

INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains three published collections of songs by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: the *Psalmen mit Melodien* (hereafter *Cramer Psalmen*), Wq 196, and two collections of *Geistliche Gesänge* (hereafter *Sturm Gesänge*), Wq 197 and 198.¹ In Wq 196, which appeared in print in 1774, Bach set forty-two Psalm paraphrases by Johann Andreas Cramer (1723–88), a theologian and poet active in Copenhagen and Kiel. In both Wq 197 and 198, which appeared in 1780 and 1781, respectively, Bach set thirty texts by Christoph Christian Sturm (1740–86), pastor of St. Petri in Hamburg. The Cramer texts were all taken from the *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen* (hereafter *Poetische Übersetzung*), published in four parts by Breitkopf in Leipzig between 1755 and 1764 (see sources OT 1a–OT 4 for Wq 196, p. 158). For the *Sturm Gesänge* Bach selected texts from Sturm's *Lieder und Kirchengesänge* (Hamburg, 1780; see source OT 1 for Wq 197 and 198, pp. 164 and 167), from his *Predigtentwürfe über die Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelia* (Hamburg, published annually from 1779, see sources OT 2a and OT 2b for Wq 198, p. 167), and from unpublished poems that Sturm must have given directly to Bach. Nearly all of the unpublished poems later appeared in print in the *Gesangbuch für Gartenfreunde und Liebhaber der Natur* (Hamburg, 1781; hereafter *Gartenfreunde 1781*), the *Neues Hamburgisches Gesangbuch* (Hamburg, 1787; hereafter “NHG 1787”), and in the posthumously published *Lieder auf die hohen Fest- Passions- und Bustage* (Coburg, 1795; hereafter *Lieder 1795*).²

Cramer Psalmen, Wq 196

Nearly fifteen years had passed since the 1758 publication of Bach's first collection of songs, *Gellerts geistliche Oden mit Melodien*, Wq 194, before Bach again turned his attention to composing a collection of sacred songs. This long pause may partly be explained by the general decline of

1. The three collections are listed in Helm as items 733, 749, and 752, respectively. They are listed in NV 1790 in consecutive entries on page 55: “Cramers Psalmen mit Melodien. H. 1773. und 1774.” and “Sturms geistliche Gesänge mit Melodien. H. 1780. Der 2te Theil. H. 1781.”

2. A few of the texts had also appeared in other printed collections and anthologies.

the sacred song in Protestant Germany after 1760,³ but it may also reflect the fact that Bach's official duties in Berlin did not include the composition of sacred music, whereas in Hamburg—where from 1768 Bach was music director of the five principal churches—they did. In the meantime, however, Bach had not completely neglected the sacred song. In addition to seeing his Gellert songs through three additional editions between 1759 and 1771 (including adding twelve new songs as an appendix in 1764), Bach had published individual songs—for example in various issues of *Unterhaltungen* between 1768 and 1770 (Wq 202/C) and in *Münters Erste Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder* from 1773 (Wq 202/E); these and other songs that were published in anthologies are contained in CPEB: CW, VI/3.

Cramer's four volumes of *Poetische Übersetzung* appeared between 1755 and 1764 in Leipzig and consisted of paraphrased German translations of all 150 Psalms. During these years Cramer, who was born and raised in Saxony, lived in Copenhagen.⁴ He had been called there, with the help of his friend Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, to serve as pastor at the court of Frederik V, King of Denmark and Norway. In 1771 Cramer had to leave Copenhagen for political reasons, whereupon he found a position as superintendent in Lübeck, but in 1774 he was called back into Danish service as professor of theology and vice-chancellor (in 1784 he became chancellor) at the University of Kiel.⁵ He died there in 1788, the same year as Bach. Cramer was highly respected as a theologian and author. In Copen-

3. See Leisinger 2006, 118–19.

4. For further information on Cramer, see Youngren, 271–73. Various composers before Bach had already set individual Psalms from Cramer's collection. Marpurg's two collections—*Geistliche, moralische und weltliche Oden* and *Geistliche Oden*, in *Melodien gesetzt von einigen Tonkünstlern in Berlin* (both Berlin, 1758)—contain settings by Christian Gottfried Krause, Christian Friedrich Schale, and Johann Friedrich Agricola. A larger selection of Psalms is found in Johann Friedrich Gräfe's *Fünffzig Psalmen, geistliche Oden und Lieder zur privat und öffentlichen Andacht in Melodien mit Instrumenten* (Leipzig, 1760), with twenty-six settings taken from Cramer. Bach's selection of forty-two settings is apparently the only collection devoted exclusively to Cramer.

5. See *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Musik und Literatur in Norddeutschland. Ausstellung zum 200. Todestag Bachs* (Heide: Boyens, 1988), 77 (for an engraved portrait of Cramer) and 116 (for a description of the portrait and facts of Cramer's life).

hagen he had edited the moral weekly, *Der nordische Aufseher*. His writings are infused with the rationalistic spirit of a reform-friendly Enlightenment.

Besides his work as a clergyman, author, and professor, Cramer also founded a seminar for village school teachers, and he was involved in the creation of new hymnals. In 1780 in Altona he edited the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Gesangbuch*, also known as the “Cramersche Gesangbuch,” and he also had a hand in the preparation of NHG 1787. Despite Cramer’s chronological and geographical proximity to Bach, there is no evidence of direct contact between the two men. In 1774, however, Cramer’s son, Carl Friedrich Cramer, visited Bach in Hamburg and picked up his father’s subscribed copy of the Psalm settings. The younger Cramer took the opportunity to request an entry from Bach in his *Stammbuch*.⁶

Cramer’s *Poetische Übersetzung* was very successful. By the time the third and fourth volumes appeared in 1763–64, the first two volumes already had to be reprinted. A Dutch edition appeared in 1768. Cramer heavily revised the texts for the second editions of the first two volumes, most likely in response to a review of the first edition by the theologian and Hebraic scholar Wilhelm Abraham Teller (1734–1804), a pastor in Cologne. Teller published his *Beurtheilung des ersten Theils der Cramerischen Uebersetzung der Psalmen in zweyen Sendschreiben an den Hochwürdigen Herrn Verfasser* in Leipzig in 1760. Cramer had, in fact, invited such criticism in the preface to his second volume (OT 2a):

I would consider myself fortunate if I were made aware of judgments of this work, which could lead to actual improvements in them. I would particularly enjoy such suggestions that, through a thorough understanding of eastern languages, show either the meaning or expression of the original in a new light.⁷

Cramer refers specifically to Teller’s criticism in the preface to the second edition of the second volume (OT 2b), and, in reference to his own revisions, writes:

6. The album entry, dated 9 June 1774, is a short imitative exposition on the B–A–C–H motive. It is reproduced on the front cover and at the end of the general preface of each volume in CPEB: CW (see page x). Bach also used the B–A–C–H motive in his setting of Psalm 148, Wq 196/41.

7. “Ich werde mich glücklich schätzen, wenn mir Beurtheilungen dieser Arbeit bekannt werden, welche wirkliche Verbesserungen derselben veranlassen können. Besonders werde ich mich über diejenigen freuen, die, durch einen glücklichen Gebrauch der morgenländischen Sprachen, entweder dem Sinne oder dem Ausdrücke des Originals ein neues Licht anzünden.”

I only regret that I did not have available to me the same assistance that I had with the first volume. The first volume, as is well known, enjoyed a careful and thorough examination and review, which, because they came from a highly-respected Hebraic scholar, inevitably led me to accept many changes and improvements, since I was inclined to accept everything that could provide me with new insights.⁸

Teller had reproached Cramer for thus far having followed Luther’s translations too closely, and offered suggestions based on a comparison with the original Hebrew texts. Cramer accepted many of Teller’s suggestions, often verbatim, and discussed some of them in detail in his preface.

Cramer had also discussed the relative merits of prose and poetic translations in the preface to the first edition (OT 1a), giving preference to the latter, since they “move the heart more than prosaic ones” (sie rühren das Herz mehr als prosaische). At the end of this preface Cramer addressed the purpose and meaning of his Psalm translations:

I close with the fervent wish that this work may serve not only to engender or sustain the enjoyment of poetic beauty in my readers, but also, and above all, of the divine content of the Psalms for the spreading of religion and virtue.⁹

Cramer dedicated the Psalm translations to his Danish royal patron, Frederik V, in a dedication dated 28 January 1755.

Cramer’s success with his *Poetische Übersetzung* perhaps encouraged him to experiment further with Psalms again a few years later. In 1769 he published in Copenhagen the *Evangelische Nachahmungen der Psalmen Davids, und andere Geistliche Lieder* (printed by Johann Christoph Büttner in Leipzig). This volume contained not only a selection of Psalm “imitations,” but also other poems that had already appeared in various anthologies. For the individual Psalm-like texts Cramer gave specific suggestions as to which

8. “Ich beklage nur, daß ich nicht, wie bei dem ersten Teile, gleiche Hilfsmittel in meiner Gewalt gehabt habe. Dieser hatte, wie bekannt ist, das Glück, einer besondern und ausführlichen Untersuchung und Beurtheilung unterworfen zu werden, und diese mußte nothwendig, da sie von einem der ebräischen Sprache sehr kundigen Gelehrten herrührte, viele Veränderungen und Verbesserungen veranlassen, da ich geneigt war, alles anzunehmen, was mir neue Einsichten gewähren konnte.”

9. “Ich schließe mit dem eifrigen Wunsche, daß diese Arbeit dienen möge, bei den Lesern das Vergnügen nicht nur an den poetischen Schönheiten, sondern vornehmlich an dem göttlichen Inhalte der Psalmen zur Ausbreitung der Religion und Tugend entweder zu erwecken, oder zu unterhalten.”

well-known hymn tunes could be used to sing them. In the preface Cramer emphasized that here—as opposed to his *Poetische Übersetzung*—he had only undertaken to imitate the Psalms, rather than translate or paraphrase them. Cramer had published a similar collection of sacred songs in 1766, the *Neue geistliche Oden und Lieder* (Frankfurt and Leipzig), containing twenty-two odes and songs, none of which, however, was based on Psalms. The editor of this collection writes in the preface that the songs are “a part of Cramer’s devotions, made up of observations, prayers, and songs about God, his characteristics and works” (ein Theil Cramers Andachten in Betrachtungen, Gebeten und Liedern über Gott, seine Eigenschaften und Werke), and he compares them to the songs of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, “which they equal in devotion, and perhaps surpass in nobility of expression” (denen sie an Andacht gleich kommen, und Hoheit der Vorstellungen vielleicht noch vorgehen).

Bach’s first musical encounter with Cramer’s *Poetische Übersetzung* took place in Berlin: for the second issue of Friedrich Wilhelm Birnstiel’s *Musikalisches Allerley* in 1761, Bach set Psalms 2 and 4.¹⁰ The first is a four-part a cappella choral setting (Wq 205), the second a duet for two sopranos (Wq 206), both with a figured-bass accompaniment (see CPEB: CW, V/6). Bach later reused the setting of Psalm 4 for Wq 196/2, but in an arrangement for single voice and keyboard. A letter from Matthias Claudius to Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg dated September 1772 indicates that Bach may have been contemplating setting more of Cramer’s *Poetische Übersetzung* in that year. According to the letter, Claudius had given Bach a copy of Cramer’s book at the beginning of the year in order to encourage him to set some of the texts. Gerstenberg, who was also a friend of the composer, may have brought Cramer’s *Poetische Übersetzung* to Bach’s attention even earlier. In his review of Cramer’s *Evangelische Nachahmungen der Psalmen Davids* (Copenhagen, 1769), Gerstenberg expressed the desire to see Cramer’s Psalm translations used “to encourage domestic devotion, just like the Gellert *Lieder mit Melodien* of our incomparable Bach. We regret that his Psalms have not already long ago been given this important advantage.”¹¹

10. Two other songs in *Musikalisches Allerley* use texts from Cramer’s *Poetische Übersetzung*—settings by Carl Friedrich Fasch of Psalms 1 and 5.

11. “gleich den Gellertschen Liedern mit Melodien unsers unnachahmlichen Bachs, auch die häusliche Erbauung zu befördern [vermögen]. Es thut uns Leid, daß seine Psalmen nicht schon längst diesen wichtigen Vortheil gehabt haben.” Both the Claudius letter and Gerstenberg’s

Bach carried on an extensive correspondence with Breitkopf in Leipzig concerning the publication of the *Cramer Psalmen*. His first letter to the publisher about Wq 196 dates from 24 June 1773 and indicates that Bach was already getting serious about setting the Psalms, since he asks about printing costs, paper formats, and subscription pricing:

Because I want to publish Cramer’s Psalms (NB those suitable for setting to music), how much will a sheet cost to set and print in 400, 500, 600, and more copies? The estimate should be made according to the Gellert Odes since the Cramer Psalms are to become, so to speak, the companion to my Gellert Odes.¹²

Bach was at the same time negotiating with Breitkopf over the publication of his oratorio *Die Israeliten in der Wüste*, Wq 238. Breitkopf preferred to publish the Psalms first, and both parties agreed on a print run of 1,000 copies. Although Breitkopf did not consider a subscription model necessary, in the end Bach decided on this form of financial security for Wq 196. He employed a network of agents made up of friends and colleagues, such as Johann Nikolaus Forkel in Göttingen, to sign up subscribers, following the method developed by Klopstock for the sale of his *Die deutsche Gelehrten Republik*. By this system, individuals paid for their copies of the Psalms in advance, thus providing Bach with capital to proceed with the publication at reduced risk of financial loss. In exchange, the individuals had their names printed in the edition. Thus, with the *Cramer Psalmen*, Bach initiated the series of his twelve music publications brought out “im Verlag des Autors.”¹³

The call for subscriptions appeared in several newspapers in October and November 1773. In it, Bach seems to make reference to the efforts of Claudius and Gerstenberg mentioned above: “Already at the time that my Gellert songs came out, my friends wished that I would likewise provide melodies for singing at the keyboard the Psalm

review are cited in Busch, 107. Gerstenberg’s review originally appeared in the *Neue Hamburger Zeitung*, 28 December 1769.

12. “Da ich die Cramerschen Psalmen, (NB die sich zur Music schicken) herausgeben will, wie hoch wird der Bogen zu 400, 500, 600 u. mehr Exemplare zu setzen u. zu drucken kosten, es ist nach den Gellertschen Oden der Ueberschlag zu machen, weil die Cramerschen gleichsam den Compagnon zu meinen Gellertschen werden sollen?” CPEB-Briefe, 1:306; CPEB-Letters, 36. Translations from the Bach-Breitkopf correspondence are taken principally from Clark, CPEB-Letters, with occasional slight modifications. The “Gellert Odes” refer to Wq 194 and 195; see CPEB: CW, VI/1.

13. See Stephen L. Clark, “C.P.E. Bach as a Publisher of his Own Works,” in *Frankfurt/Oder 1994*, 199–211.

translations of Dr. Cramer for personal edification.”¹⁴ In a similar vein, the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* reported in 1768:

An anonymous person has inquired in writing of music director Bach in Hamburg, whether he was not inclined to set Cramer’s Psalm translations to the same sort of melodies that he published to Gellert’s sacred songs. . . . Bach would like to make known that, if he can find a suitable publisher, he would not be against fulfilling this wish.¹⁵

Apparently no publisher came forward, so Bach finally decided to publish the Psalms himself.


Bach worked on the *Cramer Psalmen* intensively during the autumn of 1773, and he was able to send the greater part of the collection to Breitkopf in Leipzig on 3 December, along with another request for a projection of the total page count.¹⁶ On 21 December he informed Breitkopf that he would like the Psalms to be printed using Breitkopf’s recently improved typesetting process, a sample of which Breitkopf had sent to Bach for his inspection.¹⁷ CPEB apparently received the first bifolio of the print to proofread sometime before 18 January 1774; in a recently recovered letter CPEB indicates that he was “perfectly satisfied” with the typesetting and referred to a minor error in measure 10 of Wq 196/4, which, however, Breitkopf did not correct in the final print. He also told Breitkopf that he was sending eight additional songs, each of which would probably fill no more than one page of music. The relevant passage reads:

14. “Schon damals, als meine Gellertschen Lieder herausgekommen waren, wünschten meine Freunde, daß ich zu des Herrn Doctor Cramers Psalmen, zur Privat-Erbauung, ebenfalls Melodien zum Singen bey dem Claviere herausgeben möchte.” The call for subscriptions first appeared in *HUC* on 20 October 1773; see Wiermann, 189–90.

15. “Es hat ein Ungenannter den Hrn. Musikdirektor Bach zu Hamburg schriftlich ersucht, ob er nicht zu den Cramerischen Psalmen eben solche Melodien setzen wolle, als er zu den Gellertschen geistlichen Liedern herausgegeben habe. . . . Herr Bach thut also hierdurch zu wissen, daß, wenn sich ein billiger Verleger fände, er nicht abgeneigt wäre die Aufforderung zu erfüllen.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:166. Youngren, 274–75, has recently suggested that the “letter from an unknown person” was a complete fabrication by Bach in order to gauge interest with the public and with possible publishers.


16. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:346–47; *CPEB-Letters*, 43–44.

17. “Die Probe von Noten gefällt mir auch besser, als die ehemaligen, folgl. erbitte ich mir zu meinen Psalmen diese neue Art.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:349; *CPEB-Letters*, 44–45.

With your first bifolio I am perfectly satisfied. On page 4, the last measure on the penultimate system, the three 32nd notes:  must be 64th notes. You will still receive eight Psalms, each of which will fill one page, as long as the many extra verses for a couple of them do not change things. You will receive these eight Psalms, the title page, dedication and preface very soon. An index or a table of contents is not necessary, because the Psalms appear in order.¹⁸

On 9 February 1774 Bach sent the final eight Psalms, the dedication, and the preface to Breitkopf, and voiced his hope of being able to send the subscription list by Easter, so that the publication could appear in time for the Easter fair.¹⁹ The production was delayed, however, and Bach was still receiving proof sheets in March. Bach made corrections on these and protested changes in the texts being introduced by the typesetter. Bach’s letter from 21 March 1774 sheds an interesting light on the genesis of the setting of Psalm 47, and on Bach’s compositional choices:

The typesetter changed the words in the first verse on page 21, and even though these words were changed by Herr Cramer himself in a newer edition, they must remain as they are in my manuscript, namely: Der Herr ist erschrecklich an, etc. since my composition is set accordingly. In order to express this erschrecklich at least somewhat adequately, I intentionally went from E major directly to D major in an abrupt way and without preparation. . . . There is no rationale for this harsh modulation as the words are now printed.”²⁰

18. “Mit Ihrem ersten Bogen bin ich vollkommen zufrieden. Seite 4, im letzten Tacte des vorletzten Systems müßen die 3 drey-mahl geschwänzten Noten:  vier-mahl geschwänzt seyn. Nun kriegen Sie noch 8 Psalmen, von denen jeder eine Seite füllen wird, wenn nicht etwa die vielen Strophen bey ein Paar einen Unterschied machen. Diese 8 Psalmen nebst Titel, Dedication u. Vorrede sollen Sie ehestens bekommen. Register oder Inhalt ist nicht nöthig, weil die Psalmen in der Ordnung folgen.” Letter from CPEB to Breitkopf from 18 January 1774, published as item no. 684 in *Autographen aus allen Gebieten. Auktion am 25. und 26. November 2008. Katalog 689* (Berlin: J.A. Stargardt, 2008), 300–301.

19. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:357–58; *CPEB-Letters*, 47.

20. “In der ersten Strophe Pag. 21 hat der Setzer die Worte geändert, u. wenn diese Worte auch von H. Cramern selbst in einer neuern Edition geändert wären, so müßen sie doch so bleiben, wie sie in meinem Mscpt stehen, nemlich: Der Herr ist erschrecklich an etc. weil meine Composition hierauf eingerichtet ist, ich bin, um dieses erschrecklich einigermaßen auszudrücken, mit Fleiß auf eine rauhe Art und ohne Vorbereitung aus dem E dur gleich ins D dur gegangen. . . . So, wie die Worte jetzt gedruckt sind, hat diese harte Ausweichung keine Veranlassung.” *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:367; *CPEB-Letters*, 48.

It was, however, too late for Breitkopf to revert to the earlier text in the typeset music, so he had to add a note of clarification at the end of the table of contents indicating Bach's intentions (see critical report). Bach claimed to have used the second edition of Cramer's verses for his settings; but in this case, at least, he was clearly working from the first edition, since the text as set by the typesetter corresponds exactly to the second edition. This suggests that those settings that show traces of having been set from the first edition (Psalms 1, 4, 6, and 47) may have been composed before Bach became acquainted with Cramer's second edition, which appeared in 1764.

Bach was unable to meet his self-imposed deadline for sending the complete subscription list to Breitkopf by Easter (which, in 1774, fell on 3 April), instead sending it along with a letter on 12 April.²¹ Several letters then follow that work out the practical arrangements for delivering the publication to the various agents. Bach had signed up 327 subscribers, who ordered a total of 435 copies. Most of the subscribers came from northern Germany and from larger cities further south, including Leipzig, Dresden, Weimar, Göttingen, and Gotha. Many copies also went to the large German-speaking enclave in Copenhagen, where Cramer had lived and was well known. Bach dedicated the *Cramer Psalmen* to Duke Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who had close political and dynastic ties to Denmark (see critical report for the dedication), and also added a preface, dated 28 March 1774 (see plates 2–3 and p. 2 of the present volume for the original German preface; an English translation is found in the appendix to this introduction).

The appearance of Bach's *Cramer Psalmen* was met with many positive press reviews.²² The review in *HNZ* included a wish for Bach to set some of Cramer's Psalm translations for chorus and publish them in score. Bach fulfilled at least the first part of this wish by making choral settings of three of the Psalms, Wq 222–224, which were not, however, published during his lifetime.²³ In a list of works that Bach's widow, Johanna Maria Bach, sent to Sara Levy in Berlin on 5 September 1789, five choral arrangements from *Cramer Psalmen* are mentioned.²⁴ NV 1790

21. *CPEB-Briefe*, 1:390; *CPEB-Letters*, 53.

22. *Der Wandsbecker Bothe*, no. 98 (21 June 1774), 3; *HUC*, no. 112 (15 July 1774), 4; *Altonaischer gelehrter Mercurius*, no. 31 (4 August 1774), 243–45; and *HNZ*, no. 133 (20 August 1774), 4. See Wiermann, 194–98.

23. Wq 222 is an arrangement of Wq 196/4; Wq 223 = 196/9, and Wq 224 = 196/13. See *CPEB:CW*, V/2.2; *CPEB:CW*, V/6 and *CPEB:CW*, IV/4.5 for the arrangements.

24. *CPEB-Briefe*, 2:1312.

makes reference to Bach's use of Psalms in his Passions: "The many choruses in the Passions from Cramer's Psalms, Gellert's and Sturm's songs, the Litanies, etc., can also be acquired in manuscript by those interested."²⁵ In Bach's settings of Psalm 8, Wq 196/4, and Psalm 67, Wq 196/18, there are headings in the 1774 print for "Chor," so a choral performance of these settings might even have been part of their original conception, although the headings might also be simply emphasizing the antiphonal nature of the original Psalms. Table 1 lists all of Bach's surviving choral arrangements of *Cramer Psalmen* and *Sturm Gesänge*.

Bach's settings of the *Cramer Psalmen* did not appear in any other complete edition during his lifetime. However, in addition to the use of some of the Psalms in Bach's Passions, other individual settings found a wider distribution. In 1781 in Copenhagen, for example, Bach's pupil Niels Schiørring published the hymnal *Kirke-Melodierne til den 1778 udgangne Psalmebog*, in which the second melody given for no. 71, "Naglet til et Kors," is taken from Wq 196/19 (Psalm 86), albeit in a new harmonization (published in *CPEB:CW*, V/6). Bach, whom Schiørring describes in the preface as his "worthy and very honored teacher" (*fortiente og meget ærede Lærer*), was actively involved in Schiørring's project, providing written annotations throughout Schiørring's manuscript, almost as if Schiørring had submitted it to Bach as a student exercise.²⁶

Sturm Gesänge, Wq 197 and 198

The history of the *Sturm Gesänge* is less well-documented than that of the *Cramer Psalmen*. Bach did not publish them himself; rather they were brought out by the Hamburg book dealer and publisher Johann Heinrich Herold. This was perhaps due to the fact that Bach was busy preparing the second and third volumes of his *Kenner und Liebhaber* collections of keyboard music, Wq 56 and 57, at the same time. Herold was also the publisher of Sturm's

25. "Die vielen in den Paßions-Musiken befindlichen Chöre aus Cramers Psalmen, Gellerts und Sturms Liedern, der Litaney, u. a. m. können den Liebhabern auch einzeln in Abschrift überlassen werden." NV 1790, 63. Wq 222 and Wq 223 are also listed individually in NV 1790, 62. See also Clark, 88–96.

26. A page of Schiørring's manuscript (DK-Kk, mu 7708.0831) showing a lengthy annotation in Bach's hand is reproduced in Niels Schiørring, *Kirke-Melodierne til den 1778 udgangne Psalmebog* (Copenhagen, 1781; reprint, Copenhagen: Dan Fog Musikforlag, 1978), 9; see also Busch, 154–55 and 222; and Ada Kadelbach, "Die Kirchenliedkompositionen C.Ph.E. Bachs in Choralbüchern seiner Zeit," *Hamburg 1988*, 396–97.

TABLE I. ARRANGEMENTS BY BACH OF CRAMER PSALMS AND STURM SONGS

| Wq | Title, Verse | Text Incipit | Arrangement; Remarks |
|--------|---|---|--|
| 196/2 | Psalm 4, v. 1 | Wenn ich zu dir in meinen Ängsten flehe | Wq 206; for SA + b.c. in <i>Musikalisches Allerley</i> (predates Wq 196) |
| 196/4 | Psalm 8, v. 1 | Wer ist so würdig als du, von uns bewundert zu werden | Wq 222; used as chorus, no. 3, in Wq 241 (Easter cantata "Nun danket") |
| 196/9 | Psalm 25, v. 2 | Keiner wird sich schämen dürfen | Wq 223; used as chorus, no. 14, in 1781 St. Matthew Passion, H 794 |
| 196/9 | Psalm 25, v. 3 | Zeige du mir deine Wege! | Wq 223; used in a cantata for 8th Sunday after Trinity (1777), H <i>deest</i> |
| 196/13 | Psalm 38, v. 1 | Lass mich nicht deinen Zorn empfinden | Wq 224; used in a cantata for 10th Sunday after Trinity (1775), H <i>deest</i> , and as chorus, no. 17, in 1785 St. Matthew Passion, H 798 |
| 196/13 | Psalm 38, v. 4 | Ich bin gebeugt, ich bin zerschlagen! | Wq 224; used as chorus, no. 16, in 1781 St. Matthew Passion, H 794 |
| 196/23 | Psalm 93, vv. 1 and 4 | Jehova herrscht, ein König über alle | used as chorus, no. 21, in 1783 St. Luke Passion, H 796 |
| 196/30 | Psalm 110, vv. 1 and 3 | Jehova sprach zu Gott, dem Sohne | used as chorus, no. 13, in 1783 St. Luke Passion, H 796 |
| 197/3 | Loblied für das Seelenleiden Jesu, vv. 1, 3 and 5 | Sieh, Gotteslamm, wir fallen | used as chorus, no. 13, in 1786 St. Mark Passion, H 799 ^a |
| 197/4 | Osterlied, vv. 1 and 2 | Amen! Lob und Preis und Stärke | Wq 226; used as chorus, no. 1, in Wq 241 (Easter cantata "Nun danket") ^b |
| 197/6 | Passionslied, v. 4 | Erlöser meiner Seele | used as chorus, no. 28, in 1781 St. Matthew Passion, H 794 |
| 197/9 | Todesfreudigkeit, v. 1 | Gott, dem ich lebe, des ich bin | Wq 225; used as chorus in Trauermusik Rumpf, H <i>deest</i> |
| 197/13 | Der Tag des Weltgerichts, vv. 1–3 | Wann der Erde Gründe beben | Wq 230; used as chorus, no. 30, in 1782 St. Mark Passion, H 795 ^c |
| 197/21 | Die Fortdauer der Lehre Jesu, vv. 1 and 5 | Umsonst empört die Hölle sich | used as chorus, no. 13, in 1785 St. Matthew Passion, H 798 |
| 198/3 | Menschenliebe Jesu, v. 1 | Dich bet ich an, Herr Jesu Christ | Wq 208/4; "motetto" for SA + b.c. |
| 198/3 | Menschenliebe Jesu, v. 1 | Dich bet ich an, Herr Jesu Christ | used as chorus, no. 5, in 1786 St. Mark Passion, H 799 |
| 198/4 | Die Bestimmung des Christen, v. 2 | Sohn, zum Erlöser mir gesandt! | used as chorus, no. 2, in 1785 St. Matthew Passion, H 798 |
| 198/6 | Passionslied, vv. 1 and 5 | In Todesängsten hängst du da | used as chorus, no. 28, in 1782 St. Mark Passion, H 795 |
| 198/14 | Lobgesang auf die Auferstehung Jesu, v. 1 | Halleluja! Jesus lebet! | used as chorus, no. 2, in Wq 243 (Easter Cantata "Anbetung dem Erbarmer") |
| 198/15 | Betrachtung des Todes, vv. 1, 4 and 5 | Mein Heiland, wenn mein Herz erfreut | used as chorus, no. 27, in 1783 St. Luke Passion, H 796 ^d also used as chorus in Trauermusiken Schuback 1783 and Luis 1788, both H <i>deest</i> |
| 198/23 | Lobgesang auf den Tod, vv. 1, 4 and 5 | Halleluja! Auf Golgatha | used as chorus, no. 19, in 1784 St. John Passion, H 797 |
| 198/26 | Das Reich Jesu, vv. 1 and 2 | Dir, o du Herrscher, Jesu Christ | used as chorus, no. 17, in 1782 St. Mark Passion, H 795 |
| 198/26 | Das Reich Jesu, vv. 3 and 4 | Von Ewigkeit warst du bestimmt | used as chorus, no. 17, in 1786 St. Mark Passion, H 799 |
| 198/29 | Jesus in Gethsemane, vv. 1 and 4 | Schau hin! Dort in Gethsemane | used as chorus, no. 7, in 1782 St. Mark Passion, H 795 |

NOTES

- a. Verse 1 is set for tenor solo and orchestra, with melodic elaboration; the music is transposed up a third and set in $\frac{3}{4}$ instead of $\frac{3}{8}$, and the last line of text is repeated by the chorus. Verse 3 receives similar treatment, but with soprano solo and further melodic elaboration, before the chorus repeats the last line. Verse 5 is set for chorus throughout.
- b. The use of Wq 226 as the opening chorus for Wq 241 is only documented for a performance in St. Catharinen, Hamburg in 1783, where it replaced the original opening chorale, "Nun danket alle Gott."
- c. The trumpets and timpani used in Wq 230 are omitted in the Passion setting.
- d. The texts for verses 4 and 5 are altered considerably from those published in the *Sturm Gesänge*.

collection of poetry entitled *Lieder und Kirchengesänge*, and one can imagine that he would have been particularly interested in also publishing musical settings by Bach of these Sturm texts.

Christoph Christian Sturm already had a considerable reputation as a theologian and author before he was called to Hamburg in 1778. Born in Augsburg, Sturm studied philosophy and theology at Jena and Halle. He began his pastoral career in Halle at the Marktkirche in 1767, and two years later he moved to the Heilig Geist Kirche in Magdeburg, where he remained until his move to Hamburg. By 1778 Sturm had published various theological writings, including *Predigten über die Sonntags-Episteln durch das ganze Jahr* (Halle, beginning in 1776). Both his *Die Unterhaltungen mit Gott in den Morgenstunden* (Halle, 1768) and *Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes in der Natur* (Halle, 1773) were important contributions to the theological current of nature religion, of which Sturm was the most important representative. The following year Sturm published *Geistliche Gesänge über die Werke Gottes in der Natur. Eine Zugabe zu den Betrachtungen . . .* (Halle, 1774). In Hamburg he continued to concentrate on sacred song texts and published two more collections, *Lieder und Kirchengesänge* (1780) and *Gesangbuch für Gartenfreunde und Liebhaber der Natur* (1781).

Sturm's conception for many of his poems was that they might be sung to well-known chorale melodies. In fact, the published editions of his poetry often provide specific suggestions for which chorales might be used by listing the title of a chorale melody after the title of the poem. Table 2 lists the poems that are so provided and that Bach also set in Wq 197 and 198, along with Sturm's suggested chorale melodies.

Sturm was also a representative of the Hamburg Enlightenment, resonating with his readers both through reason and through emotion. Sturm's books for edification were highly treasured. *Die Unterhaltungen mit Gott in den Morgenstunden* went through several editions, was translated into French and English, and circulated well into the nineteenth century. As a member of the Hamburg hymnal committee (along with Cramer), Sturm was also intensely involved in the development of NHG 1787, to which Bach also contributed his fourteen *Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern des neuen Hamburgischen Gesangbuchs*, Wq 203.

Sturm's early biographer, Jacob Friedrich Feddersen, praised Sturm's contributions to the sacred song literature:

Our Sturm's merit is all the greater in this area, because he was the first to publish entire collections of sacred texts on

nature religion, since such songs are under-represented in our other songbooks, and few of those that are represented have satisfied wholesome taste and proper devotion. . . . Even in the works of our best poets he was unable to find as many contributions as he had expected. Besides Gellert, Cramer, Schlegel, and Münter, most have contemplated nature from its sunny side, but not as a source of religious feeling. His own texts, as well as the revisions and improvements he made to many texts of other authors, are worthy of the appreciative reception that they have found.²⁷

The publication of Bach's *Sturm Gesänge* was a true collaborative effort by poet, composer and publisher.²⁸ Both Bach and Sturm could be counted among the leading personalities of the cultural and spiritual life of Hamburg around 1780, and they were on friendly terms with each other. Bach had composed the cantata "Nehmet das Wort an mit Sanftmut" (H 821i) for Sturm's installation as principal pastor of Hamburg's St. Petri church on 1 September 1778.²⁹ In the subscription announcement for Wq 197 that appeared in Herold's own *Buchhändlerzeitung* on 27 January 1780, the publisher specifically mentions the close collaboration between Sturm and Bach:

I had requested from Pastor Sturm that he seek out those poems of his that had appeared in various collections and that he considered best suited to musical setting, that I might announce them to the lovers of keyboard-accompanied song. Because of his favorable opinion of me, he instead wrote for me entirely new poems and worked together with our Kapellmeister Bach to bring the project to fruition. With the common zeal of two such men to use the combination of poetry

27. "Der Verdienst unsers Sturms ist hier desto größer, da Er der Erste ist, der ganze Sammlungen solcher geistlicher Gesänge über die Naturreligion herausgegeben hat; da unsre gewöhnlichen Gesangbücher arm an dergleichen Liedern sind; und wenige der bisherigen Gesänge dieser Art, den gesunden Geschmack und die vernünftige Andacht befriedigten. . . . Auch in den Werken unsrer besten Dichter fand Er nicht so viele Beyträge, als Er erwartete. Außer Gellert, Cramer, Schlegel und Münter haben die meisten die Natur von ihrer lachenden Seite, nicht aber als eine Schule religiöser Empfindungen betrachtet. Seine eignen Gesänge, wie die Aenderungen und Verbesserungen, welche Er bey vielen andern Liedern gemacht, sind werth der erkenntlichen Aufnahme, welche sie fanden." Jacob Friedrich Feddersen, *Christoph Christian Sturm's gewesenen Hauptpastors zu St. Petri und Scholarchen in Hamburg, Leben und Charakter, von Jacob Friedrich Feddersen, Hof- und Domprediger zu Braunschweig, Mitglied der Erziehungsgesellschaft zu Stockholm* (Hamburg: Herold, 1786), 85–86.

28. On the *Sturm Gesänge* see Youngren, 379–410 and Leisinger 2006, 116–48.

29. Wiermann, 402–3. See CPEB:CW, V/3.4.

TABLE 2. SUGGESTED CHORALE MELODIES FOR STURM'S POETRY

| Wq | Song Title | Text Incipit | Chorale Melody |
|--------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 197/1 | Demütigung vor Gott | Betet an vor Gott, ihr Sünder! | Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme * |
| 197/2 | Passionslied | Einst, als dich im Gerichte | Wenn meine Sünd mich kränken # |
| 197/3 | Loblied für das Seelenleiden Jesu | Sieh, Gotteslamm, wir fallen | O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig * |
| 197/4 | Osterlied | Amen! Lob und Preis und Stärke | Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme * |
| 197/5 | Pfingstlied | Sei, Weltversöhner, sei gepreist! | Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott * |
| 197/6 | Passionslied | Da stehest du, Sohn Gottes | O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden * |
| 197/9 | Todesfreudigkeit | Gott, dem ich lebe, des ich bin | Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin * |
| 197/10 | Der gestirnte Himmel | Mit heil'gem Grauen blick ich hin | Ich dank dir schon durch deinen Sohn § |
| 197/11 | Weihnachtslied | Vom Grab, an dem wir wallen | Nun lob, meine Seel, den Herren * |
| 197/12 | Beschleunigung der Buße | Christ, sei achtsam, sei bereit! | Straf mich nicht in deinem Zorn * |
| 197/16 | Frohe Erinnerung der Wohltaten Gottes | Auch mich, o Herr, hast du gemacht | Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr * |
| 197/17 | Sonntagslied | Dir, Jesu, dir sei dieser Tag geweiht | Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen * |
| 197/19 | Neujahrslied | Schon wieder ist von meiner Zeit | Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund * |
| 197/20 | Sommerlied | Allgütiger, dich will ich fühlen | Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten *§ |
| 197/21 | Die Fortdauer der Lehre Jesu | Umsonst empöرت die Hölle sich | Es ist das Heil uns kommen her * |
| 197/22 | Dieses und jenes Leben | Ein Pilger bin ich in der Welt | Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist * |
| 197/25 | Morgenlied | Nun ist es Tag. Mit frommen Dank | Ich singe dir mit Herz und Mund * |
| 197/27 | Gottes Allgegenwart | Nie bist du, Höchster, von uns fern | Mir nach, spricht Christus, unser Held * |
| 197/29 | Über die Finsternis kurz vor dem Tode Jesu | Nacht und Schatten decken | Ach, wir armen Sünder * |
| 197/30 | Vertrauen auf Gott | Der Herr ist meine Zuversicht | Was Gott tut, das ist wohl getan * |
| 198/1 | Vertrauen auf Gottes Vorsehung | Was sollt ich ängstlich klagen | Nun ruhen alle Wälder * |
| 198/2 | Versicherung der Seligkeit | Ich weiß, an wen mein Glaub sich hält | Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr * |
| 198/3 | Menschenliebe Jesu | Dich bet ich an, Herr Jesu Christ | Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld * |
| 198/4 | Die Bestimmung des Christen | Mein Glück im kurzen Raum der Zeit | Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr * |
| 198/5 | Weihnachtslied | Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ | Ermuntre dich, mein schwacher * |
| 198/6 | Passionslied | In Todesängsten hängst du da | Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund †# |
| 198/7 | Osterlied | Er lebt! Des Todes Sieger lebt! | Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott †# |
| 198/8 | Trost der Auferstehung | Herr, du bist meine Zuversicht | Mir nach, spricht Christus, unser Held * |
| 198/9 | Das wohlthätige Leben Jesu | Zu dir erhebt sich mein Gemüte | Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen * |
| 198/10 | Fröhliche Erwartung der Auferstehung | Einst geh ich ohne Beben | Christus, der ist mein Leben * |
| 198/11 | Ermunterung zur Nachfolge Jesu | Stärke, Jesu, stärke mich | Meinen Jesum lass ich nicht * |
| 198/12 | Andenken an den Tod | Wer weiß, wie nah der Tod mir ist? | Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt * |
| 198/13 | Morgenlied | Des Morgens neue Sonne | Aus meines Herzens Grunde dank ich †# |
| 198/14 | Lobgesang auf die Auferstehung Jesu | Halleluja! Jesus lebet! | Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme * |
| 198/15 | Betrachtung des Todes | Mein Heiland, wenn mein Geist erfreut | Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr * |
| 198/16 | Erinnerung an den Tod | Noch bin ich dein Gast, o Erde | Alle Menschen müssen sterben * |
| 198/18 | Empfindungen in der Sommernacht | Der Mond ist aufgegangen | Nun ruhen alle Wälder * |

TABLE 2. (CONTINUED)

| Wq | Song Title | Text Incipit | Chorale Melody |
|--------|---|------------------------------------|--|
| 198/19 | Gottes Größe in der Natur | Weit um mich her ist alles Freude! | Wie wohl ist mir, o Freund der Seelen * |
| 198/20 | Nach dem Gewitter | Dir, des Donners Schöpfer, dir | Gott sei Dank durch alle Welt * |
| 198/21 | Fürbitte des gekreuzigten Jesu für seine Feinde | Um Gnade für die Sünderwelt | Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr * |
| 198/22 | Empfindung eines Bußfertigen | Ach, wie viel Böses wohnt in mir! | Ich dank dir schon durch deinen Sohn § |
| 198/23 | Lobgesang auf den Tod Jesu | Halleluja! Auf Golgatha | O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid # |
| 198/24 | Bitte um Beistand des Heiligen Geistes | Komm, o Geist, von Gott gegeben | Gott des Himmel und der Erden †# |
| 198/26 | Das Reich Jesu | Dir, o du Herrscher, Jesu Christ | Kommt her zu mir, spricht Gottes Sohn †# |
| 198/28 | Ermunterung zur Gelassenheit | Herr, es gescheh dein Wille! | Wenn meine Sünd mich kränken †# |
| 198/29 | Jesus in Gethsemane | Schau hin! Dort in Gethsemane | Warum betrübst du dich mein Herz †# |

* = *Lieder und Kirchengesänge* 1780‡ = *Predigtentwürfe* 1781# = *Lieder* 1795† = *Predigtentwürfe* 1780§ = *Gartenfreunde* 1781

and music to awaken and strengthen true feelings of religion, one is justified in expecting something extraordinary.³⁰

In the preface to Sturm's *Geistliche Lieder und Gesänge*, which was published at nearly the same time as Bach's settings of them in Wq 197, the poet refers directly to Bach's compositions: "The lovers of simple, yet uplifting melodies will perhaps appreciate that Kapellmeister Bach has set a choice selection of these poems to music, which will appear in print shortly."³¹

30. "Ich habe den Herrn Hauptpastor Sturm ersucht, von seinen in verschiedenen Sammlungen eingerückten geistlichen Gesängen, diejenigen auszusuchen, die er zur Composition am bequemsten hielte, und mir die Bekanntmachung derselben für die Liebhaber des Gesanges und Claviers zu erlauben. Nach der gewogenen Gesinnung für mich . . . hat er mir . . . ganz neue Gesänge verfertigt, und mit unsers Capellmeisters Bach Bemühungen die seinigen zur Erreichung dieses Zwecks vereinigt. Von dem gemeinschaftlichen Eifer solcher Männer, durch die verbundene Macht der Dichtkunst und Musik wahre Empfindungen der Religion zu erwecken und zu bekräftigen, kann man mit Recht etwas vorzügliches erwarten." Wiermann, 237–39. The subscription announcement also appeared in *HUC* (29 Jan. 1780), *HNZ* (2 Feb. 1780), and the *Hamburger Relations-Courier* (20 March 1780). See Wiermann, 237–40.

31. "Den Liebhabern einer simplen und dennoch Herzerhebenden Melodie ist es vielleicht angenehm, daß Herr Kapellmeister Bach einen auserlesene Theil dieser Gesänge mit Melodien versehen hat, deren Abdruck im kurzen erscheinen wird." Wiermann, 240–41. The preface

The title page of Bach's *Sturm Gesänge* contains a vignette showing Hamburg, with its five main churches, St. Cecilia floating above the city playing an organ, and a medallion with a double portrait of composer and poet (see plate 9). The vignette was drafted by the Leipzig artist Friedrich Oeser, and was engraved for the first edition by Christian Gottlieb Geysler. A famous painting from 1784, now in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, shows Bach and Sturm being painted by Andreas Stöttrup, apparently to create a replacement portrait medallion for the second volume of Bach's *Sturm Gesänge*, Wq 198 (see plate 10).³² The original double portrait by Geysler had been criticized for not being a very true likeness of either of the two men. This new portrait was then also used for the second edition of Wq 197 in 1781 and the "third" editions of both sets in 1792.³³

is dated 20 March 1780. Sturm also mentions that some of the poems had earlier been used in a hymnal edited by Kaspar Zollikofer (Leipzig, 1766).

32. A reproduction of the Stöttrup painting is given in *NG^{II}*, s.v. "Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel."

33. Stöttrup's new portrait was engraved for the new title page by the Hamburg engraver Johann Gottfried Christian Fritzsche, who also used the opportunity to improve the depiction of Hamburg. The so-called "third" editions of Wq 197 and 198 were simply remaining copies of the earlier editions with new title pages and front matter (see below and critical report).

By 1792 both Sturm and Bach had died, so Herold used the opportunity of the “third” edition to add works lists—for Bach in Wq 197 and for Sturm in Wq 198—following their respective title pages. It was also Herold who wrote the dedication in the 1780 edition of Wq 197 to the literary historian Johann Joachim Eschenburg in Braunschweig (see the critical report). Bach was also on friendly terms with Eschenburg, so it is possible that Bach was involved in choosing the dedicatee.³⁴ The dedication is dated 4 July 1780. More than a thousand copies of the *Sturm Gesänge* were sold.

Bach probably began compositional work on the *Sturm Gesänge* at the end of 1779, at the same time that he was working on the second *Kenner und Liebhaber* collection, Wq 56. The first set of songs was apparently ready by the middle of March 1780. On 21 March 1780 Bach wrote to Breitkopf concerning the projected publishing schedule for Wq 56:

However, the Sturm songs are thwarting my plans [to bring out Wq 56 in July]. My things [Wq 56, which Bach was publishing himself] were there earlier than those [Wq 197, which were being published by Herold], therefore they have precedence. I am not handing over my melodies [to Wq 197] until I know for sure that my things have been started.³⁵

Since Herold was also using Breitkopf to typeset Wq 197, conflicts seem to have developed in Breitkopf’s production schedule, and Bach was worried that he would not be able to meet his announced July delivery date for the second *Kenner und Liebhaber* collection. Despite Bach’s plea to Breitkopf, which he repeated in another letter from 29 April,³⁶ the *Sturm Gesänge* did indeed appear first, in August, while the *Kenner und Liebhaber* collection had to wait until October. The second set of *Sturm Gesänge*, Wq 198, appeared in the following year. Since by that time the first set had already sold out, Herold published a second edition of that set at about the same time.³⁷ In 1792 Herold issued “new” editions of both sets, which he labeled third editions even though this would have only been correct for

Wq 197, since Wq 198 had appeared in only one previous edition, that of 1781. In reality, however, the “third” editions do not appear to be new editions at all, only leftover stock from the previous editions provided with revised front matter (see critical report).

The press reaction to the *Sturm Gesänge* was overwhelmingly positive.³⁸ The reviewers, as was the case with the Cramer Psalmen, again expressed the wish that Bach arrange some of the songs for chorus. Bach did so for several of the Sturm songs, which he inserted into his Passions and cantatas between 1781 and 1786.³⁹ In addition, three other Sturm songs were independently transmitted in arrangements for four-part chorus and orchestra: Wq 197/4 as Wq 226, Wq 197/9 as Wq 225, and Wq 197/13 as Wq 230.⁴⁰ Bach also arranged “Menschenliebe Jesu,” Wq 198/3, along with three of his Gellert songs, as motets for two to four voices and basso continuo, Wq 208 (see CPEB: CW, V/6). Table 1 (above) lists both the Cramer Psalmen and Sturm Gesänge that Bach reused in other forms.

Some of Bach’s Sturm settings were also arranged by other composers, mainly for mixed chorus, sometimes with orchestral accompaniment. “Gottes Größe in der Natur,” Wq 197/7, seems to have been particularly popular, with six different libraries preserving copies of various arrangements.⁴¹ The copy in the Gotha library contains notes documenting two specific performances as “Jahrmarkts Music,” one in 1803 and one in 1808.⁴² Also extant are contemporary arrangements of the “Passionslied,” Wq 197/2, and of “Lob des Allgütigen,” Wq 197/23.⁴³

On 23 March 1782 HUC printed a letter from an unknown traveler to a friend in Hamburg, in which he describes a flute organ in Braunschweig that had been set up to play thirteen of Bach’s songs:

38. Ibid., 251–52, 265–67.

39. See table 1 and Leisinger 2006, 147–48 for an overview of Bach’s use of these arrangements in his Passions. In the letter from Johanna Maria Bach to Sara Levy mentioned above, the included works list mentions “eight choruses from Sturm’s songs” (8 Chöre aus Sturmschen Liedern). CPEB-Briefe, 2:1312.

40. Wq 225 and Wq 226 are also given individual listings in NV 1790, 63. The reviewer of Wq 197 for HNZ specifically recommended that “Osterlied,” Wq 197/4 (= Wq 226) and “Tag des Weltgerichts,” Wq 197/13 (= Wq 230) be arranged for chorus. See Wiermann, 254.

41. B-Bc, 719 MSM (10); D-AG, 277 and Mus. A2:101; D-F, Mus Hs 2147; D-GOL, Mus 4° 54a/1; D-KFp, Musikalien 13,12; D-WRha, AWB 1767. Several of these (B-Bc, D-F, D-GOL) are copies of an arrangement made by the Erfurt cantor Georg Peter Weimar.

42. See Leisinger 1993, 73.

43. D-HVs, Kestner No. 42 II and D-BSZk, I B 4,2.

34. Seven letters from Bach to Eschenburg survive for the years 1771–86. Eschenburg was also a subscription agent for Bach’s self-publications, including the *Cramer Psalmen*.

35. “Aber die Sturmschen Lieder kommen mir in die Queere. Meine Sachen waren eher da, als jene, folglich gehen sie vor. Ich liefre meine Melodien nicht eher aus, bis ich gewiß weiß, daß an meinen Sachen angefangen worden ist.” CPEB-Briefe, 1:824–25; CPEB-Letters, 158.

36. CPEB-Briefe, 1:833–34; CPEB-Letters, 160–61.

37. Wiermann, 259–61, 263–64, 271–72.

Thus can the great and good German man listen to these melodies often in devotional solitude. Please report this to your Bach and Sturm. This must be worth more to them than the praise of all reviewers.⁴⁴

According to the letter's author, the titles of the songs were listed on a sheet of paper next to the organ.⁴⁵ The preface to the second edition of Wq 197 refers to the flute organ in Braunschweig already in 1781 (see critical report).⁴⁶ This instrument had been given to Ferdinand, Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Lüneburg, by his brother-in-law, the Prussian King Frederick the Great. Mechanical instruments were very popular at the Prussian court, and Bach himself wrote thirty original compositions for such instruments (grouped together under Wq 193).

Of the sixty songs in Wq 197 and 198, the texts for forty-four—including all thirty from Wq 197—are drawn from Sturm's *Lieder und Kirchengesänge*. Sturm's collection consisted of fifty-three texts, thus Bach did not set nine of them.⁴⁷ The texts as set by Bach follow Sturm's published poems very closely, with most differences being minor changes in punctuation.

Seven texts for Wq 198 were taken from Sturm's *Predigtentwürfe* for the years 1780 and 1781. The *Predigtentwürfe* contained outlines of Sturm's sermons delivered as free speeches. With the publication of the drafts Sturm followed a local tradition that can be traced at least to the 1750s and to which the pastors at other Hamburg main churches—among them Johann Melchior Goeze, Johann Jakob Rambach, Georg Heinrich Berkhan and Sturm's immediate predecessor Johann Christoph Friederici—also adhered. It remains to be determined whether the drafts were published in advance to prepare the congregations for the sermons or were only printed afterwards to serve as devotional literature. With one minor exception, Bach's settings followed Sturm's texts exactly.

44. "Da soll der große und gute Deutsche Mann oft in andächtiger Einsamkeit diese Melodien anhören. Sagen Sie dieses Ihrem Bach und Sturm, das muß diesen lieben Männern mehr werth seyn, als alles Recensenten Lob." *CPEB-Briefe* 2:923–24. See also Wiermann, 513–15.

45. The thirteen songs used for the flute organ were the following from Wq 197: nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 14, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, and 28.

46. See also Wiermann, 271–72.

47. Nos. 12–17 and 23–25 were not used. Their titles are: 12. Zuflucht zur Gnade Jesu, 13. Lied einer Witwe, 14. Lied eines Waisen, 15. Abendmahl eines Kranken, 16. Morgenlied eines Kranken, 17. Abendlied eines Kranken, 23. Menschenliebe Jesu bei seinem Leiden, 24. Hingang Jesu zum Leiden, 25. Untreue Petri gegen Jesum.

For the remaining nine songs in Wq 198, Bach received the poetry directly from Sturm before the poems were published. Nearly all of these were published in later collections, including in *Gartenfreunde* 1781, NHG 1787, and *Lieder* 1795. The published forms, however, often differ considerably from the versions set by Bach.

Although *Gartenfreunde* 1781 appeared in the same year as Wq 198, and thus might have been available to Bach as a source for his texts, this is unlikely. It would have been difficult for Bach to have received the poetry, composed the settings, and seen them through to publication so quickly. Twelve of the songs in Wq 198 are settings of poems from *Gartenfreunde* 1781, of which seven had also been published earlier in *Lieder und Kirchengesänge*.⁴⁸ These seven texts carry the remark "Nach Bachischer Melodie" (to Bach's melody) in *Gartenfreunde* 1781, indicating that it was published after the appearance of Wq 197 and Wq 198. Accordingly, Bach must have gotten the texts directly from Sturm before they were published, and Sturm then later revised them for publication.

The text for Wq 198/22 can only be traced to NHG 1787, where it is set to the chorale melody "Ich danke dir schon durch deinen Sohn." Seven other Sturm texts that Bach had set in Wq 197 and 198 also appear in NHG 1787 with chorale melodies, but those seven had already been published in other collections before 1787.⁴⁹ The only text set by Bach that so far has not been traceable to any of Sturm's published works is the "Danklied," Wq 198/27.

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48. Wq 197/7, 197/15, 197/23, 197/24, 197/28, and Wq 198/17 and 198/25.

49. They are: NHG 1787 nos. 79 (= Wq 197/11), 95 (= Wq 198/21, with textual changes), 217 (= Wq 198/2), 316 (= Wq 198/1), 415 (= Wq 197/22), 419 (= Wq 198/15), and 439 (= Wq 198/10).

und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg, the Bach-Archiv, Universitätsbibliothek, and Städtische Bibliotheken in Leipzig, the Universitätsbibliothek in Greifswald, the Music Library of the University of Michigan, and the Irving S. Gilmore Music Library of Yale University.

Anja Morgenstern

APPENDIX

Translation of Bach's Preface to *Cramer Psalmen*

Preface.

At last I have the pleasure of fulfilling the frequently expressed request of my friends and supporters, by delivering to them melodies to Dr. Cramer's Psalms. Because of a lack of other good alternatives, I have undertaken the publication of them myself, and hope for them, with good reason, the same approbation with which my Gellert lieder were happily received. Because the latter were the source of such edification—as I have often been assured they have been—I am quite certain that these Psalms will prove to be even more useful in this respect: their divine content is so full of majesty, that subsequent works of this kind from the greatest poets have not been able to equal them. I am not in the position to deliver the kind of verdict on the translation of these Psalms—the work of one of our greatest theological scholars—that they deserve. Any words of praise on my part here would be superfluous. I can only refer to that which I experienced in setting them to music. From this perspective, my friends can surely expect something quite satisfying. I must also admit, however, without becoming too taken with the stature of my abilities, that these Psalms most certainly would have made an incomparably better impression if they had been worked out on a grander scale than they have been here. I have, instead,

set them to short melodies with keyboard accompaniment that can be sung by amateurs who may not yet be proficient. He who knows the unavoidable limitations of setting multiple verses to the same melody, and who, further, knows how thoroughly modulation in such limited settings has already been treated, will not demand too much, rather, will honor me, as I hope, with his satisfaction with my work.

I have chosen only those Psalms that still suit our present time, and that serve for general devotion.

In addition, I have had to leave out those that exhibit more than one meter, those that are too long to sing, those that are too variable in their content such that they would require a fuller treatment, and those with many alternating choruses, so that I could deliver to amateurs a not too large and expensive publication.

In a few of the Psalms the number of syllables is not the same for all verses. An attentive performer will easily see where to repeat or leave out a note.

Owing to the large number of Psalms of praise—with their majestic content—I have had to develop a differentiation of expression in order to avoid repeating the same figures. To please some of my friends I have set certain Psalms to chorale melodies. Occasionally, I have also turned to counterpoint and more adventurous modulations. All of this gives this collection more variety than one encounters in my Gellert lieder, and I hope thereby not to have lost the approval of my friends.

May these melodies awake as much devotion and enjoyment as was my hope and goal during their composition!

Hamburg,
in the month of March,
1774.

C.P.E. Bach.