

# INTRODUCTION

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During Lent 1777, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed his third Passion according to St. Matthew (H 790; BR-CPEB D 4.3). After eight years of service as music director in Hamburg, Bach had developed a successful routine to fulfill the duty of providing the annual Passion for the five main city churches. Bach adhered to the established rotational scheme, by which the gospels were used year after year in the sequence of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and he avoided repeating the same works. A reduction of the amount of preparatory work was possible by reusing the musical skeleton of a previous work—the biblical narrative consisting of the evangelist’s report, soliloquies, duets of the false witnesses and the high priests, crowd choruses, and many of the same chorales. Even for aesthetic reasons the reuse of the setting of the biblical narrative could easily be defended: once an adequate setting of a text had been found, there was no need to offer any alternate realization.<sup>1</sup> There was also no requirement to provide new chorales for every single Passion, though Bach desired a certain variety of the chorale stanzas. On the other hand, since the choruses and arias, and occasionally also accompanied recitatives or ariosos, were newly conceived for each Passion, Bach was able to evoke the impression of a new work each year.

To what extent the Hamburg audience was aware of Bach’s wide-reaching pasticcio practice remains unknown; the handful of documents relating to specific performances of Hamburg Passions under Bach’s direction do not address this matter at all. Overall, the Passions according to the gospel of St. Matthew contain the largest amount of original material. While Bach had written all new music for movements with free poetry in the 1769 St. Matthew Passion (see CPEB: CW, IV/4.1), he largely drew on a Passion oratorio by Gottfried August Homilius in 1773 (see CPEB: CW, IV/4.2). The 1777 Passion takes an intermediary position, with three self-borrowings (nos. 8, 20, 29), three borrowings from other composers (nos. 4, 12, 24), one thorough reworking of a foreign aria (no. 16b),

a choral arrangement of a song (no. 2), and apparently a newly composed arioso (no. 16a) and an accompanied recitative (no. 28).

## The Compositional Process

The source situation for the 1777 Passion is unique in that not only the original set of parts—which represents the musical text as presented in Hamburg in 1777—has survived intact, but also almost all material that Bach’s main copyist during the first decade of his tenure in Hamburg (Anon. 304; probably Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein)<sup>2</sup> had on his writing desk when preparing the individual parts. There were a remarkably large number of *Vorlagen*, including the remnants of the autograph score of the 1769 Passion (source Q 6), which comprised the biblical narrative and several chorales, in combination with the set of parts of the 1773 Passion (source Q 5) as a rough guideline for the overall disposition of the work.<sup>3</sup> (See table 1 for the derivation of movements in the 1777 Passion.) Further, scores of the musical settings of free poetry, namely, annotated scores from Bach’s musical library (for nos. 4, 12, and 24), the score of one installation cantata of his own composition (H 821a, for nos. 8, 20, and 29), and several movements in autograph manuscripts were needed (nos. 2, 16, and 28). In the course of preparing this edition, several sketches in Bach’s hand, whose exact function had remained unknown, were identified as belonging to the 1777 Passion;<sup>4</sup> these sketches relating to movements nos. 15e, 16a, 16b, and 29 are presented in appendix A.

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1. Bach used, however, more than one setting of the gospel in the Hamburg Passions according to St. Luke and St. John.

2. Peter Wollny, in a review of *Georg Philipp Telemann. Autographe und Abschriften*, ed. Joachim Jaenecke, *BJ* (1995): 218, was the first to connect Telemann’s *Hauptkopist A*, Anon. 304, and Schieferlein. For further documentation see Neubacher, 454.

3. The rhythmic discrepancies regarding the upbeat to m. 53 in the chorus no. 23f apparently resulted from the 1773 Passion parts.

4. The sketches for movements nos. 15e and 29 are mentioned in Enßlin, 1:117, but erroneously attributed to the 1773 Passion (for a clarification see CPEB: CW, IV/4.3, 137, n. 3). The sketches for nos. 16a and 16b, transmitted in the context of *Einführungsmusik Palm*, H 821a, remained unidentified in Enßlin, 1:139 and BR-CPEB, 2:564.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1777 ST. MATTHEW PASSION

No. Type: Incipit	Vorlage	Remarks
1. Choral: O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig	unknown	possibly by CPEB
2. Chor: Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz		newly composed for the 1777 Passion; based on a song, Wq 194/14, transposed
3. Recitativ: Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	H 786, no. 4, mm. 1–31a	
4. Chor: Erwache von dem Sündenschlafe	Opening chorus from Georg Benda's cantata <i>Erwache von dem Sündenschlafe</i> , L 528	CPEB added ob I–II, doubling the S and A parts, and composed hn parts
5. Recitativ: Zum andern Mal ging er aber hin	H 786, no. 4, mm. 31b–38	
6. Choral: Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit	H 786, no. 5 with different text	cf. BWV 244/25
7. Recitativ: Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	H 786, no. 6, and no. 9, mm. 1–39a	
8. Arie: O sel'ge Augen, die ihn sahen	H 821a, no. 3	transposed down a whole step for bass; CPEB added a new bn obbligato
9. Recitativ: Da verließen ihn alle Jünger	H 786, no. 9, mm. 39b–42	
10. Choral: Ich will hier bei dir stehen	H 786, no. 11	cf. BWV 153/5
11. Recitativ: Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	H 786, no. 12, mm. 1–56a	
12. Chor: Du wagst es, du Lästere	Opening chorus from Georg Benda's cantata <i>Du wagst es, du Lästere, Gott zu versuchen</i> , L 523	CPEB added ob I–II, doubling the S and A parts, and composed hn parts
13. Recitativ: Sie antworteten und sprachen	H 786, no. 12, mm. 56b–63a	
14. Choral: Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	unknown	possibly by CPEB
15. Recitativ: Da speieten sie aus in sein Angesicht	H 786, no. 12, mm. 63b–71, no. 14, and no. 16, mm. 1–9a	
16a. Arienmäßig: Beschämt flieht Petrus		newly composed for the 1777 Passion
16b. Arie: Hier fall auch ich im Staube	J. G. Graun, "Quanto dolce, o caro sposo" from the cantata <i>Disperata Porcia</i> , Graun WV B:III:29	CPEB used the A section only and revised the vocal line, and reworked vn I–II
17. Recitativ: Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohenpriester	H 786, no. 16, mm. 9b–37	
18. Choral: Ach fliehe doch des Teufels Strick	unknown	possibly by CPEB
19. Recitativ: Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	H 786, no. 18	
20. Arie: O schweige nur	H 821a, no. 5 with different text	
21. Recitativ: Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	H 786, no. 21	
22. Choral: Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	H 786, no. 22	cf. BWV 244/3
23. Recitativ: Sie schriehen aber noch mehr	H 786, nos. 23 and 25	
24. Arie: Ich zittre, Gott, vor dir und zage	Aria from Homilius's cantata <i>Legt eure Harfen hin</i> , Ho WV II.49	transposed down a whole step; CPEB rewrote fl I–II parts
25. Recitativ: Und indem sie hinausgingen	H 786, no. 27, mm. 1–73a	
26. Choral: O große Lieb, o Lieb ohn alle Maße		repetition of no. 14 with a different text
27. Recitativ: Und von der sechsten Stunde an	H 786, no. 27, mm. 73b–100	
28. Accompagnement: Du Hoherpriester, Jesu Christ		newly composed for the 1777 Passion
29. Arie: Ach, ruft mich einst zu seinen Freuden	H 821a, no. 13 with different text	
30. Choral: Ich danke dir von Herzen	H 786, no. 29	cf. BWV 244/54, transposed up a whole step

The biblical narrative remains mostly the same as in the earlier 1769 and 1773 Passions, but in the 1777 Passion new movements were inserted in different places. Only a few of the changes to the biblical narrative in the 1777 Passion were entered into the fragmentary score of the 1769 Passion; other changes were notated by Bach on extra sheets of paper. To facilitate the process of copying out the parts, Bach provided “assembling instructions” showing the disposition of the work.<sup>5</sup> These instructions need to be seen in conjunction with the skeleton of the 1769 Passion score because they not only specify the position and nature of the movements with free poetry in the 1777 Passion, but also provide replacement measures whenever the new division of the text required changes to the harmony and musical punctuation. (This highly instructive material is presented in facsimile and described in more detail in appendix A.)

To facilitate an understanding of Bach’s arrangement process, the original version of the score for Johann Gottlieb Graun’s aria “Quanto dolce, o caro sposo” (model for no. 16b) and the original flute parts, vocal line, and bass for Homilius’s aria “Ich zittre, Gott, vor dir und zage” (no. 24) are given in appendix B.

### Sources and Musical Elements

In accordance with Hamburg traditions the text of the 1777 Passion was compiled from various sources. The biblical narrative is taken from the Luther Bible, and all chorale stanzas are derived from the *Hamburgisches neuvermehrtes Gesangbuch*, originally introduced in 1700 and often reprinted. The author of the texts originally set by Homilius remains to be identified. The cantata texts of Benda’s works had been provided by the Gotha court pastor Balthasar Münter for the church year 1760–61.

In the 1777 Passion the Passion story according to the Gospel of St. Matthew is divided as follows:

No.	Text incipit	Chapter: Verses
3.	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	26:36–41
5.	Zum andern Mal ging er aber hin	26:42
7.	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	26:43–56a
9.	Da verließen ihn alle Jünger	26:56b
11.	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	26:57–66a

5. For a discussion of the assembling instructions for movements 1–20 preserved in source A 2a, see Clark, 79–84. The German term *Bauplanpartitur* was coined by Enßlin with respect to the continuation of A 2a in source A 2b.

13.	Sie antworteten und sprachen	26:66b
15.	Da speieten sie aus in sein Angesicht	26:67–75
17.	Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohenpriester	27:1–5
19.	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	27:6–14
21.	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	27:15–23a
23.	Sie schrieen aber noch mehr	27:23b–31
25.	Und indem sie hinausgingen	27:32–44
27.	Und von der sechsten Stunde an	27:45–50

Along with a handful of adaptations resulting from new key relationships between the recitatives and the insertion arias, Bach occasionally changed the vocal melody to improve the scansion of the texts; a few of these changes were directly entered into the set of parts. The turba choruses as well as the duets of the Hohepriester (High Priests) and the Falsche Zeugen (False Witnesses) of the 1777 Passion are identical to those of the 1769 and 1773 Passions. For unknown reasons Bach redistributed the vocal parts of the second false witness and the Hohepriester to other parts than in the previous Passions. He did not, however, alter the vocal range or make any changes to the musical substance. These movements—with few exceptions<sup>6</sup>—stem from J.S. Bach’s St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244:

No.	Text incipit	Vorlage
11b.	Er hat gesagt	BWV 244/33, mm. 5b–12
13b.	Er ist des Todes schuldig	unknown
15b.	Weissage uns	HoWV I.10, no. 24b (adapted by CPEB)
15d.	Wahrlich, du bist auch einer von denen	BWV 244/38b
17b.	Was gehet uns das an	unknown
19b.	Es taugt nicht	BWV 244/41c, mm. 28b–35
21b.	Barrabam	BWV 244/45a, m. 30 (adapted by CPEB)

6. Four turbae do not derive from J.S. Bach’s Passion and they do not reveal his distinctive style either. Only for the chorus no. 15b, “Weissage uns,” can a model be named: C.P.E. Bach adopted the respective movement from Homilius’s St. Mark Passion, HoWV I.10. It cannot be entirely ruled out that C.P.E. Bach composed the remaining turbae himself, but—as has been discussed in the introduction to the 1769 Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/4.1, xiii)—it seems more likely that he borrowed them from an unknown source (cf. particularly the commentary to no. 23f, m. 52).

21d. Lass ihn kreuzigen	BWV 244/45b
23b. Lass ihn kreuzigen	BWV 244/50b
23d. Sein Blut komme über uns	BWV 244/50d
23f. Gegrüßet seist du	unknown
25b. Der du den Tempel Gottes zerbrichst	BWV 244/58b
25d. Andern hat er geholfen	BWV 244/58d
27b. Der rufet den Elias	BWV 244/61b
27d. Halt, lass sehen	BWV 244/61d

The chorale settings were only partly taken from the 1773 Passion. Four chorales (nos. 1, 14, 18, and 26, which is a repetition of no. 14 with a different text) were newly introduced in 1777, while the same number of chorales of the 1773 Passion (nos. 1, 13, 17, and 24) were left out. No direct models for the new chorale settings are known, and all of them survive in Bach's own handwriting, but their resemblance to chorale harmonizations by Telemann and Homilius has been noted by Enßlin.<sup>7</sup> (See table 2 for the chorale melodies and textual sources.)

The movements based on free poetic texts—that is, the choruses, the arias, and the ariosos—are drawn from various sources. The chorus “Erforsche mich, erfahr mein Herz” (no. 2) was Bach's own ad hoc arrangement of one of his Gellert songs (Wq 194/14), transposed one step up. This chorus was to assume a special position within Bach's Passion repertoire; he chose to use this chorus again with different texts in three later Passions: the 1778 St. Mark (CPEB: CW, IV/5.3), 1780 St. John (CPEB: CW, IV/7.3), and 1784 St. John (CPEB: CW, IV/7.4). The choruses nos. 4 and 12 originally were opening choruses of two cantatas from Benda's so-called *Münter-Jahrgang* (Gotha, 1760–61); Bach increased their dramatic impact by adding two horn parts (for which *particelli* in Bach's hand have survived) but otherwise left the music almost unchanged. Three arias were borrowed from Bach's first Hamburg installation cantata (H 821a; see CPEB: CW, V/3.1), which he had performed solely in 1769 and which consisted largely of movements of his own composition. Two of the arias, nos. 20 and 29, have a new text underlay which required minor adjustments to the vocal part, though the instrumental accompaniment remains unchanged. Aria no. 8 was not only transposed a whole step down and assigned

to a bass instead of a tenor, but Bach also added an obbligato bassoon part. Similarly no. 24, an aria by Homilius, was transposed one step down and the original tenor part was reassigned to a bass; here Bach, besides making minor changes to the vocal and, occasionally, the string parts, chose to rewrite the flute parts which in Homilius's setting had been playing *colla parte* with the singer or the violin I almost throughout the movement. Aria no. 16b is based on a movement from the Italian cantata *Disperata Porcia* by J.G. Graun. Here major changes occurred, since Bach only used the A section of Graun's *da capo* aria and assigned a new German text; Bach wrote out a new score for that movement, which was preceded by a short and apparently newly composed arioso (no. 16a). Another accompanied recitative, no. 28, was used before aria no. 29; since it survives in his own hand there is little doubt that it was composed by Bach for this occasion.

The principal musical source for the 1777 Passion is the complete set of parts used for the performances in 1777 (D-B, SA 25 (3); source B). The partial autograph score originally written for the 1769 Passion (source Q 6) and other autograph scores and *particelli* have been used for comparison.<sup>8</sup> The only *Vorlagen* that do not survive from Bach's library are the score of the Graun cantata *Disperata Porcia* and full drafts of the vocal parts for nos. 20 and 29 (where Bach adapted the line to fit the parody texts). Since Anon. 304 worked very reliably, the musical text of the 1777 Passion poses few editorial problems. The great number of sources needed to compile the original set of parts, however, occasionally led to confusion, which either was fixed on the spot by Anon. 304 or was corrected by Bach himself. Otherwise, the set of parts shows few traces of revisions and refinements in Bach's hand.

### Performance History

In 1777 Easter Sunday fell on 30 March. According to the established order of Passions in Hamburg the performances in the five principal Hamburg churches must have taken place as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Estomihi	9 February	St. Petri
Invocavit	16 February	St. Nicolai
Reminiscere	23 February	St. Catharinen

7. See BR-CPEB, 2:154. The resemblance, noted there, of nos. 14 and 26 to HoWV I.10, no. 38 is not to be regarded as striking. See also Enßlin/Rimek, 181 (no. 28), 176 (no. 11b), and 181 (no. 27).

8. Because C.P.E. Bach continued to make minor changes to the music whenever a new St. Matthew Passion was prepared this partial score by itself is unsuited to reveal what exactly was played and sung in a specific year.

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig	118, 1	Nikolaus Decius	O Lamm Gottes unschuldig (Z 6383b)
6. Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit	395, 1	Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit (Z 7568)
10. Ich will hier bei dir stehen	129, 6	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
14. Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	114, 1	Johannes Heermann	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)
18. Ach fliehe doch des Teufels Strick!	590, 7	Johann Rist	O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort (Z 5820)
22. Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe	114, 4	Johannes Heermann	see no. 14 above
26. O große Lieb, o Lieb ohn alle Maße	114, 7	Johannes Heermann	see no. 14 above
30. Ich danke dir von Herzen	129, 8	Paul Gerhardt	see no. 10 above

Laetare	9 March	St. Jacobi
Judica	16 March	St. Michaelis

### Issues of Performance Practice

The Hamburg calendars and other documents reveal that Passion music was also provided at fixed dates in the Hamburg secondary churches, although little is known about the repertoire performed there. According to newspaper announcements Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* was presented—though not necessarily always under Bach's direction—at least five times between 26 February and 26 March 1777: Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche (26 February); Waisenhauskirche (12 March); Heilig-Geist-Kirche (21 March); St. Maria Magdalena (24 March); and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (26 March). In addition, the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, was performed at the Spinnhauskirche on Thursday, 6 March 1777.<sup>9</sup> The 1777 Passion was also likely performed in the following churches: Kleine Michaelis-Kirche (20 March); St. Johannis (22 March); St. Gertrud (25 March); St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge (Maundy Thursday, 27 March); and Heilige Dreieinigkei St. Georg (Good Friday, 28 March).

After 1777 the piece was not revived as a liturgical Passion during Bach's lifetime. The original material of the 1777 Passion was acquired in 1805 by Georg Poelchau at the auction of the estate of Bach's daughter, Anna Carolina Philippina. Without an apparent system, Poelchau kept some of the autograph portions (sources A 1 and A 2a), but left the remainder of the autograph material (sources A 2b and A 3) with the original set of performance parts (source B) to Abraham Mendelssohn, who donated them to the Berlin Sing-Akademie (in all likelihood in 1811).

C.P.E. Bach had only a small number of singers at his disposition. For the 1777 Passion eight vocal part books were prepared, though usually only seven singers appear on the payroll. Bach's wish to have three soprano parts (with exactly the same contents) copied may possibly be explained by the assumption that the best boy sopranos of the Johanneum in Hamburg, at that time Ebeling and Siemers, had rather thin voices and required reinforcement, at least in the choral sections. The sources do not reveal whether the solo movements nos. 16a–b and 20 were performed by one or more soprano singers. Although Bach's assembling instructions specify "Mr. Ebeling" as the singer for no. 16 and "Mr. Siemers" for no. 20, all three soprano parts contain all movements, in accordance with Bach's copying instruction on the wrapper to source B: "The soprano part is to be written out three times completely." (Die Discantstimme wird 3 mahl durchaus abgeschrieben.); thus it cannot be ruled out that the other singers reinforced the chosen soloists. All singers would have sung in the choruses, chorales, and turbae.

From names occasionally found in individual parts, and from annotations in the autograph materials, it becomes evident that the following singers (with their assigned roles and other solo nos.) participated in the performances of the 1777 Passion:

Soprano I	Ebeling [Christian name unknown] (Magd 1 and Magd 2; arioso no. 16a and arias nos. 16b and 20)
Soprano II	Siemers [Christian name unknown] (same as S I)
Soprano III	unknown (same as S I)

9. See Wiermann, 424–25.

Alto	unknown, possibly Hartnack Otto Conrad Zink (Falscher Zeuge I, Hoherpriester)
Tenor I	Johann Heinrich Michel (Evangelist) <sup>10</sup>
Tenor II	Hartmann [Christian name unknown] <sup>11</sup> (Falscher Zeuge II, Hoherpriester, Petrus; accompanied recitative no. 28 and aria no. 29)
Bass I	Friedrich Martin Illert (Jesus; aria no. 24) <sup>12</sup>
Bass II	Johann Andreas Hoffmann (Judas, Pilatus, Hoherpreister; aria no. 8)

Only a small number of the instrumentalists can be identified. One of the violoncello parts bears the name “Tank”, referring to Johann Heinrich Tancke; the initial “B” on one of the copies of the violin I part is likely to denote Johann Andreas Buckhofer, the senior of the town musicians. The other violin I part bears the Initial “H.,” probably indicating Paul Hartmann, while the letter “L” on one of the violin II parts might refer to Hartwig Christian Lüders, an accomplished player of various instruments who, in 1777, was still counted among the *Expectanten* and was apparently promoted to town musician in 1780 after the death of J.H. Tancke. The names of the other instrumentalists cannot be derived from the sources for the Passion, though it is safe to assume that Johann Gottlieb Schwencke played the obligato bassoon part in no. 8 (and either the bassoon or another bass instrument in the remainder of the Passion).

The same pair of players performed the flute and oboe parts, but not all changes of instrumentation are clearly indicated in those parts. It appears that the oboe was regarded as the standard instrument, in which case the indication “Traverso” should have been entered for every movement assigned to flutes. This, however, is only occasionally the case, particularly in the oboe II part. The

10. On Michel’s career, see Paul Corneilson, “C.P.E. Bach’s Evangelist: Johann Heinrich Michel,” in *Er ist der Vater, Wir sind die Bub’n: Essays in Honor of Christoph Wolff*, ed. Paul Corneilson and Peter Wollny (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2010), 95–118.

11. Sanders, 150–51, distinguishes between “Hartmann (III)” and “Hartmann (IV)” as two singers both active around 1780, one a tenor and one a bass singer. The fact that the T II part contains movements in both the tenor and bass clef makes one wonder whether or not Hartmann “(III)” and “(IV)” are the same person, a versatile singer with a baritone range.

12. See Paul Corneilson, “Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s ‘Principal Singer’ Friedrich Martin Illert,” in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach im Spannungsfeld zwischen Tradition und Aufbruch*, ed. Christine Blanken and Wolfram Enßlin, *Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung* 12 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2016), 135–63.

intended instrumentation is, however, apparent from the partial score of the 1769 Passion (source Q 6) from which these movements were derived.

While the 1769 Passion contains a certain number of “nachschlagende Kadenzen” where cadences were to be realized only after the final notes of the singer (usually the Evangelist), even though the notation seems to suggest simultaneous execution, only one such cadence is found in the 1777 Passion (no. 3, m. 14). Chorus no. 4 contains, at the beginning of the middle section, an atypical “solo” indication, followed after a few measures by “tutti”; apparently Bach expected a reduction of the vocal forces in accordance with Benda’s original setting.<sup>13</sup> In this movement short upbeats are notated almost consistently in the vocal parts as 16th notes, while the instrumental parts (except the oboes, which are *colla parte* with the soprano and alto) have 8th notes where applicable; in the present edition all parts in no. 4 have been adapted as 16th notes.

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13. Similar indications are found in the model for chorus no. 12, mm. 20, 24, and 44 respectively, but these indications were not copied into the set of parts.