

INTRODUCTION

Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion according to St. John, H 793 (BR-CPEB D 7.2), performed during Lent 1780, was his twelfth Passion and his third setting of John's Passion narrative. His estate catalogue (NV 1790, p. 60) lists the dates of composition as 1779–80: "Paßions=Musik nach dem Evangelisten Johannes. H. 1779 und 1780. Mit Hörnern, Hoboen und Fagotts." Four years earlier, in 1776, Bach had used the St. John Passion by Gottfried August Homilius, HoWV I.4, for much of the biblical narrative and two of the chorales, but in his last three settings of the St. John Passion (1780, 1784, and 1788), Bach returned to Georg Philipp Telemann's 1745 St. John Passion, TVWV 5:30, which he had used as the basis for his first setting of 1772. But Bach rarely reused any of the arias, duets, or choruses in his Passions, and so the overall impression is that each of his twenty-one Passions is a separate work. The 1780 Passion is somewhat exceptional in that it includes one aria (no. 17) that had been used in the 1772 Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/7.1) with a different text. One chorus (no. 2)—an original piece based on one of Bach's Gellert songs, Wq 194/14—had also been used previously, in his 1777 St. Matthew Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/4.3, no. 2) and 1778 St. Mark Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/5.3, no. 24). Bach used it again in his 1784 St. John Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/7.4, no. 17); each time there was a different text. All the other arias in H 793 (nos. 6, 10, 13, 21) and the remaining chorus (no. 25)—although borrowed from Georg Benda, Johann Gottlieb Graun, and Homilius—had never been used by Bach in one of his Passions. The one accompanied recitative (no. 12) is the only movement composed specifically for the 1780 Passion. (See table 1 for a summary of the derivation of movements.)

With the exception of the first St. Matthew Passion (1769), which is largely based on the poetry of Anna Louisa Karsch, we do not know who compiled the texts for Bach's Passions. The recently published Bach-Repertorium catalogue of C.P.E. Bach's vocal music (BR-CPEB) has identified most of the chorales and other poetic texts. From this we can see that in his last decade Bach drew on published works of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert and Balthasar Münter almost as heavily as he did the Hamburg hymnal (HG 1766) for chorales. Bach's widow, Johanna

Maria, was asked by the church authorities in a questionnaire about the sources of the poetry in her late husband's music. Question 9 and her answer read:

[Question] 9. Whether or not he had provided the poetry for the music and how he did this?

[Answer] 9. He received some from good friends, and some were taken from printed books. For installation cantatas the poet, as far as I know, was sometimes paid by the respective church or the pastor; but this was not always the case. In these instances the text was often submitted in writing. In short, there is no set procedure in this respect.¹

Naturally, some of the choruses can be traced to Psalms or other biblical texts, and in his later years Bach also drew more frequently on his songs as the basis for both arias and choruses.² Since there is evidence that Bach himself decided where to insert chorales, arias, and other numbers in his Passions (see CPEB: CW, IV/7.2, 143–45), it seems likely that he also acted as the text assembler—as well as the editor and composer—for the Passions.

Why did Bach borrow instead of write new music? It was not necessarily to save time, since it would have taken him almost as much time to seek suitable arias in other sources and then make adjustments to incorporate them in pasticcios. Bach drew music from manuscripts in his own library, not all of which are extant, and only his copyists would have known where the borrowings came from.³

1. D-Ha, Senat, III-1, Cl. VII, Lit He Nr. 2. Vol. 8b. Fasc. 6, unnumbered enclosure to fol. 6; German text quoted in Sanders, 160–61 (see also Miesner, 14, 16–18):

"[Frage] 9. Ob er die Poesie zu den Musiken besorgt, und wie er solche besorgt habe?

[Antwort] 9. Theils hat er sie von guten Freunden bekommen und Theils aus Schriften genommen. Bey Einführungsmusiken ist wol zuweilen der Poet von der Kirche oder von dem Pastor bezahlt worden, aber nicht immer. Oft ist auch in solchen Fällen der Text eingeschickt worden. Kurz, es ist dazu nichts ausgesetzt."

2. Moira Leanne Hill, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Passion Settings: Context, Content, and Impact" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2015), explores this topic in detail, especially in chapter 6.

3. Clark and Sanders were completed before the Sing-Akademie collection was returned to Berlin. On the recovery of that collection, see Christoph Wolff, see "Recovered in Kiev: Bach et al.: A Preliminary

TABLE I. DERIVATION OF INDIVIDUAL MOVEMENTS IN BACH'S 1780 ST. JOHN PASSION

1780 No. Type	Incipit	Origin	Remarks
1. Choral	Mein Jesus hat gelöscht	H 783, no. 15	same key, with different text; see also H 783, no. 30
2. Chor	Dass du für mich gestorben bist	H 790, no. 2	see also H 791, no. 24, with different text
3. Recitativ	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	TVWV 5:30, nos. 5–7, 10, 12–14	H 785, no. 2
4. Choral	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	TVWV 5:30, no. 16	H 785, no. 3, with different text
5. Recitativ	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann	TVWV 5:30, no. 17	H 785, no. 4
6. Arie	Dein Wandel, Herr, und deine Lehre	L 516, no. 3	with different text; CPEB added ob I–II doubling vn I–II in ritornellos
7. Recitativ	Es war aber Kaiphas	TVWV 5:30, no. 17 (cont.)	H 785, no. 6
8. Choral	Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	TVWV 5:30, no. 18	H 785, no. 7, with different text
9. Recitativ	Simon Petrus aber folgte Jesu nach	TVWV 5:30, nos. 20, 22–24, 26–30	H 785, no. 8
10. Arie	So steht ein Fels im Meere	L 516, no. 5	with different text; CPEB revised the ending of the A section and omitted the B section
11. Recitativ	Und da er das gesaget	TVWV 5:30, nos. 32–34	H 785, no. 10
12. Accompagnement	Des Vaters Sohn war er	unknown	probably composed by CPEB
13. Arie	Wie unaussprechlich war er erhaben	GraunWV A:III:4, no. 2	with different text; for B instead of S; B section omitted
14. Recitativ	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum	TVWV 5:30, nos. 34 (cont.)–35	H 785, no. 12
15. Choral	Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	TVWV 5:30, no. 36	H 785, no. 13, with different text
16. Recitativ	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	TVWV 5:30, no. 37	H 785, no. 14
17. Arie	Um in Schwachheit mich zu stärken	HoWV I.10, no. 3	H 785, no. 15, with different text; for S instead of T, with ob I–II doubling vn I–II in ritornellos; B section omitted
18. Recitativ	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen	TVWV 5:30, nos. 39–49, 51–55	H 785, no. 16 (mm. 1–219)
19. Choral	Ach treues Herz, so sorgest du	unknown	see Enßlin/Rimek 2010, 172 and 183
20. Recitativ	Und von Stund an nahm sie der Jünger	TVWV 5:30, no. 55 (cont.)	H 785, no. 16 (mm. 220–34)
21. Arie	Anbetend schall hinauf zum Throne	L 564, no. 3	with different text; CPEB added ob I–II doubling vn I–II in ritornellos
22. Recitativ	Die Juden aber	TVWV 5:30, no. 57	H 785, no. 18
23. Choral	Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein	TVWV 5:30, no. 58	H 785, no. 19, with same text
24. Recitativ	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	TVWV 5:30, no. 59	H 785, nos. 20, 22
25. Chor	Held, vor dem die Hölle bebet	HoWV I.4, no. 18	with different text; CPEB omitted fl I–II
26. Choral	Ich danke dir von Herzen	H 783, no. 15	see chorale no. 1 above; transposed with different text

Key: GraunWV A:III:4 = J. G. Graun cantata *Tirsi, povero Tirsi*; H 783 = CPEB 1770 St. Mark Passion; H 785 = CPEB 1772 St. John Passion; H 787 = CPEB 1774 St. Mark Passion; H 790 = CPEB 1777 St. Matthew Passion; H 791 = CPEB 1778 St. Mark Passion; H 797 = CPEB 1784 St. John Passion; HoWV I.4 = Homilius St. John Passion; HoWV I.10 = Homilius St. Mark Passion; L 516 = Benda cantata *Welch ein jammervolles Klagen*; L 564 = Benda cantata *Der Engel Gottes heilige Menge*; TVWV 5:30 = Telemann 1745 St. John Passion

The works by Homilius (from Dresden), J. G. Graun (from Berlin), and Benda (from Gotha) would not have been known in Hamburg, and copyright (then and until very recently) applied only to printed work. Bach was considered an “Original-Genius” for his own compositions, especially his keyboard sonatas, fantasias, songs, and concertos; but aside from his oratorios (Wq 233, 238, and 240), *Klopstocks Morgengesang am Schöpfungsfeste* (Wq 239), and the double-choir *Heilig* (Wq 217), his large-scale vocal music was not held in high esteem.⁴ The Passions are listed in his estate catalogue (NV 1790), along with some of his *Einführungsmusiken*, *Bürgercapitainsmusiken*, and other works for special occasions (H 821–824), with only a few of the *Quartalstücke* and other cantatas he wrote or performed in Hamburg. It is not clear why some works are listed as his own but not others. We are only beginning to understand this repertory.⁵

Sources and Musical Elements

The original performing material for the 1780 Passion survives in D-B, SA 27 (source B), a set of twenty-four parts. It is unlikely that a full score of the Passion ever existed. The biblical narrative, most of the chorales, and one aria (no. 17) were copied from the 1772 St. John Passion (source Q 5). Chorus no. 2, originally written for the 1777 Passion, and the chorales nos. 1 and 26, first used by Bach in the 1770 Passion, were borrowed from the 1778 St. Mark Passion (source Q 2). Two of the borrowed Benda arias (nos. 6 and 10) and the borrowed J. G. Graun aria (no. 13) are in manuscript scores formerly in Bach’s library (sources Q 1 and Q 4, respectively).⁶ Two movements derive from other works: aria no. 21 from a cantata by Benda, *Der Engel Gottes*

heilige Menge, L 564 (source Q 6); and chorus no. 25 from Homilius’s St. John Passion, HoWV I.4 (source Q 3).⁷

In the 1780 Passion, Bach left intact most of the biblical narrative from his 1772 Passion. The main difference in numbering is that the 1780 Passion includes a chorus after the opening chorale. Otherwise, the first seven movements of biblical narrative (nos. 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16) in the 1780 Passion correspond to the first seven parallel movements (nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14) in the 1772 Passion. One significant difference in the 1780 Passion is that Bach divides a single recitative from the 1772 Passion (no. 16) into two movements, nos. 18 and 20, between which Bach introduces a chorale (no. 19) after Jesus tells his mother and his beloved disciple to be mother and son to each other. No. 22 in the 1780 Passion is parallel to no. 18 in the 1772 Passion. The other significant difference in the 1780 Passion is that no. 24 is a combination of two recitatives in the 1772 Passion (there nos. 20 and 22, separated by no. 21, a duet in A minor for soprano and bass). The narrative in the 1772 and 1780 Passions ends with the burial of Jesus at the end of chapter 19 in John’s Gospel. Bach’s division of the biblical narrative in the 1780 Passion is summarized below:

No.	Text Incipit	Chapter: Verses
3.	Da Jesus solches geredet hatte	18:1–11
5.	Die Schar aber und der Oberhauptmann	18:12–13
7.	Es war aber Kaiphas	18:14
9.	Simon Petrus aber folgete Jesu nach	18:15–38a
11.	Und da er das gesaget	18:38b–40
14.	Da nahm Pilatus Jesum	19:1–3a
16.	Und gaben ihm Backenstreiche	19:3b–5
18.	Da ihn die Hohenpriester und die Diener sahen	19:6–27a
20.	Und von Stund an nahm sie der Jünger	19:27b–30
22.	Die Juden aber	19:31–37
24.	Darnach bat Pilatum Joseph von Arimathia	19:38–42

Several recitatives in the 1780 Passion are followed by the same chorales in the same keys as in the 1772 Passion, including nos. 3–4, 7–8, 14–15, and 22–23. Similarly, recitative no. 16 is followed by the same aria, no. 17, in the same key (but see further discussion below). In the case of rec-

Report on the Music Archive of the Berlin Sing-Akademie,” *Notes* 58 (2001): 259–71. For a catalogue of the Bach family sources in the Sing-Akademie collection, see Enßlin.

4. Christoph Wolff, “C. P. E. Bach and the History of Music,” *Notes* 71 (2014): 197–218, suggests that Bach was more interested in religious works for the concert hall than for church services.

5. Schulenberg 2014 discusses the church music and oratorios in chapter 11, and compares Emanuel’s borrowings to the pasticcios and parodies that his father performed in Leipzig in his later years. Schulenberg asks: “was [borrowing music from contemporaries] merely a concession to popular taste, even a failure of critical judgment, or are we missing something that Emanuel and even Sebastian heard in this music? An answer must await further publication and more frequent performance of this music” (257).

6. On Bach’s use of Benda’s music, see Wolf 2006, esp. 221.

7. Sources Q 3 and Q 6 did not belong to Bach’s music library, but are concordant MSS used for comparison in the present edition. I want to thank Wolfram Enßlin for providing a photocopy of Q 6.

itative no. 18, Bach introduced a new chorale in A minor (no. 19), which is not in the 1772 Passion (cf. CPEB: CW, IV/7.1, no. 160, mm. 219–20). The situation is slightly different where Bach substituted different arias following recitatives. An interesting alteration occurs in no. 5, where Bach rewrote the last two measures to cadence on F major instead of C major (cf. CPEB: CW, IV/7.1, no. 4, mm. 7–8). This was necessary to accommodate the following aria, no. 6, in B-flat major, which replaced an aria in F major (CPEB: CW, IV/7.1, no. 5). However, recitative no. 9 ends with a cadence on D major, which in 1772 was followed by an aria for bass in D minor (CPEB: CW, IV/7.1, no. 9), but in 1780 Bach used an aria for tenor in C minor (no. 10), creating a rather remote harmonic progression. On the other hand, recitative no. 11 ends with a cadence on C major, which is followed by a new accompanied recitative, no. 12, beginning in F major and ultimately leading to a cadence in B-flat minor, the subdominant of the F-minor aria no. 13. But Bach also rewrote the final cadence of recitative no. 20 in 1780 to end on D minor—leading to an aria for bass in G minor (no. 21)—instead of E minor, which had led to a chorus in E minor in 1772 (cf. CPEB: CW, IV/7.1, nos. 160–17). Finally, the last recitative, no. 24, retains the G-major final cadence of its counterpart from the 1772 Passion (no. 22). But in 1780, the recitative is followed by an accompanied chorale in D major by Homilius (no. 25, based on the chorale melody “Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme”) instead of the chorus “Ruht wohl, ihr heiligen Gebeine” in C minor by Johann Sebastian Bach that was used in the 1772 Passion (CPEB: CW, IV/7.1, no. 23).

The chorales nos. 4, 8, 15, and 23 all come from Telemann’s St. John Passion of 1745 and were used earlier in Bach’s 1772 Passion, but with different verses from the local hymnal (HG 1766; see table 2 for the textual sources of the chorales). The opening and closing chorales (nos. 1 and 26, which have the same melody and harmonization) had been used by Bach, again with different texts, in his first three St. Mark Passions (1770, 1774, and 1778, all of which are based on a setting by Homilius, though the chorale does not come from that setting; cf., respectively, CPEB: CW, IV/5.1, nos. 15 and 30; IV/5.2, nos. 1, 27, and 30; and IV/5.3, nos. 15 and 33). The harmonization of the new chorale no. 19 has not been identified; it is possible, though unlikely, that Bach wrote it.⁸ As the penultimate movement Bach borrowed a chorale-based chorus from

Homilius’s St. John Passion (HoWV I.4, no. 18), which Bach had omitted from the 1776 Passion (see CPEB: CW, IV/7.2). A new text by Münter replaced “Gloria sei dir gesungen” in Homilius’s setting.

The chorus no. 2 (as noted above, based on Wq 194/14) was written for the 1777 St. Matthew Passion. It was unusual for Bach to reuse a number from a recent Passion, and this is the only time he repeated a chorus in the exact position in two Passions. All five of the arias in the 1780 Passion (nos. 6, 10, 13, 17, and 21) are based on works by other composers, all with different texts and some with different orchestration. Only one of the arias (no. 17) by Homilius (HoWV I.10, no. 3) had been used in an earlier Passion by Bach (the 1772 St. John Passion); in 1780 Bach used a soprano instead of a tenor and omitted the B section. Three arias (nos. 6, 10, and 21) were borrowed from two different cantatas by Benda, and for these Bach had to revise the vocal lines substantially to fit the parody texts. However, he was able to keep the instrumental accompaniment almost intact, adding doubling oboes in the ritornellos in nos. 6 and 21. The remaining aria (no. 13) was originally an Italian-texted piece by J.G. Graun (GraunWV A:III:4, no. 2), and Bach wrote a short accompanied recitative (no. 12) for soprano to precede it. Accompanied recitative became a special interest for him in his later work as well: beginning with the 1777 Passion (no. 28), Bach wrote at least one new accompanied recitative in each Passion, often though not always for bass voice.

Performance History

In 1780 Easter Sunday fell on 26 March. Thus, according to the tradition, the Passion was performed in the five principal Hamburg churches as follows:

Sunday	Date	Church
Invocavit	13 February	St. Petri
Reminiscere	20 February	St. Nicolai
Laetare	5 March	St. Catharinen
Judica	12 March	St. Jacobi
Palmarum	19 March	St. Michaelis

Oculi (27 February) was reserved for installation services at St. Michaelis. The Hamburg calendars and other documents reveal that Passion music was also performed on fixed dates in the secondary churches in Hamburg, although little is known about the repertory performed there. According to newspaper announcements, Bach’s *Passions-Cantate*, Wq 233, was given at the Spinnhauskirche (2 March), Carl Heinrich Graun’s *Der Tod Jesu* was given at the Waisen-

8. Bach used his father’s harmonization of this chorale melody (BWV 244, no. 25) in all six of his St. Matthew Passions. See Enßlin/Rimek 2010, esp. 172 and 183; see also BR-CPEB, 2:1088 and 1097.

TABLE 2. THE CHORALES

No. Incipit	HG 1766 (No., Verses)	Poet	Chorale Melody (Zahn No.)
1. Mein Jesus hat gelöscht	489, 5	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
4. Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan	400, 1	Samuel Rodigast	Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan (Z 5629)
8. Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen	114, 1	Johannes Heermann	Wend ab deinen Zorn (Z 967)
15. Nun, was du, Herr, erduldet	129, 4	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)
19. Ach treues Herz, so sorgest du	130, 5	Paul Gerhardt	Was mein Gott will, das g'scheh allzeit (Z 7568)
23. Verbirge mich und schleuß mich ein	126, 5	Paul Gerhardt	Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam (Z 7246)
25. Held, vor dem die Hölle bebet	<i>deest</i> *	Balthasar Münter	Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme (Z 8405a)
26. Ich danke dir von Herzen	129, 8	Paul Gerhardt	Herzlich tut mich verlangen (Z 5385a)

*See Münter, *Geistliche Lieder* (Copenhagen, 1772), "Wer ist's, der Himmelslicht verklärt," v. 7.

hauskirche (8 March), and Telemann's *Seliges Erwägen* was performed—though not necessarily always under Bach's direction—at least four times between 23 February and 22 March 1780: Werk-, Zucht- und Armenhauskirche (23 February), Heilig-Geist-Kirche (17 March), St. Maria Magdalena (20 March), and Neue Lazarettkirche/Pesthof (22 March).⁹ The 1780 Passion was also likely performed in the following churches: Kleine Michaelis-Kirche (16 March), St. Johannis (18 March), St. Gertrud (21 March), St. Pauli am Hamburger Berge (Maundy Thursday, 23 March), and Heilige Dreieinigkeit St. Georg (Good Friday, 24 March).

Issues of Performance Practice

Part books for eight singers survive for the 1780 St. John Passion. Although no names are specified in the headings of the parts, it is possible to identify most of the singers available to Bach during Lent 1780.¹⁰ Although the Evangelist is not named in the sources, it is likely that Johann Heinrich Michel sang the role (T I part), as he did in all of the Passions except the three St. Luke settings (1771, 1779, 1787) in which the Evangelist is assigned variously to other voices.¹¹ The tenor Hartmann is first named in the parts for the 1777 St. Matthew Passion, and he continued to sing in the ensemble until at least the 1784 St. John Passion. In

the 1780 Passion he would have sung the roles of Petrus and Pilatus, as well as aria no. 10 (T II part). Based on the available evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that Friedrich Martin Illert always sang the role of Jesus, and also aria no. 13 in the 1780 Passion (B I part).¹² Johann Andreas Hoffmann almost certainly sang the other bass part (B II), which included the roles "Ein Knecht" and "Ein Diener" as well as aria no. 21. One of the two alto parts (both of which have aria no. 6) might have been sung by Otto Ernst Gregorius Schieferlein, who also copied the parts.¹³ Peter Nicolaus Friederich Delver might have sung the other alto part, possibly alternating with Schieferlein in singing aria no. 6. Johann Christian Lau and Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwencke—the latter succeeded Bach in 1790 as the municipal music director in Hamburg—might have been the boy sopranos and taken turns singing the role of the "Magd" in no. 9a, accompanied recitative no. 12, and aria no. 17, all of which were written in both of the soprano parts.

The 1780 St. John Passion requires a minimum of fourteen instrumentalists, and this is roughly the number Bach had available to him during his time at Hamburg. The surviving parts include two copies each of the violin I, violin II, and violoncello parts, and one copy each of the horn I and II, oboe I and II, bassoon I and II, and viola parts. Two of the instrumentalists can be tentatively identified. One of the copies of the violin I part has the initial "B." in pencil,

9. Wiermann, 405, 426–27.

10. See Sanders, 95–107, for a summary of the singers in Bach's vocal ensemble.

11. 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: Stegglein, 2010), 95–118.

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

13. 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.

which might indicate Johann Adolph Buckhofer, the senior of the town musicians from 1757 to 1788. The other copy of the violin I part has the initial “H.” in pencil, which might indicate Paul Hartmann (Hartmann senior).¹⁴ There are three copies of the organ part in three different keys to match the tunings of the main Hamburg churches (see preface, p. x). Oboes double the soprano and alto voices in the chorales and turba choruses, as well as chorus no. 2, arias nos. 6, 17, and 21, and chorus no. 25; horns and bassoons are used only in chorus no. 25. Bach explicitly calls for violone to double the violoncellos (playing *pizzicato*) in no. 2, so it is likely that the violone doubled the violoncello part throughout the rest of the 1780 Passion.

14. See Sanders, 148–59, for the names of musicians who performed with Bach; see also Neubacher, 415–16 and 424.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to the staff of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, especially the director, Martina Rebmann, and the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin for their efficient and friendly service, and for providing facsimile plates. Ulrich Leisinger made many improvements, as did Jason B. Grant in the editorial office.

I dedicate this edition to the memory of Christopher Hogwood, who served as the chair of the Editorial Board from 1999 until his untimely death in September 2014.

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