INTRODUCTION

The Passion according to St. Matthew for 1785 (H 798; BR-CPEB D 4.5) is the first work in the fifth cycle of Passions that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach performed in the churches of Hamburg during Lent. He followed the longestablished rotational scheme, by which the gospels were used year after year in the sequence Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John without repeating an earlier setting. A reduction of the amount of preparatory work was made possible by reusing the musical skeleton of a previous work, namely, the biblical narrative and the chorales. There was also no requirement to provide new chorales for every single Passion, though Bach at least preferred a certain variety of the chorale stanzas. He did not simply recycle the biblical narrative and the chorales every four years; rather he used—starting in 1775—two entirely different settings in the Passion according to St. Luke. As in the St. Luke Passions, Bach created an eight-year cycle in his St. Matthew Passions. The 1785 Passion is hence not directly based on the the previous St. Matthew Passion of 1781 (H 794; see CPEB:CW, IV/4.4), but goes back to the 1777 Passion (H 790; see CPEB:CW, IV/4.3), which, compared with the 1769 and 1773 Passions, contains four different chorale settings. In the end, all of C.P.E. Bach's St. Matthew Passions were modeled on his first Passion from 1769 (H 782; see CPEB:CW, IV/4.I), a pasticcio that combined movements of his with crowd choruses almost exclusively borrowed from his father's St. Matthew Passion (BWV 244) and chorales, also mainly taken from his father's works.

With few exceptions, the choruses, arias, and occasional accompanied recitatives or ariosos were newly conceived for every single Passion. While the Passions of the 1770s draw to a large extent on movements from cantatas and Passion music by composers such as Georg Benda, Gottfried August Homilius, Johann Gottlieb Graun, and Georg Heinrich Stölzel, the later Passions increasingly include compositions of Bach's own invention. Within the four branches of Passions according to one of the four gospels the St. Matthew Passions hold the largest amount of original material. The 1785 Passion is, however, the first since the 1769 Passion that contains no borrowings from foreign works except for some of the biblical narrative and most, if not all, of the chorales. (See table 1.)

In 1785 Bach replaced all choruses and arias of the 1777 Passion with new movements, but left the distribution of the biblical narrative and the chorales unchanged, except for the omission of a chorale that had been interspersed between Matthew 27:44 and 27:45 in all previous St. Matthew Passions. The role of Judas remained in the bass II part, whereas there had been an insertion sheet for this role in the alto part of the 1777 Passion.

The new movements—four choruses (nos. 2, 13, 17, and 27), three arias (nos. 5, 9, and 25), one accompanied recitative (no. 4), and one arioso (no. 21)—are apparently all compositions by Bach, of which only the chorus no. 17 had previously been used in his 1781 Passion, albeit with a different text. Beginning with that Passion, Bach primarily used arrangements of songs from his Cramer and Sturm collections (Wq 196–198) for choral movements. This is true for three of the choruses (nos. 2, 13, and 17) of the 1785 Passion. Only the final chorus no. 27 is not based on a song; it is still a self-borrowing, an arrangement of the new "Et misericordia" chorus from the Magnificat, Wq 215.2 (In 1779 Bach replaced the original version of that movement, possibly because it had become an integral part of the Passions-Cantate, Wq 233, which was performed in Hamburg every year during Lent from 1774 onward.)

Planning

Two letters from Bach to Johann Joachim Eschenburg—who at the time was professor of literature and fine arts and librarian at the Collegium Carolinum in Brunswick—shed some light on the genesis on the 1785 Passion, even though the original plan discussed in the first of these letters was not realized. Born in Hamburg in 1743, Eschenburg left his native town for studies in Leipzig and later Göttingen in 1764. He specialized in English literature and remained in

^{1.} The history of the work and a summary of the sources are given in BR-CPEB. 2:167–76.

^{2.} The German text of chorus no. 27 stems from Christoph Friedrich Neander. It is found in the original edition of his *Geistliche Lieder* (Riga and Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1766), 42–46 (stanzas I and 2 of *Am Charfreytage*), and not (as suggested in BR-CPEB, 2:174) only in the third edition of the collection of 1779.

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1785 ST. MATTHEW PASSION

No. Type	Incipit	Vorlage	Remarks
1. Choral	O Lamm Gottes, im Staube	H 790, no. 1	possibly by CPEB
2. Chor	Sohn, zum Erlöser mir gesandt		newly composed for the 1785 Passion (arr. Wq 198/4)
3. Recitativ	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	H 790, no. 3	
4. Accompagnement	Mensch, lerne Gott und dich erkennen!		newly composed for the 1785 Passion
5. Arie	Mag sich der Mensch erheben		newly composed for the 1785 Passion
6. Recitativ	Zum andern Mal ging er aber hin	H 790, no. 5	
7. Choral	Gott ist mein Trost, mein Zuversicht	H 790, no. 6	cf. BWV 244/25
8. Recitativ	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	H 790, no. 7	
9. Arie	Ob Erd und Himmel untergehen		newly composed for the 1785 Passion
10. Recitativ	Da verließen ihn alle Jünger	H 790, no. 9	
11. Choral	Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden	H 790, no. 10	cf. BWV 153/5
12. Recitativ	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	H 790, no. 11	
13. Chor	Umsonst empört die Hölle sich		newly composed for the 1785 Passion (arr. Wq 197/21)
14. Recitativ	Sie antworteten und sprachen	H 790, no. 13	
15. Choral	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe!	H 790, no. 14	possibly by CPEB
16. Recitativ	Da speieten sie aus in sein Angesicht	H 790, no. 15	
17. Chor	Lass mich nicht deinen Zorn empfinden	H 794, no. 16	Wq 224; reuse of arr. Wq 196/13, with stanza 1
18. Recitativ	Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohenpriester	H 790, no. 17	
19. Choral	Ach fliehe doch des Teufels Strick!	H 790, no. 18	possibly by CPEB
20. Recitativ	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die Silberlinge	H 790, no. 19	
21. Arioso	Da er gestraft und gemartert ward		newly composed for the 1785 Passion
22. Recitativ	Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger Gewohnheit	H 790, no. 21	
23. Choral	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	H 790, no. 22	cf. BWV 244/3
24. Recitativ	Sie schrien aber noch mehr	H 790, no. 23	
25. Arie	O großes Bild des Menschenfreundes		newly composed for the 1785 Passion
26. Recitativ	Und indem sie hinausgingen	H 790, no. 25	
27. Chor	Am Kreuz erblasst	Wq 215, no. 4 (Hamburg version)	with different text
28. Choral	Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	H 790, no. 30	cf. BWV 244/54

Key: BWV 153 = JSB Schau, lieber Gott, wie meine Feind; BWV 244 = JSB St. Matthew Passion; H 790 = CPEB 1777 St. Matthew Passion; H 794 = CPEB 1781 St. Matthew Passion

close contact with Hamburg scholars, such as Christoph Daniel Ebeling and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock. Bach's missive of 2 October 1784 is the earliest surviving letter to Eschenburg after a long period of silence. Bach had communicated with Eschenburg in 1771.³ A visit of Eschenburg to Hamburg is documented in May 1772.⁴ Eschenburg's name is found among the subscribers of Bach's *Sei*

concerti per il cembalo concertato, Wq 43, published only a few months after this visit to Hamburg. Over the following years, he also ordered copies of the Cramer and Sturm songs. The lack of a reliable Eschenburg biography makes it impossible to provide evidence for similar visits in the 1780s. In his letter of 2 October 1784, Bach presented to Eschenburg a copy of the *Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste*, Wq 239, which had just left the press, and then addressed the upcoming Passion:

^{3.} See CPEB-Briefe, 1:227-29 and 231-33; CPEB-Letters, 23-24.

^{4.} Cf. Hamburgische Addreß-Comtoir Nachrichten (7 May 1772).

Now kindly allow me to remind you of your promise. Our next Passion is taken from Matthew. After the words: <u>das Fleisch ist schwach</u> in chapter 26, verse 41, I would like an aria. The same after the words: <u>die Schriften der Propheten</u>, chapter 26, verse 56. Further after the words: <u>der Landpfleger sehr verwunderte</u>, chapter 27, verse 14. And finally after the words: <u>daß sie ihn creuzigten</u>, chapter 27, verse 31. I anticipate your kindness in supplying these four arias. Before two of these arias, whichever ones you choose, I would also request, if I may, a <u>short</u> introduction by an accompanied recitative.⁵

Eschenburg was well acquainted with the tradition of Passion music in Hamburg, which had remained largely unchanged since his days as a student at the Johanneum where he was a student of Georg Philipp Telemann and, despite his young age, the author of texts for several sacred works by Bach's predecessor as music director of the Free Imperial City of Hamburg. These include Telemann's St. Luke Passion of 1764, from which Bach had borrowed one aria text, "Wende dich zu meinem Schmerze," for his 1769 Passion and afterwards the *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233.

However, it took Eschenburg longer than expected to fulfill Bach's request, since he apparently did not just work on a set of aria texts as requested, but on an entire Passion, which by the end of November was not yet complete, as can be derived from Bach's letter of 1 December 1784:

I am most obliged to you for the most kindly promised Passion text; I only regret that I cannot make any use of if it this year since the forthcoming Passion is already in the hands of my copyist. In the meantime, I ask for your fine ideas, in so far as something of them has been finished, at your convenience. If I live until next year, I can make some use of them. ⁶

It remains unclear whether Eschenburg ever finished working on the Passion text; in any event, none of the arias in the 1785 and 1786 Passions uses a text whose author remained unknown and could thus potentially be ascribed to Eschenburg. Rather, Bach himself found suitable texts for the 1785 Passion while waiting for Eschenburg's response. With one exception, he selected them from Balthasar Münter's Geistliche Cantaten (Gotha, 1769), a collection of cantata texts on various theological subjects that (unlike the important cycle of cantatas on texts by Münter that Benda set to music in 1760-61) were, for the most part, not associated with a specific Sunday or feast day of the church year.⁷ The text of the accompanied recitative no. 4 stems from Münter 1769, 70, where it is the second movement of cantata XIX (Demuth vor Gott); the opening line there starts "O lerne Gott und dich erkennen." The text of the aria no. 5 is from the same cantata's first movement. The text for aria no. 9 comes from Münter 1769, 8, where it serves as the first movement of cantata III (Ewiges Evangelium), and the text for aria no. 25 is from Münter 1769, 18, where it serves as the fifth and final movement of cantata V (Wider die Selbstrache). But for the arioso no. 21 (changed in A 2 from "Arie" to "Arioso") Bach turned instead to Isaiah 53:7, a verse from the Old Testament, traditionally associated with the Christian interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death.

Sources and Musical Elements

The source situation for the 1785 Passion is typical for the 1780s: the original set of parts has survived intact and documents the musical text as presented in Hamburg in 1785. Likewise, almost all material is still extant that Bach's main copyist of the second decade of his tenure in Hamburg, Johann Heinrich Michel, had on his writing desk when preparing the parts from a large number of *Vorlagen*. These included the autograph scores of the newly composed movements, one older score of a chorus to be reused in this Passion, and the set of parts for the 1777 Passion from which the biblical narrative and the chorales were copied. There must have been some instructions, for example, specifying the stanzas of the chorales to be used, but there was no need for extended assembling instructions such as those that survive for the 1777 and 1781 Passions.

In accordance with Hamburg traditions the text of the 1785 Passion was compiled from various sources. The biblical narrative is taken literally from the Bible, all chorale

^{5.} CPEB-Letters, 214–15 (slightly adapted). See also CPEB-Briefe, 2:1041 (no. 485): "Nun erlauben Sie gütigst, daß ich Sie an Ihr Versprechen erinnern darf. Unsere künftige Paßion ist aus dem Matthäo genomen. Nach den Worten: das Fleisch ist schwach, im 26 Cap. im 41sten Verse wünschte ich mir eine Arie. Ingleichen nach den Worten: die Schriften der Propheten. Cap. 26, V. 56. Ferner nach den Worten: der Landpfleger sehr verwunderte. Cap. 27; V. 14. Und endlich nach den Worten: daß sie ihn creuzigten. Cap. 27, V. 31. Diese 4 Arien erwarte ich von Ihrer Güte. Vor Zweÿen dieser Arien[,] es seÿen, welche es wollen, bäte ich noch, wen ich dürfte, eine kurze Einleitung durch ein Accompagnement."

^{6.} CPEB-Letters, 218. See also CPEB-Briefe, 2:1049 (no. 489): "Für Ihren gütigst versprochenen Passionstext danke ich Ihnen gleichfalls verbundenst, nur bedaure ich, daß ich dies Jahr keinen Gebrauch davon machen kann, weil die bevorstehende Passion schon untern den Händen meines Copisten ist. Indessen erbitte ich mir Ihre schönen Gedanken, in so fern etwas davon fertig ist, gelegentlich aus. Lebe ich noch übers Jahr, so kann ich davon etwas gebrauchen." Bach also completed his 1788 Passion by the end of November 1787 ("Ende, d. 25 Nov. 87") as can be seen in his autograph score in D-B, SA 35, fol. 20r. See CPEB:CW, IV/7.5, 105 and 143 (facsimile).

^{7.} On Münter and Benda see Wolf 2006.

stanzas, except for the opening movement, are derived from HG 1766, originally introduced in 1700. In the 1785 Passion the narrative from the Gospel according to St. Matthew is divided as follows:

No. Text Incipit Chapter: Verses

3.	Da kam Jesus mit ihnen zu einem Hofe	26:36-41
6.	Zum andern Mal ging er aber hin	26:42
8.	Und er kam und fand sie aber schlafend	26:43-56a
IO.	Da verließen ihn alle Jünger	26:56b
12.	Die aber Jesum gegriffen hatten	26:57–66a
I4.	Sie antworteten und sprachen	26:66b
16.	Da speieten sie aus in sein Angesicht	26:67-75
18.	Des Morgens aber hielten alle Hohepries	ster 27:1–5
20.	Aber die Hohenpriester nahmen die	27:6-14
	Silberlinge	

- 22. Auf das Fest aber hatte der Landpfleger 27:15–23a Gewohnheit
- 24. Sie schrien aber noch mehr 27:23b-31
- 26. Und indem sie hinausgingen 27:32–50

The biblical narrative remained unchanged except for minimal adjustments in scansion of the Evangelist's part. The turba choruses as well as the duets of the Hohepriester (High Priests) and the Falsche Zeugen (False Witnesses) of the 1785 Passion are identical to those of the earlier St. Matthew Passions of 1769, 1773, 1777, and 1781. These movements—with few exceptions—stem from J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244.8

The chorale settings were also taken from the 1777 Passion. This Passion had included four new chorales for which no direct models are known (one of them was cut in 1785); they may stem from Bach himself, though resemblances to chorales by Telemann and Homilius have been noted by Enßlin. As a result, the 1785 Passion contains only four

chorale settings that can firmly be attributed to J.S. Bach.¹⁰ The text for the first chorale is found as no. 219 in *Neues Gesangbuch der evangelischlutherischen Domgemeinde Bremen* (Bremen: Dietrich Meier, 1778). In a slightly different version it can be traced a few years earlier under the title "Dem Lamme Gottes," stanza 1, in the collection *Lieder der Deutschen zur Erbauung* (Hamburg: Buchenroeder & Ritter, 1774), 116, no. 69. The author's name is given there as "H.J. Todt." (See table 2.)

The principal musical source for the 1785 Passion is the complete set of parts used for the performances in 1785 (D-B, SA 32; source B). The autograph scores of the new movements (sources A 1-A 3) and the partial score remaining from the autograph originally written for the 1769 Passion (D-B, SA 5155; source Q 3) were also consulted.12 Almost all the sources from Bach's library used in preparing this Passion in 1784-85 survive; only a full score or vocal particella for no. 27, a parody of the "Et misericordia" (Hamburg version) of Bach's Magnificat went missing. Since Bach's copyist Michel worked very reliably, the musical text of the 1785 Passion poses almost no editorial problems. Bach supervised the copying process, but the parts show only a few traces of revisions and refinements in Bach's hand, beyond corrections in the newly inserted movements.

Performance History

In 1785 Easter Sunday fell on 27 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	6 February	St. Petri
Invocavit	13 February	St. Nicolai

^{10.} These are BWV 244/25 (no. 7), BWV 153/5 (no. 11), BWV 244/3 (no. 23), and BWV 244/54 (no. 28).

^{8.} Four turbae do not derive from J.S. Bach's Passion and they do not reveal his distinctive style either. Only for the chorus "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, $\rm IV/4.1$, xiii)—it seems more likely that he borrowed them from an unknown source (cf. particularly the commentary to no. 23f, m. 52).

^{9.} See BR-CPEB, 2:154. The resemblance, noted there, of H 790, no. 14 to HoWV I.10, no. 38 is not to be regarded as striking. See also Enßlin/Rimek 2010, 181 (no. 28), 176 (no. 11b), and 181 (no. 27). Further research is required on the chorale "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort," used as no. 18, which comes very close to the compositional principles of Bach's father, although the bass line in mm. 1–4 appears somewhat simple as compared to genuine chorale settings by J. S. Bach.

II. The text source is not named in BR-CPEB, 2:174. "H.J. Todt" can tentatively be identified as Heinrich (Henrich) Julius Tode (1733–97), a pastor and church official active in different positions in the grand duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. He was the author of a collection, Geistliche Lieder (Hamburg & Lüneburg: Berth, 1771), and produced numerous librettos for cantatas and oratorios by composers such as Johann Wilhelm Hertel and Friedrich Ludwig Benda in Schwerin and Ludwigslust.

^{12.} Because 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.

No.	Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verse)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
I.	O Lamm Gottes, im Staube		"H.J. Todt" (Heinrich Julius Tode?)	O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig (Z 6383b)
7.	Gott ist mein Trost, mein Zuversicht	395, 2	Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit (Z 7568)
II.	Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden	129, 9	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
15.	Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe!	II4, 4	Johannes Heermann	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen (Z 983)
19.	Ach fliehe doch des Teufels Strick!	590,7	Johann Rist	O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort (Z 5820)
23.	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	114, 1	Heermann	see no. 15 above
28.	Nun, was du, Herr erduldet	129, 4	Gerhardt	see no. 11 above

Reminiscere	20 February	St. Catharinen
Laetare	6 March	St. Jacobi
Judica	13 March	St. Michaelis

No copy of the Hamburgischer Schreib-Calender—which usually provides information about the dates and places for church music—has been preserved for the year 1785 to confirm these dates. 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 23 February and 23 March 1785:¹³ Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche (23 February); Waisenhauskirche (9 March); Heilig-Geist-Kirche (18 March); St. Marien-Magdalenen-Kirche (21 March); and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (23 March).

The 1785 Passion was therefore also likely performed in the following churches: ¹⁴ Kleine Michaelis-Kirche (17 March), St. Johannis (19 March), St. Gertrud (22 March), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge (24 March), and Kirche zur Heiligen Dreieinigkeit St. Georg (25 March).

After 1785 the piece was not revived as a liturgical Passion during Bach's lifetime. The original material of the 1785 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 (source Q I) but left the remainder together with the original set of performance parts (source B) to Abraham Mendelssohn, who in turn

donated them to the Berlin Sing-Akademie (in all likeli-

hood in 1811). Furthermore, one chorus, "Umsonst empört

die Hölle sich," no. 13 (source A 3), was later separated from

the other autograph scores in the Berlin Sing-Akademie

for no apparent reason. The 1785 Passion was revived in

a performance in April 2004 at the Kammermusiksaal at

the Berlin Philharmonie, with Joshard Daus conducting

the Zelter-Ensemble der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin; this

performance was later released as a recording.

Tenor II Rosenau [Christian name unknown]¹⁵
Bass I Friedrich Martin Illert¹⁶
Bass II Johann Andreas Hoffmann

the 1785 Passion can be identified:

few of the singers who participated in the performances of

Issues of Performance Practice

C. P. E. Bach had only a small number of singers at his disposal. For the 1785 Passion seven vocal part books were prepared as usual. The sources do not reveal the names of the boy sopranos and give no hint whether the arioso no. 21 (found as usual in both soprano parts) was performed by one or both singers. From the headings on individual parts and from annotations in the autograph materials, only a

^{13.} Wiermann, 429–30. The *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233 was also performed in the Spinnhauskirche on Thursday, 10 March 1785.

^{14.} Wiermann, 365. The performance at St. Johannis is recorded erroneously as on Friday [recte: Saturday] after Judica.

^{15.} Sanders, 156. Rosenau's participation is not mentioned in BR-CPEB, 2:176.

^{16.} See Paul Corneilson, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's 'Principal Singer' Friedrich Martin Illert," in *Leipzig 2014*, 135–63.

It is safe to assume that Michel sang the tenor I part.¹⁷ The alto part contains no biblical role and no soloistic movement beyond the two short biblical duets nos. 12b and 20b; it can therefore not be ruled out that this part, which was largely reinforced by the second oboe and often also by the second violins, was taken over by the regular church singer Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein although he was then more than eighty years old.

One single instrumentalist can be identified: The initial "B" on one of the copies of the violin I part is likely to denote Johann Adolph Buckhoffer, the senior of the town musicians. The same pair of players performed the flute and obbligato oboe parts; not all changes between these instruments are clearly indicated in the parts. It appears, however, that the oboe was regarded as the standard instrument; thus the indication "Flöte" should have been entered for every single movement assigned to flutes, whereas the change back to the regular oboe is only occasionally explicitly indicated. The intended instrumentation is apparent from the partial score of the 1769 Passion (source Q 3) from which these movements were derived.

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^{17.} On Michel's career, see Paul Corneilson, "C.P. E. Bach's Evangelist: Johann Heinrich Michel," in *Er ist der Vater*, 95–118.

^{18.} See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of instrumentalists who performed with Bach.