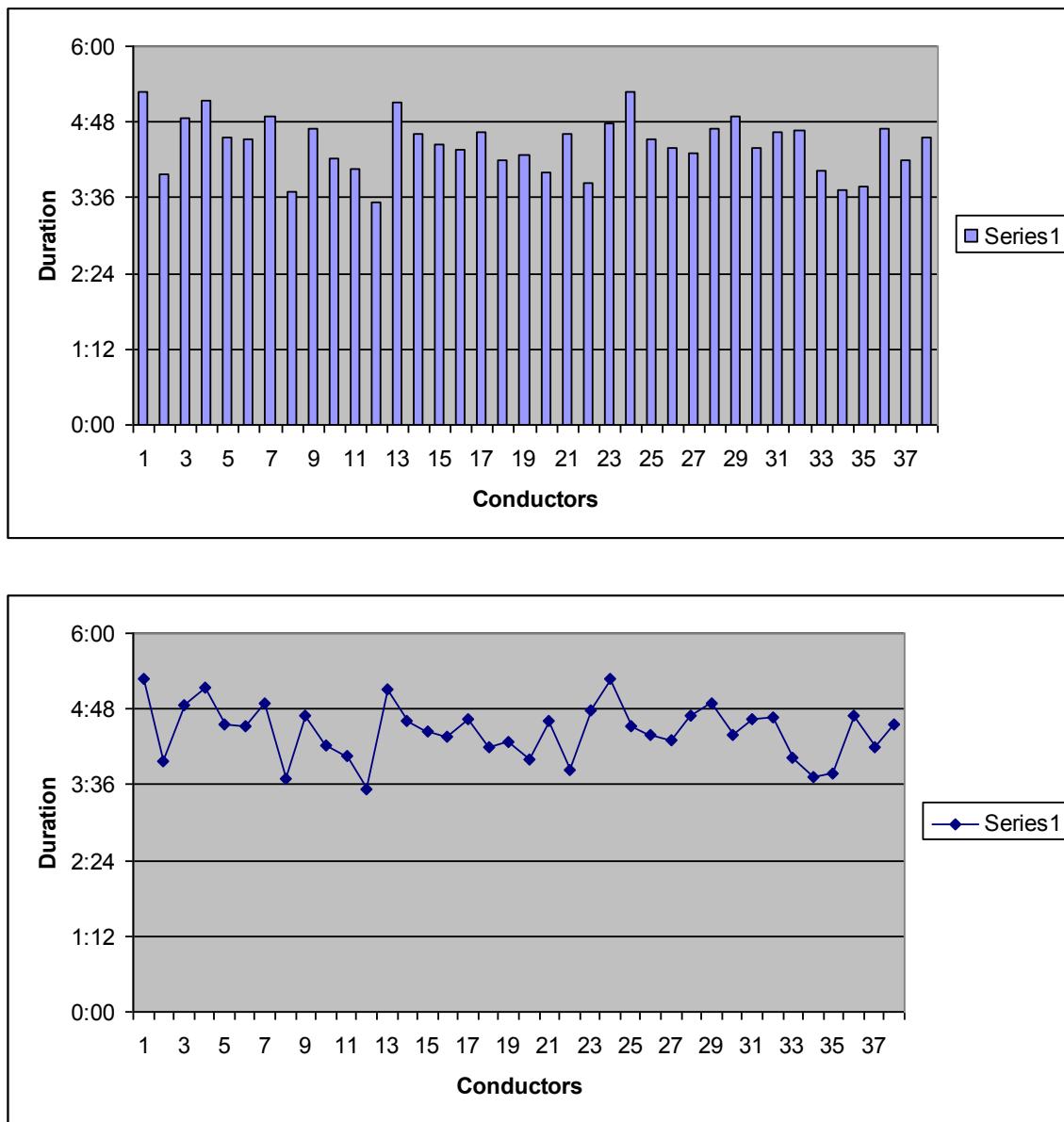


Figure 30. Temporal comparisions for *Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 30 *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn* (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	0:56 <sup>47</sup>
Gardiner	1986	0:59 <sup>10</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	1:03 <sup>09</sup>
Kuijken	1987	1:14 <sup>71</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:00 <sup>18</sup>
Christophers	1989	0:59 <sup>00</sup>
Slowik	1989	0:58 <sup>66</sup>
Max	1990	0:48 <sup>28</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:04 <sup>18</sup>
Weyand	1990	1:10 <sup>00</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	0:49 <sup>75</sup>
Ericson	1993	0:57 <sup>53</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	0:54 <sup>21</sup>
Koopman	1993	0:54 <sup>93</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	1:10 <sup>69</sup>
Corboz	1994	0:52 <sup>32</sup>
Cleobury	1996	0:51 <sup>44</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:05 <sup>04</sup>
Milnes	1996	0:53 <sup>03</sup>
Rilling	1996	1:09 <sup>22</sup>
Beringer	1997	1:08 <sup>87</sup>
Noll	1997	Not available
Fasolis	1998	1:05 <sup>31</sup>
Güttler	1998	0:57 <sup>72</sup>
Schulz	1998	0:59 <sup>40</sup>
Suzuki	1998	0:54 <sup>97</sup>
Daus	1999	1:16 <sup>72</sup>
Neumann	1999	1:03 <sup>53</sup>
Smith	1999	0:58 <sup>84</sup>
Suzuki	2000	0:53 <sup>09</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	0:58 <sup>37</sup>
Leusink	2001	0:51 <sup>00</sup>
Schreier	2001	0:53 <sup>40</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	0:52 <sup>40</sup>
Hempfling	2004	0:50 <sup>06</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:01 <sup>41</sup>
Carrington	2006	0:58 <sup>63</sup>
Max	2006	1:18 <sup>69</sup>

### *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)*

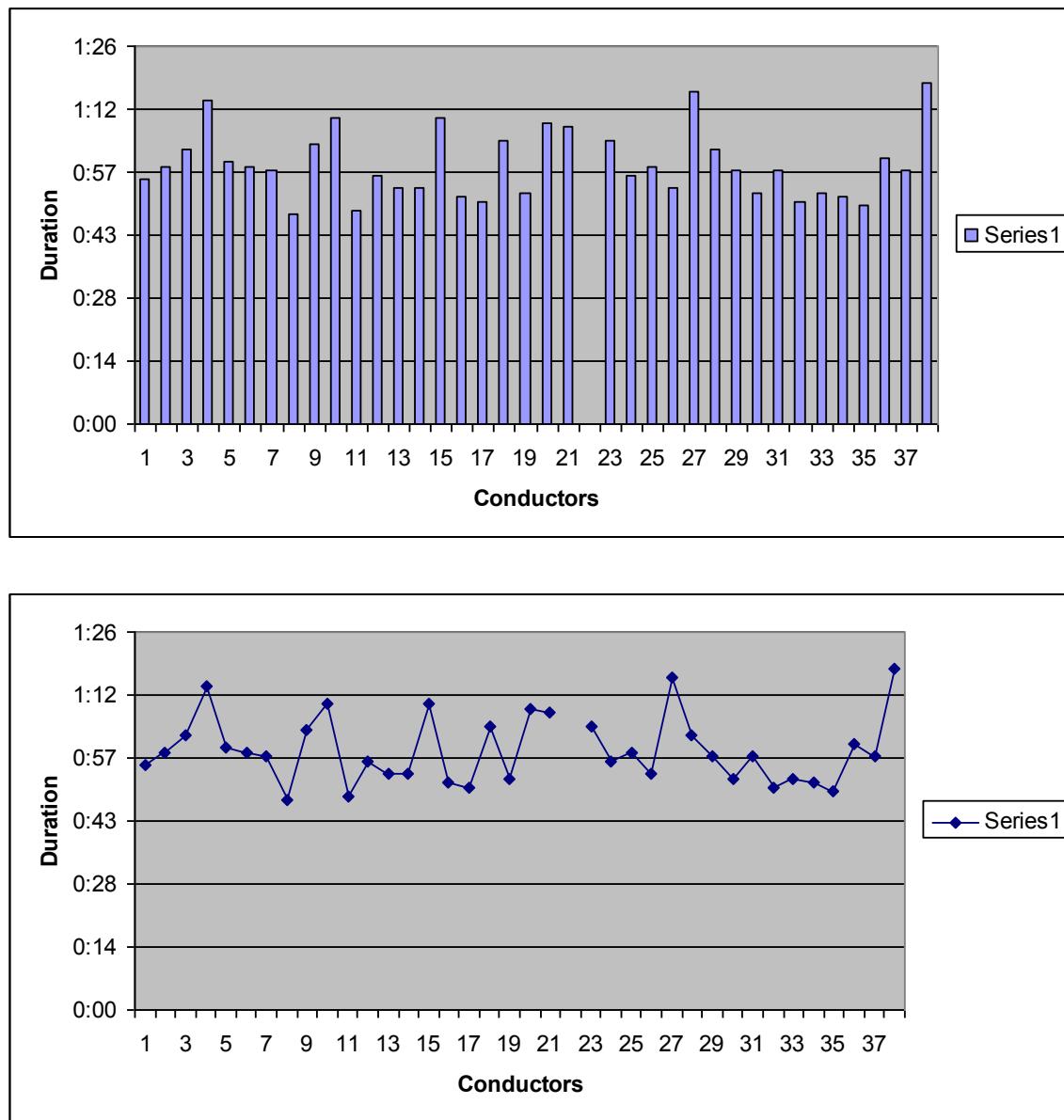


Figure 31. Temporal comparisions for *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997                   **(Information not available)**
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 31 *Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine* (Chorus)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	6:28 <sup>50</sup>
Gardiner	1986	6:43 <sup>00</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	8:31 <sup>93</sup>
Kuijken	1987	9:06 <sup>87</sup>
Schreier	1988	7:04 <sup>84</sup>
Christophers	1989	6:47 <sup>43</sup>
Slowik	1989	7:17 <sup>06</sup>
Max	1990	6:33 <sup>06</sup>
Parrott	1990	7:58 <sup>87</sup>
Weyand	1990	7:21 <sup>03</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	6:18 <sup>06</sup>
Ericson	1993	7:12 <sup>31</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	6:08 <sup>47</sup>
Koopman	1993	7:20 <sup>09</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	7:23 <sup>47</sup>
Corboz	1994	8:18 <sup>44</sup>
Cleobury	1996	6:20 <sup>06</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	8:00 <sup>71</sup>
Milnes	1996	7:03 <sup>87</sup>
Rilling	1996	6:25 <sup>53</sup>
Beringer	1997	7:10 <sup>03</sup>
Noll	1997	6:50 <sup>94</sup>
Fasolis	1998	6:26 <sup>94</sup>
Güttler	1998	7:05 <sup>81</sup>
Schulz	1998	7:32 <sup>41</sup>
Suzuki	1998	7:00 <sup>16</sup>
Daus	1999	8:02 <sup>72</sup>
Neumann	1999	7:25 <sup>59</sup>
Smith	1999	8:02 <sup>69</sup>
Suzuki	2000	6:50 <sup>44</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	7:16 <sup>44</sup>
Leusink	2001	6:01 <sup>62</sup>
Schreier	2001	6:24 <sup>06</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	7:00 <sup>75</sup>
Hempfling	2004	6:14 <sup>94</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	7:01 <sup>78</sup>
Carrington	2005	7:24 <sup>44</sup>
Max	2006	7:15 <sup>87</sup>

### *Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine (Chorus)*

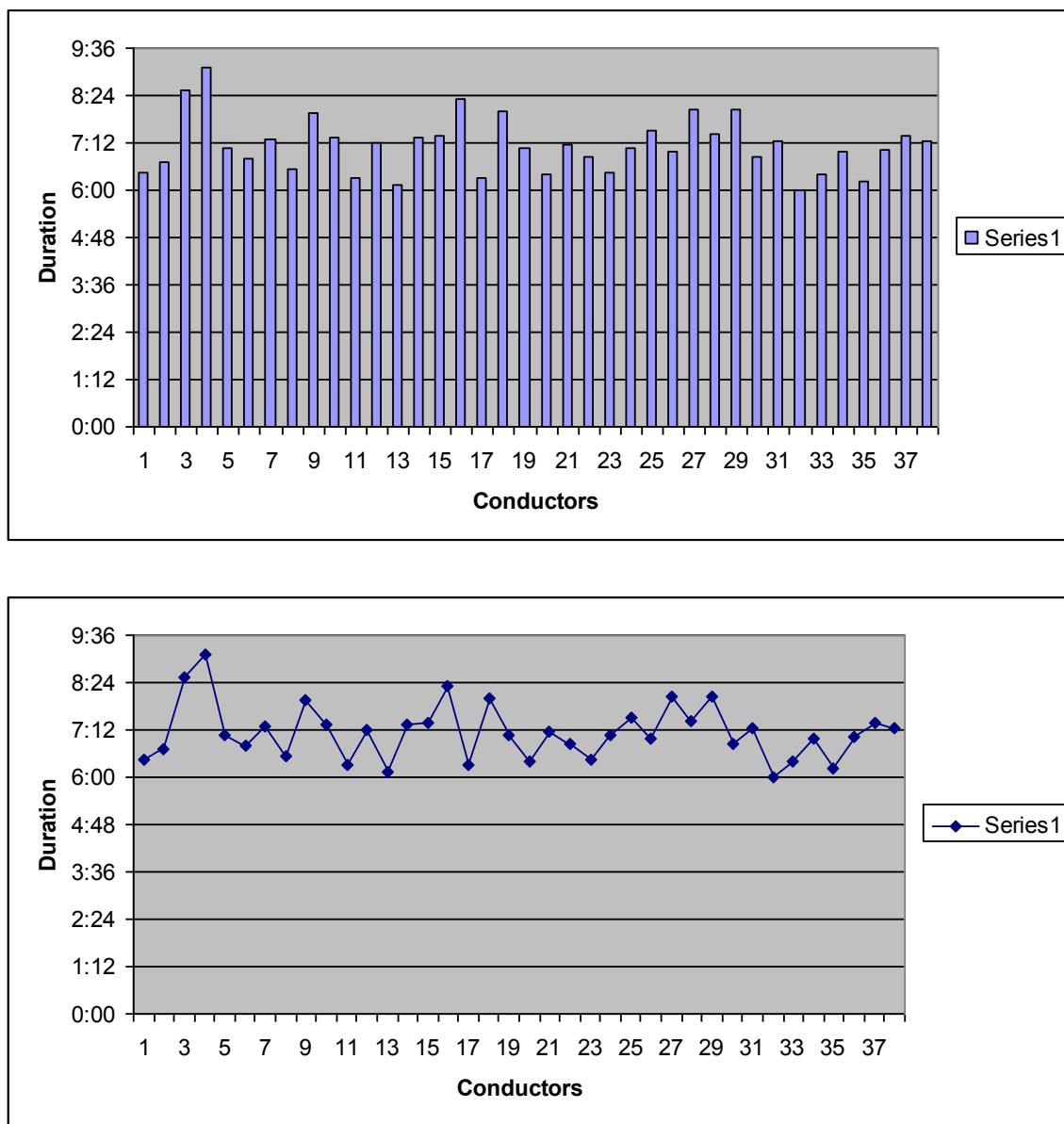


Figure 32. Temporal comparisions for *Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. The Scholars Baroque 1993
15. Koopman 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrecht 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling 1996
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Gütler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Neumann 1999
29. Smith 1999
30. Suzuki 2000
31. Herreweghe 2001
32. Leusink 2001
33. Schreier 2001
34. Higginbottom 2002
35. Hempfling 2004
36. Veldhoven 2004
37. Carrington 2006
38. Max 2006

**Table 32 Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein (Chorale)**

Conductor	Year	Duration
Harnoncourt	1985	1:52 <sup>63</sup>
Gardiner	1986	1:39 <sup>84</sup>
Herreweghe	1987	2:09 <sup>15</sup>
Kuijken	1987	2:09 <sup>78</sup>
Schreier	1988	1:47 <sup>88</sup>
Christophers	1989	1:39 <sup>06</sup>
Slowik	1989	1:58 <sup>13</sup>
Max	1990	1:23 <sup>00</sup>
Parrott	1990	1:58 <sup>21</sup>
Weyand	1990	2:15 <sup>15</sup>
Guttenberg	1991	1:54 <sup>41</sup>
Ericson	1993	1:53 <sup>25</sup>
Harnoncourt	1993	1:53 <sup>79</sup>
Koopman	1993	1:40 <sup>91</sup>
The Scholars Baroque Ensemble (no conductor)	1993	2:01 <sup>04</sup>
Corboz	1994	2:19 <sup>34</sup>
Cleobury	1996	1:35 <sup>69</sup>
Dombrecht	1996	1:49 <sup>81</sup>
Milnes	1996	1:51 <sup>03</sup>
Rilling	1996	2:03 <sup>69</sup>
Beringer	1997	2:52 <sup>97</sup>
Noll	1997	2:04 <sup>62</sup>
Fasolis	1998	1:47 <sup>66</sup>
Güttler	1998	1:42 <sup>57</sup>
Schulz	1998	1:59 <sup>87</sup>
Suzuki	1998	1:40 <sup>40</sup>
Daus	1999	2:47 <sup>56</sup>
Suzuki	2000	1:42 <sup>22</sup>
Leusink	2001	1:31 <sup>47</sup>
Schreier	2001	1:43 <sup>66</sup>
Higginbottom	2002	2:03 <sup>53</sup>
Hempfling	2004	1:34 <sup>03</sup>
Veldhoven	2004	1:47 <sup>88</sup>
Max	2006	1:56 <sup>69</sup>

### *Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein (Chorale)*

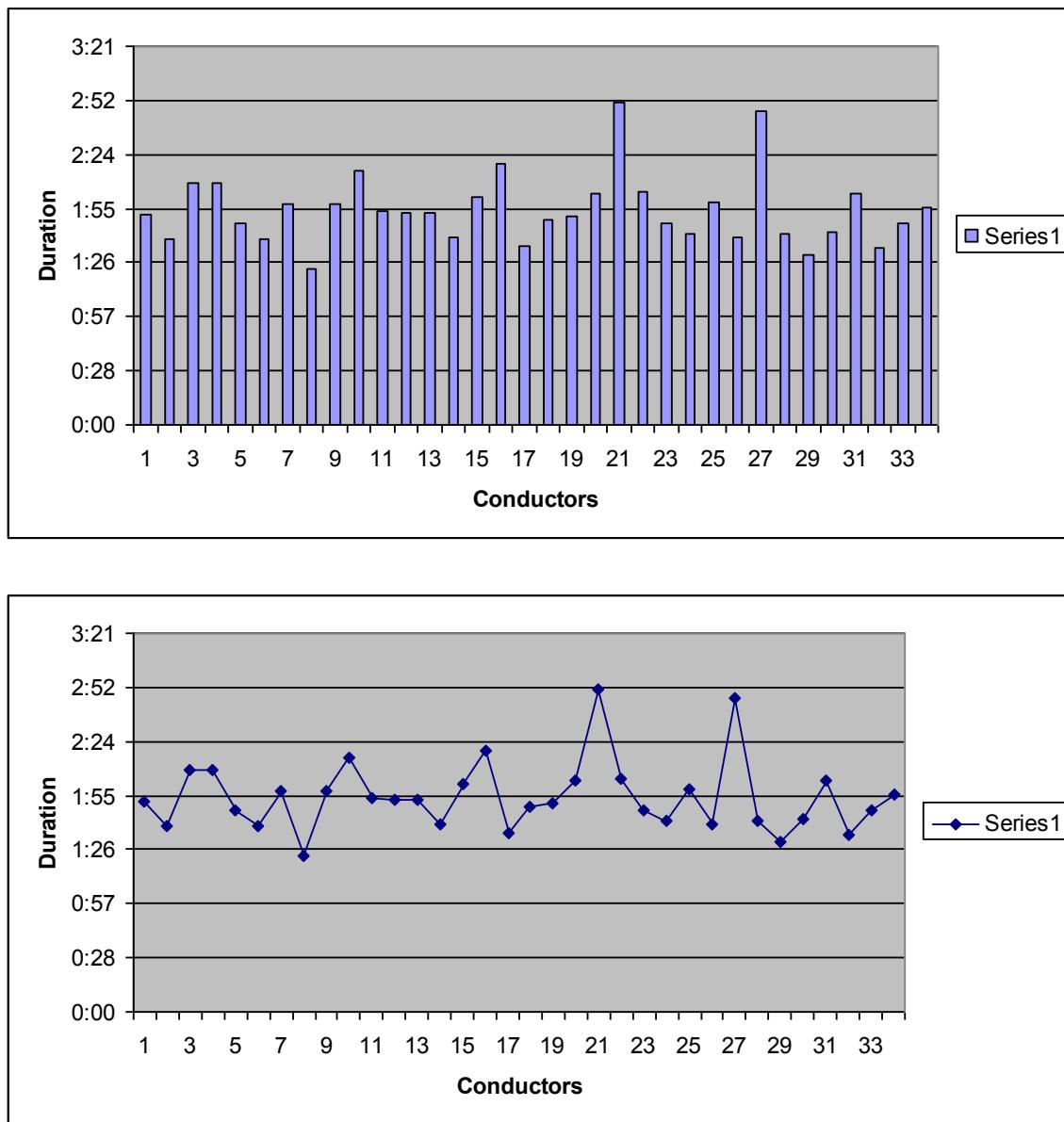


Figure 33. Temporal comparisions for *Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein*.

1. Harnoncourt 1985
2. Gardiner 1986
3. Herreweghe 1987
4. Kuijken 1987
5. Schreier 1988
6. Christophers 1989
7. Slowik 1989
8. Max 1990

9. Parrott 1990
10. Weyand 1990
11. Guttenberg 1991
12. Ericson 1993
13. Harnoncourt 1993
14. Koopman 1993
15. The Scholars Baroque 1993
16. Corboz 1994
17. Cleobury 1996
18. Dombrech 1996
19. Milnes 1996
20. Rilling
21. Beringer 1997
22. Noll 1997
23. Fasolis 1998
24. Güttler 1998
25. Schulz 1998
26. Suzuki 1998
27. Daus 1999
28. Suzuki 2000
29. Leusink 2001
30. Schreier 2001
31. Higginbottom 2002
32. Hempfling 2004
33. Veldhoven 2004
34. Max 2006

**Table 33 *O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß* (Chorus)**

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Slowik	1989	5:05 <sup>71</sup>
Cleobury	1996	5:35 <sup>79</sup>
Rilling	1996	6:28 <sup>41</sup>
Neumann	1999	6:02 <sup>69</sup>
Smith	1999	8:01 <sup>87</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	5:42 <sup>97</sup>
Carrington	2006	6:06 <sup>25</sup>

*O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß* (Chorus)

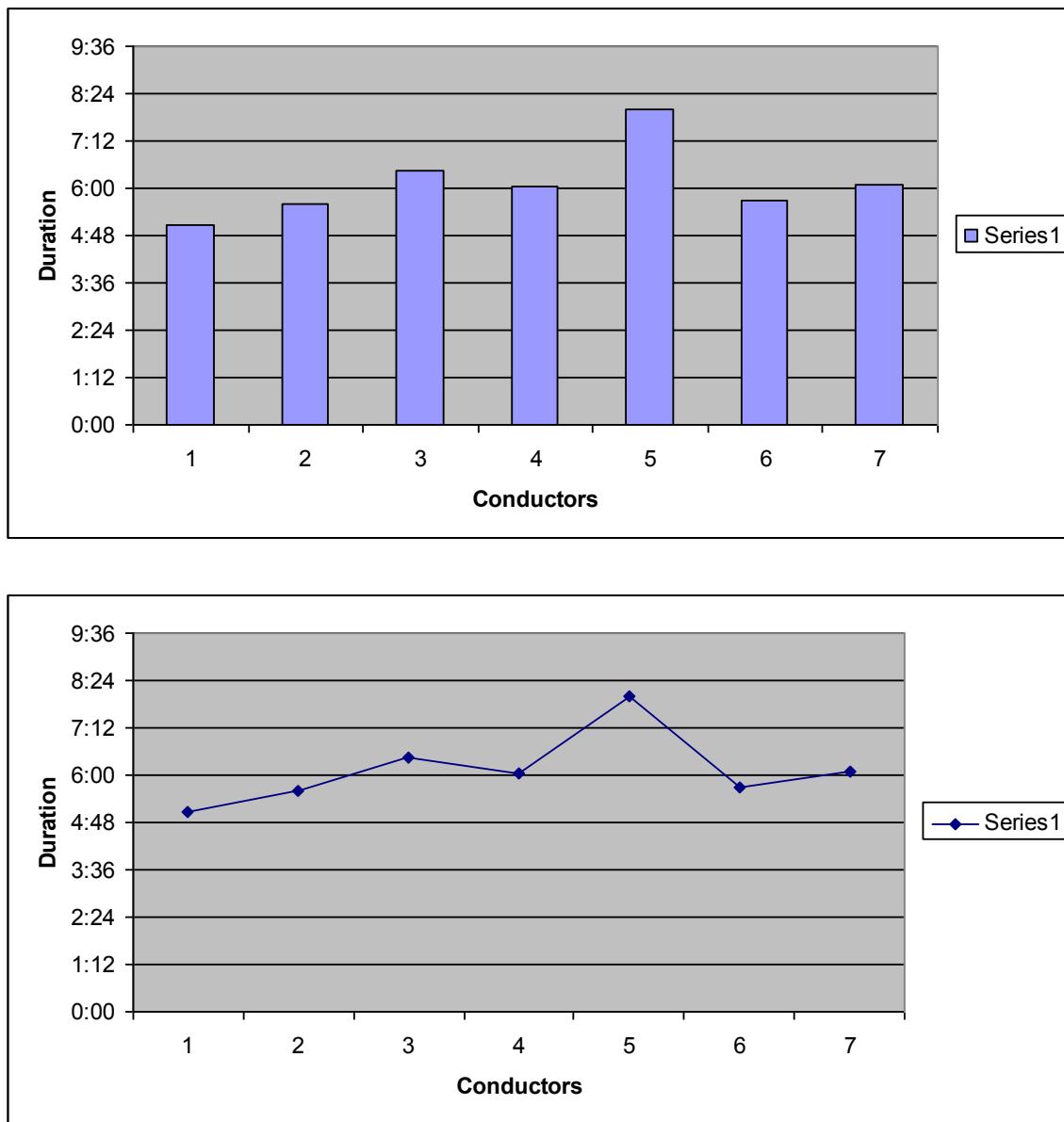


Figure 34. Temporal comparisions for *O Mensch, bewein dein Sünde groß*.

1. Slowik 1989
2. Cleobury 1996
3. Rilling 1996
4. Neumann 1999
5. Smith 1999
6. Herreweghe 2001
7. Carrington 2006

**Table 34 *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* (Chorale)**

<b>Conductor</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Duration</b>
Slowik	1989	4:39 <sup>57</sup>
Cleobury	1996	3:48 <sup>97</sup>
Rilling	1996	4:47 <sup>82</sup>
Neumann	1999	4:51 <sup>82</sup>
Smith	1999	6:33 <sup>50</sup>
Herreweghe	2001	4:37 <sup>97</sup>
Carrington	2006	4:40 <sup>28</sup>

### *Christe, du Lamm Gottes (Chorale)*

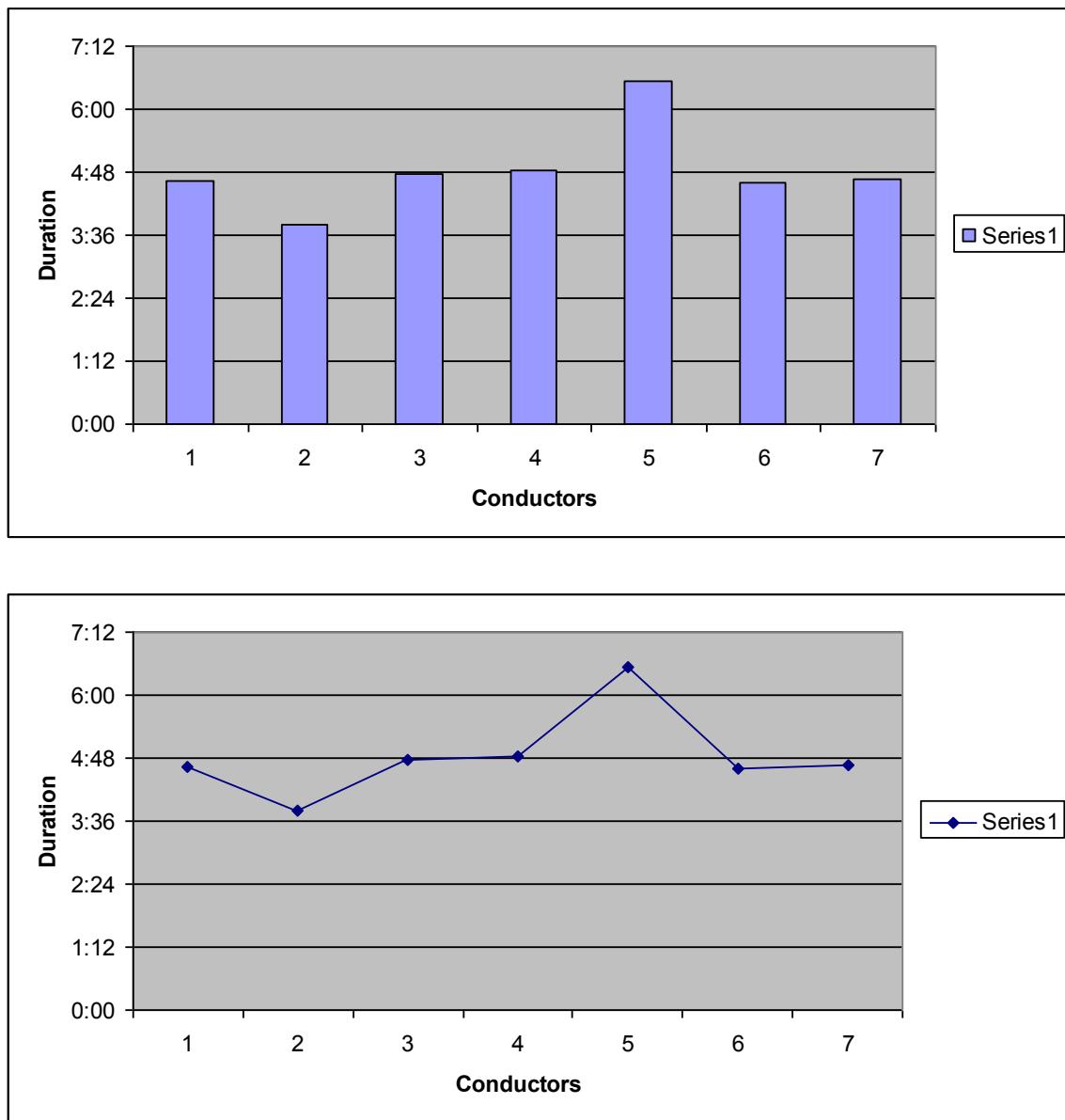


Figure 35. Temporal comparisions for *Christe, du Lamm Gottes*.

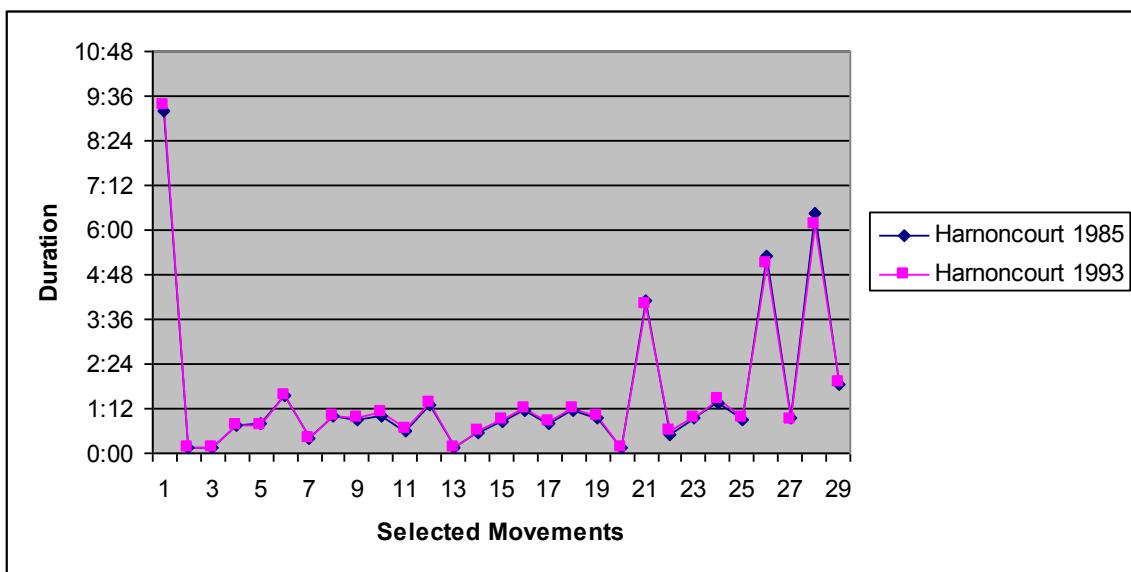
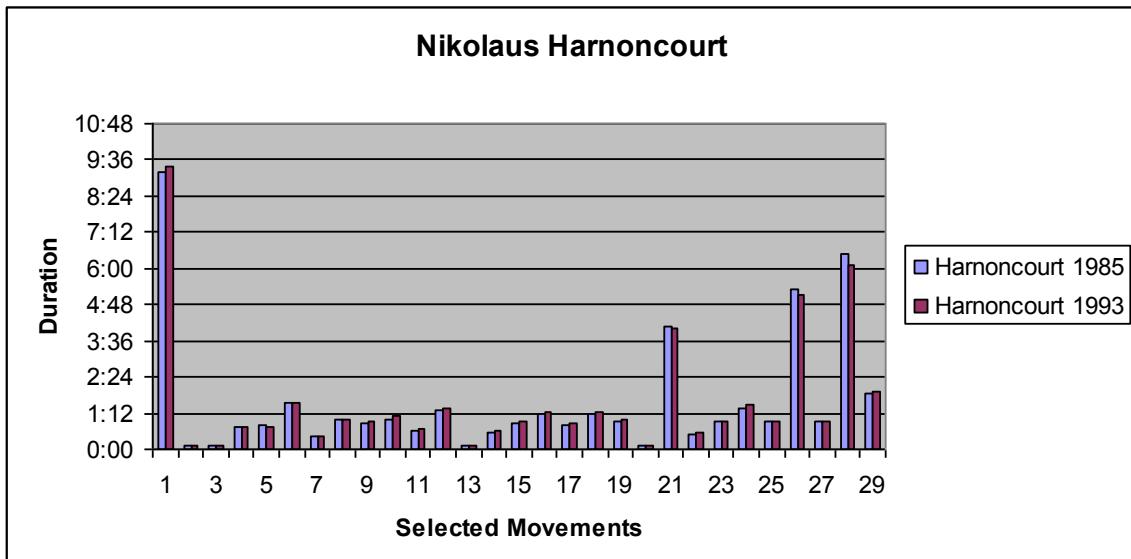
1. Slowik 1989
2. Cleobury 1996
3. Rilling 1996
4. Neumann 1999
5. Smith 1999
6. Herreweghe 2001
7. Carrington 2006

APPENDIX K  
CONDUCTORS WITH MULTIPLE RECORDINGS

**Table 35 Nikolaus Harnoncourt**

	<b>1985</b>	<b>1993</b>
Herr, unser Herrscher	9:11 <sup>53</sup>	9:21 <sup>47</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2b)	0:09 <sup>65</sup>	0:09 <sup>85</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2d)	0:09 <sup>34</sup>	0:09 <sup>62</sup>
O große Lieb	0:44 <sup>84</sup>	0:46 <sup>53</sup>
Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich	0:48 <sup>82</sup>	0:46 <sup>93</sup>
Wer hat dich so geschlagen	1:32 <sup>72</sup>	1:32 <sup>47</sup>
Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer	0:25 <sup>37</sup>	0:25 <sup>25</sup>
Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück	1:01 <sup>29</sup>	1:00 <sup>62</sup>
Christus, der uns selig macht	0:53 <sup>47</sup>	0:56 <sup>34</sup>
Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	1:01 <sup>72</sup>	1:05 <sup>75</sup>
Wir dürfen niemand töten	0:36 <sup>53</sup>	0:39 <sup>75</sup>
Ach großer König	1:19 <sup>69</sup>	1:22 <sup>72</sup>
Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam	0:09 <sup>85</sup>	0:09 <sup>72</sup>
Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig	0:34 <sup>12</sup>	0:36 <sup>56</sup>
Kreuzige, kreuzige	0:50 <sup>02</sup>	0:55 <sup>31</sup>
Wir haben ein Gesetz	1:10 <sup>16</sup>	1:13 <sup>16</sup>
Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn	0:49 <sup>91</sup>	0:51 <sup>21</sup>
Lässt du diesen los	1:10 <sup>41</sup>	1:13 <sup>41</sup>
Weg, weg mit dem	0:56 <sup>09</sup>	1:01 <sup>00</sup>
Wir haben keinen König	0:08 <sup>85</sup>	0:09 <sup>44</sup>
Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen	4:05 <sup>69</sup>	4:01 <sup>94</sup>
Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König	0:31 <sup>18</sup>	0:35 <sup>28</sup>
In meines Herzens Grunde	0:56 <sup>16</sup>	0:57 <sup>37</sup>
Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen	1:21 <sup>28</sup>	1:28 <sup>28</sup>
Er nahm alles wohl in acht	0:55 <sup>03</sup>	0:57 <sup>13</sup>
Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen	5:17 <sup>40</sup>	5:07 <sup>03</sup>

O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	0:56 <sup>47</sup>	0:54 <sup>21</sup>
Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine	6:28 <sup>50</sup>	6:08 <sup>47</sup>
Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein	1:52 <sup>63</sup>	1:53 <sup>79</sup>



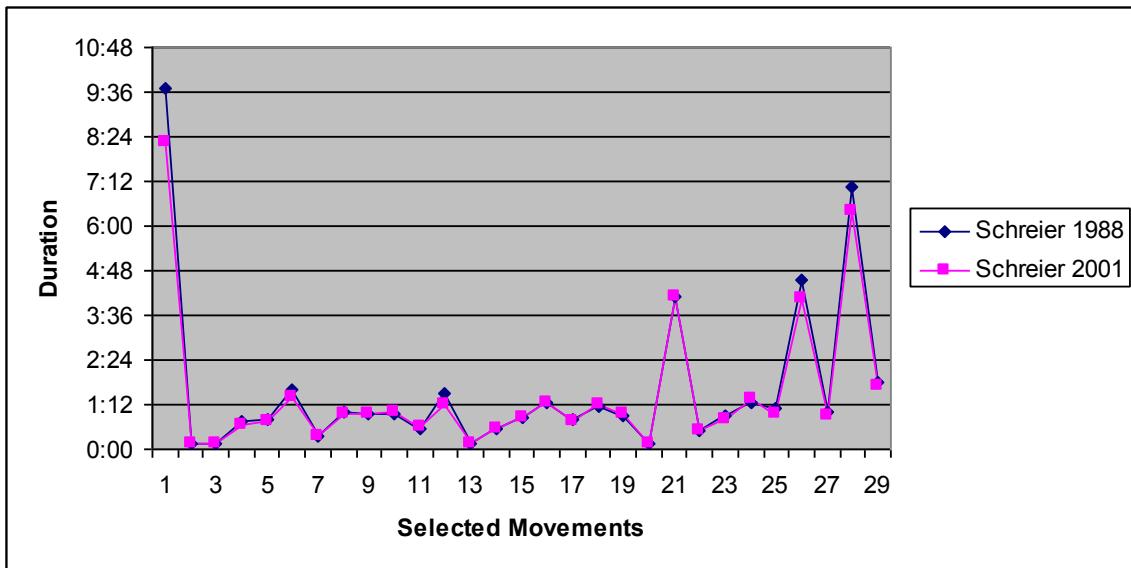
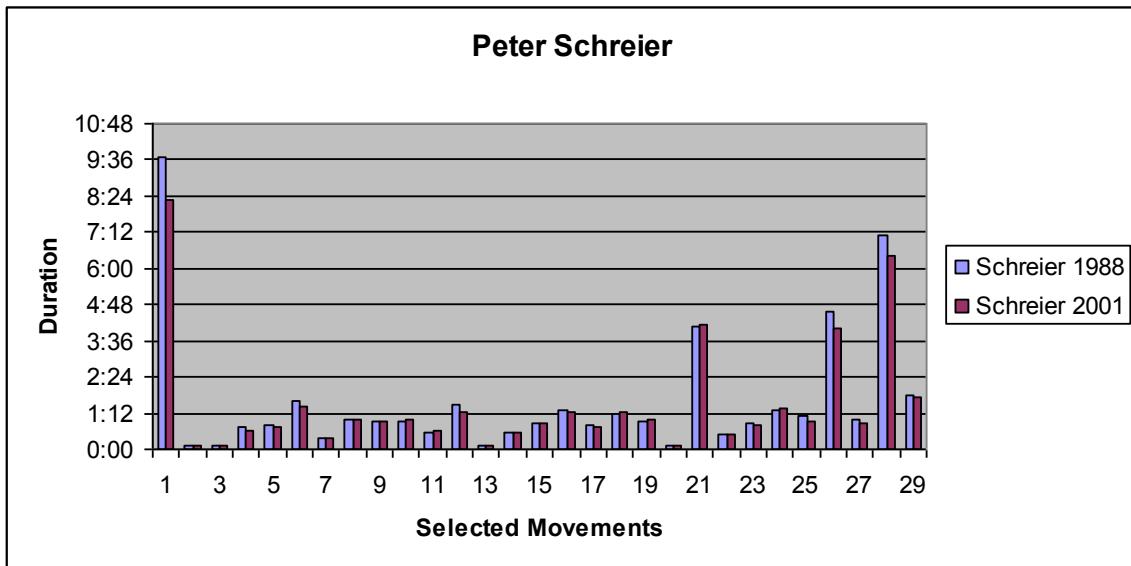
1. Herr, unser Herrscher
2. Jesum von Nazareth (2b)
3. Jesum von Nazareth (2d)
4. O große Lieb
5. Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich
6. Wer hat dich so geschlagen
7. Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer
8. Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück
9. Christus, der uns selig macht
10. Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter
11. Wir dürfen niemand töten

12. Ach großer König
13. Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam
14. Sei begrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig
15. Kreuzige, kreuzige
16. Wir haben ein Gesetz
17. Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn
18. Lässt du diesen los
19. Weg, weg mit dem
20. Wir haben keinen König
21. Eilt, ihr angefochtne Seelen
22. Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König
23. In meines Herzens Grunde
24. Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen
25. Er nahm alles wohl in acht
26. Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen
27. O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn
28. Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine
29. Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein

**Table 36 Peter Schreier**

	<b>1988</b>	<b>2001</b>
Herr, unser Herrscher	9:41 <sup>43</sup>	8:15 <sup>06</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2b)	0:08 <sup>62</sup>	0:09 <sup>47</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2d)	0:09 <sup>06</sup>	0:09 <sup>78</sup>
O große Lieb	0:45 <sup>72</sup>	0:38 <sup>44</sup>
Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich	0:49 <sup>09</sup>	0:44 <sup>44</sup>
Wer hat dich so geschlagen	1:35 <sup>62</sup>	1:24 <sup>71</sup>
Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer	0:21 <sup>31</sup>	0:21 <sup>56</sup>
Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück	1:01 <sup>47</sup>	0:58 <sup>53</sup>
Christus, der uns selig macht	0:57 <sup>97</sup>	0:56 <sup>06</sup>
Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	0:57 <sup>75</sup>	1:00 <sup>81</sup>
Wir dürfen niemand töten	0:32 <sup>59</sup>	0:37 <sup>31</sup>
Ach großer König	1:29 <sup>12</sup>	1:13 <sup>75</sup>
Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam	0:09 <sup>38</sup>	0:09 <sup>71</sup>
Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig	0:32 <sup>66</sup>	0:32 <sup>44</sup>
Kreuzige, kreuzige	0:51 <sup>91</sup>	0:51 <sup>94</sup>
Wir haben ein Gesetz	1:16 <sup>34</sup>	1:14 <sup>47</sup>
Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn	0:48 <sup>16</sup>	0:45 <sup>78</sup>
Lässt du diesen los	1:09 <sup>00</sup>	1:13 <sup>22</sup>
Weg, weg mit dem	0:55 <sup>72</sup>	0:58 <sup>81</sup>
Wir haben keinen König	0:09 <sup>44</sup>	0:09 <sup>53</sup>
Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen	4:05 <sup>90</sup>	4:07 <sup>56</sup>
Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König	0:31 <sup>43</sup>	0:31 <sup>12</sup>
In meines Herzens Grunde	0:53 <sup>47</sup>	0:48 <sup>63</sup>
Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen	1:16 <sup>28</sup>	1:22 <sup>25</sup>
Er nahm alles wohl in acht	1:05 <sup>34</sup>	0:56 <sup>91</sup>
Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen	4:33 <sup>56</sup>	4:02 <sup>41</sup>
O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	1:00 <sup>18</sup>	0:53 <sup>40</sup>
Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine	7:04 <sup>84</sup>	6:24 <sup>06</sup>

Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein	1:47 <sup>88</sup>	1:43 <sup>66</sup>
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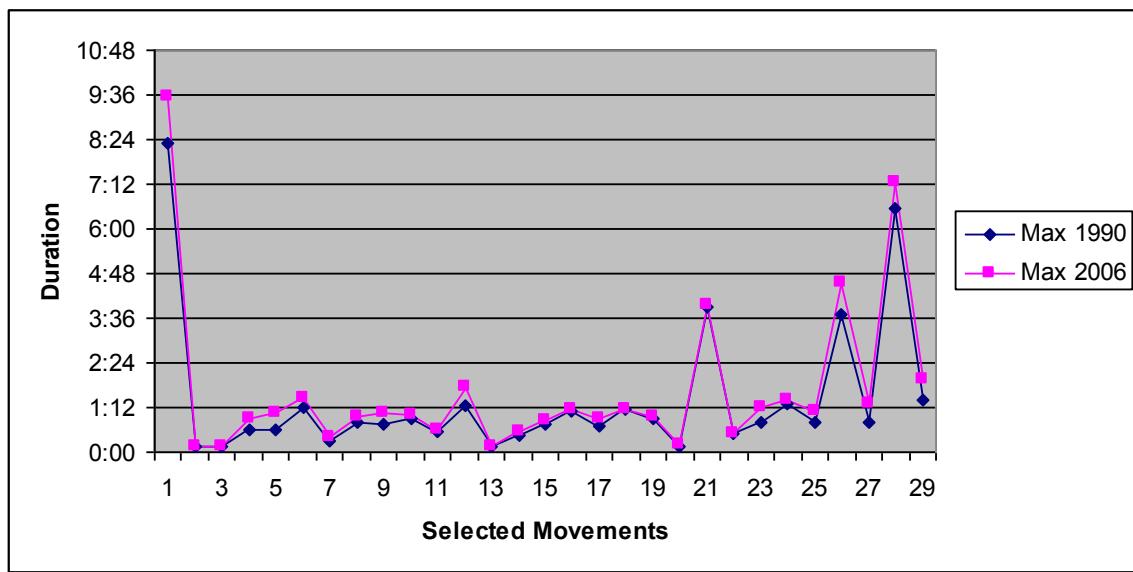
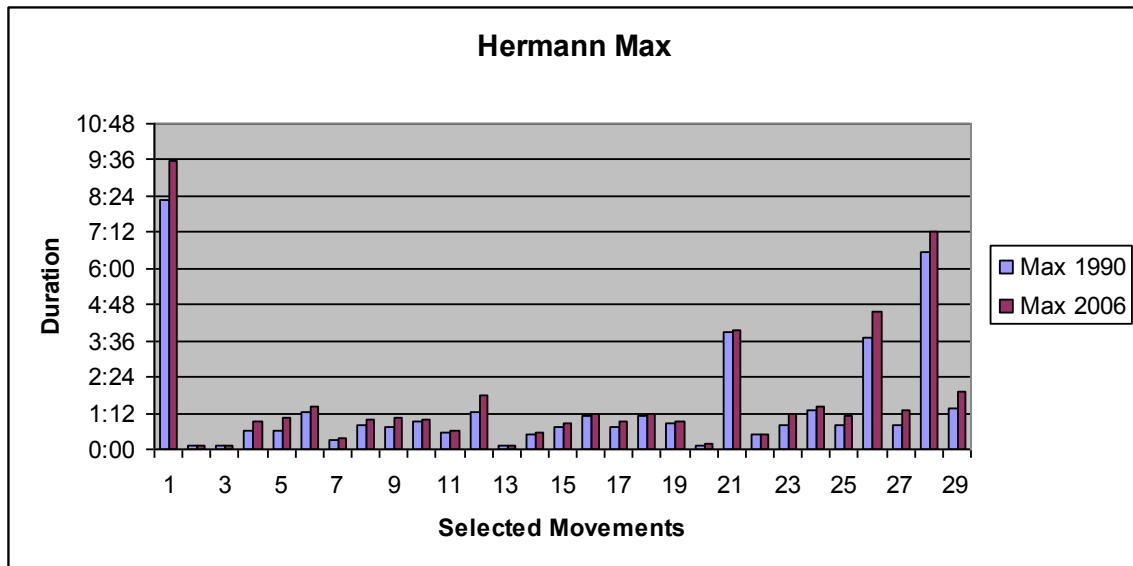
1. Herr, unser Herrscher
2. Jesum von Nazareth (2b)
3. Jesum von Nazareth (2d)
4. O große Lieb
5. Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich
6. Wer hat dich so geschlagen
7. Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer
8. Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück
9. Christus, der uns selig macht
10. Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter
11. Wir dürfen niemand töten
12. Ach großer König
13. Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam

14. Sei begrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig
15. Kreuzige, kreuzige
16. Wir haben ein Gesetz
17. Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn
18. Lässt du diesen los
19. Weg, weg mit dem
20. Wir haben keinen König
21. Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen
22. Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König
23. In meines Herzens Grunde
24. Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen
25. Er nahm alles wohl in acht
26. Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen
27. O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn
28. Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine
29. Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein

**Table 37 Hermann Max**

	<b>1990</b>	<b>2006</b>
Herr, unser Herrscher	8:18 <sup>79</sup>	9:33 <sup>31</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2b)	0:08 <sup>09</sup>	0:09 <sup>88</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2d)	0:08 <sup>22</sup>	0:09 <sup>31</sup>
O große Lieb	0:36 <sup>94</sup>	0:55 <sup>40</sup>
Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich	0:37 <sup>97</sup>	1:02 <sup>75</sup>
Wer hat dich so geschlagen	1:13 <sup>10</sup>	1:27 <sup>34</sup>
Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer	0:18 <sup>19</sup>	0:23 <sup>19</sup>
Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück	0:47 <sup>44</sup>	0:58 <sup>82</sup>
Christus, der uns selig macht	0:46 <sup>66</sup>	1:02 <sup>13</sup>
Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	0:54 <sup>22</sup>	0:59 <sup>75</sup>
Wir dürfen niemand töten	0:32 <sup>85</sup>	0:36 <sup>37</sup>
Ach großer König	1:15 <sup>35</sup>	1:46 <sup>68</sup>
Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam	0:08 <sup>38</sup>	0:09 <sup>56</sup>
Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig	0:28 <sup>84</sup>	0:33 <sup>72</sup>
Kreuzige, kreuzige	0:46 <sup>03</sup>	0:52 <sup>93</sup>
Wir haben ein Gesetz	1:06 <sup>31</sup>	1:10 <sup>53</sup>
Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn	0:43 <sup>50</sup>	0:54 <sup>50</sup>
Lässt du diesen los	1:08 <sup>81</sup>	1:09 <sup>84</sup>
Weg, weg mit dem	0:53 <sup>35</sup>	0:56 <sup>06</sup>
Wir haben keinen König	0:08 <sup>90</sup>	0:12 <sup>18</sup>
Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen	3:54 <sup>85</sup>	3:58 <sup>03</sup>
Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König	0:29 <sup>35</sup>	0:30 <sup>00</sup>
In meines Herzens Grunde	0:47 <sup>97</sup>	1:11 <sup>41</sup>
Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen	1:17 <sup>91</sup>	1:25 <sup>63</sup>
Er nahm alles wohl in acht	0:49 <sup>69</sup>	1:07 <sup>62</sup>
Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen	3:41 <sup>32</sup>	4:34 <sup>34</sup>
O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	0:48 <sup>28</sup>	1:18 <sup>69</sup>
Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine	6:33 <sup>06</sup>	7:15 <sup>87</sup>

Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein	1:23 <sup>00</sup>	1:56 <sup>69</sup>
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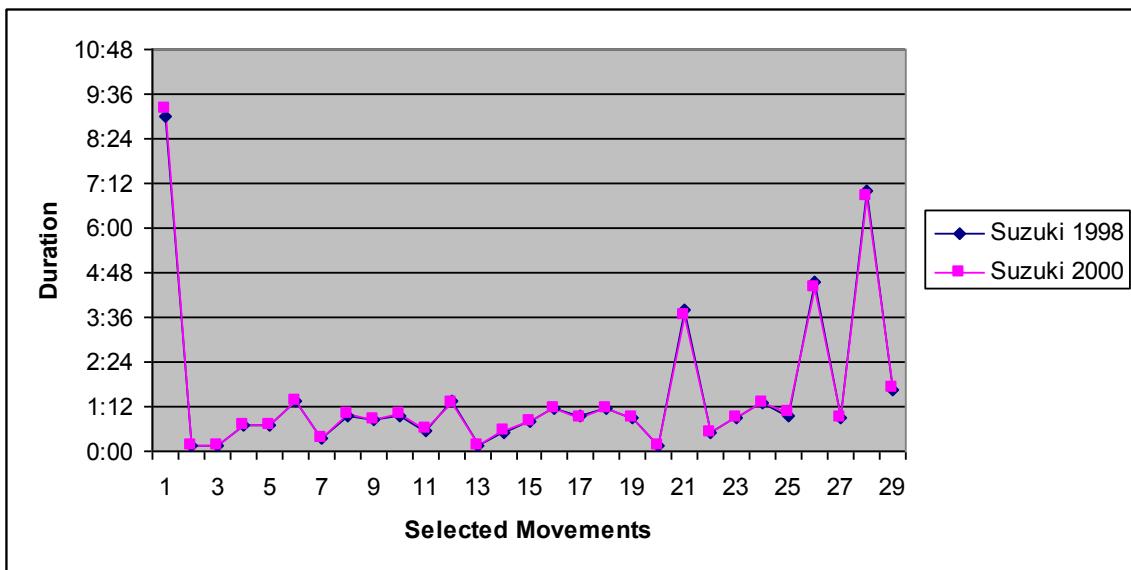
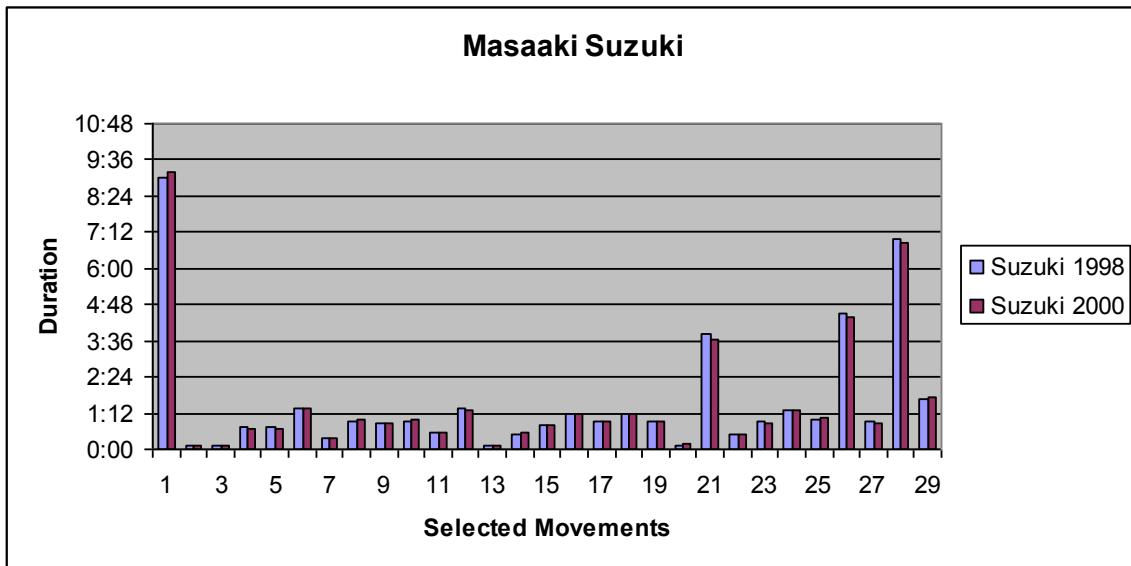
1. Herr, unser Herrscher
2. Jesum von Nazareth (2b)
3. Jesum von Nazareth (2d)
4. O große Lieb
5. Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich
6. Wer hat dich so geschlagen
7. Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer
8. Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück
9. Christus, der uns selig macht
10. Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter

11. Wir dürfen niemand töten
12. Ach großer König
13. Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam
14. Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig
15. Kreuzige, kreuzige
16. Wir haben ein Gesetz
17. Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn
18. Lässtet du diesen los
19. Weg, weg mit dem
20. Wir haben keinen König
21. Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen
22. Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König
23. In meines Herzens Grunde
24. Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen
25. Er nahm alles wohl in acht
26. Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen
27. O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn
28. Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine
29. Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein

**Table 38 Masaaki Suzuki**

	<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>
Herr, unser Herrscher	9:01 <sup>94</sup>	9:12 <sup>81</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2b)	0:08 <sup>09</sup>	0:09 <sup>50</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2d)	0:08 <sup>22</sup>	0:09 <sup>31</sup>
O große Lieb	0:43 <sup>34</sup>	0:42 <sup>68</sup>
Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich	0:43 <sup>03</sup>	0:42 <sup>90</sup>
Wer hat dich so geschlagen	1:21 <sup>00</sup>	1:20 <sup>10</sup>
Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer	0:22 <sup>62</sup>	0:21 <sup>03</sup>
Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück	0:56 <sup>84</sup>	1:01 <sup>22</sup>
Christus, der uns selig macht	0:51 <sup>56</sup>	0:51 <sup>44</sup>
Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	0:57 <sup>22</sup>	0:59 <sup>56</sup>
Wir dürfen niemand töten	0:34 <sup>19</sup>	0:35 <sup>53</sup>
Ach großer König	1:20 <sup>00</sup>	1:17 <sup>63</sup>
Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam	0:09 <sup>25</sup>	0:09 <sup>44</sup>
Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig	0:31 <sup>44</sup>	0:32 <sup>13</sup>
Kreuzige, kreuzige	0:48 <sup>32</sup>	0:48 <sup>12</sup>
Wir haben ein Gesetz	1:10 <sup>25</sup>	1:09 <sup>19</sup>
Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn	0:57 <sup>12</sup>	0:54 <sup>75</sup>
Lässt du diesen los	1:09 <sup>87</sup>	1:09 <sup>37</sup>
Weg, weg mit dem	0:54 <sup>28</sup>	0:54 <sup>19</sup>
Wir haben keinen König	0:09 <sup>22</sup>	0:10 <sup>22</sup>
Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen	3:49 <sup>00</sup>	3:39 <sup>28</sup>
Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König	0:30 <sup>44</sup>	0:30 <sup>97</sup>
In meines Herzens Grunde	0:55 <sup>25</sup>	0:53 <sup>22</sup>
Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen	1:18 <sup>22</sup>	1:19 <sup>18</sup>
Er nahm alles wohl in acht	0:58 <sup>15</sup>	1:03 <sup>25</sup>
Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen	4:32 <sup>50</sup>	4:23 <sup>44</sup>
O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	0:54 <sup>97</sup>	0:53 <sup>09</sup>
Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine	7:00 <sup>16</sup>	6:50 <sup>44</sup>

Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein	1:40 <sup>40</sup>	1:42 <sup>22</sup>
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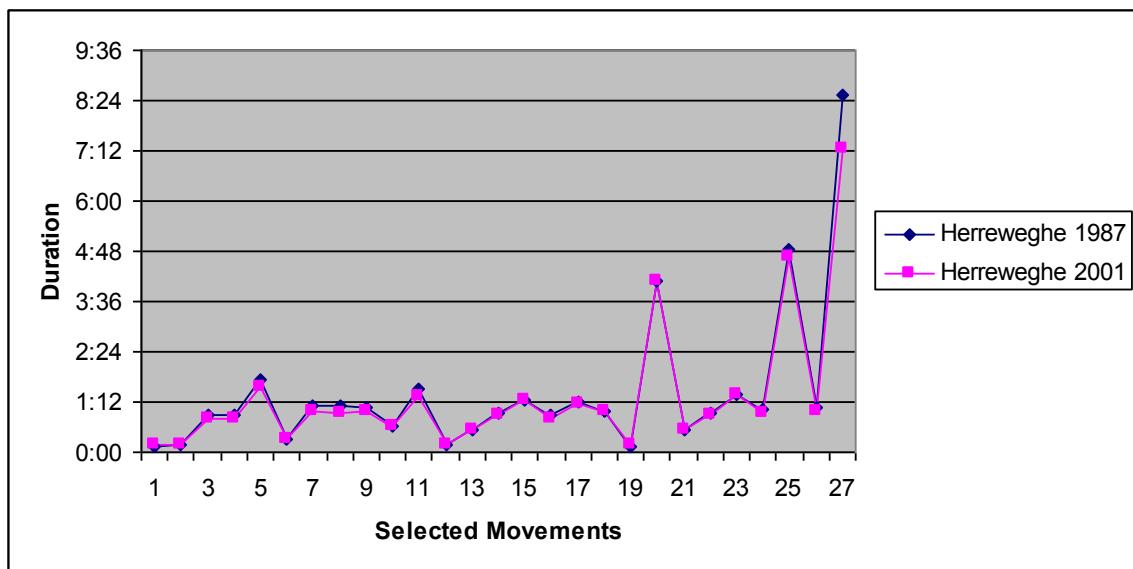
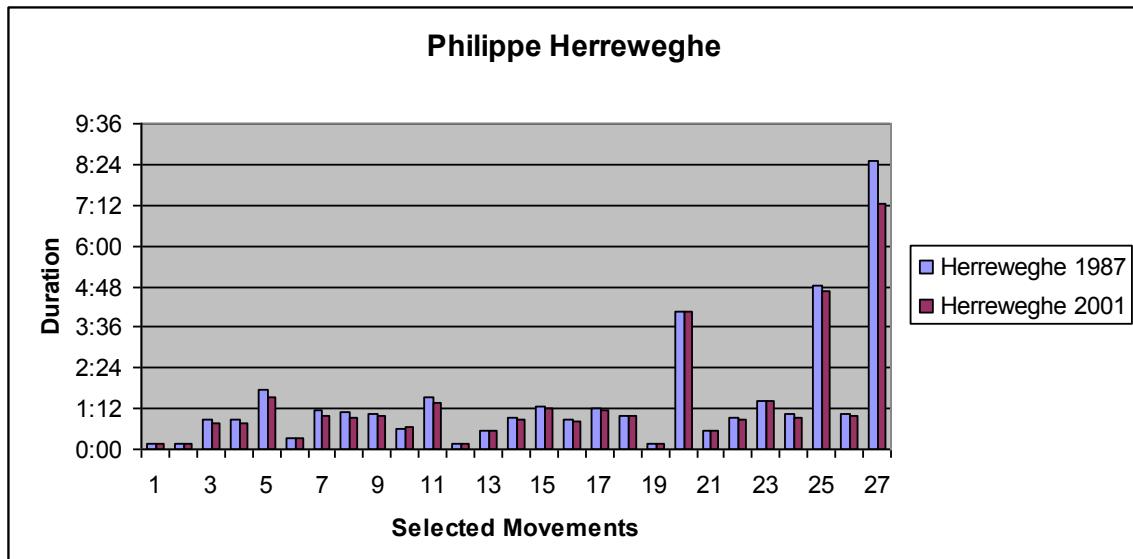


1. Herr, unser Herrscher
2. Jesum von Nazareth (2b)
3. Jesum von Nazareth (2d)
4. O große Lieb
5. Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich
6. Wer hat dich so geschlagen
7. Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer
8. Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück
9. Christus, der uns selig macht
10. Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter
11. Wir dürfen niemand töten
12. Ach großer König
13. Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam

14. Sei begrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig
15. Kreuzige, kreuzige
16. Wir haben ein Gesetz
17. Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn
18. Lässt du diesen los
19. Weg, weg mit dem
20. Wir haben keinen König
21. Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen
22. Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König
23. In meines Herzens Grunde
24. Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen
25. Er nahm alles wohl in acht
26. Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen
27. O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn
28. Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine
29. Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein

**Table 39 Philippe Herreweghe**

	<b>1987</b>	<b>2001 (1725 version)</b>
Jesum von Nazareth (2b)	0:09 <sup>72</sup>	0:10 <sup>53</sup>
Jesum von Nazareth (2d)	0:10 <sup>09</sup>	0:10 <sup>72</sup>
O große Lieb	0:54 <sup>78</sup>	0:47 <sup>03</sup>
Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich	0:52 <sup>85</sup>	0:47 <sup>94</sup>
Wer hat dich so geschlagen	1:44 <sup>66</sup>	1:33 <sup>37</sup>
Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer	0:20 <sup>40</sup>	0:20 <sup>97</sup>
Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück	1:08 <sup>47</sup>	1:00 <sup>29</sup>
Christus, der uns selig macht	1:07 <sup>31</sup>	0:57 <sup>69</sup>
Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter	1:03 <sup>75</sup>	1:00 <sup>88</sup>
Wir dürfen niemand töten	0:37 <sup>53</sup>	0:38 <sup>47</sup>
Ach großer König	1:32 <sup>25</sup>	1:21 <sup>62</sup>
Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam	0:10 <sup>31</sup>	0:10 <sup>87</sup>
Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig	0:32 <sup>53</sup>	0:33 <sup>65</sup>
Kreuzige, kreuzige	0:55 <sup>69</sup>	0:54 <sup>97</sup>
Wir haben ein Gesetz	1:15 <sup>12</sup>	1:14 <sup>84</sup>
Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn	0:53 <sup>59</sup>	0:49 <sup>90</sup>
Lässt du diesen los	1:12 <sup>88</sup>	1:10 <sup>69</sup>
Weg, weg mit dem	0:59 <sup>79</sup>	0:59 <sup>94</sup>
Wir haben keinen König	0:09 <sup>72</sup>	0:10 <sup>35</sup>
Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen	4:05 <sup>19</sup>	4:05 <sup>28</sup>
Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König	0:32 <sup>81</sup>	0:32 <sup>43</sup>
In meines Herzens Grunde	0:55 <sup>09</sup>	0:53 <sup>47</sup>
Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen	1:24 <sup>90</sup>	1:24 <sup>41</sup>
Er nahm alles wohl in acht	1:01 <sup>28</sup>	0:56 <sup>22</sup>
Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen	4:51 <sup>94</sup>	4:39 <sup>81</sup>
O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn	1:03 <sup>09</sup>	0:58 <sup>37</sup>
Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine	8:31 <sup>93</sup>	7:16 <sup>44</sup>



1. Jesum von Nazareth (2b)
2. Jesum von Nazareth (2d)
3. O große Lieb
4. Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich
5. Wer hat dich so geschlagen
6. Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer
7. Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück
8. Christus, der uns selig macht
9. Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter
10. Wir dürfen niemand töten
11. Ach großer König
12. Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam
13. Sei gegrüßet, dieser Jüdenkönig

14. Kreuzige, kreuzige
15. Wir haben ein Gesetz
16. Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn
17. Läset du diesen los
18. Weg, weg mit dem
19. Wir haben keinen König
20. Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen
21. Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König
22. In meines Herzens Grunde
23. Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen
24. Er nahm alles wohl in acht
25. Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen
26. O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn
27. Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine

## APPENDIX L

### TOP THREE FASTEST AND SLOWEST RECORDINGS FOR INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS

#### 1. Herr, unser Herrscher (Chorus)

##### Fastest

1. Noll	1997	7:33	Germany
2. Gütter	1998	7:47	Germany
3. Fasolis	1998	8:02	Switzerland

##### Slowest

1. Kuijken	1987	10:34	Belgium
2. Schulz	1998	10:25	Germany
3. Herreweghe	1987	10:03	Belgium

#### 2<sup>b</sup> Jesum von Nazareth (Chorus)

##### Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:08	Germany
2. Koopman	1993	0:08	Holland
3. Gardiner	1986	0:08	England

##### Slowest

1. Guttenberg	1991	0:11	Germany
2. Kuijken	1987	0:11	Belgium
3. Corboz	1994	0:11	Switzerland

#### 2<sup>d</sup> Jesum von Nazareth (Chorus)

##### Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:08	Germany
2. Koopman	1993	0:08	Holland
3. Gütter	1998	0:08	Germany

##### Slowest

1. Guttenberg	1991	0:11	Germany
2. Weyand	1990	0:11	Germany
3. Kuijken	1987	0:11	Belgium

### 3 O große Lieb (Chorale)

#### Fastest

1. Leusink	2001	0:36	Holland
2. Max	1990	0:36	Germany
3. Schreier	2001	0:38	Germany

#### Slowest

1. Beringer	1997	1:03	Germany
2. Veldhoven	2004	1:00	Holland
3. Guttenberg	1991	1:00	Germany

### 5 Dein Will gescheh, Herr Gott, zugleich (Chorale)

#### Fastest

1. Guttenberg	1991	0:35	Germany
2. Hempfling	2004	0:38	Germany
3. Leusink	2001	0:41	Holland

#### Slowest

1. Max	2006	1:02	Germany
2. Daus	1999	1:02	Germany
3. Kuijken	1987	1:00	Belgium

### 11 Wer hat dich so geschlagen (Chorale)

#### Fastest

1. Max	1990	1:13	Germany
2. Hempfling	2004	1:14	Germany
3. Suzuki	2000	1:20	Japan

#### Slowest

1. Daus	1999	2:17	Germany
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2. Kuijken	1987	2:12	Belgium
3. Weyand	1990	1:56	Germany

12<sup>b</sup> Bist du nicht seiner Jünger einer (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Milnes	1996	0:17	United States of America
2. Christophers	1989	0:17	England
3. The Scholars	1993	0:18	England

Slowest

1. Kuijken	1987	0:28	Belgium
2. Corboz	1994	0:25	Switzerland
3. Weyand	1990	0:25	Germany

14 Petrus, der nicht denkt zurück (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:47	Germany
2. Leusink	2001	0:51	Holland
3. Hempfling	2004	0:52	Germany

Slowest

1. Neumann	1999	1:30	Germany
2. Beringer	1997	1:27	Germany
3. Kuijken	1987	1:20	Belgium

15 Christus, der uns selig macht (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:46	Germany
2. Leusink	2001	0:50	Holland
3. Milnes	1996	0:50	United States of America

Slowest

1. Kuijken	1987	1:19	Belgium
2. Noll	1997	1:11	Germany

3. Beringer	1997	1:10	Germany
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16<sup>b</sup> Wäre dieser nicht ein Übeltäter (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Hempfling	2004	0:53	Germany
2. Max	1990	0:54	Germany
3. Beringer	1997	0:55	Germany

Slowest

1. Weyand	1990	1:11	Germany
2. Schulz	1987	1:08	Germany
3. Rilling	1996	1:06	Germany

16<sup>d</sup> Wir dürfen niemand töten (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Schreier	1988	0:32	Germany
2. Hempfling	2004	0:32	Germany
3. Max	1990	0:32	Germany

Slowest

1. Corboz	1994	0:41	Switzerland
2. Schulz	1998	0:40	Germany
3. Harnoncourt	1993	0:39	Austria

17 Ach großer König (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Milnes	1996	1:08	United States of America
2. Hempfling	2004	1:10	Germany
3. Christophers	1989	1:13	England

Slowest

1. Max	2006	1:46	Germany
2. Weyand	1990	1:44	Belgium
3. Beringer	1997	1:42	Germany

18<sup>b</sup> Nicht diesen, sondern Barrabam (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:08	Germany
2. Koopman	1993	0:08	Holland
3. Dombrecht	1996	0:08	Belgium

Slowest

1. Schulz	1998	0:11	Germany
2. Guttenberg	1991	0:11	Germany
3. Corboz	1994	0:10	Switzerland

21<sup>b</sup> Sei gegrüßet, lieber Jüdenkönig (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:28	Germany
2. Hempfling	2004	0:30	Germany
3. Güttler	1998	0:30	Germany

Slowest

1. Weyand	1990	0:37	Germany
2. Dombrecht	1996	0:35	Germany
3. Leusink	2001	0:35	Holland

21<sup>d</sup> Kreuzige, kreuzige (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:46	Germany
2. Milnes	1996	0:46	United States of America
3. Hempfling	2004	0:46	Germany

Slowest

1. Rilling	1996	0:58	Germany
2. Weyand	1990	0:57	Germany
3. Gardiner	1986	0:56	England

21<sup>f</sup> Wir haben ein Gesetz (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	1:06	Germany
2. Koopman	1993	1:09	Holland
3. Noll	1997	1:09	Germany

Slowest

1. Guttenberg	1991	2:08	Germany
2. Weyand	1990	1:32	Germany
3. Beringer	1997	1:27	Germany

22 Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Hempfling	2004	0:37	Germany
2. Max	1990	0:43	Germany
3. Schreier	2001	0:45	Germany

Slowest

1. Daus	1999	1:15	Germany
2. Weyand	1990	1:04	Germany
3. Slowik	1989	1:01	United States of America

23<sup>b</sup> Lässtest du diesen los (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Milnes	1996	1:06	United States of America
2. Koopman	1993	1:06	Holland
3. Gardiner	1986	1:07	England

Slowest

1. Weyand	1990	1:20	Germany
2. Smith	1999	1:18	United States of America
3. Kuijken	1987	1:17	Belgium

23<sup>d</sup> Weg, weg mit dem (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Milnes	1996	0:49	United States of America
2. Koopman	1993	0:52	Holland
3. Max	1990	0:53	Germany

Slowest

1. Weyand	1990	1:04	Germany
2. Harnoncourt	1993	1:01	Austria
3. Rilling	1996	1:01	Germany

23<sup>f</sup> Wir haben keinen König (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Milnes	1996	0:07	United States of America
2. Harnoncourt	1985	0:08	Austria
3. Max	1990	0:08	Germany

Slowest

1. Smith	1999	0:18	United States of America
2. Daus	1999	0:12	Germany
3. Max	2006	0:12	Germany

24 Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen (Aria & Chorus)

Fastest

1. Parrott	1990	3:33	England
2. Dombrecht	1996	3:33	Germany
3. The Scholars	1993	3:38	England

Slowest

1. Beringer	1997	4:24	Germany
2. Guttenberg	1991	4:24	Germany
3. Schulz	1998	4:22	Germany

25<sup>b</sup> Schreibe nicht: der Jüden König (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Noll	1997	0:28	Germany
2. Hempfling	2004	0:29	Germany
3. Max	1990	0:29	Germany

Slowest

1. Weyand	1990	0:35	Germany
2. Slowik	1989	0:35	United States of America
3. Harnoncourt	1993	0:35	Austria

26 In meines Herzens Grunde (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Hempfling	2004	0:43	Germany
2. Guttenberg	1991	0:44	Germany
3. Leusink	2001	0:45	Holland

Slowest

1. Daus	1999	1:19	Germany
2. Weyand	1990	1:17	Germany
3. Neumann	1999	1:14	Germany

27<sup>b</sup> Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Milnes	1996	1:12	United States of America
2. Christophers	1989	1:13	England
3. Schreier	1988	1:16	Germany

Slowest

1. Weyand	1990	1:37	Germany
2. Kuijken	1987	1:31	Belgium
3. Schulz	1998	1:31	Germany

28 Er nahm alles wohl in acht (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Hempfling	2004	0:48	Germany
2. Max	1990	0:49	Germany
3. Leusink	2001	0:51	Holland

Slowest

1. Daus	1999	1:34	Germany
2. Beringer	1997	1:24	Germany
3. Fasolis	1998	1:22	Switzerland

32 Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen (Aria & Chorus)

Fastest

1. Ericson	1993	3:32	Sweden
2. Max	1990	3:41	Germany
3. Higginbottom	2002	3:43	England

Slowest

1. Harnoncourt	1985	5:17	Austria
2. Gütter	1998	5:17	Germany
3. Kuijken	1987	5:08	Belgium

37 O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	0:48	Germany
2. Guttenberg	1991	0:49	Germany
3. Hempfling	2004	0:50	Germany

Slowest

1. Max	2006	1:18	Germany
2. Daus	1999	1:16	Germany
3. Kuijken	1987	1:14	Belgium

39 Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine (Chorus)

Fastest

1. Leusink	2001	6:01	Holland
2. Harnoncourt	1993	6:08	Austria
3. Cleobury	1996	6:20	England

Slowest

1. Kuijken	1987	9:06	Belgium
2. Herreweghe	1987	8:31	Belgium
3. Corboz	1994	8:18	Switzerland

40 Ach Herr, laß dein lieb Engelein (Chorale)

Fastest

1. Max	1990	1:23	Germany
2. Leusink	2001	1:31	Holland
3. Hempfling	2004	1:34	Germany

Slowest

1. Beringer	1997	2:52	Germany
2. Daus	1999	2:47	Germany
3. Corboz	1994	2:19	Switzerland

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Michael Troy Murphy was born May 27, 1974, in Charlotte, North Carolina. He was reared in Wilmington, North Carolina where at an early age he developed a love for singing in his elementary and church chorus. In junior high he was a member of the select auditioned choruses at Roland-Grise conducted by Melody Bryan. Subsequently he became heavily involved in the auditioned choruses at John T. Hoggard High School conducted by Jerry Cribbs. Selected by his peers and teacher, he filled the leadership role as Student Conductor his senior year. This responsibility and the transforming musical encounters experienced during his junior and high school years led him to the decision to major in music at East Carolina University in Greenville, North Carolina.

Murphy graduated in the spring of 1998 from East Carolina University with a Bachelor of Music in Music Education. The following fall he secured a position as Choral and General Music Teacher at E.B. Aycock Middle School in Greenville, North Carolina, where he was named the 2002-2003 Teacher of the Year. Throughout his tenure as a music educator in North Carolina he held many leadership positions on the Executive Boards of the North Carolina state chapter of the American Choral Directors Association and the Music Educators National Conference, as well as enjoying an active role as a clinician and adjudicator of numerous Choral Festivals and All-County events. In 2001, he became the Conductor of the Greenville Choral Society Youth Chorale, a community based high school honor choir and three years later, in 2004, he was appointed Assistant Conductor of the Greenville Choral Society Concert Choir and Chamber Chorale. Murphy completed his Master of Music Education in the fall of 2003 from East Carolina University.

In the fall of 2005, Murphy matriculated to Florida State University to complete a Doctor of Philosophy in Choral Conducting and Choral Music Education.